

**F O R U M**

**O F W E S T E R N**

**D E M O C R A C I E S**

**Reshaping the International**

**Order for the Coming World**

Strategic Studies Group  
Task Force on Global Governance

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# Preface

*“Bringing together activists, parliamentarians, business leaders, scholars, and others committed to the cause of freedom and democracy is an excellent idea.”*

**Tony Blair**

The international order born after the Second World War has brought the best period of peace and prosperity known to mankind.

International organizations, led and designed by the West, have fostered a multilateral framework based on values of universality, uniformity, and equal treatment for all States; a dense array of institutions, intergovernmental relations, and joint management built around economic openness and political reciprocity. The West anchored this liberal international order amid a balance of forces as measured in the Cold War and the feared “great war” among the great powers ultimately never took place. To a greater or lesser extent, this international multilateralism was decisive in order to handle crisis and regional conflicts of second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, albeit it could not avoid perpetration of Genocide and Human Rights violations.

Additionally, since the aftermath of the Second World War, multilateral organizations, conceived in order to create a better world, started to proliferate with their focus centered on issues such as justice, economics, finance, the environment, poverty, or health. Bodies as the International Court of Justice (ICJ,) the World Health Organization (WHO,) the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO,) the World Trade Organization (WTO,) formerly known as the General Agreement over Tariffs and Trade (GATT,) the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as support financial institutions, aggregated the entire world as an area to share the West’s values via a wide range of rules and entities created to ensure stable relations and the spread of economic ties; a Western-backed international architecture aimed to keep the peace, to enable economic growth, and to advance human rights.

Throughout the years, the fulfillment of the West-ruled multilateral realm also contributed to the establishment of the European Union (E.U.) The EU was conceived as a major project formed by economic- and military-strong democracies in Europe that, among other purposes, would protect and extend Western values alongside the United States – an exportable mega-democratic structure to other regions such as Asia.

The fall of the Soviet Union, ensued by a presupposed fear of separation in the Western bloc due to the lack of a common threat, ultimately yielded a democratization wave that spread

over the following years to East Europe, Asia and South America. The post Cold War era was thus marked by global economic growth thanks to safe free-trade policies applied in many countries and regions. Inspired by the free-market formula, Western democracies boosted innovation, which led to the wider development of Internet and information technologies (IT), creating a networked world that has encouraged higher involvement of civil society.

Globalizing was the Western way and there was a quasi consensus that it would be the paradigm to follow by all nations on Earth. In 1996, in his speech accepting the nomination for vice president, Jack Kemp highlighted the triumph of liberal democracy after the fall of the Berlin Wall: “With the *end of the Cold War, all the ‘isms’ of the twentieth century—Fascism, Nazism, Communism, Socialism and the evil of apartheid-ism—have failed, except one. Only democracy has shown itself true to the hopes of all mankind.*”

In the same optimistic vein, philosopher and policy theorist Francis Fukuyama posited in 1989 that, “What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.” Later on, in 1996, Gilford John Ikenberry stated that, “the world has seen an explosion in the desire of countries and peoples to move toward democracy and capitalism.”

Nonetheless, the twenty-first century has been witness to new developments and challenges that have reversed the trend. The decline of Western economies, the rise of emerging powers, the threat of global terrorism, among others daily destabilizing factors, have consequently produced a power shift. Nowadays, liberal democracy is as a minority in retreat and it is likely to lose its international power in the years to come.

Along these concerns, the current challenges for the future of Western democracies are many: Human rights (Responsibility to Protect), peace upkeep, safe and free trade, energy and resources security, financial instability, global terrorism, nuclear proliferation, the rise of populism, the spreading of Islamism in several countries, global warming... and, according to Ivo Daalder, “world bodies often respond with too little and too late.” These challenges have to be faced by liberal

democracies in concert, by a binding institution formed by like-minded states confident in mutual commitments. Today there is no institutional vehicle, which may enable democracies to cooperate jointly in order to achieve their goals; and it is increasingly necessary—even though there is no special interest to form a New World Order in the West, as Joschka Fischer recently asserted.

As a result, the world is reaching a turning point; the tectonic change in international relations is inevitable. The West has to be ready to confront it and the current international order cannot serve as a proper system any longer. *The State of the International Order* report published in February 2014 by the Brookings Institution also went along those lines explaining that the international system to this day lacks a genuine ability to bind security and economic policy. Thus, the liberal international order has become obsolete.

In view of the situation, the consensus is widespread among scholars, pundits and intellectual elites regarding the coming multipolarity on the global stage. Political scientists Ian Bremmer and David Gordon have predicted that the world is heading to global anarchy with several centers of power: the G-Zero world. According to Bremmer and Gordon's theories, there will be a power vacuum in the international order, provoked by the decline of the West, the rise of emergent powers, and the lack of strong leadership to bear great and lasting change. As International Relations Professor Charles Kupchan puts it: No one's world.

In fact, the new international order to emerge will be an amalgam of different political cultures embracing different approaches of international order. Hence, Western democracies have to form closer ties through cooperation to guarantee a future where liberal values will not be forced to retreat. A new international framework must replace an outdated remnant of the Cold War in order to allow sufficient relevance of

Western ideas and thoughts so that real progress and freedom prevail.

Admittedly, the United States and the EU, which are the democratic great powers and the centers of power in the liberal international order, seem unwilling to lead. They are also facing a struggle from within. The financial crises, the progressive cut on defense budgets, the high influence of populism, the rising polarization, the lack of trust on politicians, are leading the liberal anchors through tough times, where they find themselves totally incapable of handling global changes and challenges. As British historian Niall Ferguson has argued, it seems that we are witnessing “the end of 500 years of Western predominance.”

Therefore, it is necessary to establish an institutionalized meeting point, many times set out by leaders and theorists, to serve as an international tool for liberal and Western democracies to achieve common coordination and support.

This new tool will not be formed only by politicians, but also by outstanding and prominent Western leaders who believe in a better future for democracy, such as entrepreneurs, philosophers, journalists, scholars, and more brilliant leading figures committed to Western values. Civil society, the main asset of Western civilization, must be represented in international governance.

Democracies, in sum, must unite to face common challenges and to support each other. Currently the United Nations, NATO and the G-20, as typical examples, are not covering Western needs. A global world requires global initiatives.

After having sailed through the terrifying twentieth century to safety, the West and its institutions, face now a crucial change of the international order. The Forum of Western Democracies is the answer to manage the future to come.

# Executive Summary

## The Tectonic Change

The Cold War international order, once gauged by its containment of communism and other totalitarian actors, has now become obsolete. It is urgent to establish a new one, adaptable to the changes to come.

Since the 2000s, democracy and freedom have suffered several setbacks, according to Freedom House. 2013 has been the eight consecutive year in which global freedom has declined. On the contrary, about 2.6 billion people, more than one-third of the world's population, still lives under authoritarian regimes. Democracies are today a minority.

The crisis of democracy is not only global, but also internal. In 2012, a survey of seven European countries found that more than half of voters “had no trust [whatsoever] in government.” The 2008 financial crisis has shown how difficult it is to manage big debt-financed structures. Consequently, the citizenry began to see democratic institutions as outdated and dysfunctional, unprepared to deal with global crises and, therefore, unsustainable.

According to the governor of the Bank of England, recessions involving financial crises tend to be deeper and require recoveries that take twice as long.

The international power is shifting daily and the World is consequently moving towards global anarchy. It is necessary to promote the joint action of strong democracies to lead, as they did after Second World War.

Currently, the EU is not assuming the leading role that the West needs; the United States is in retreat from the international arena. Besides, America cannot take care of all the current challenges on its own. Therefore, the United States needs to rely on its closest democratic friends in order to confront the future.

The major democracies are engaged in a spiral of disarmament and isolationism. While Western military power is declining, Russia and China are expanding theirs.

Russia, China, and the other emerging powers have not reached the developing levels of Western countries yet. Nonetheless, their power growth can be seen as a model for other developing countries, creating a Second World not ruled by Western standards.

According to certain predictions, there's a trend among emerging powers towards becoming the top economies of the world in the next decades. An eventual world where the emerging powers hold economic power and natural resources is a world where democracy will be in danger of extinction. To defend liberal democracy will become a challenge in the future.

The emerging powers are not willing to accept the liberal international order; on the contrary, their focus is on cooperation just regarding economic issues, but ignoring and avoiding agreement with the West on political and security issues.

It is not only the decline of the West; it is also the rise of the Rest. The rising democracies apply non-aligned principles; they want to be nice to everyone and apply a *realpolitik* strategy. The leaderless strategy will be used by the emerging powers to take over and reshape the international order as they please.

Brazil, India, and South Africa, while not considered authoritarian regimes—but flawed democracies according to the *Democracy Index*—are playing the same role as China and Russia in economic cooperation. Nonetheless, the West should attract them, instead of letting them be under the ongoing influence of the Chinese and Russian sphere. In this sense, a coalition of strong, capable, and like-minded democracies, mutually committed and in unison to face challenges might be the best frame to integrate the rest of the BRICS in the Western world.

Nowadays, there are paramount global challenges, which have to be met by Western Democracies; effective multilateral cooperation remains essential to addressing these challenges and offers the most effective means of combating terrorism, nuclear proliferation, financial economic crises, climate change, and natural resources scarcity, among others.

## The Need To Reshape The International World

The multilateral international order is outdated due to inefficiency, corruption and lack of adaptation. We need to build a strong and dynamic institution to innovate and adapt to the new global information society. There are several reasons for it: Corruption, lack of trust, inefficiency, and excessive bureaucracy, inability to adapt to the information age, impossibility to reform, and unsuccessful fulfillment of its goals.

In particular, the U.N. has been demonstrating its inability to prevent corruption, lack of transparency, and the proliferation of useless agencies. In addition, it has not been able to prevent genocide in Rwanda, Yugoslavia, or Darfur. U.N. bodies, such as the Human Rights Council, are corroded with authoritarian regimes, which use them to stifle criticism.

The present generation no longer trusts the international organizations created after Second World War. The public's disaffection with politics is also addressed regarding international bodies.

Ad hoc organizations, such as the G-20, or the Deauville Partnership, have not proved efficient to meet the challenges facing the West. Therefore, create something new, dynamic, and adaptable.

The international order should be reconsidered. It is necessary that Western democracies be intertwined and engaged to stand up to global challenges together. There are currently many challenges and protecting the Western democracy model is one of them.

## The Forum Of Western Democracies

Tackle common challenges and face common threats. In a global hyperconnected world, with global needs and actions, it is necessary to set up a global institutional vehicle for Western democracies.

The challenges that Western democracies face are global. We need closer cooperation, more effective and direct coordination. In sum, it means a fusion of powers that represent common values and interests.

By working closely, the capable and like-minded democracies can act assertively across a range of issues, from promoting democracy and human rights to preventing terrorism and nuclear proliferation.

The West's most powerful and committed democracies should join the Forum. Not only should the quality of its democracy, military or economic be considered, but also the obligations that the candidates are willing to take as members of the Forum.

Membership must be selectively established by the founding members. In addition to general democratic standards, membership will require; religious tolerance, gender equality, the recognition of Israel, and government accountability.

The West is not just an ensemble of values and creeds; it is also a group of brave and committed countries, thriving in spite of the circumstances to achieve a free, fair, and better world. In the midst of the current turning point, the Forum of Western Democracies is the most laudable political initiative.

## Onwards: A Better Future

The West is under siege. State and non-state actors are waging a war against Western civilization by promoting instability and chaos. As soon as the West realizes and acts, this progressive aggression can be reversed.

A better future to come with the Forum of Western Democracies will foster:

- Reform of the international order
- Mutual support
- Responsibility to Protect
- Efficient solutions
- Liberal democracy expansion
- Stopping nuclear and WMD proliferators, change of treatment to rogue States
- Beneficial sharing
- Rebuilding of the West



# The Tectonic Change

*“Now civilizations, I believe, come to birth and proceed to grow by successfully responding to successive challenges. They break down and go to pieces if and when a challenge confronts them which they fail to meet.”*

*Arnold Toynbee*

## Democracy [Used to Be] Triumphant

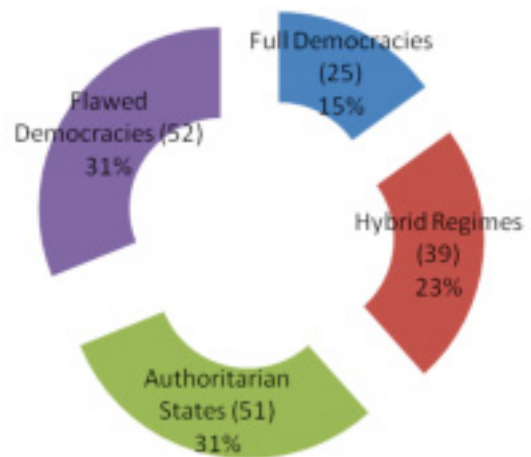
After the fall of the Berlin Wall, liberal democracy had won the Cold War against communism. For the past 25 years, free trade, the promotion of human rights, and the expansion of liberties have benefited millions of citizens. The growing economic globalization and the spread of democracy in Eastern Europe, Asia, and South America, seemed to bring about an international realm led by Western like-minded democracies.

For instance, there were only eleven democracies in the world in 1941. By 2000, Freedom House counted 120 countries as democracies, sixty-three percent of the world's total. Before such a successful scenario, the World Forum on Democracy was held in Warsaw in June 2000. More than 100 countries gathered in order to create the Community of Democracies (which currently has evolved into the Democracy Caucus in the U.N.) The U.S. State Department reported about the summit that, “it seems now, at long last, democracy is triumphant<sup>1</sup>.”

Nonetheless, over the last years, that trend is reversing. According to Freedom House, 2013 has been the eight consecutive year in which global freedom has declined. As Dr. Diamond puts it<sup>2</sup>, since 2005 we have witnessed a global democratic recession.

According to the 2012 *Democracy Index*, today there are only twenty-five countries ranked as full democracies<sup>3</sup>. The *Index* uses, among other tools, four questions: whether national elections are free and fair, the security of voters, the influence of foreign powers on government, and the capability of civil servants to implement policies. In addition, the Index revealed fifty-four flawed democracies, in which there are free and fair elections, but problems with freedom of speech, governance,

**“2013 has been the eight consecutive year in which global freedom has declined [...] since 2005 we have witnessed a global democratic recession.”**



Democracy Index 2012

<sup>1</sup> “What’s gone wrong with Democracy”, *The Economist*, (March 3, 2014)

<sup>2</sup> “At the ‘End of History’ Still Stands Democracy”, Francis Fukuyama, *The Wall Street Journal*, (June 6, 2014)

<sup>3</sup> “Democracy Index 2012”, *The Economist Intelligence Unit*, 2013

and low political participation, such as in the case of Greece, Italy, or Panama; thirty-seven hybrid regimes, countries where elections are held, but irregularities do not allow them to be considered free and fair, and also the government is pressing the opposition, there is widespread corruption, and a weak rule of law, as in Ecuador or Turkey; and fifty-one authoritarian regimes, among them, China and Russia.

Accordingly, less than one-half of the world's population lives in a democracy of some type, but only eleven percent lives in full democracies. On the contrary, about 2.6 billion people, more than one-third of the world's population, still live under the rule of authoritarian regimes. Besides, about fifty countries are in a dim stage between autocracy and democracy, most of them concentrated in Southeast and Central Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East. Some countries that supposedly underwent successful democratic transitions, such as Thailand, Turkey, Sri Lanka, or Nicaragua, have regressed to authoritarian practices.

Western Democracies today enjoy free elections systems, liberties, independent judiciary, and social welfare. However, the debt crisis and the lack of trust in old institutions are jeopardizing the Western model in addition to the worrisome ascent of populist movements, as reflected in the last European Parliament elections on May 25, 2014. By the way, the *Democracy Index* has been very clear about the erosion of democracy in Europe, highlighting that democracy's global relapse was stronger after the 2008 global economic crisis; "Between 2006 and 2008 there was stagnation of democracy; between 2008 and 2010 there was regression across the world."<sup>4</sup>

The numbers are thus quite clear: Democracies are a minority today.

## The Battle from Within

The democracy crisis is not only global, but also internal. Democracies also have to overcome a battle of trust and they need to thrive from within. As economist Moises Naim has argued, even in its heartland, democracy is clearly suffering from serious structural problems, rather than some few isolated ailments<sup>5</sup>.

Surely, there are evident causes for the vicissitudes that Western democracies are undergoing. The aforementioned financial crisis has showed how difficult it is to manage big debt-financed structures. In this regard, taxpayers have become disillusioned particularly when governments bailed out bankers with tax money and shrank public services and social welfare benefits. Generations raised under democracy are wealthier and better educated, so they demand more of their governments. Meanwhile, governments and institutions have failed to reverse the economic meltdown in the short-

4 "Democracy Index 2012", *The Economist Intelligence Unit*, 2013

5 "The Democratic Distemper" Moisés Naim, *The Economist*, (February 20, 2014)

term – according to the governor of the Bank of England, recessions involving financial crises tend to be deeper and require recoveries that take twice as long<sup>6</sup>. Consequently, the citizenry began to regard democratic institutions as outdated, dysfunctional, and poorly prepared to deal with global crises, thus turning them into unsustainable ventures.

As a clear example of the growing disaffection between classic democratic institutions and the public, voter turnout has declined ten percentage points between 1980-84 and 2007-2013 in forty-nine democracies, according to *The Economist*. In 2012, a survey of seven European countries, found in the same outlet, revealed that more than half of the voters "had no trust [whatsoever] in government."<sup>7</sup>

Recent polls in the U.K. also serve as examples of this disaffection in Europe. The 2012 *British Social Attitudes* report revealed that fewer than nine percent of the British population trust politicians "a great deal" or "quite a lot", only fifteen percent trust Parliament a great deal or quite a lot; and only seventeen percent trust British governments in general a great deal or quite a lot. In 2012, a *YouGov* opinion poll of British voters found that sixty-two percent of those polled agreed that "politicians tell lies all the time."<sup>8</sup>

In addition, the percentage of people that trust governments "just about always" or "most of the time" has fallen from forty percent in 1986 to sixteen percent in 2009, according to the *Democracy Index*<sup>9</sup>.

Popular discontent have seen a boost in the last decade due to the massive use of Information Technologies (IT,) which have enabled collective initiatives and non-state actors to take a key role in social participation and direct confrontation with government acts and policies. The combination of globalization and the digital revolution age has turned obsolete some of the most valued democratic institutions, which is a blunder of our times: Democratic institutions did not keep the pace with new technologies. In the new world to come, democracies have to design a new way to develop their institutions, factoring in IT evolution and the rising influence of non-state actors.

