

WORLD FEDERALIST MANIFESTO

GUIDE TO POLITICAL GLOBALIZATION

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Introduction.

The history of our globe is reaching its final destination.

From a chaotic amalgam of competing and rival nations, the world is evolving towards a unitary framework, where different organized communities cooperate to prevent conflicts and promote the progress of humanity.

This phenomenon is defined as globalization.

The International Monetary Fund defines globalization as the crescent interdependence of world nations through the increased volume of cross border transactions, free international capital flows and more widespread diffusion of technology¹.

Such interdependence creates the necessity to discipline the growing volume of connections among governments and citizens of different countries.

The abatement of boundaries requires an extension of juridical relationships outside the jurisdictional borderlines of each nation.

There are two instruments to discipline the relationships among States which produce effects on their citizens:

- a) The international agreement (under the form of bilateral agreement, Convention or Treaty);
- b) The institution of international organizations for the purpose of creating, administering and executing international law and settle disputes among States.

Because of the complexity of juridical relationships and the magnitude of cross border transactions there is a widespread need in the international

community to have one organization responsible for the handling of international matters.

Different political systems can be used for such world organization; this book has the purpose of analyzing the federalist system.

Chapter 1

Definition of World Federalism.

World federalism can be defined as an agreement among different nations aimed at creating a system of government which regulates the international political and economic relationships, distributing powers between central authority and Member States.

The term federalism comes from Latin *foedus* (agreement) and postulates the stipulation of a contract which is binding among the parties.

World federalism requires the relinquishment of certain sovereign powers by nations in favor of an international organization, as well as a repartition of competences between the intergovernmental entity and the Member States.

The modern concept of federalism attributes limited powers to the central authority, preserving the competences of peripheral authorities, and thereby creating a decentralized government.

In federal organizations, foreign policy, currency, defense and interstate commerce are under federal jurisdiction; all other matters fall within State jurisdiction.

At world level, the federal authority's powers would be limited to international business, common currency and international security; in fact, because all nations would be part of the federal organization, there wouldn't be a foreign policy and a common defense.

Federalism has had different applications depending on the different interpretations it has being given by the States.

While the European Union, as a Confederation of States, is inclined to a centralization of powers in the economic field more than defense, the powers of

federal governments, like the United States, extend much further than just in matters of economy and defense.

In cases where the federal authority has wide powers, the creation of an Assembly representing the States (the Senate) allows them to express their interests.

Federalism is a dual political system which balances between federal and State powers, as well as between the legislative, administrative and judiciary branch.

Federalism is therefore composed of two elements: a horizontal separation of governmental powers, through a system of check and balances and a vertical separation, in which the federal authority has limited powers separated from the States. These two elements of separation are simultaneously present in federal systems

For example, in the United States there is a horizontal separation of powers which is expressed by the independence of the executive branch from the