Politicians, decisionmakers, and political strategists have certainly lost a decade regarding the development of an IT-related structure to ensure the trust of the public in democratic institutions.

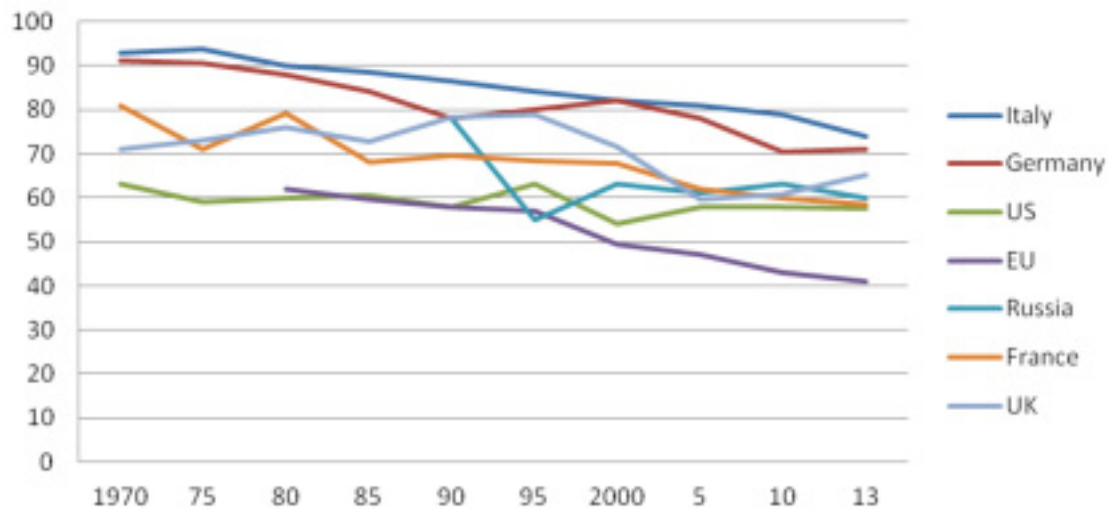
6 Mark Carney, "Growth in the Age of Deleveraging" speech to the Empire Club of Canada/Canadian Club of Toronto, 12 December 2011, available on Bank for International Settlements (BIS) website ([www.bis.org](http://www.bis.org)); C.M. Reinhart and V.R.Reinhart, "After the Fall", Macroeconomic Challenges: The Decade Ahead, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City 2010, Economic Policy Symposium.

7 "What's gone wrong with Democracy", *The Economist*, (March 3, 2014)

8 "What's gone wrong with Democracy", *The Economist*, (March 3, 2014)

9 "Democracy Index 2012", *The Economist Intelligence Unit*, 2013

Voter turnout at parliamentary elections  
Selected countries, % of voting-age population



Source: Census Bureau: parties-and-elections.eu

The internal crises of democracies need to be solved. Political leaders should restore the public's trust and reshape most of their institutions in order to make them lasting and adaptable.

### Progressive Isolation and Hasty Retreat

Democracy looked as though it would dominate the world in the aftermath of the fall of the Iron Curtain. However, it is in a terrible predicament now. The success of democracy has really stalled in the twenty-first century.

At this juncture, it is important to focus on how Western democracies are losing power and influence and how the power shift is happening beyond the U.S. and the EU. American, European, and even Japanese elites and pundits are aware that Western primacy is in decline, provoking a widespread feeling of a dreadful future to come.

Indeed, Western scholars have theorized about the future of the West since the beginning of the twentieth century. Between 1918 and 1923, German historian and philosopher Oswald Spengler wrote *The Decline of the West* in which he presented cyclical theories on history as posited by Machiavelli and also developed by Nietzsche, among others.

In 1994, just at the beginning of the post-Cold War era, Robert Kaplan in his book *The Coming Anarchy* debated about how the end of the Cold War would bring an era of peace in international relations and that the new challenges would not be “ideological,” but that they would deal with issues such as overpopulation and the scarcity of resources. Samuel

Huntington presented his vision two years earlier, in which he stated that the fundamental source of conflict would not be primarily ideological or economic, but cultural, predicting his famous *Clash of Civilizations*. In 1992, the same year that Huntington published his theories, Francis Fukuyama offered a more optimistic approach regarding the future of Western democracies. In his book *The End of History and the Last Man*, he continued with his argument that the end of the Cold War would start “the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.”<sup>10</sup>

In the wake of the fall of the Berlin Wall, it seemed that democracy would be the model all nations would emulate, the natural evolution of mankind.

“[...]a leaderless world is coming, a scenario where the Liberal International Order is going to vanish by its obsolescence; or in a better situation, will only serve to carry on with the emergent power’s economic growth and rising influence”

Nowadays the prediction is different. According to the most prestigious theorists, a leaderless world is coming, a scenario where the liberal international order is going to vanish due to its obsolescence; or in a better situation, it will only serve as a vehicle for the emergent powers' economic growth and rising influence—they are probably not willing to change it as long as it is working for their benefit. According to Ian Bremmer, a lack of global leadership has developed just as growing numbers of transnational problems are gathering momentum; problems such as the turmoil in the Middle East as a result of the Arab Spring, the financial crisis, or climate change<sup>11</sup>.

Along with these facts, the rise of the emergent powers is bringing about a polycentric world, marked by ideological and political diversity. The coming international framework, where there will presumably be several centers of power, will not prevail as a model. Otherwise, an international order to come can be defined by the bilateral interconnections with the Second World, leaving multilateralism on a secondary level. Charles Kupchan has argued that, as the distribution of power shifts, rising states as a matter of course seek to revise the international system in a manner consistent with their own interests and ideological proclivities<sup>12</sup>.

Certainly, the great Western powers, the United States and the European Union, are in retreat, refusing to lead due to several reasons.

On the one hand, the EU is too busy trying to solve the debt crisis and the high rates of unemployment; concurrently the political mainstream of the EU needs to stop the ascension of radical political parties like Jobik in Hungary, National Front in France, or Golden Dawn and Syriza in Greece. Nowadays the Union is enduring the nationalist antagonism that it pretended to eradicate.

First, the debt crisis, that is harming its members, is the top issue for the EU. By 2014, Belgium, Ireland, Portugal, and Greece had sovereign debts of more than 100 percent of their annual GDPs. The unemployment rate in the Eurozone during 2014 has been 11.8 percent according to Eurostat, with Spain (25, 6 percent) and Croatia (17, 5 percent) leading with the worst rates.

As Kupchan has warned, the EU will not look beyond its neighborhood for the next years<sup>13</sup>, which is a huge error, according to the former Chief Executive of the European Defense Agency, Nick Witney, who said; "For Europeans, abandoning any ambition to shape the wider world would

be a major strategic mistake.<sup>14</sup>" The Russian annexation of Crimea and the resulting conflict with the Ukraine have openly shown the weakness of the EU to confront the issue. Whether due to its unwillingness or fear to have a regional war with Russia involved such as in Georgia in 2008, the EU has not carried out significant actions in support of the Ukraine. On May 13, 2014, the European Commission approved a series of steps in order to "make sure that Ukraine has all the support it needs, in the short and long term, to undertake the political and economic reforms that are necessary to consolidate a democratic, independent, united and prosperous Ukraine.<sup>15</sup>" However, such actions have not stopped the conflict between the pro-Russian militia (which is supported by the Kremlin) and the Ukrainian government.

Second, the ascension of populist movements within Europe's borders may be a disturbing reminiscence of the 1930s. These radical movements also constitute evidence of the disaffection between the public and the European project. No matter if it is the extreme left or the extreme right, these movements seek to eliminate the EU's financial and power structures; at the top of their agenda: the euro, the European Central Bank, the European Commission, and obviously, as the second stage, they aspire to lead their countries with non-democratic models, or with hybrid systems far from the Western formula and closer to South American populism.

Third, the distrust regarding the jurisdiction of the EU is growing among the citizenry. A survey among readers of *Die Welt* conducted in 2009, found that seventy-four percent of Germans think that the EU "takes too many powers away from Germany.<sup>16</sup>" According to the survey of the Ipsos-Stearns Institute published by *Le Monde*, eighty-five percent of French believe that the EU does not protect their economic interests sufficiently and only thirty-nine percent believe that membership in this institution is good for the country<sup>17</sup>. In the U.K., a *YouGov* poll conducted in 2014 revealed that thirty-six percent of Britons support leaving the EU<sup>18</sup>.

Therefore, the EU is not assuming the leading role that the West once expected. Ten years ago, the EU was expected to take a paramount role in the international arena, and its model was supposed to be exportable to Asia. Due to the debt crisis, its international involvement is progressively irrelevant, which makes the West weaker. In addition, its economy is, for better or worse, interdependent with its allies. About this

11 Ian Bremmer, "From G8 to G20 to G-Zero: Why no one wants to take charge in the new global order", *New Statesman*, (June 11, 2013) <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/politics/2013/06/g8-g20-g-zero-why-no-one-wants-to-charge-new-global-order>

12 Charles Kupchan, "Reordering Order: Global Change and the Need for a New Normative Consensus", *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World*, Transatlantic Academy (May 2014)

13 Charles Kupchan, "Reordering Order: Global Change and the Need for a New Normative Consensus", *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World*, Transatlantic Academy (May 2014)

14 Nick Witney "Hard truths about Europe's soft power", *Europe's World*, (February 24, 2014)

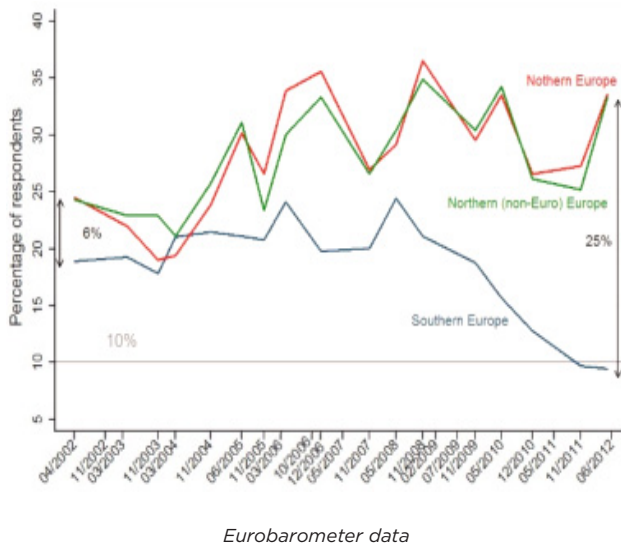
15 European Commission's support for Ukraine, European Commission - MEMO/14/279, (May 13, 2014)

16 Thomas Landen, "Shrinking Germany", *Gatestone Institute*, (May 8, 2009) <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/496/shrinking-germany>

17 Henry Samuel "French poll shows majority think their country is in decline", *The Daily Telegraph*, (January 21, 2014)

18 William Jordan "EU Referendum: Record Lead for Staying in Europe", *YouGov*, (June 17, 2014) <http://yougov.co.uk/news/2014/06/17/eu-referendum-record-lead/>

## Trust in Political Parties



Eurobarometer data

concern, as economist Willem Buiter has warned<sup>19</sup> that if the euro were to collapse, economists estimate it would cause an economic crash that would cost some of its member states forty percent of their GDP and would result in a ten percent loss of global GDP; consequently many American banks would be unlikely to survive. Besides, an unruly Greek exit from the euro zone could cause an eight-time collateral damage than the Lehman Brothers bankruptcy, according to the estimation by the McKinsey Global Institute<sup>20</sup>. As Niall Ferguson has highlighted<sup>21</sup>, if correct decisions are not carried out, the EU can disintegrate.

On the other hand, the U.S. is not anchoring the Western world any longer. The strategy in the international arena is apparently moving toward an isolationist approach and the consequences of such a policy may lead to a dangerous world for democracies. In the words of former Germany foreign minister Joschka Fischer<sup>22</sup>, “the U.S. is no longer willing or able to be the world’s policeman.”

Robert Kagan, among others, has brilliantly explained that current U.S. president, Barack Obama, is withdrawing American power in the world, applying isolationist approaches that would finally leave a world less secure<sup>23</sup>. Some highlighting

19 Willem Buiter, “The terrible consequences of a eurozone collapse”, *Financial Times*, (December 7, 2011) <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/6cf8ce18-2042-11e1-9878-00144feabd0.html#axzz3CoPWazeH>

20 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012) p. vi.

21 Niall Ferguson, “Why E.U. collapse is more likely than the fall of the euro”, *The Washington Post*, (November 18, 2011)

22 “El agobio de Occidente” Joschka Fischer, *El País*, (August 31, 2014)

23 Robert Kagan, “The Ambivalent Superpower”, *POLITICO MAGAZINE*, (February 27, 2014) <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/02/united-states-ambivalent-superpower-103860.html#.VA7a-lcqPxU>

examples are the intervention in Libya, the non-attack to Syria, the Geneva agreement with Iran, and the lack of a conclusive response to the Crimean crisis. In this vein, an empty position in the global leadership will probably be swiftly filled up by other powers, or in a worse scenario, lead to global leaderless. Scholar Stewart Patrick has already argued that the U.S., anyway, is not able to face all the current challenges by itself. Undoubtedly, the U.S. needs help from its allies.

As it happened to Europe and to the rest of Western countries, the 2008 financial crisis has also damaged the power and influence of the U.S., proving that the economic performance is a matter of Western weakness. The U.S. public-held debt in 1998 was 5.526 trillion dollars, rising to 17.156 trillion in 2013, a 111, 72 percent increase in relation to GDP. Such astonishing figures have led to domestic political polarization, which provoked, among other developments, the shutdown of the federal government in 2013 for seventeen days. In regards to that economic issue, Mike Mullen, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, warned that, “debt is the biggest threat to U.S. national security<sup>24</sup>”

As we will see, the huge debt has also provoked the military retreat of U.S. international foreign policy. Stuart Gottlieb, a former democratic adviser and professor of American Foreign Policy and International Security at the University of Columbia, has pointed out<sup>25</sup>; “The U.S. need to get out of dire humanitarian missions [as the conflict in Somalia in 1993], in which 18 soldiers were killed, was clear. But this withdrawal came accompanied by a huge strategic error: emboldened the narrative of the emerging network of al-Qaeda that America was a paper tiger, which set the stage for the terrorist attacks of 1990 and September 11, 2001.” Recent history has certainly taught that when the U.S. goes into a retreat policy, the most violent regimes and other militant groups exploit the vacuum. Thus, after First World War, the U.S. decided to go into isolation; after Second World War, it drastically reduced the size of its troops; after the unpopular war in Vietnam, successive administrations were less encouraged to launch wars. The consequences of these withdrawals are widely known, especially after First World War. Nonetheless, the trend to isolationism keeps on going. A Pew Research Center poll in 2014 revealed that fifty-two percent of Americans believed that the U.S. “should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.” Both on the left and on the right, Americans are questioning the benefits of the current world order and the competence of its architects, as Walter Russell Mead has asserted<sup>26</sup>.

24 “Mullen: Debt is top national security” CNN, (August 27, 2010) <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/US/08/27/debt.security.mullen/>

25 Stuart Gottlieb, “What if U.S. stops policing the world?”, CNN, (September 19, 2012) <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/09/18/opinion/gottlieb-us-retrenchment/>

26 Walter Russell Mead “The Return of Geopolitics”, *Foreign Affairs*, (May-June 2014 Issue)

Certainly, besides the tension that might arise between the West and the BRICS—for instance, China and Japan, the second and the third largest economies in the world, are under a high risk of military confrontation for the Senkaku/Diayou islands—there is a primary defense threat posed by the Middle East turmoil and the rising influence of Islamist groups in the Maghreb and North Africa. French president François Hollande was clear when he launched a war in Mali to prevent “a terrorist state at the doorstep of France and Europe.” The West has to be ready for this kind of intervention. As Kagan has reminded<sup>27</sup>, if the U.S. reduces its international role in the Middle East, the next quarter century is going to be “very messy.” Yet it is not only a matter of facing the threats to the West, it is also about the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine, which has been an outstanding commitment of Western nations since the end of Second World War, although it was unanimously accepted by most countries in the 2000s.

### Retreating Forces: A Spiral of Disarmament

Nonetheless, the military power shift is not going to be as fast as the economic one has been. The military balance is still on the West’s side and, according to analysts’ forecast; it can be maintained for a longer period. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), in 2010 sixty-three percent of the global military spending was accounted by the U.S., Japan, and Western European countries<sup>28</sup>. The SIPRI report<sup>29</sup> ‘*Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2013*’, published in April 2014, states that military spending continues to fall in the West but it is rising everywhere else. In this regard, the next three highest spenders—China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia—have all made substantial increases, “with Saudi Arabia leapfrogging the United Kingdom, Japan, and France to become the world’s fourth largest military spender<sup>30</sup>.” As the report reveals, China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia are among the twenty-three countries around the world that have more than doubled their military expenditure since 2004<sup>31</sup>. According to Dr. Sam Perlo-Freeman, director of SIPRI’s Military Expenditure Program, “the increase in military spending in emerging and developing countries continues unabated<sup>32</sup>.” Perlo-Freeman has also noted that, “The in-

crease is mostly accounted for by a 7.4 % increase by China, whose spending reached an estimated \$188 billion. Territorial disputes with China are driving military spending increases in countries such as the Philippines and Viet Nam.<sup>33</sup>”

However, despite the West’s technological superiority, operational experience, and global reach, the emerging powers, China and Russia on top of them, are increasing their military spending; as the SIPRI report informs, the five world’s leading military powers in 2013 were the United States, China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and France<sup>34</sup>.

Even though the West’s military power is superior compared to the emerging powers’ level, history has proved that a strong army has to go along with a strong economic structure able to adapt its industries rapidly<sup>35</sup>. It is worrisome to see that Western countries are not precisely adapting their economies to stronger structures. On the contrary, the West is mired in a spiral of disarmament, which is also producing a cycle of deindustrialization. The foundation of military power is ultimately economic strength<sup>36</sup>.

A strong manufacturing base, the production of high-technology goods, the output in steel and shipbuilding industries are indicators of the military structure.

Regarding high-tech goods, China increased its share of global exports from six percent in 1970 to twenty percent in 2008, while the U.S., the EU and Japan declined from fifty-five percent to thirty-nine percent during the same period, according to the National Science Foundation<sup>37</sup>.

As for steel production, the U.S. production dropped from 100 million tons in 1980 to 80 million by 2012, whereas China increased from 40 million tons to 600 million tons and India from 10 to 65 million tons during the same period, according to the World Steel Association<sup>38</sup>.

On shipbuilding, the figures follow the same trend: the production has moved from the West to the East. By 2009, according to World Fleet Statistics<sup>39</sup>, Asia increased to 70 mil-

27 Robert Kagan, “The Ambivalent Superpower”, *POLITICO MAGAZINE*, (February 27, 2014) [http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/02/united-states-ambivalent-superpower-103860.html#.VA7a\\_lcqPxU](http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/02/united-states-ambivalent-superpower-103860.html#.VA7a_lcqPxU)

28 “Military Expenditure Data, 2001-10,” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (2011) <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2011/04/04A>

29 “**Trends in world military expenditure, 2013**”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (April 2014) [http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=476](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=476)

30 “**Trends in world military expenditure, 2013**”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (April 2014) [http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=476](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=476)

31 “**Trends in world military expenditure, 2013**”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (April 2014) [http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=476](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=476)

32 “**Trends in world military expenditure, 2013**”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (April 2014) [http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=476](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=476)

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33 “**Trends in world military expenditure, 2013**”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (April 2014) [http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=476](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=476)

34 “**Trends in world military expenditure, 2013**”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (April 2014) [http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=476](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=476)

35 Charles Kupchan “No One’s World”, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.80.

36 Charles Kupchan “No One’s World”, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.80.

37 National Science Foundation “Science and Engineering Indicators, 2010” (January 2010) <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/seind10/pdfstart.htm>

38 “World Steel Statistics data in 2013”, World Steel Association, (January 23 2014) <http://www.worldsteel.org/dms/internetDocumentList/press-release-downloads/2013/2013-Statistics-Tables/document/2013%20Statistics%20Tables.pdf>

39 Lloyd’s Register of Shipping’s “World Fleet Statistics”( October 11,

**“China will spend 148.000 billion in defense during 2014, a budget surpassed only by U.S. Meanwhile, the Russian military spending, the third on the top world military spending, as noted before, is also growing rapidly, up to 78,000 billion in 2014.”**

lion gross tons, while the rest of the world combined was less than 7 million gross tons.

Currently, the EU and the U.S. are carrying on a process of disarmament in the context of growing instability and widespread resetting of emerging and regional powers.

In 2010, former U.S. secretary of Defense Robert Gates warned; “the demilitarization of Europe—where large swaths of the general public and political class are averse to military force and the risks that go with it—has gone from a blessing in the twentieth century to an impediment to achieving real security and lasting peace in the twenty-first,” Nonetheless, the process of disarmament is still ongoing.

The U.K. plans to reduce its forces by 30,000 troops, risking to be “hollowed out,” as General Nick Houghton has warned<sup>40</sup>. France, according to the Military Programming Law passed in December 2013, aims to reduce staff levels in 23,500 forces by 2019, which is added to a cut approved in 2009 to reduce 54,000 people<sup>41</sup>. Meanwhile, Germany will cut 65,000 forces by 2017, under a plan euphemistically called *Neuausrichtung* (reorganization)<sup>42</sup>. In the Netherlands, there are simply no tanks. Spain has reduced the defense budget for 2014 to 0.57% of GDP (5.745 billion euros), an amount which makes it impossible to keep a professional army<sup>43</sup>.

European cuts on defense budgets contrast with the increasing military spending in countries such as China, India, or Russia — despite the fact that Europe spends three times more on defense than what Russia does. According to *IHS Jane’s* information<sup>44</sup>, China will spend \$148 billion in defense during 2014, a budget surpassed only by the United States. Meanwhile, Russian military spending, the top third military spending in the world, as noted before, is also growing rapidly, up to \$78 billion in 2014.

This retreat has also affected the Atlantic Alliance. In 2011, during the Munich Security Conference, NATO’s Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen warned that the defense spending of European partners had decreased \$45 billion in just two years, something equivalent to the defense budget of Germany, which currently spends \$40 billion dollars<sup>45</sup>.

Defense cuts also produce a loss of influence. As Witney has emphasized, if Europe wants to be able to assert its influence and values, it requires military power<sup>46</sup>.

Nonetheless, the U.S. is making the most troublesome defense cuts. In fact, U.S. secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel’s plan to reduce the Army to the smallest fighting force since before World War II. The cut is to be applied on reducing the number of soldiers and spending, above all. The size of the U.S. Army will be reduced from currently 520,000 soldiers to between 440,000 and 450,000 soldiers. Military spending will be reduced \$34 billion in relation to 2011<sup>47</sup>.

Yet Hagel has not announced it very optimistically. Hagel has warned that, “budget reductions inevitably reduce the military’s margin of error in dealing with these risks, as other powers are continuing to modernize their weapons portfolios [...] As a consequence of large budget cuts, our future force will assume additional risk in certain areas.” In the same vein, Witney has declared, “In short, failing to take defense seriously risks turning threats into reality.”<sup>48</sup>

As one of the main consequences of these cuts, the U.S. Army is regrouping its troops deployed around the world. The largest permanent stationing of troops will remain in Japan and South Korea, with nearly 75,000 soldiers, followed by Europe with some 66,000 troops (mostly just over 42,000 in Germany), and Kuwait and Bahrain, where 16,000 remain. The rest—the majority—will be coming home to Hawaii or Alaska.

2010) <http://www.shipbuildinghistory.com/today/statistics/world.htm>

40 Nick Witney “Hard truths about Europe’s soft power”, *Europe’s World*, (February 24, 2014)

41 Álvaro Silva de Soto, “Europa Indefensa” Esglobal, (March 5, 2014) <http://www.esglobal.org/europa-indefensa/>

42 Álvaro Silva de Soto, “Europa Indefensa” Esglobal, (March 5, 2014) <http://www.esglobal.org/europa-indefensa/>

43 Álvaro Silva de Soto, “Europa Indefensa” Esglobal, (March 5, 2014) <http://www.esglobal.org/europa-indefensa/>

44 Edward Wong, “China Announces 12.2% Increase in Military Budget” *The New York Times*, (March 5, 2014)

45 “Building security in an age of austerity” Keynote speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the 2011 Munich Security Conference, NATO, (February 5, 2011) [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions\\_70400.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_70400.htm)

46 Nick Witney “Hard truths about Europe’s soft power”, *Europe’s World*, (February 24, 2014)

47 Mario Saavedra, “¿Se prepara EE. UU. para una época de paz a toda costa?”, Esglobal, (March 4, 2014) <http://www.esglobal.org/se-prepara-estados-unidos-para-una-epoca-de-paz-a-toda-costa/>

48 Nick Witney “Hard truths about Europe’s soft power”, *Europe’s World*, (February 24, 2014)

Unequivocally, America is in retreat. The Walter A. Haas professor in Humanities at Stanford University Russell Berman has argued<sup>49</sup> that the Obama Administration is abandoning the promotion of democracy—a traditional policy from Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush—and in consequence “no dictator should ever be afraid again.” Russell has openly advocated for the restoration of American leadership in the international arena in favor of “democratic aspirations,” otherwise, other forces come forward to fill the gap.

As an alternative to the loss of funds in the West’s defense budgets, European countries are proposing, in order to meet their security obligations, the concept of Smart Defense, but all the responsibilities cannot rely on a concept to develop as such. In order to handle regional or global threats, an acceptable number of troops and qualified workforce are essential to shape a defense structure.

The reality is clear: Western military power is declining while Russia and China’s are expanding. However, a joint venture launched by greater democratic military powers can balance the lack of adaptation of the economies and the growing military power of Russia and China.

Considering the coming framework, it is worth noting that the Hobbesian “common power to keep them all in awe,” argued in 1984 by Charles Lipson, co-director of the Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security at the University of Chicago<sup>50</sup>, does not preclude the establishment of effective joint controls of the international environment. On the contrary, it may derive in global anarchy. It is crucial to emphasize that, in the coming years, as many pundits have warned, the emerging powers will assert new geopolitical aspirations and develop the necessary military means to achieve them.

### The Rising Powers and the Tectonic Change to Come

Notwithstanding, the tectonic change to come will also be marked, of course, by the rise of the emerging powers. The so-called BRICS and other rising countries, such as Turkey or Mexico, are experiencing an increased growth of global power and influence. Leaving aside the issues of economic domination and regression of democracy and human rights, the competition for natural and energy resources, or international disagreements on security issues can be a matter of conflict for the emerging powers in the future.

Along these lines, the first sign of the power shift nowadays is the economic growth of emerging powers. According to predictions, emerging powers will tend to be among the world’s top economies in the next decades.

49 Russell Berman “In Retreat: America’s Withdrawal from the Middle East” (California: Hoover Institution at Leland Stanford Junior University, 2014)

50 Charles Lipson, “International Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs”, *World Politics*, (1984)

As for 2010, four of the world’s top five economies world were still democracies (USA, Germany, Japan, and France). According to a Goldman Sachs forecast<sup>51</sup>, by 2032, the collective economic output of the top four emerging countries, China, Russia, Brazil, and India, will match that of the G-7 countries (USA, Germany, Canada, France, Japan, Italy, and United Kingdom.) By 2050, the four top economies will be the current emerging powers aforementioned: China (today it is in second place,) India, Brazil, and Russia.

A similar forecast can be seen in trade and finance. Citibank analysts have argued<sup>52</sup> that, by 2030, trade between Advanced Asia and Emerging Asia is forecast to be by far the largest trade corridor, accounting for sixteen percent of the world’s trade, up from ten percent in 2010. According the IMF Direction of Trade Statics database<sup>53</sup>, the Intra-Asia trade has raised from 200 billion dollars in 2000 to 700 billion dollars in 2011.

Regarding finance, the World Bank has predicted<sup>54</sup> a relatively rapid decline in the dollar’s dominance as the global reserve currency, foreseeing a three-currency world formed by the dollar, the euro, and the renminbi — the currency trade of the Chinese renminbi has raised from 34 billion dollar in 2010 to 134 billion in 2013.

The U.S., the EU, and Japan’s share of global income is projected to fall from fifty-six percent today to well under half by 2030<sup>55</sup>. In 2008, China took over the U.S. as the world’s largest saver. By 2020, the emerging markets’ share of financial assets is projected to almost double<sup>56</sup>.

According to the World Bank baseline modeling of future economic multipolarity, China will contribute about one third of global growth by 2025, far more than any other economy<sup>57</sup>.

Western democracies are certainly immersed in a wave of progressive isolation. They are a minority in the international arena and the current trend points to a power shift in favor of emerging powers. China and Russia, as the major powers beyond the West and followed by India and the rest of the rising nations, show open economic cooperation with

51 Charles Kupchan, “Reordering Order: Global Change and the Need for a New Normative Consensus”, *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World*, Transatlantic Academy (May 2014)

52 “Global Themes Strategy” Citigroup Global Markets, (October 17, 2011) <http://fa.morganstanleyindividual.com/public/projectfiles/20f58b5f-3d4e-40d8-99f9-6914ff6c73980.pdf>

53 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012)

54 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012)

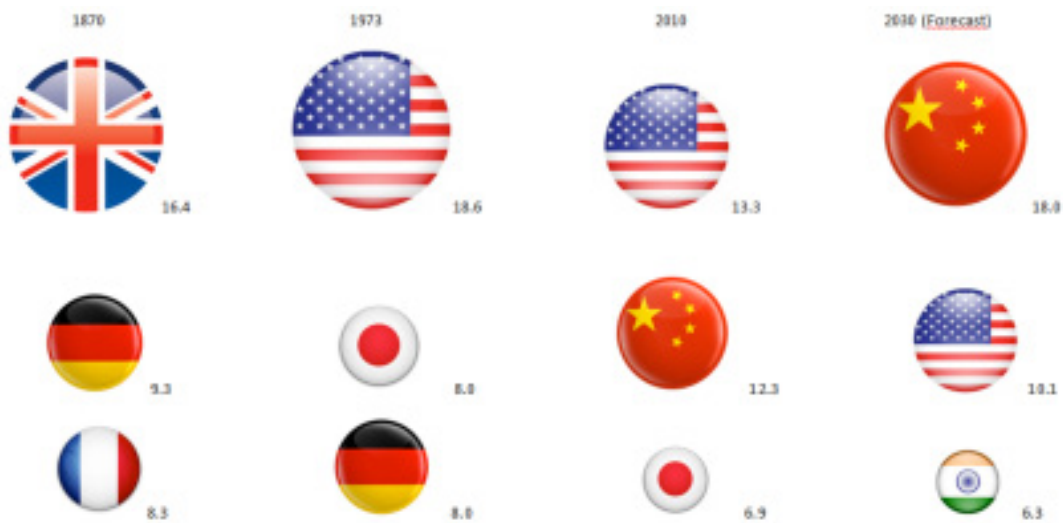
55 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012)

56 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012)

57 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012) p.44



Top three countries by economic dominance, %share of global economic power (GDP, Trade and net capital exports)



the West, but when it comes to human rights, promotion of democracy, security, and liberties, disagreements are constantly flaring up.

Amid these developments, the strategy of Western democracies is apparently to not demand compromises from the emerging powers to promote liberties, to protect human rights and to adapt their institutions to democratic-like models. Paradoxically, classic liberalism has boosted the revival of China, India or Brazil, countries that do not apply liberal values as a whole, just on the areas where they can reap advantages, such as in the economic realm. As G. John Ikenberry has noted<sup>58</sup>, China, India, and Brazil grew within the liberal order and have deep stakes in its stable continuation. They are also quite dependent on the cooperation with the West for stabilizing far-flung regions on which they rely for energy and other imports.

Gideon Rachman pointed out<sup>59</sup> that Bill Clinton and George W. Bush adopted a similar approach on globalization. They thought that globalization and free trade went to serve as a vehicle to export American values worldwide. In 1999, two years before China joined the WTO, Bush said; “Economic freedom creates habits of liberty. And habits of liberty create expectations of democracy ... If we trade freely with China; the time will act on our behalf.”

Contrary to what was thought at the time; globalization has not spread Western values according to Rachman. It has just served as a booster for the economy of emerging powers, which provided bigger and cheaper labor forces and have now become the manufacturing headquarters for global goods.

Consequently, the emerging powers, aware of the West’s situation, are moving ahead to accelerate the power shift. Walter Russell Mead has argued that, in very different ways, China, Iran, and Russia are all seeking to revise the *status quo*<sup>60</sup>, pushing back against the political settlement of the Cold War. The National Intelligence Council’s report *Global Trends 2030* has forecasted the coming multipolarity, anticipating a power shift as much for non-state actors and fast-growing countries<sup>61</sup>.

The former member of the State Department’s policy planning staff, Ash Jain, has noted that the economic cooperation between the West and China and Russia, at a second level with the rest of the BRICS, has been fostered under the liberal economic order set since the end of World War II; an order where international trade and investment are dependent and, as such, the emerging powers are interested in sustaining it. Mainly, because to this liberal formula that the BRICS have enormously risen in the wake of the end of the Cold War. The avenues of cooperation in economic matters with Western countries are not to decline, presumably. However, as Jain has asserted, the situation is qualitatively different when it comes

58 Bruce Jones, “The West Enduring Importance”, Brookings, (May 13, 2014) <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2014/05/13-west-enduring-importance-jones>

59 Gideon Rachman, “Think Again: American Decline”, *Foreign Policy*, (January 2, 2011)

60 Walter Russell Mead “The Return of Geopolitics”, *Foreign Affairs*, (May-June 2014 Issue)

61 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012) p.vii

to political and security cooperation. Despite cooperation with Russia and China, above all in several significant multilateral initiatives, such as nuclear talks with Iran; or threats issues emanating from non-state actors such as drugs, piracy or terrorism, the different approaches are focused on the expansion of democracy, the prevention of violation of human rights or the treatment of rogue states.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to emphasize that a stable global economy is also a matter of security. In this regard, the security of the international trade system since the end of the Second World War has been provided by the U.S. Navy. This fact does not seem to change while it serves economic purposes, such as guaranteeing safe trade. But what will happen when the emerging powers lead the global economy or when they do not need the security resources to guarantee their transactions?

### Russia and China, and the Rising Rest

Russia has been recovering from the astounding depths of economic collapse that came with the end of the Soviet Union. From 1999 to 2008, Russia went from being the world's twenty-second largest economy to become the eighth. However, the 2008 financial crisis charged a heavy price to the Russian economy, drastically diminishing foreign investment. Despite this recession, the World Bank estimates that Russia is now projecting 2.5 percent average annual GDP growth from 2014 to 2030. Russia also provides about a quarter of the natural gas consumed by EU members; eighty percent of those exports travel through pipelines across Ukrainian soil prior to arriving to EU member states<sup>62</sup>.

Russia may be not as powerful as it pretends in economic terms (Russia's GDP is 2.1 trillion dollars compared to the 17.5 trillion of the U.S. economy and China's 10 trillion,) but the opposite happens in the political and military areas.

Thus Moscow is taking position in order to gain power in Europe and Asia. Leaving aside the annexation of Crimea, Russia is promoting the creation of a Customs Union between Belarus and Kyrgyzstan, which seeks to be a political union with Armenia and Tajikistan by 2015.

Russia is also extending its influence across South America. Moscow has signed arms deals with anti-Western governments: Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua (that, in addition to Bolivia, constitute the block of South American countries that voted not to recognize any change in the status of Crimea at the U.N. General Assembly.) Russia is intensifying contacts with other South American countries in the international forums.

62 Stepan Kravchenko and Scott Rose "Russia Forecasts Losing Ground in Global Economy by 2030" *Bloomberg*, (November 7, 2013) <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-11-07/russia-forecasts-losing-ground-in-global-economy-by-2030.html>

**“The Russian growing military presence in South America can be a new main focus on global tension between Washington and Moscow with unpredictable consequences.”**

For example, the bilateral relations with Venezuela are strong and Russian investment in oil and gas goes on. Venezuela supported Russia after the breakout of the Crimea annexation and the late Hugo Chavez declared in 2008 that both countries “share a common view of the world.” Brazil, “the colossus of the South,” has constantly supported Russia at the BRICS forum (BRICS are also supportive of Russian participation in the G-20).

The strategy is unraveling day by day: Russia is trying to increase its global reach through anti-Western South American countries. In February 2014, the Russian foreign ministry announced negotiations to establish military bases in Latin America. Despite Putin's denial, the Russian newspaper *Kommersant* revealed (quoting Russian intelligence sources) that an old spy station is going to be reopened in Cuba, as Putin and Raul Castro had agreed<sup>63</sup>. The Russian growing military presence in South America can be a new main focus of global tension between Washington and Moscow with unpredictable consequences. The combination of Russian ambition and U.S. restraint could create space for new “confrontations by proxy.”

Regarding internal affairs, the Kremlin is imprisoning political activists. It is also legislating against sexual freedom and placing the situation of human rights in Russia years back. The Kremlin has also used anti-Western rhetoric after the Ukraine crisis.

Moreover, Russia has key geopolitical tools, such as a large army, nuclear weapons, and veto power in the U.N. Security Council. According to Bruce Jones, professor at the Freeman Spogli Institute of Stanford University, after its economic recovery, Russia is trying to use the global financial crisis to weaken the West<sup>64</sup>.

63 Alec Luhn, “Russia to reopen spy base in Cuba as relations with US continue to sour”

*The Guardian* (July 16, 2014) <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/16/russia-reopening-spy-base-cuba-us-relations-sour>

64 Bruce Jones, “The West Enduring Importance” Canadian International Council (May 13, 2014) <http://open.canada.org/features/the-think-tank/>

Lastly, as Fukuyama has pointed out<sup>65</sup> that, “Russia is a menacing electoral authoritarian regime fueled by petrodollars, seeking to bully its neighbors and take back territories lost when the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991.”

On the other hand, China, which is the second largest economy in the world, will be, according to all forecasts, the major power in the world to come.

In 2002, the Dean of the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, Harry Harding made such an accurate prediction<sup>66</sup>:

“China appears to be emerging as a major power. It possesses a huge population and a strategic location. It has developed nuclear weapons, and the means for delivering them. It occupies one of the permanent seats in the United Nations Security Council. And, for the last two decades, it has been engaged in a concerted effort at economic reform and development, through a strategy of integration with the regional and global economies. That has made it a major trading nation, one of the top destinations of foreign direct investment, and increasingly a source of capital as well. It has also given the Chinese government the resources to devote to the modernization of its armed forces.”

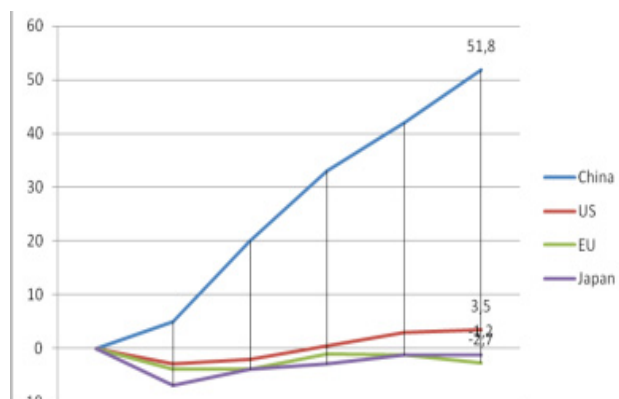
Harding also argued that China was concerned on how to fit into the multilateral international order, despite having been historically very skeptical of being part of it.

China is by far the largest economy of the emerging powers and has always maintained the highest growth rates, not only in the last decade, but for over the last thirty years. Through constant and massive economic stimulus, China could avert the effects of the 2008 global financial crisis standing as an economic power able to face and overcome great crises, in contrast to the weakness in Western economies.

For 2013, China targeted its growth goal to 7.5 percent. Meanwhile the Eurozone grew 0, 3 percent and the U.S. 4, 1 percent in the same year. In addition, due to China’s lowest level of growth in more than two decades, the Communist Party has already planned structural reforms to allow the country to remain in the growth column for years to come. However, there are warning signs emerging about China’s debt levels that could lead to a deeper slowdown.

World Bank modeling suggests that China and India together will become nearly twice the engine for growth than the United States and the Eurozone combined by 2025. In 2030, according to the estimation based on the Market Exchange

GDP Growth  
% change 1Q 2008 - 1Q 2013



Source: Eurostat and China Bureau of Statistics

Rate, China’s GDP is likely to be about 140 percent larger than Japan’s<sup>67</sup>.

China is not precisely advancing to democracy —neither is Russia. The Chinese Communist Party is leading a totalitarian regime that censors the press, does not allow free elections, and actively avoids the advance of civil liberties. Similar to the Russian case, the political opposition languishes in prisons.

The state-capitalism economic formula is thriving tremendously. This formula is gaining popularity among the Chinese people, mainly because of the stability it offers in comparison with the turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa as well as the economic difficulties Western democracies are enduring. In an apparent self-contradiction, the Chinese government is aware of public opinion —one of the consequences of the strict communications control. In 2013, the Pew Survey of Global Attitudes revealed that 85 percent of Chinese were “very satisfied” with their country’s direction. On the same line, Zhang Weiwei, a Fudan University professor, has argued that democracy is destroying the West, because it “institutionalizes gridlock”. The Dean of the School of International Studies at Peking University Wang Jisi has stated that, “many developed countries that have introduced Western values and political systems are experiencing disorder and chaos, and China offers an alternative model.” As journalist Hoyt Hilsman has argued for much of the non-Western, non-industrialized world, China presents a shining example of the strength of non-democratic systems<sup>68</sup>. Yoon Young-Kwan coincides with the same lines arguing that China’s confidence in its authoritarian development model has grown stronger, and

comments/the-wests-enduring-importance/

65 “At the ‘End of History’ Still Stands Democracy”, Francis Fukuyama, *The Wall Street Journal*, (June 6, 2014)

66 Harry Hardin, “China and the International Order”, U.S Department of State, (April 3, 2002) <http://2001-2009.state.gov/s/p/of/proc/tr/11589.htm>

67 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012) p.45

68 “What’s gone wrong with Democracy”, *The Economist*, (March 3, 2014)

as a result, its leaders increasingly appear to believe now that a new “Beijing Consensus” of mercantilism and state intervention has replaced the old “Washington Consensus” of free trade and deregulation<sup>69</sup>.

China’s rising power worldwide is also quite evident. In 2004, Hu Jintao, then primer minister of China, visited South America and promised to extend loans to the value of \$100 billion. In addition, trade between China and South America has expanded 2,500 percent between 2000 and 2012. According to the World Bank, from 1994 to 2004, China’s contribution represents fifty-eight percent of the loans extended from rich countries to the poor. As historian Henry Kamen put it<sup>70</sup>, by many indirect ways besides capital investment, by providing medical aid and weapons to many countries and by forging good diplomatic ties with countries that the United States tends to marginalize, China is beginning to claim a vital part of the global economy.

As noted, China is also provoking certain security risks. China has not hidden its aspirations in the South China Sea and the eventual conflicts with Japan in this area -- though China is a giant more focused on interests-outcomes policies in the international arena than on being a troublemaker. China is also implementing the “near-seas defense,” which consists on developing credible operational capabilities against potential opponents in China’s three near-seas: the South-China Sea, the East-China Sea, and the Yellow Sea<sup>71</sup>.

However, Lanxin Xiang has warned<sup>72</sup> that the most current discussions in the West about the “Rise of China” are flawed, for they tend to focus on how much China would be willing to “accommodate” in the existing international order. More accurately, China is seeking a partial way: integration and resistance in the international order at the same time. It is a strange, unpredictable game.

Due to the expansion of these two giants, China and Russia, Western democracies need an international institutional vehicle for Western democracies to defend their interests and reduce the abuses and excesses of China and Russia’s annexing territories, seizing natural resources, or violating human rights. In this regard, according to vice president for the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom David Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, James Jay Carafano, an emerging friendship among like-minded nations could be a winner for Asia, especially China; a coalition of democracies committed to peace, prosperity, and the flourishing of freedom could

generate a tide that would lift all countries along the South China Sea<sup>73</sup>.

China will continue to work with Russia where their interests overlap, but the notion that China is going to be led by Russia into an anti-Western bloc is ludicrous. China has far too much to lose according to Bruce Jones, senior fellow and director of the Project on International Order and Strategy at the Brookings Institution. However, it does not mean China will change its political system or that it will renounce to its powerful economy or its territorial claims. China is not going to apply Western formulas regarding liberties and elections, and will keep halting opposites and calls for a democratic change.

As a bridge between the West and the East, Turkey has been losing its role as a Muslim moderate and democratic country. Turkey has large armed forces, second in size after the U.S. in NATO, which makes it a geostrategic player in world affairs. Despite the treaties that Turkey has signed with NATO, Ankara is under the threat of Islamization. During the winter of 2014, after the turmoil initiated by the unrest of the Occupy Gezi movement, the Turkish government shut down Twitter and other social media platforms. The totalitarian regression of the Erdogan’s government is quite patent and the country has continued to incarcerate journalists at an alarming rate. Within an energy framework, Turkey is also a very important player. Besides, Turkey could balance Russia in the Caucasus and it guards the security of the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline.

Turkey is after all an important strategic partner for the West. Besides its location and its position as a Muslim democracy, Turkey is also a rising economy, According to *The Financial Times*, in 2011 with a GDP growth of eight percent, Turkey was the second country with the highest economic growth, second only to China. The relevance of the Turkish domestic market growth is remarkable for European markets thanks to the European Union Association Agreement (EUAA)—Turkey in force since 1996, which guarantees the free movement of goods between Europe and Turkey for most items, with the exception of agricultural products and the manufacturing of coal and steel.

Russia, China, and the other emerging powers do not have the developing levels of Western countries yet. Nevertheless, due their growth power, they can become models to other developing countries, creating a Second World not guided by Western standards.

Asia will have surpassed North America and Europe combined in terms of global power, based on GDP, population size, military spending, and technological investment<sup>74</sup>.

69 Yoon Young-Kwan, “Asia’s Military Revolution”, , *Project Syndicate*, (July 3, 2014) <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/yoon-young-kwan-traces-the-region-s-growing-tensions-to-its-leaders--failure-to-build-multilateral-institutions>

70 Henry Kamen, “China, el dragón resucitado”, *El Mundo*, (November 13, 2006)

71 Charles Kupchan “No One’s World”, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.83.

72 Lanxin Xiang, “China and the International Liberal (Western) Order”, *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World*, Transatlantic Academy (May 2014)

73 James Jay Carafano, “Coalition of democracies key to getting China to behave” *The Heritage Foundation*, (December 16, 2013) <http://www.heritage.org/research/commentary/2013/12/coalition-of-democracies-key-to-getting-china-to-behave>

74 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, *The National*

In addition, by 2030, the Goldman Sachs “Next Eleven” (Bangladesh, Mexico, Iran, Turkey, South Korea, The Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Egypt) will collectively overtake the EU-27 in global power<sup>75</sup>. To this concern, the National Power Index released by the Atlantic Council foresees<sup>76</sup> that, by 2040, China will be at the top of the list, followed by India, ranked third; Russia, seventh; and Brazil, tenth.

John McCain, who has theorized about a U.S.-led coalition of democracies, has also emphasized that power is moving to the East. Concretely, power is currently going away from the West as well.

According to political scientist and director of the Global Governance Initiative at the New America Foundation Parag Khanna, the emerging powers are redefining the competition on the twentieth century<sup>77</sup>. Amid ongoing competition in all the regions of the, named by Khanna, the Second World, the international order is going to change and it will depend on how the three powers (the U.S., the EU, and China) deal with the Second World. The Forum of Democracies, in this regard, could merge the U.S. and the EU’s most powerful countries and attract those countries of the Second World, which could fall under the influence of emerging powers such as China or Russia.

Along the same lines, Simon Serfaty, senior professor of U.S. Foreign Policy with the Graduate Program in International Studies at Old Dominion University, has asserted that the trip into a new, post-Western order will be more chaotic if the West loses its security and cohesion<sup>78</sup>.

Brazil, India, and South Africa, while not considered authoritarian regimes—but flawed democracies according to the *Democracy Index*—are playing the same role as China and Russia in economic cooperation. Nonetheless, the West should attract them, instead of letting them be under the ongoing influence of the Chinese and Russian sphere. In this sense, a coalition of strong, capable, and like-minded democracies, mutually committed and in unison to face challenges might be the best frame to integrate the rest of the BRICS in the Western world – those who are not authoritarian regimes.

## Global Challenges Require Global Solutions

Nowadays, there are paramount global challenges, which

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Intelligente Council, (December 2012) p.15

75 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligente Council, (December 2012) p.15

76 “Global Governance 2025: At a Critical Juncture”, The Atlantic Council, (2010) [http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Global\\_\\_Governance\\_2025.pdf](http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Global__Governance_2025.pdf)

77 Parag Khanna, “The Second World: How Emerging Powers Are Redefining Global Competition in the Twenty-first Century”, Random House Trade Paperbacks; Reprint edition (February 10, 2009)

78 Simon Serfaty, “The Folly of Forgetting the West”, Hoover Institution, (August 1, 2012) <http://www.hoover.org/research/folly-forgetting-west>

**“On June 29, 2014, IS spokesman Abu Muhammad al-Adnani said the group’s intention is to create a caliphate that would spread throughout the Muslim world, from Iraq to Spain.”**

must be met by Western democracies. According to Ash Jain, effective multilateral cooperation remains essential to addressing these challenges<sup>79</sup>. Certainly, multilateral cooperation—not going it alone—offers the most effective means of combating nuclear proliferation, terrorism, cyberattacks, and other threats, crucial to be solved.

## Terrorism

A considerable number of experts and analysts agreed by the end of 2011, after Osama Ben Laden’s death, that al-Qaeda and the jihadist movements were receding. The Arab Spring and the democratization wave spread across the Middle East and raised international feelings of optimism regarding Western leadership. However, the turmoil and the unrest have just left instability and rising risks of power-grabbing by Islamist parties. The Middle East, North Africa, and the Maghreb are now immersed in an uncertain future, where the security of energy resources, or human rights, are at stake.

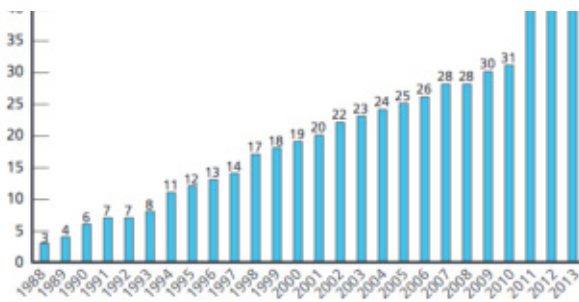
Probably, the most worrying outcome of the last lustrum is the success of the Islamic State (IS), a former al-Qaeda-linked irregular army that strengthened its position due to the ongoing civil war in Syria. Despite the fact that IS is a non-state actor—it is a Sunni jihadist militant group—it has self-defined as a State and has claimed Iraq, Syria, and beyond. By the end of June, 2014, IS had taken over the Iraqi cities of Mosul, Tikrit, Faluya, the northern Iraqi border between Syria and Jordan, and most of northern Syria. Thousands of foreigners fighters are joining IS every day, mainly due to its effective social media strategy — journalist James Foley was beheaded by a British militant.

On June 29, 2014, IS’s spokesman Abu Muhammad al-Adnani said that the group’s intention is to create a caliphate that would spread throughout the Muslim world, from Iraq

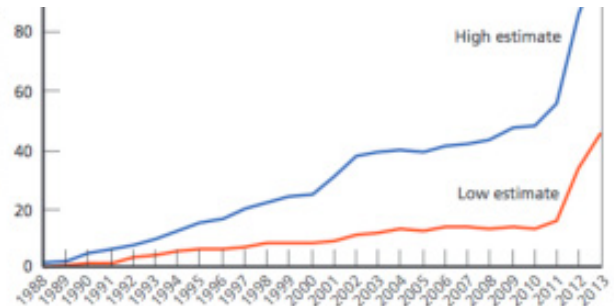
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79 Ash Jain, “Like-Minded and Capable Democracies” Council on Foreign Relations, (November 2012)

Number of active salafi-jihadist groups worldwide



Number of active salafi-jihadist fighters worldwide



to Spain<sup>80</sup>. The caliphate was self-declared on June 29 and claimed religious authority over all Muslims across the world.

Nowadays IS controls oil production in Mosul and northern Syria — according to Luay Al Khatteeb<sup>81</sup>, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Doha Centre, IS is believed to be smuggling over 30,000 barrels of oil a day in the black market for around 25-60 dollars per barrel, thus is generating about \$1 million a day. The IS guerrilla warfare could be extended to Jordan and Lebanon, something that would surely cause an earthquake of instability in the region. Nonetheless, IS’s expansion is also a threat to the West. According to Robin Simcox, research fellow at the Henry Jackson Society, Europe and the U.S. could be the militant group’s next target. A state led by IS militants would be a brutal and direct threat to Europe<sup>82</sup>.

In North Africa and the Maghreb, AQIM (al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb) has accumulated an enormous amount of financial resources, mainly coming from ransom payments for the liberation of Western citizens kidnapped in various countries in the region, but also from AQIM’s involvement in illegal trafficking across the Sahel and from extortion inside Algeria<sup>83</sup>. This kind of criminal organization activities has led AQIM to acquire resources to get influence and power in the region. In September 2012, AQIM’s leader and three Yemeni citizens active in al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) were involved in the attack against the U.S. consulate in

Benghazi, Libya, in which four American diplomatic staffers died, including U.S. Ambassador Christopher Stevens.

Also in Africa, France was forced to initiate in the beginning of 2013, as aforementioned, *Operation Serval* in Mali in order to prevent having, in words of French president François Hollande, “a terrorist state at the doorstep of France and Europe.” Despite the French intervention, jihadist operations across North Africa are expanding. Jihadist groups have been spreading their area of activity into Tunisia and Libya and have increased the rate of their deadly attacks. In April 2014, Boko Haram, the Nigerian Islamist group based on Nigeria, abducted more than two-hundred girls from a school in Jibik as a part of a political campaign against Western education in the states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa.

On the other hand, the A-Team of the terrorist groups, Hezbollah, as former U.S. deputy secretary of State Richard Armitage put it, constitutes one of the main terrorist threats to Western countries. The terrorist group is Iran’s primary terrorist proxy and foothold in the Arab world as well as a global organization with unparalleled financial and commercial resources according to U.S. assistant Treasury secretary Daniel Glaser, who testified before the U.S. Congress in 2011 and concluded that, “the real power behind Hezbollah lies in Tehran.” Along the same lines, former U.S. Defense secretary Robert Gates says that Hezbollah has weapons more sophisticated than many other countries. Actually, Hezbollah is acting today as a powerful non-state actor, with political power in Lebanon and tentacles around the world. Hezbollah has built an economic empire based on money laundering and drug trafficking in order to fund its global terror enterprise. It is very active in Latin American countries, particularly in Venezuela, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Mexico, with plans to spread across the continent.

Moreover Daniel Benjamin, of the U.S. State Department, stated that Hezbollah could hit Europe any time and without warning. Berlin’s domestic intelligence agency said in June 2013 that Hezbollah has 950 members in Germany, including 250 in the capital.

80 John Hall, “The ISIS map of the world: Militants outline chilling five-year plan for global domination as they declare formation of caliphate - and change their name to the Islamic State,” *The Daily Mail*, (June 30, 2014) <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2674736/ISIS-militants-declare-formation-caliphate-Syria-Iraq-demand-Muslims-world-swear-allegiance.html#ixzz3Cu4ZMCLn>

81 Fareed Rahman, “Isil raises over \$2m per day by selling oil”, *Gulf News*, (August 13, 2014) <http://gulfnews.com/business/oil-gas/isil-raises-over-2m-per-day-by-selling-oil-1.1375681>

82 Robin Simcox, “ISIS’ Western Ambitions” *Foreign Affairs*, (June 30, 2014)

83 Fernando Reinares, “AQIM’s existing –and disrupted– plans in –and from– the Sahel”, *Real Instituto Elcano*. (April 16, 2013). [http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano\\_eng/Content?WCM\\_GLOBAL\\_CONTEXT=/elcano/Elcano\\_in/Zonas\\_in/Commentary-Reinares-AQIM-Sahel-France-Jihadism](http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_eng/Content?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/Elcano_in/Zonas_in/Commentary-Reinares-AQIM-Sahel-France-Jihadism)

## IS's Caliphate



The West is truly threatened in several fronts by terrorist non-state actors. A possible collapse of the oil flow from the Middle East, due to the breakout of some regional war or a 9/11-like attack in the heart of a crowded Western city could trigger an international crisis, which will require the support of Western democracies and, for sure, cooperation among them to balance the situation.

In 2006, John Reid and Nicolas Sarkozy were clear stating; “We share the belief that the best way to defeat international terrorism is through international cooperation and the vigilance of our citizens - something we can all work together to achieve.<sup>84</sup>” So, considering the current developments, the best way to avoid the spread of terrorism is coordinated action.

### Protection and Promotion of Democracy

As noted before, democracy is a minority political system in the current world. Also the expansion of civil liberties is in constant decline, according to Freedom House reports. The so-called state- capitalism formula, which is a mixture of authoritarian political government and open markets, is working in China and, to a lesser extent, in Russia. And there is a considerable risk of exporting this non-democratic formula to other states that are in China and Russia's spheres of influence.

Across South America, the wave of populism launched by Hugo Chavez in Venezuela spread during the 2000s to Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Ecuador. Currently, Venezuela's government has plunged the country into a progressive basic-goods scarcity and is repressing its own population yearning for a better, freer political system.

Other flawed democracies are not precisely focused on expanding and improving their institutions. Turkey, as noted above, is immersed in an Islamization process and thus diminishing its democratic standards.

84 John Reid and Nicolas Sarkozy “Cooperation can defeat terrorism - Editorials & Commentary - International Herald Tribune”, *The New York Times*, (August 17, 2006)

In the Middle East, the Arab Spring has entailed anything but the advancement of democracy. In Egypt, a military coup removed the Muslim Brotherhood government, which was not actually led by democratic principles. In Syria, if the ongoing civil war ends someday, a non-democratic force will rule, threatening the stability of the Middle East. In Libya, removing Muammar Gaddafi did not bring about democracy. In addition, anti-Gaddafi militia forces are clashing with the new Libyan army, because they got legitimacy during the rebellion and are now claiming to have a key role in the new country. Due to all these clashes, the U.S. withdrew all its personnel deployed there.

If democracies do not find a way to stabilize the financial system and to restore trust among their citizens, hybrid regimes will not see democracy as a model to aspire. On the contrary, they would see it as a flawed system that is unable to handle economic crises and yields a lack of stability — as it is happening in China.

### Protection of Human Rights (Responsibility to Protect)

In the wake of the Rwandan genocide and the Srebrenica massacre, the Canadian Government set up the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in September 2000 to face the question launched by, then U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan in the report *We the Peoples* “if humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica — to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity?”

The ICISS released a report named *The Responsibility to Protect* and argued that sovereignty not only entailed rights, but also responsibilities, specifically a state's responsibility to protect its people from gross human rights violations. In 2005, at the U.N. World Summit, the R2P Doctrine was unanimously adopted.

The R2P commitment has been applied somehow in Kenya (2007-2008), Côte d'Ivoire (2011), Libya (2011) and the Central African Republic (2013,) albeit it has strongly failed in the ongoing civil war in Syria, where more than 160,000 people have been killed. Local monitoring groups report that roughly 5,000 individuals are being killed by conventional weapons each month, many the result of laws-of-war violations, with civilians constituting some thirty-five percent of the mortal casualties, according to Human Rights Watch. Syria's population has become increasingly displaced (approximately 2.3 million live outside Syria and 6.5 million within) and needy (an estimated ten million depend on humanitarian aid.) On top of all the other violations, on August 21, 2013, the al-Assad forces launched sarin gas against Ghouta, an opposition-held suburb in Damascus, killing hundreds of civilians. Amnesty International's secretary general Salil Shetty

has stated regarding Syria that, “despite the mounting death toll —and despite the abundant evidence of crimes committed— the U.N. Security Council again failed to act to protect civilians.<sup>85</sup>”

Nowadays there are some focal points across the world where human rights are being constantly violated such as Syria, Iran, Venezuela, Cuba, or Kenya. But in other countries, like Iraq or Nigeria, aggression against minorities (especially against Christians) is a daily routine. In Darfur, international efforts have not succeeded in stopping the constant barrage of human rights violations, nor have they succeeded in Congo.

In Ukraine, after the Crimea crisis, Human Rights Watch reported that human rights violations are increasing<sup>86</sup>.

Human Rights violations have been constant in the twentieth century, and the only way to stop them, as history has demonstrated, is to apply the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine, to intervene and use force — economic or military. Due to the difficulties to gain consensus in the Security Council, it is necessary another kind of consensus-building tool to make R2P effective.

### **Nuclear Proliferation, WMD and cyberweapons**

Halting the Iranian nuclear program has been one of the top issues on the international agenda for the last decade. On November 24, 2013 in Geneva, after years of breaking U.N. Security Council resolutions and deceiving IAEA inspectors, the P5+1 (The U.S., the U.K., Russia, France, and China + Germany) reached an agreement with Iran aimed to stop the pursuit of nuclear weapons by the Ayatollahs’ regime. With this agreement, Iran is allowed to enrich uranium, but the interim agreement also allows Iran to double its production of enriched uranium without prior notice, so Iranians could begin a process of highly enriched uranium (HEU), which would enable Iran to produce nuclear weapons within weeks. The IAEA made clear in its report in November 2013 that Iran has carried out much of the work necessary to militarize its nuclear program. After such a deal, the international community led by the P5+1 should consider that it will soon have to face an Iran with short-term nuclear capabilities. The agreement does not mention either the Iranian ballistic missile program, which, according to IHS Jane’s Military and Security Assessments Intelligence Centre, currently has up to 2,000 km-range missiles such as the versions of the Shahab-3, Qadr and Gadr, successfully tested and capable to carry nuclear and chemical weapons.

This arsenal can be transferred to Hezbollah, which is Iran’s proxy in the world, or it can also be sent to the Syrian re-

gime – along with Russia, Iran is Syria’s main supporter in the world.

Together with North Korea, Iran could cause a proliferation of nuclear weapons, triggering a breakdown of the international system and totally voiding the commitments reached in the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT.) According to the U.S. National Intelligence Council<sup>87</sup>, if the international community prevails in its efforts to stop both of them, multilateral cooperation would be bolstered and the NPT strengthened. Similarly, the use of nuclear weapons by state or non-state actors could either encourage or discourage proliferation, depending on how events unfolded.

The chance of non-state actors to conduct a cyberattack or use weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) is also increasing. According to the *Global Trends 2030 Report*, the next fifteen to twenty years will see a wider spectrum of more accessible instruments of war, especially precision-strike capabilities, cyber instruments, and bio-terror weaponry. These new kind of weapons could create a new security dynamic that Western countries must confront. Cyberweapons could hit the main national structures (banks, administration) and collapse the services worldwide; cooperation in the cyberwarfare realm is essential to handle these upcoming challenges. A non-state actor, such as Anonymous, has already shown how big the power of cyberattacks is.

The challenge of the nuclear and WMD proliferation posed by state and non-state actors is narrowly related to global terrorism and jihadist movements. As for terrorism or the Responsibility to Protect, Western countries will overcome these capital issues with joint cooperative ventures.

### **Natural Resources Scarcity**

The forecast set for 2030, demand for food, water and energy will grow by approximately thirty-five, forty, and fifty percent respectively, due to an increase of the global population and the consumption patterns of an expanding middle class. Nevertheless, global productivity gains have fallen from two percent between 1970 and 2000 to 1.1 percent today and are still declining. According to British researcher Alex Evans, the world has consumed more food than it has produced in seven of the last eight years<sup>88</sup>.

Moreover, demand for energy will rise about fifty percent over the next fifteen to twenty years, mostly due to rapid economic growth in developing countries. As the U.S. Energy Information Agency has projected, growing global production of key fossil fuels through 2030 (about one percent annually for oil)<sup>89</sup>.

85 Amnesty International Report 2013: The State of the World Human Rights (2013)

86 Amnesty International Report 2013: The State of the World Human Rights (2013)

87 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012) p.60

88 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012) p.30-38

89 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National



The global water consumption is growing faster than the population<sup>90</sup> (in the twentieth century it grew at twice that rate). The U.N. has warned that, by 2025, 1.8 billion people will be living in regions stricken with absolute water scarcity; besides, two-thirds of the world population will face water stress conditions, meaning a scarcity of renewable water<sup>91</sup>.

The pursuit of control key natural resources, in this vein, can cause jurisdictional conflicts. For instance, claims by China and ASAN (Asian-Pacific region) states over maritime jurisdiction aiming to control exploitation of fisheries and potential energy resources could lead to regional conflict. In addition, the efforts of coastal states to increase their maritime jurisdiction may create an additional danger to military and commercial interests of all maritime states.

Instability in the Middle East or conquest by radical movements of natural resources can bring a stuck-flux of oil, collapsing the Western economy in a way even worse than the Yom Kippur War.

Therein, it is essential for decision makers and major private actors to take smart decisions to avoid scarcity and dearth of key natural resources in the future — more reachable through cooperation and common efforts. As Mikhail Gorbachev has pointed out, politicians and diplomats alone cannot respond effectively to the challenges that the world faces. What the world needs is the engagement of political, business, and civil society leaders<sup>92</sup>

### Economic Crisis

As noted several times before, the economic crisis has been one of the main factors of the decline of Western democracies within —and their progressive retreat internationally. Regarding this concern, Edmund Burke warned that debt is the sign that the social contract between the generations is broken. Currently, Western countries are deeply involved on reversing the effects provoked by the latest great financial crisis and the light at the end of the tunnel is not near yet.

The governor of the Bank of England Mark Carney has warned that recessions involving financial crises tend to be

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Intelligente Council, (December 2012) p.30-38

90 Mikhail Gorbachev, “The Unity of Water”, *Project Syndicate*, (July 7, 2014) <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/mikhail-gorbachev-urges-the-international-community-to-get-serious-about-governing-cross-border-riparian-flows>

91 Mikhail Gorbachev, “The Unity of Water”, *Project Syndicate*, (July 7, 2014) <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/mikhail-gorbachev-urges-the-international-community-to-get-serious-about-governing-cross-border-riparian-flows>

92 Mikhail Gorbachev, “The Unity of Water”, *Project Syndicate*, (July 7, 2014) <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/mikhail-gorbachev-urges-the-international-community-to-get-serious-about-governing-cross-border-riparian-flows>

**“The UN has warned that by 2025 1.8 billion people will be living in regions stricken with absolute water scarcity; besides, two-thirds of the world population will face water stress conditions, meaning a scarcity of renewable water.”**

deeper and require recoveries that take twice as long<sup>93</sup>. As a result, a return to pre-2008 growth rates and previous patterns of rapid globalization looks increasingly improbable, at least for the next decade. Across G-7 countries, total non-financial debt has doubled since 1980 to 300 percent of GDP, accumulating over a generation<sup>94</sup>. According to the study “*Debt and Deleveraging: Uneven Progress on the Path to Growth*” authored by the McKinsey Global Institute in January 2012, no single country has all the conditions in place to revive growth<sup>95</sup>.

The former member of the Executive Board of the European Central Bank Lorenzo Bini Smaghi stated in the 21st Century Forum 2010, held in Beijing during September 6-8, 2010 that, “The main lesson from the crisis is that global problems demand global solutions. We cannot get out of the crisis simply by maintaining the ‘put your house in order’ approach to international cooperation; it should be dealt with in a coordinated fashion [...] In theory, it is not difficult to demonstrate that international cooperation, by which countries internalize the external impact of their actions, and that

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93 Mark Carney, “Growth in the Age of Deleveraging” speech to the Empire Club of Canada/Canadian Club of Toronto, 12 December 2011, available on Bank for International Settlements (BIS) website ([www.bis.org](http://www.bis.org)); C.M. Reinhart and V.R.Reinhart, “After the Fall”, *Macroeconomic Challenges: The Decade Ahead*, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City 2010, Economic Policy Symposium.

94 Mark Carney, “Growth in the Age of Deleveraging” speech to the Empire Club of Canada/Canadian Club of Toronto, 12 December 2011, available on Bank for International Settlements (BIS) website ([www.bis.org](http://www.bis.org)); C.M. Reinhart and V.R.Reinhart, “After the Fall”, *Macroeconomic Challenges: The Decade Ahead*, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City 2010, Economic Policy Symposium.

95 Mark Carney, “Growth in the Age of Deleveraging” speech to the Empire Club of Canada/Canadian Club of Toronto, 12 December 2011, available on Bank for International Settlements (BIS) website ([www.bis.org](http://www.bis.org)); C.M. Reinhart and V.R.Reinhart, “After the Fall”, *Macroeconomic Challenges: The Decade Ahead*, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City 2010, Economic Policy Symposium.

of the others, before taking decisions, and subject themselves to international agreements, produces Pareto superior solutions. In practice, however, national policy-makers rarely subject their policies to international considerations and tend to take decisions purely with domestic interests in mind. Global problems require global and coordinated responses but, as the saying goes, 'All politics is local' and thus decisions are often taken in a partial equilibrium context. How can we reconcile this dilemma?"<sup>96</sup>

In September 2011, Portugal's Prime Minister Pedro Passos Coelho declared before the U.N. General Assembly that, "Global financial crisis must be tackled through cooperation."<sup>97</sup> John Lipsky, IMF acting managing director, went along the same line and said in 2011 that, "[...] it is clear that we face a challenging moment for the global economy. But it is also a moment of great opportunity, to strengthen economic policy cooperation and build a stronger global economy."<sup>98</sup>

Already in 2009, the OECD argued that, "An effective and sustainable global response [to the economic crisis] will require the involvement of all major players, as well as better co-ordination and greater coherence among the major international organizations."<sup>99</sup>

Strong cooperation between solid and free economies, a deeper cooperative stance of like-minded countries brings common solutions to end the economic crisis and create perdurable models for the future, keeping away the risk of breakouts.

## Climate Change

Climate change has been one of the key issues from the beginning of the twenty-first century. It has been at the top of the international agendas of governments, political parties, NGOs, think tanks, and many influential organizations. Moreover, awareness about climate change is widely spread over the global population as one of the biggest problems that mankind is facing. In this regard, environmental policies have been fostered since the second half of the twentieth century with national and international regulations. On December 11, 1997, the developed countries committed to execute a set of measures known as the Kyoto Protocol to reduce greenhouse gases (GHG). The Protocol aims to reduce emissions of six greenhouse gases that allegedly cause global warming:

96 Speech by Lorenzo Bini Smaghi, 21st Century Forum 2010, Beijing, (September 6-8, 2010) <http://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/key/date/2010/html/sp100907.en.html>

97 Global financial crisis must be tackled through cooperation, Portugal tells UN, UN, (September 26, 2011) <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39797#.VBAf5VcqPxU>

98 John Lipsky, "The Challenges of Economic Policy Cooperation" International Monetary Fund, (June 21, 2011) <https://www.imf.org/external/np/speeches/2011/062111.htm>

99 "OECD Strategic Response to the International and Economic Crisis", OECD, (2009) p.7

carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), methane (CH<sub>4</sub>) and nitrous oxide (N<sub>2</sub>O), plus three fluorinated industrial gases: hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs) and sulfur hexafluoride (SF<sub>6</sub>), in an approximate percentage of at least five percent, in the period 2008-2012.

In April 2007, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) said in its annual assessment that "climate change is already affecting millions of people, ecosystems, and species around the world," but if nothing is done about it will cause greater and more severe impacts.<sup>100</sup>

Despite all the international agreements and initiatives, according to the IPCC, the total anthropogenic GHG emissions have continued to increase from 1970 to 2010<sup>101</sup>.

As the IPCC report *Climate Change 2014: Mitigation of Climate Change* published in 2014 has revealed, in spite of the global economic crisis, 2007/2008 reduced emissions temporarily, annual GHG emissions grew on average by 1.0 gigatonne carbon dioxide equivalent (GtCO<sub>2</sub> eq) (2.2%) per year from 2000 to 2010 compared to 0.4 GtCO<sub>2</sub> eq (1.3%) per year from 1970 to 2000. Total anthropogenic GHG emissions were the highest in human history from 2000 to 2010 and reached 49 GtCO<sub>2</sub> eq per year in 2010. CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from fossil fuel combustion and industrial processes contributed about 78 % of the total GHG emission increase from 1970 to 2010, with a similar percentage contribution for the period 2000–2010.<sup>102</sup>

On the other hand, fossil fuel-related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions reached 32 GtCO<sub>2</sub> eq per year in 2010, and rose up to three percent between 2010 and 2011 and by about one-two percent between 2011 and 2012. Indeed, since 1970, about twenty-five percent of anthropogenic GHG emissions have been in the form of non-CO<sub>2</sub> gases, which shows how important it is to put an end to oil dependence, not only because of the instability and anti-Western approaches of oil-producing countries.

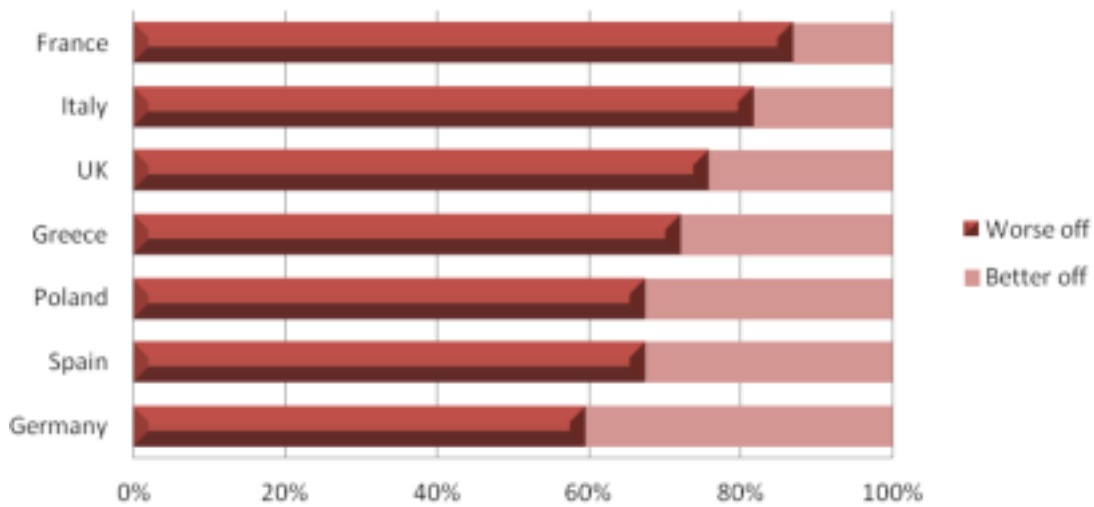
Former U.S. Treasury secretary under George W. Bush, Henry Paulson, and former U.S. Treasury secretary under Bill Clinton, Robert Rubin, Michael Bloomberg or George Shultz, among other prominent figures of the economic mainstream in the U.S., published the *Risky Business* report, on the cost of the climate change for Americans. Regarding the worrying forecasts about the increasing demands of natural resources, climate change will worsen the outlook for the availability of these critical resources (food, water, or

100 Annual Assessment, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2007), [http://report.mitigation2014.org/spm/ipcc\\_wg3\\_ar5\\_summary-for-policymakers\\_approved.pdf](http://report.mitigation2014.org/spm/ipcc_wg3_ar5_summary-for-policymakers_approved.pdf)

101 "Climate Change 2014: Mitigation of Climate Change" Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2014) <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg3/>

102 "Climate Change 2014: Mitigation of Climate Change" Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2014) <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg3/>

Pesimism about Future of Children  
% saying children will be \_ financially than parents



energy) as the report has noted. Concretely, Rubin has stated that “the risk is catastrophic.”<sup>103</sup>

At the end of the day, all of these challenges are to be met urgently through common and coordinated efforts, and the institutional tools used now are not up to the task of confronting them. In addition, the solution to these challenges becomes essential for the future of democracies in the world; as Ivo Daalder’s puts it, the global community of democracies is dependent on global security.

In sum, a tectonic shift in the international order is to occur, and Western democracies should be prepared to face it. The best way to cope with change and global challenges is through a united, coordinated, and committed initiative that is long-lasting and efficient.

<sup>103</sup> “Fmr. U.S. Treasury Secy. Rubin on climate change: ‘The risk here is catastrophic’”, CNN, (June 29, 2014) <http://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2014/06/29/fmr-u-s-treasury-secy-rubin-on-climate-change-the-risk-here-is-catastrophic/>

# The Need To Reshape The International Order

*“We have to shape an international order that can meet the challenges of our generation.”*  
**Barack Obama**

There is no consensus among theorists and political scientists on the creation of a club of democracies, but most of them strongly agree on the need to reshape the international order. Indeed, there is academic consensus, as Thomas Wright, fellow at the Brookings Institution in the Project on International Order and Strategy has pointed out, about the need of change in the international order. Even U.S. President Barack Obama has argued in favor of reshaping the international order, outlining the doctrine of multilateralism.

Certainly, as aforementioned, the Western-designed liberal international order, established after Second World War, has provided means and tools to solve regional conflicts and to face common challenges.

Consequently, the pathway marked by the consolidation of the extension of the liberal and multilateral order led by Western Democracies was confirmed by several astonishing achievements, among them, the Millennium Development Goals (MDG.)

In September 2000, all U.N. members committed to achieving the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. On July 2, 2012, U.N. secretary-general Ban Ki-moon released the annual report on the MDG<sup>1</sup>, and declared that three of the goals had already been accomplished: to halve between 1990 and 2015 the proportion of people living on less than \$1.25 a day, to halve the proportion of people without access to drinking water and basic sanitation, and to achieve that all children can complete a full course of primary schooling for boys and girls.

In 2008, before the breakout of the financial crisis, the first goal was achieved. The number of poor people living on one dollar a day had fallen from 26.8 percent of the world population in 1970 to 5.6 percent in 2006; the percentage of people living on two dollars a day had been reduced in those same years from 45.2 percent to 13.1 percent of the population — basically meaning that one of the main MDG was achieved well ahead the year 2015.

In 2010, the second mentioned goal was also reached: halving the proportion of people without access to improved drinking

water sources. More than 200 million people now have access to improved drinking water, to sanitation, to more durable or less crowded housing.

In 2010, there were also ninety-seven girls enrolled in school per hundred boys — up from ninety-one girls per hundred boys in 1999, which means that parity in primary education between girls and boys was practically achieved. As Ban Ki-Moon highlighted, many more of the world’s children are enrolled in school at the primary level now, especially since 2000, thanks to national and international efforts. The report also revealed that primary enrollment rates for school-age children have markedly increased in sub-Saharan Africa, going from fifty-eight percent to seventy-six percent between 1999 and 2010.

In addition, another goal was partially achieved: improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers before 2020. The percentage of urban dwellers in developing regions living in slums has fallen from thirty-nine percent in 2000 to thirty-three percent in 2012.

Regarding world peace, according to the Peace Research Institute Oslo, in 2012 fewer people have died in wars than in any other year in the last century.

The liberal international order has typically been embraced by multilateral organizations that have been working on different areas such as economics, health, defense, environment, or poverty. Besides, the U.N., the WTO, WHO, or NATO have achieved outcomes helping to create a better and safer world. Nonetheless, they have not been able to adapt to the changes and challenges that the new century has brought.

In spite of the achievements, the international order has become obsolete in the twenty first century; designed by Western Powers, this order is no longer apt to overcome the current and coming challenges.

The reasons that have made Western-led multilateral organizations outdated have recently been explained by Ian Bremmer. According to Bremmer, many serve as little more than high-level discussion groups with rudimentary governance structures and skeletal institutions. They are seemingly unable to tackle the common challenges facing their regions.

<sup>1</sup> The Millennium Development Goals Report 2012, UN, (2012) <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDG%20Report%202012.pdf>

They also suffer from hang-ups stemming from bilateral differences, in particular questions of financing commitments and support.

First, they have not reduced the increasing bureaucracy that has made them, above all the U.N., unpopular. Particularly in recent years, the U.N. has been burdened by corruption scandals, accused of economic waste in useless agencies and has showed evident inability to achieve the goals, which it was created for. The same has happened to other major international bodies such as the IMF, whose head, Christine Lagarde, has been implicated in a financial scandal in 2013. Regarding the World Bank, its former president had to quit due to a case of nepotism, while the institution he ran refused to lend more money to some African countries.

Second, these organizations have been unable to adapt the Information Technology era. They have remained as places of difficult access for citizens and unable to address the problems they were created to solve. The disaffection of Western populations with their politicians has also occurred, even further, with international bodies. Indeed, in an era of a digitally-networked world, where speed of response and focus on what is essential is the norm, it is difficult to rely on static bureaucratic structures that have resisted adapting to the needs of the people, without even considering that taxpayers are paying for the salaries these bureaucrats enjoy.

Third, the multilateral formula has ended up serving the interests of non-democratic regimes. The U.N. Human Rights Council has been a widely-known example of these practices. Is it even conceivable that human rights violators such as Syria and Cuba became members of the Council, which had been precisely created to promote and protect human rights? Non-democratic countries learned how to enjoy the universality and equal treatment for all states, Western values applied in the international liberal order; as the emerging powers have done regarding the liberal global economy.

All these flaws, which have come to light over the last decades, have provoked a lack of citizen trust. Most of the new generations see these organizations as distant, obsolete, and corrupt.

The international order of the Cold War era is obsolete now. Despite its success over the last decades, it is not well prepared to face the challenges of the world to come. Since the formation of the Bretton Woods organizations to the reshape of NATO after the collapse of communism, the advances and progress of the international society has not gone along with the development of these organizations. The “Washington Consensus” is no longer effective. After the BRICS creation of the New Development Bank in 2013, led mainly by China, it seems that the PCC is trying to set and consolidate the “Beijing Consensus.”

## Impotence, Corruption and Excessive Bureaucracy: The Lack of Trust in the U.N. as a Paradigm Example

The U.N. is currently an example of impotence, corruption, and excessive bureaucracy. Several corruption scandals during the last years have smeared the U.N.’s reputation.

As the Foundation for Defense of Democracies has highlighted<sup>2</sup>, the U.N. has failed to restore the trust call made by Ban Ki-moon. In 2006, before Ban Ki-moon’s appointment, the U.N. promised greater transparency, accountability, the elimination of redundant mandates, an end to rape by U.N. peacekeepers, and a more ethical culture, as a reaction of the Oil-for-Food scandal, in which the U.N. head of the program, Benon Sevan profited from and covered up for 100 billion dollars in Baghdad kickbacks and corruption. According to U.S. senator Norm Coleman’s independent investigation into the Oil-for-Food program, the actual figure of Sevan’s take was \$1.2 million.<sup>3</sup>

Another investigation led by American economist Paul Volcker confirmed<sup>4</sup> that “numerous [further] allegations of corrupt behavior and practices,” embracing “bid-rigging, conflicts of interest, bribery, theft, nepotism, and sexual harassment.” He also noted that the U.N. lacked controls on graft, failed to investigate many cases, and failed to act upon some of those it explored. Volcker calculated that U.N. agencies had kept for themselves at least \$50 million earmarked to buy relief for the people of Iraq.

Following the promises to restore trust, a special anti-corruption task force was set up in 2006, but it was dissolved at the end of 2008. The U.N.’s internal audit division, the Office of Internal Oversight Services, has been roiled with scandals and frictions, including a former chief of the unit accusing the U.N. secretary-general of “deplorable” actions to impede her hiring of investigators, and charging that “the secretariat is now in a process of decay.”<sup>5</sup>

According to the reports, the U.N. still operates with great secrecy and is shielded by diplomatic immunity. One of its prime defenses, indeed, is the lack of transparency for its procedures: “After more than 60 years as a global collective, it has become a welter of so many overlapping programs, far-flung projects, quietly vested interests, nepotistic shenanigans,

2 Claudia Rosett, “How Corrupt Is the United Nations?”, Commentary, (March 8, 2006) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/how-corrupt-is-the-united-nations/>

3 Claudia Rosett, “How Corrupt Is the United Nations?”, Commentary, (March 8, 2006) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/how-corrupt-is-the-united-nations/>

4 Claudia Rosett, “How Corrupt Is the United Nations?”, Commentary, (March 8, 2006) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/how-corrupt-is-the-united-nations/>

5 Claudia Rosett, “How Corrupt Is the United Nations?”, Commentary, (March 8, 2006) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/how-corrupt-is-the-united-nations/>

and interlocking directorates as to defy accurate or easy comprehension, let alone responsible supervision.”<sup>6</sup>

Along this line, the estimate of money spent yearly on goods and services by the entire U.N. system comes to 30 billion, or more than fifteen times the core budget of 1.9 billion on which reformers have focused<sup>7</sup>.

The size of the U.N. workforce is truly enormous. The total staff of the Secretariat plus the specialized agencies alone consists of some 40,000 people. And that figure itself does not include local staffs—such as the 20,000 Palestinians who work for the U.N. Works and Relief Agency (UNWRA) or the many employees, some long-term, others transient, at hundreds of assorted U.N. offices, projects, and operations worldwide, or the more than 85,000 peacekeepers sent by member states but carrying out U.N. orders. Whereas the number of U.N. member states has almost quadrupled since 1945 (from 51 to 191), the number of personnel has distended from a few thousand to more than 100,000<sup>8</sup>.

Secondly, besides the corruption and lack of transparency, the U.N. has shown incompetence in resolving conflicts. International organizations have regularly failed, and especially the U.N., to prevent wars and crimes against humanity such as genocide.

Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, as sad examples, proved that the U.N. and international multilateral organizations were not able to prevent the perpetration of genocide in the 1990s. The death toll in Rwanda was up to one million<sup>9</sup>, amid the passivity of the international community to intervene. Despite the warnings of Romeo Dallaire, head of the U.N. peacekeeping mission (UNAMIR,) the genocide took place and the mission was withdrawn without preventing the genocide.

In Bosnia, in an area previously declared “safe” by the United Nations, and at the time it was under the “protection” of 400 U.N. peacekeepers, a mass murder was carried out by units of the Army of Republika Srpska, VRS, under the command of General Ratko Mladić and by a Serb paramilitary group known as “The Scorpions” against the Muslim population. Although the VRS sought the killing of Bosnian Muslim men, the slaughter included the murder of children, women,



**“[...] the estimate of money spent yearly on goods and services by the entire UN system comes to 30 billion, or more than 15 times the core budget of 1.9 billion on which reformers have focused [...] Whereas the number of UN member states has almost quadrupled since 1945 (from 51 to 191), the number of personnel has distended from a few thousand to more than 100,000.”**

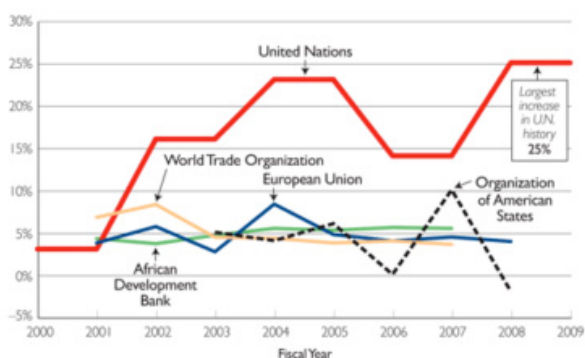
6 Claudia Rosett, “How Corrupt Is the United Nations?”, Commentary, (March 8, 2006) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/how-corrupt-is-the-united-nations/>

7 Claudia Rosett, “How Corrupt Is the United Nations?”, Commentary, (March 8, 2006) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/how-corrupt-is-the-united-nations/>

8 Claudia Rosett, “How Corrupt Is the United Nations?”, Commentary, (March 8, 2006) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/how-corrupt-is-the-united-nations/>

9 Marijke Verpoorten, “The Death Toll of the Rwandan Genocide: A Detailed Analysis for Gikongoro Province” *Carn.info*, (April, 2005) [http://www.cairn-int.info/article-E\\_POPU\\_504\\_0401--the-death-toll-of-the-rwandan-genocide-a.htm](http://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_POPU_504_0401--the-death-toll-of-the-rwandan-genocide-a.htm)

### Comparison of Growth in the U.N. Budget with the Budget Growth of Other International Organizations



Source: Ambassador Mark D. Wallace, "Statement by Ambassador Mark D. Wallace, U.S. Representative for UN Management and Reform, on the 2008/2009 U.N. Budget, in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly," USUN Press Release #367(07), Office of Press and Public Diplomacy, United States Mission to the United Nations, December 11, 2007, at [www.un.int/usaf/press\\_releases/2007/12/11\\_367.html](http://www.un.int/usaf/press_releases/2007/12/11_367.html).

and the elderly in order to achieve the ethnic cleansing of the city. The exact number will probably remain a mystery; the most accurate data speaks of 8,373 people<sup>10</sup>. In order to prevent the continuation of genocide practices, NATO bombed Belgrade in 1996 and Kosovo in 1998 – both times without the approval of the U.N. Security Council Resolution allowing the military intervention.

In the 2000s, genocide was perpetrated and the U.N. was incapable to stop it. In Darfur, the Sudanese government imposes serious constraints on journalists trying to inform. In 2005, a report<sup>11</sup> by the British Parliament states that over 300,000 people have died and forty others consider even higher figures. In the same year, the Coalition for International Justice estimated that 400,000 people had died in Darfur since the conflict began.

The U.N. decided to act late, and due to the obstruction of the Sudanese government that rejected a U.N. peacekeeping mission, the Security Council finally approved sending the UNAMID, a hybrid mission of the African Union and U.N. peacekeepers, which were deployed in October 2007.

At last, but not the least, it is the evident impossibility to reform. Attempts to reform the United Nations during the 1980s and early 1990s were focused primarily on financial and structural issues. The General Assembly established in 1986 a High Level Group—initiated by the U.S. and other industrialized countries—to review administrative and financial performance inefficiencies. The group made 71 recommendations, including a review of the budget process. In the early 1990s, then secretary-general Boutros-Ghali issued two

<sup>10</sup> Marlise Simons, "Mladic Arrives in The Hague". *The New York Times*. (May 31, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> "Darfur death toll may be 300,000, say UK lawmakers", Reuters, (March 30, 2005)<http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/L30582172.htm>

reports: *An Agenda for Peace* (1992) and *An Agenda for Development* (1994) and introduced a range of reform proposals. These initiatives led to changes in the U.N. structures, but today they have proved to be insufficient.

Following Kofi Annan's appointment as secretary-general in September 2003, the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change was created to assess how the organization could deal with threats to peace and security. The panel published in late 2004, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility* report. The panel recommended the expansion of the Security Council, the establishment of a Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (Peacebuilding Commission), and to strengthen the role of the secretary general. Afterwards, Annan added the panel's recommendations in his report *In Larger Freedom: Toward Development, Security, and Human Rights for All*, published in 2005.

In 2007, the new secretary-general Ban Ki-moon proposed the establishment of a new Department of Field Support to improve the coordination and effectiveness of field activities of the U.N.. Ban also boosted the launch of the Department of Disarmament Affairs (DDA) with the aim of revitalizing the disarmament agenda and non-proliferation. Along these reform initiatives, Ban also established a Change Management Team to address the study of the areas he identified as priorities for the management of the organization, and the effectiveness of programs, human resources, information technology and communication. *The Change Plan* published in 2011, has not been implemented yet.

The U.N. structure is blocking any chance of reform of the organization. This harms not only the efficiency and legitimacy of the U.N., but also multilateral cooperation among countries of the world. Perhaps, the best approach to reforming the U.N. has been provided by Ambassador John Bolton, who pointed out that the answer "is to shift entirely to voluntary contributions. Each nation should fund only what it thinks useful or effective. The best-run U.N. agencies are already funded voluntarily, whereas some of the worst, least-productive bureaucracies are those funded by assessed contributions. No surprises there, since voluntary funding incentivizes performance"<sup>12</sup>

In sum, the current international order is not well prepared to handle the coming scenarios that came up after the Cold War and the expansion of globalization.

### Inability to Protect Human Rights

One of the pillars of the post-Cold War order has been the recognition of human rights—and the encouragement to protect them. Nonetheless, the human rights realm has fallen along with the decline of the Western-backed international

<sup>12</sup> Ambassador John Bolton, "The United Nations at 70: How to fix a broken organization, Fox News, (September 9, 2014)

**“The extensive use of mass communication technologies will enable citizens, non state and sub national actors to play important roles in global governance.”**

order. As the Center for International Development and Conflict Management has reported<sup>13</sup>, interstate armed conflict barely happens today; however the intrastate conflict represents almost the total of all conflicts in the world. These intrastate conflicts produce all the current violations of human rights and war crimes.

Eric Posner, renowned professor of Law at the University of Chicago, has pointed out<sup>14</sup> that “the failure of the human rights regime has put the West in a difficult position. When violations become too obvious to ignore—as was the case in the Balkans and Rwanda in the 1990s and in Iraq, Libya, Sudan, and Syria in the 2000s—the West faces a choice between ignoring them and thus violating its commitment to human rights, and launching a military intervention that violates its commitment to peaceful resolution of disputes. The only escape from this dilemma is the U.N. Security Council, which alone possesses the legal authority to launch wars against countries that do not comply with their human rights obligations.” But the U.N. Security Council has two veto members who are not committed to the Responsibility to Protect: Russia and China, who are blocking all attempts to stop by force human rights violations and protecting rogue states that use to have mutual interests with them.

Regarding these rogue states, as noted before, the U.N. Human Rights Council is used by totalitarian countries for their own interests; failing deeply on the goals of the expansion of democracy and protection of human rights worldwide.

In fact, human rights organizations have repeatedly denounced the UNHCR as controlled by authoritarian regimes to protect each other from criticism and accusations of human rights violations. It was precisely the current secretary-general of the U.N., Ban Ki-moon, who publicly said that the UNHRC had failed in its obligations and was therefore an inefficient organization. In this same vein, Israel has been

the main target of the UNHRC resolutions, while the council has ignored the violations in Iran, Darfur, North Korea, Tibet, and Zimbabwe; these cases have not even discussed at the council.

As the director of the Global Public Policy Institute in Berlin Thornsten Benner has put it<sup>15</sup> “Simply acquiescing to the prominent role of dictatorships in U.N. bodies threatens to further undermine the standing of the United Nations in key countries that account for the vast majority of contributions to the U.N. budget, especially the U.S.. It also undermines the credibility of the U.N. as a whole to stand up for the ideals enshrined in its charter.”

According to Maplecroft 2014 *Human Rights Risk Atlas*, out of 197 evaluated countries on various human rights violations, countries having an extreme human rights risk have risen from twenty in 2008 to thirty-four<sup>16</sup>. According to the report, out of the countries with a high risk of violations, Syria, Egypt, Libya, Mali, and Guinea-Bissau have seen the worst deterioration of their human rights situation. Placed on top of them, the Middle East and North Africa countries are in the “extreme risk” category, and Syria is the first. The U.N. has not been able to stop the ongoing Syrian civil war, and it is also due to the obstruction of Russia – Syria is a weapons client.

### **New Scenario for Broader Involvement: The Importance of Non-State Actors**

The world is changing; it has become more dynamic and smaller. Old structures and the operation of international organizations are a burden today, not only for their lack of effectiveness when needed to carry out their functions and objectives, but they are also constantly divorced with an increasingly active and committed international civil society. Since it is very difficult to reform international institutions, it is necessary to know an organization meeting these new circumstances of global communication.

The extensive use of mass communication technologies will enable citizens, non-state and sub-national actors to play important roles in global governance. International involvement through IT could spur the global revolution, making states and legacy institutions less influential in the next couple of decades. Thanks to the world’s expanding middle class, IT and other technologies related to communications, the demand for the rule of law and government accountability will probably increase, enabling the birth of new non-state actors that can serve that kind of transparency. These newcomers can play a key role in the coming international multipolarity by having influence on global governance.

15 Thornsten Benner, “United Nations of Democracies and Dictatorships?” *Deutsche Welle*, (May 17, 2007) <http://www.dw.de/opinion-united-nations-of-democracies-and-dictatorships/a-2517881>

16 Human Rights Risks Atlas 2014, Maplecroft, (2014) <http://maplecroft.com/portfolio/new-analysis/2013/12/04/70-increase-countries-identified-extreme-risk-human-rights-2008-bhuman-rights-risk-atlas-2014b/>

13 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National Intelligence Council, (December 2012) p.59-61

14 Eric Posner, “Sorry America, the New World Order is Dead”, *Foreign Policy*, (May 6, 2014)



It is proper to delve into how new ways are gaining influence on Western society for organizations and anti-establishment movements. These new age movements have risen, among other reasons, because of the disaffection between citizens and the old structures of national and international power.

A new array of tools is needed; austerity and transparency principles are demanded by civil societies in the Western world. Present generations, who have quickly gotten used to what the information age offers, are demanding rapid, cheaper, and clear solutions from public institutions. The proceedings and paperwork necessary to be served by the administration, whether national or international, have become a barrier, one more, between citizen and government.

These new media have been seducing the digital citizens who, regardless of social condition, would be able to use the powerful technological resources, turning them into autonomous citizens, politically active, and systematically controlling their political representatives' activities.

In sum, the growing spread of the Internet and other IT tools will continue to boost the influence of the non-state actors against governments' actions. Yet this fact can also enable the handling of global and regional challenges. Managing increasing urban conglomerations, due to the constant urbanization of the world's population, or taxing new international business structures are challenges that can be tackled using and developing smart technologies; always looking out not to surpass democratic barriers in some areas such as monitoring citizens or private communications.

After all, economic globalization has not fostered, so far, global governance. E-governance is nonetheless a path worth exploring in order to meet the new needs, both technical and ethical, of citizens. By e-governance, government services will undoubtedly be made available to citizens in a convenient, efficient, and transparent manner.

## Ad Hoc Organizations

The ad hoc organizations such as the G-7 (today extended to G-20) or the Deauville Partnership are designed for a specific problem or project and not provided with dynamic approaches. A new international order needs to provide stable, not short-term, solutions to a dynamic and adaptable organization. Ad hoc organizations formed by like-minded allies have remained ineffective forums for consultation on most critical foreign policy challenges. The most recent examples are Iran, North Korea, or Syria.

One-shot solutions may not be overcome the problems to come; many current challenges require ongoing attention and cooperation efforts as a routine. The Center for International Development and Conflict Management has shown<sup>17</sup> that

there are barely interstate conflicts, but all of the currents one are intrastate. Ad hoc organizations have maybe worked out well for some regional conflicts, but after the conflict ended, the ad hoc organization also ended. The current world needs a permanent organization, which can handle not only humanitarian emergencies, but also economic and security challenges by relying on its committed and involved members.

As Jain has explained, broadening membership is preferable to creating ad hoc coalitions. Formal membership would strengthen the ability of countries to work together in joint operations – whether military or economic. It is important to maximize the potential of the U.S. tech advantage over its allies and that troops train together on a regular basis.

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17 GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS, The National

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Intelligente Council, (December 2012) p.59-61

# The Forum Of Western Democracies

*“Through this noble effort to create an alliance that will bring together the accumulated knowledge and experience of democrats around the world, I hope that the democrats who remain in isolation will soon have the resources to overcome their oppressors.”*

*Vaclav Havel*

In order to reshape the international order and to protect Western democracy, a binding institution is needed as an organizational vehicle for mutual commitment in order to contribute to security and stability, to address the challenges and threats of the future and to guarantee citizens a peaceful, prosperous world: the Forum of Western Democracies. In general, there are three ways, according to former South Korean FM Yoon Young-Kwan<sup>1</sup>, to foster international peace: interdependence, promoting democracy, and building international institutions – essential elements of the Forum.

International organizations can no longer provide Western democracies what they need. These democracies, the stronger, more prosperous ones due to military might, macroeconomic figures, and political liberties, must unite and form an institutional vehicle to meet together and effectively coming challenges and current problems — and to protect and help each other. As an advantage, it is noteworthy what Simon Serfaty has highlighted<sup>2</sup>: Most of the richest, industrially-advanced, democratically-stable states are in, or affiliated with, the West.

However, the emerging powers have truly benefited from the Western-designed international order, so they are more focused on keeping their economic development and political consolidation, instead of replacing the leadership of the international order. If the U.S. and Western democracies retreat, an extended period of global anarchy will rise up — the so-fearing G-Zero era predicted by Ian Bremmer.

By working closely, the capable and like-minded democracies—Ash Jain identifies them as European democracies, Japan and South Korea, Australia, Canada, and the U.S.<sup>3</sup>—can act assertively across a range of issues, from promoting democracy and human rights to preventing terrorism and

nuclear proliferation. Besides, they have a shared view of the international order, but they need an institutional vehicle for strategic coordination.

In the same vein, Thomas Wright has reminded us that, the U.K., France, Germany, and other European allies are largely aligned with the U.S. “in terms of how they diagnose threats and challenges and how they believe they should be addressed.”<sup>4</sup>

**“By working closely, the capable and like-minded democracies can act assertively across a range of issues, from promoting democracy and human rights to preventing terrorism and nuclear proliferation”**

Therefore, just as the U.S. and other democratic powers such as Australia or Japan do, the European Union shares a worldview regarding democracy, human rights promotion and responsibility to protect against genocide. In November 2011, the U.S.-EU summit issued a declaration highlighting common perspectives on global challenges and deep concerns on nuclear proliferation and regional conflicts such as Syria or Ukraine. Likewise, the democratic axis in the Asia-Pacific region is formed by Japan, South Korea, and Australia. In

1 Yoon Young-Kwan, “Asia’s Military Revolution”, *Project Syndicate*, (July 3, 2014) <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/yoon-young-kwan-traces-the-region-s-growing-tensions-to-its-leaders--failure-to-build-multi-lateral-institutions>

2 Simon Serfaty, “A World Recast”, (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: 2012) p.155

3 Ash Jain, “Like-Minded and Capable Democracies” Council on Foreign Relations, (November 2012)

4 Thomas Wright and Richard Weisz, “The Transatlantic Alliance in a Multipolar World” The Chicago Council on Global Affairs,(October 25, 2010) [http://www.bosch-stiftung.de/content/language1/downloads/CCGA\\_Transatlantic\\_Alliance\\_in\\_a\\_Multipolar\\_World.pdf](http://www.bosch-stiftung.de/content/language1/downloads/CCGA_Transatlantic_Alliance_in_a_Multipolar_World.pdf)

the 2010 Trilateral Statement, they agree on common points regarding the protection of freedom, democracy, and human rights worldwide.

Moreover, the U.S. by itself would be incapable to prevent war in such an environment. The U.N. would be even more inefficient to provide any relief and totally useless to avoid the conflicts. Indeed, the U.S. took the lead in shaping the international order that emerged after World War II, but it would have not succeeded without the help of European allies.

The legitimacy of the Forum is crucial for its success. According to associate professor of Government at Dartmouth College Stephen G. Brooks, the legitimacy for reshaping the international order will be carried out through institutionalization. According to Brooks, legitimacy is based on the belief that an action, an actor, or a political order is proper, acceptable, or natural. Along these lines, Francis Fukuyama has promoted the benefits of multilateral cooperation, also legitimized via an organization.

In sum, close coordination at the Forum will enhance the ability of all members to overcome financial crises, to fight against global terrorism, to prevent nuclear and WMD proliferation, to protect democracy and human rights, and, in sum, to establish international peace and security — and its legitimacy will be measured by its effectiveness.

## Previous Ideas

International strategists of the major Western powers, the U.S. and the U.K. have already pointed out that, in order to meet global challenges, cooperative approaches are strongly necessary.

In May 2010, the *U.S. National Security Strategy* report argued<sup>5</sup> that, “In the years since [9/11 terrorist attacks] ... we have wrestled with how advance American interests in a world that has changed— a world in which the international architecture of the twentieth century is buckling under the weight of new threats, the global economy has accelerated the competition facing our people and businesses, and the universal aspiration for freedom and dignity contends with new obstacles.” And it continues; “As we do, we must recognize that no one nation—no matter how powerful—can meet challenges alone. As we did after the World War II, America must prepare for the future, while forging cooperative approaches among nations that can yield results.”

The report concludes with the following statements; “This modernization of institutions, strengthening of international norms, and enforcement of international law is not a task for the U.S. alone, but together with like-minded nations, it is a task we can lead [...]”

5 National Security Strategy, The White House, (May 2010) [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)

**“The international strategists of the major Western powers, US and UK have already pointed out that in order to meet the global challenges are strongly necessary cooperatives approaches.”**

The British report<sup>6</sup> on its international strategy *A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertain: the National Security Strategy* also echoed the need to reshape the international order by common efforts of its like-minded allies. The report pointed out that, “It is essential to start with a hard-headed reappraisal of our foreign policy and security objectives and the role we wish our country to play, as well as the risks we face in a fast-changing world.”

Actually, this is not the first time that democracies with shared values have suggested to join an international body to work together, to enjoy closer cooperation and to reach better coordination in order to address their challenges and to face their common threats. There are previous projects and ideas that did not eventually develop.

*League of Democracies* by John McCain: McCain proposed the League in order to ensure America’s global leadership hegemony for the next century. Although the U.S. will be the top leader of the Forum, McCain’s ideas focus on America’s role more than on the allies. Nonetheless, McCain’s idea of Western hegemony is worth noting.

*D-10* by Ash Jain: This project is perhaps the closest approach to our Forum of Western Democracies. It actually lacks specific criteria that the Forum does require. The Forum of Western Democracies also prefers to strengthen Western democracy than to expand it — expansion might be a subsequent-stage goal.

*Alliance of Democracies* by Ivo Daalder: The Alliance designed by Daalder falters when it puts NATO as its military apparatus. In addition, the Alliance shows too open a hand to quasi-democracies —encouraging them to join the Alliance. Therefore, the criteria for accepting members is very broad. Nonetheless, as McCain’s *League*, it is an initiative with core

6 “A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertain: the National Security Strategy”, Command of Her Majesty, (October 2010) [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/61936/national-security-strategy.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/61936/national-security-strategy.pdf)

ideas such as the hegemony of Western democracies and the need for mutual cooperation.

*Concert of Democracies* by the Princeton Project: The one thing that is surely attractive in this project is the charter for the Concert of Democracies. Its other approaches are far apart from the Forum. The Concert wants to integrate all the BRICS and talks about negotiating with Islamists to solve the problems of the Middle East. It is interesting to highlight the mutual commitment preached by the charter as one of the main goals of the Concert.

*The Community of Democracies*: The Community is a running project; however it can turn very ridiculous at some points. Among its members, we find North Korea and Morocco. However, it has promoted the Democracy Caucus at the U.N., which is not cause for great enthusiasm, but, at least, it is the beginning of the idea to unite all democracies in an international body.

*The UN's Democracy Caucus*: The *Caucus* has a testimonial development, as it is traditional at the U.N. Nonetheless, this caucus can be an ideal frame to launch the idea of the Forum. In the coming future, the *Democracy Caucus* could be the voice of the Forum at the U.N.

The Forum of Western Democracies goes further than any previous attempts. It makes clear the need to protect Western democracies and requires a higher level of commitment from its members.

## Goals and Purposes

The commitments met by the members have to be few and strongly consolidated.

- Pursue peace, security, prosperity, and defense of the liberal democratic order and human rights wherever they are threatened or violated (R2P)
- Mutual understanding and protection among its members. Strengthen cooperation and coordination on security, policy, and economy issues among members.
- The ideological, political and economic reconstruction of the West. Rethink the current international order and establish a new one, in which Western democracy is protected and has a safe future.
- Prevent the G-Zero World and establish the Forum as a form of strong leadership in the world.
- Promote economic growth and innovation among its members.

## Criteria

Membership must be selective and established by the founding members. Not only should the quality of the prospective members' democracy, military, and economic structures be considered, but also the obligations that candidates are will-

ing to take as members of the Forum.

The required standards will be assessed according to internationally recognized indexes and reports: Democracy (*The Democracy Index*,) Freedom (*House of Freedom*, *World Freedom Press*,) Economic Freedom (*Heritage Foundation*, *The Wall Street Journal*,) GDP index rate, R&D investment, Military spending (*World Bank*, *SIPRI*, *The Economist*.) Also, the members must be part of certain agreements, treaties, and conventions that are applied at the domestic level in their respective countries (Geneva Conventions, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, etc.)

There is some consensus regarding the criteria due to previous attempts. Ash Jain, Ivo Daalder, or Princeton's *Concert* repeat most of them: Fair and free elections, rule of law, independent judiciary, legally protected human rights, etc. However, in order to be member of the Forum, some extra criteria will be justifiably added: Religious tolerance, gender equality, the recognition of Israel, and government accountability.

In addition, mutual commitment is highly required. Only through strong commitment, a binding institution can be legitimate and successful. In this regard, besides the criteria for membership, each State must participate in certain engagements:

- Go to the defense of any member if attacked, politically, militarily, or economically.
- Go to the help of a member in case of a natural disaster.
- Never use force, promote boycotts, or exert pressure in conjunction with non-members against one member of the Forum.
- Provide logistics contingencies, in the case of the use of force against a non-member country.
- Joint action in global crises.

## Potential Members

As aforementioned, potential members have to meet top standards on several issues (economic power, military expending, freedom, quality of democracy.)

According to the *Report for Selected Countries and Subjects*, published in April 2014 by the IMF, the world's leading economic powers ranked by GDP are<sup>7</sup>:

| Country | GDP<br>(in trillions of U.S. dollars) |
|---------|---------------------------------------|
| U.S.    | 16, 7                                 |
| China   | 9, 1                                  |

7 "Report for Selected Countries and Subjects", world Economic Outlook Database, International Monetary Fund, (April 2014) <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/data/changes.htm>

|             |       |
|-------------|-------|
| Japan       | 4, 9  |
| Germany     | 3, 6  |
| France      | 2, 7  |
| U.K.        | 2, 5  |
| Brazil      | 2, 2  |
| Russia      | 2, 1  |
| Italia      | 2, 07 |
| India       | 1, 87 |
| Canada      | 1, 82 |
| Australia   | 1, 50 |
| Spain       | 1, 35 |
| Mexico      | 1, 25 |
| South Korea | 1, 22 |

According to SIPRI's database<sup>8</sup>, here are the fifteen countries with the highest military spending in the world in billions of dollars:

| Country      | In billions of U.S. dollars |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| U.S.         | 640                         |
| China        | 188                         |
| Russia       | 87, 8                       |
| Saudi Arabia | 67, 0                       |
| France       | 61, 2                       |
| U.K.         | 57, 9                       |
| Germany      | 48, 8                       |
| Japan        | 48, 6                       |
| India        | 47, 4                       |
| South Korea  | 33, 9                       |
| Italia       | 32, 7                       |
| Brazil       | 31, 5                       |
| Australia    | 24, 0                       |
| Turkey       | 19, 1                       |
| UAE          | 19, 0                       |

Nonetheless, there are democratic countries that are not at the top of the economic and military powers, but stand up as models of freedom and civil liberties.

According to the 2014 *Index of Economic Freedom*, published by the Heritage Foundation and *The Wall Street Journal*, the

<sup>8</sup> Sam Perlo-Freeman and Carina Solmirano, "Trends in world military expenditure", The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (April 2014) [http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=476](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=476)

fifteen top-rated economies on economic freedom in the *Index* are: Hong Kong, Singapore, Australia, Switzerland, New Zealand, Canada, Chile, Mauritius, Ireland, Denmark, Estonia, United States, Bahrain, United Kingdom, and the Netherlands.

*The Economist's* 2012 *Democracy Index* ranks as full democracies at the top, the following twenty-five countries: Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, New Zealand, Australia, Switzerland, Canada, Finland, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Ireland, Germany, Malta, United Kingdom, Czech Republic, Uruguay, Mauritius, South Korea, United States of America, Costa Rica, Japan, Belgium, and Spain.

| Country        | Overall Score (Democracy Index) |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| Norway         | 9, 93                           |
| Sweden         | 9, 73                           |
| Iceland        | 9, 65                           |
| Denmark        | 9, 52                           |
| New Zealand    | 9, 26                           |
| Australia      | 9, 22                           |
| Switzerland    | 9, 09                           |
| Canada         | 9, 08                           |
| Finland        | 9, 06                           |
| Netherlands    | 8, 99                           |
| Luxembourg     | 8, 88                           |
| Austria        | 8, 62                           |
| Ireland        | 8, 56                           |
| Germany        | 8, 34                           |
| Malta          | 8, 28                           |
| UK             | 8, 21                           |
| Czech Republic | 8, 19                           |
| Uruguay        | 8, 17                           |
| Mauritius      | 8, 17                           |
| South Korea    | 8, 13                           |
| US             | 8, 11                           |
| Costa Rica     | 8, 10                           |
| Japan          | 8, 08                           |
| Belgium        | 8, 05                           |
| Spain          | 8, 02                           |

Therefore, there are democracies that should be members of the Forum even if they are not major economic or military powerhouses, such as Switzerland, Denmark, New Zealand, Austria, Ireland, Spain, or the Netherlands.

A potential list of members might be:

United States, United Kingdom, Germany, France, Japan, Italy, South Korea, Australia, Canada, Switzerland, Denmark, New Zealand, Austria, Spain, the Netherlands, and Ireland.

## How

### Austerity and New Technologies:

Small structure, and high efficiency. The Forum has to adapt to the information society, whether rebuilding an organization to address a threat or attack. Austerity has to be a value to claim by the Forum. Effectiveness in lieu of paraphernalia has to be the norm for daily operations. Let us emphasize that the production of legal papers and regulations for daily operations must refrain from creating the kind of large legal corpus such as the one fostered by the European Union.

The Bodies of the Forum to be:

### Permanent Board.

It will function as a caucus, as a consultancy body, an austere and easily accessible body for its members. Representatives of member-countries will be permanently in contact (online). The Permanent Board will need to establish a quorum for voting, secretarial rotary, face meetings and summits, process measures or resolutions.

### High-Level Group/Advisory Group:

A board not engaged in daily operations that will advise and assess the Forum's members on how to set guidelines to make their goals attainable. This wise group will be formed not only by politicians – there might be historic leaders such as Tony Blair, Nicolas Sarkozy, or José María Aznar, and influential active politicians. As aforesaid, prominent and renowned members of civil society must be part of the Forum and also give their advise. Philosophers, scholars and thinkers such as Bernard Henri-Lévy, Ian Bremmer, or Francis Fukuyama and entrepreneurs such as Larry Ellison, Howard Schultz, or Mark Zuckerberg would serve in the *Advisory Group*. Including scholars and entrepreneurs is a way to prevent the inability to adapt that multilateral institutions experience and will guarantee having an innovative and dynamic body.

The Functions, mainly four, but more may be added if the High Level Group or the Permanent Board so recommend it. These functions will be discussed in forums within the Permanent Board:

### Strategic Issues

An agenda of strategy to apply, divided in periods, which marks the goals to achieve for the Forum. Such goals, although some of them are lasting, such as the protection of

human rights, free trade, or energy and resources security, will be checked annually, providing assessment reports on the advances that have been accomplished.

### Economic Development and Growth

The financial crisis has shown that the West's economic structures, in spite of having resisted the worst, are weak. Thus, one of the Forum's main goals is to promote economic development and growth among its members by sharing innovation, know-how, applying new measures to promote the free market, new avenues of cooperation, productivity, strengthening the labor forces...It is necessary to set and design strategic planning for economic growth, based on innovation, knowledge, and technology, as the keystone of the economy.

### Policy Consultation and Coordination

The Permanent Board, as a 24/7 working body, will hold the daily consultation and coordination of both international strategy and internal affairs of the members -- if some requires advice or help. The share of information and the flux of consulting dispatches shall be one of the essential functions of the Forum, which is aimed, among other things, to coordinate global efforts to preserve Western democracies strong, prosperous, and safe.

### Crisis Response

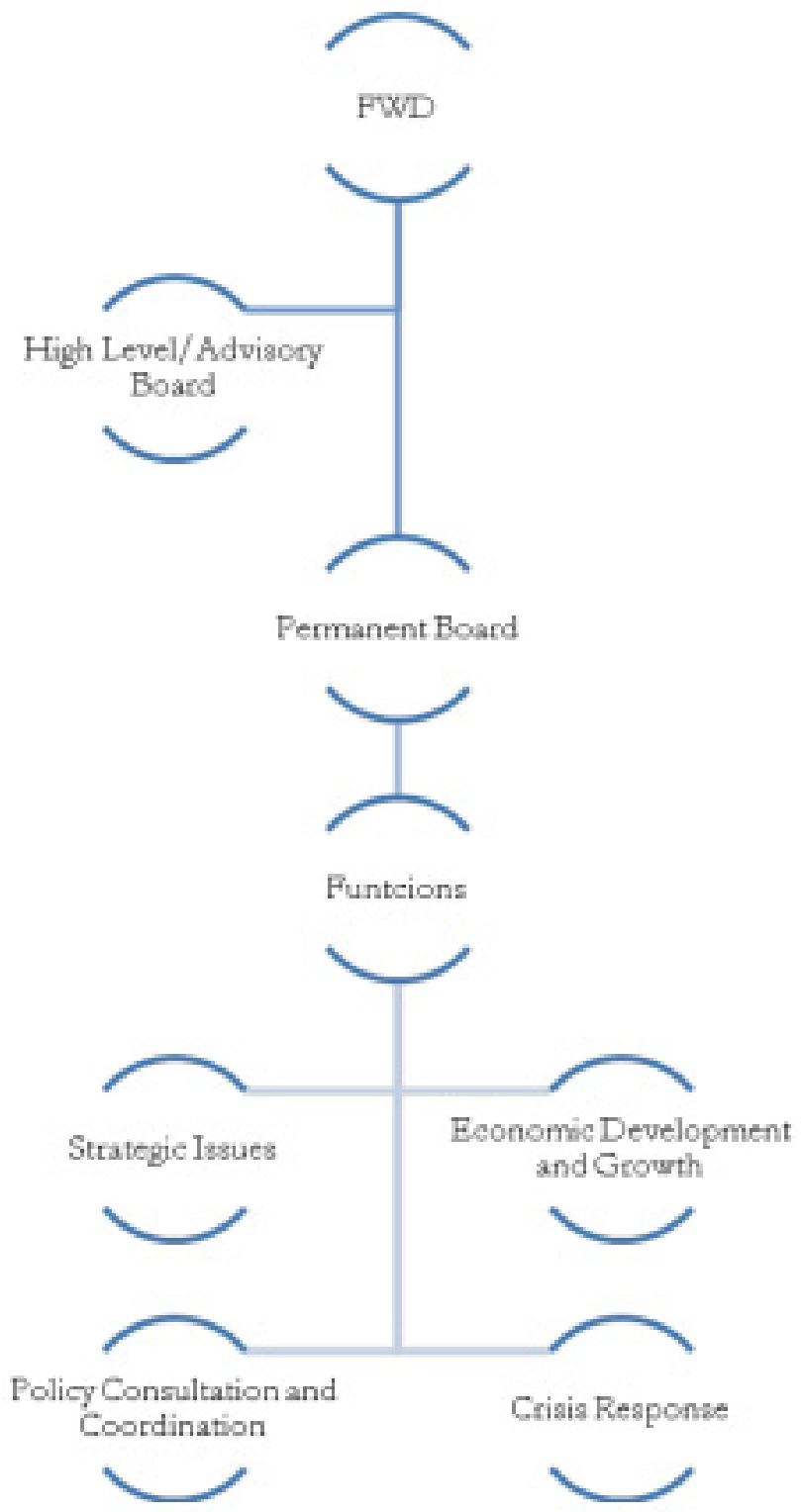
When the U.N. and other international bodies are unwilling to act, the Forum can gather its efforts to manage global crises like genocides, regional wars, or natural disasters and also if the crisis affects any of the Forum's members.

### Possible Drawbacks

Surely, when it comes to thinking about the idea of common cooperation among democracies around the world in order to guarantee a better future, there is a lot of hesitations in the air as well. The idea is not easy to implement and, besides time and consensus, there are more requirements to achieve the goal.

First, one of the major problems supposes the formation of an anti-Western bloc. Stewart M. Patrick, who sees Ash Jain's approach as realistic, thinks that the dynamic "West versus the Rest" could be the biggest danger in creating a coalition of democracies<sup>9</sup>. However, we live in a time when international forums and organizations are very prolific; no country will be surprised to see that another multilateral body is created. As Fukuyama has pointed out, we are in an era of multi-multilateralism, and there is already a vast array of overlap-

<sup>9</sup> Stewart M. Patrick, "Time for a Coalition of Capable, Like-Minded Democracies?" Council on Foreign Relations, (January 17, 2013) <http://blogs.cfr.org/patrick/2013/01/07/time-for-a-coalition-of-capable-like-minded-democracies/>



**“A Forum of Democracies do not suppose those Democracies abandon the world, on the contrary, they want to act jointly to shape a better world.”**

ping forums for multilateral engagement — both among and between great powers. In addition, Russia, China, and the emerging powers, will continue seeking economic understanding with Western democracies.

Besides, downplaying the U.N., dictatorships and Islamist theocracies could lead to that they take advantage of the organization and use it in more hostile ways against the West. The potential risk of a U.N. split, or worse, marginalization of the body, have to be dealt with smart diplomacy. A Forum of Western Democracies do not suppose that those democracies will abandon the world; on the contrary, they want to act jointly to shape a better world.

Second, setting up the Forum will take time. The formation requires a lot of convincing, nation to nation, on the benefits of being united. Each country will have its own attached amendments; besides, consensus must be reached for several organizational matters such as where to establish the headquarters, the international agenda, qualified managing staff, a budget...

Third, legitimacy shall also be measured by the Forum's effectiveness: the more proven effectiveness in achieving its mission and objectives, the more leverage the Forum will acquire. However, the legitimacy is, at the first stage, created and earned by binding commitments among its members; a bunch of rules will establish the Forum as an institution; but, above all, the legitimacy is instantly acquired by the importance of its members.

Fourth, a classic skeptical doubt on joining an international binding institution is the loss of sovereignty — a common case scenario in the European Union, supported by many people in Euro-skeptical movements. As Brooks has pointed out, realist statesmen such as George Kennan and realist scholars such as Robert Gilpin have shown that institutions generally enable leading states more than they constrain them; lonely realist voices argued that institutions are effective tools of the powerful, though. In this regard, thanks to the evidence that the members are all democratic Western-like countries

(gauged by the high criteria set up before) intervention in the internal affairs of members will not be even necessary for the goals of the Forum. The Forum as such will be focused on coordinating international actions, not demanding domestic changes from members and applying a minimum intervention approach on these internal matters.

Fifth, the lack of consensus or liability among the members of the Forum may come up in at any stage of the Forum's establishment, or even once the institution is already in operation.

On the one hand, countries as such, have interests, ties, and deals with non-democratic countries and not all democracies are going to be open to breaking up these relationships in the case that the R2P Doctrine has to be applied, or economic sanctions have to be set in order to pressure some state to respect international rules.

On the other hand, surely, not all of the most powerful democracies have the same view on how the Forum has to work. In this sense, debates and discussions about the structure, competencies, daily-basis communications, or budget issues, can slow the formation of the Forum. Thus, the Forum has to be formed with a minimalist approach in order to meet all the common goals held by its members.

Every international organization has had to face drawbacks and obstacles. The Forum will surely be no exception, but overcoming them shall also prove that the Forum is the ultimate initiative to protect Western democracies, to reshape the international order, and to guarantee a better future for coming generations.



# Onwards: A Better Future

*Democracy needs support and the best support for democracy comes from other democracies. Democratic nations should come together in an association designed to help each other and promote what is a universal value - democracy.*

**Benazir Bhutto**

As Parag Khanna has noted, in this era of “mega-diplomacy,” as he describes it, everyone should form coalitions that can move global resources to solve local problems. That will make the world a more environmentally-friendly, prosperous, and safe place. In order to achieve that, there is something we must protect. In this sense, democracy can be seen as a set of practices and principles that institutionalizes what ultimately leads to protect freedom. Indeed, under democratic regimes, human beings have reached the highest levels of welfare, progress, prosperity, and freedom in history, according to Walter Russell Mead, and no other social form than liberal democracy provided enough freedom and dignity for a contemporary society to remain stable. Democracy, at last, is undoubtedly worth protecting.

Moreover, the West is under siege. State and non-state actors worldwide are pressuring against the democratic way by promoting instability and chaos in order to crack Western civilization. As soon as the West decides to act, this progressive aggression can be reversed.

As British historian Niall Ferguson has pointed out<sup>1</sup>, the West’s fatalism is not a good way to react to the present situation. Our civilization, with its successes and failures, and other good things sincerely condemned, still has much to offer to the world. Today the main threat is, definitely, our own loss of faith in our civilization.

Most of the richest, industrially-advanced, democratically-stable states are in, or affiliated with, the West. At the end of the day, the potential ability of Western countries to build a new international order and make it thrive is quite real. With mutual support and joint action, as history has dem-

onstrated, any challenge can be overcome. A new world is ahead and there are a lot of challenges to overcome jointly if democracies want prevail and flourish.

Accordingly, the better future to come under the Forum of Western Democracies will foster;

**“The emergence of the Forum of Western Democracies would be the first step to reform the post Cold War international order.”**

*The Reform of the International Order.* The emergence of the Forum of Western Democracies would be the first step to reform the post-Cold War international order — especially it would constitute a considerable push to accelerate U.N. reforms. Before the progressive lack of operability in multilateral bodies, the Forum will come up as the ultimate and efficient institution, which will be ca-

pable of filling the vacuums.

*Mutual Support.* It will be a forum that will protect, by force if necessary, Western democracies and the values and principles they represent. Besides, this protection will extend, for example, to safe trade and representation in international bodies.

*Responsibility to Protect.* If the Security Council does not authorize the U.N. to use force in case of need, or to set economic sanctions as other means of pressure, the Forum will do it, if it decides to do so. Despite the sad flops of multilateral organizations to prevent genocide and human rights violations, the Responsibility to Protect has rested on the most capable and powerful democracies.

*Efficient Solutions.* By action, cooperation, and joint coordination, global problems are easier to solve and more satisfactory solutions for all members of the Forum will be achieved. Also, common efforts will help fix problems and settle differences among members in an easier, more efficient and direct way.

<sup>1</sup> William Skidelsky, “Niall Ferguson: ‘Westerners don’t understand how vulnerable freedom is’”, *The Guardian*, (February 20, 2011)

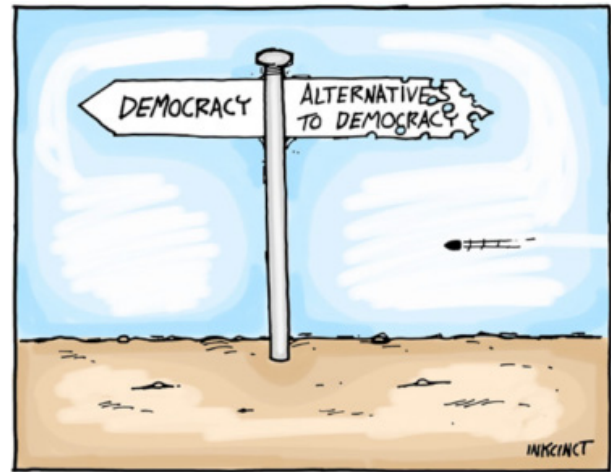
*Liberal Democracy Expansion.* As a result of Immanuel Kant's view (democracies rarely fight one another,) leaders since Woodrow Wilson have tried to promote democracy as a means to spread peace<sup>2</sup>. A successful forum will inspire many countries to achieve the high standards required to be part of it. In sum, there will be more interest to promote or accelerate the implementation of the liberal Western democracy model in many countries. Furthermore, the concept of Western democracy would be strengthened.

*Nuclear and WMD Proliferators, Treatment of Rogue States.* Coordinate actions (such as economic sanctions) in order to halt the development of nuclear and mass-destruction weapons, as well as other harmful actions or policies carried out by rogue States.

*Beneficial Sharing.* Members will closely share and cooperate in areas such as economics, strategy, innovation, research, growth, promotion and welfare. The Forum will be in this sense a privileged sphere of influence for its members.

*Rebuilding of the West.* Following the success of the Forum, the West would be rebuilt following the example of their most committed democracies, adapting to the new post-Cold War era and strengthened as a model of international leadership.

A forum of liberal anchors leading the international order is the step forward, the necessary upgrade after the end of the Cold War for democracy to prevail. The West is not just an ensemble of values and creeds; it is also a group of brave and committed countries, thriving in spite of the circumstances to achieve a free, fair, and better world. In the midst of the current turning point, the Forum of Western Democracies is the most laudable political initiative.



<sup>2</sup> Yoon Young-Kwan, "Asia's Military Revolution", *Project Syndicate*, (July 3, 2014) <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/yoon-young-kwan-traces-the-region-s-growing-tensions-to-its-leaders--failure-to-build-multi-lateral-institutions>

**F O R U M**  
**O F W E S T E R N**  
**D E M O C R A C I E S**  
**Reshaping the International**  
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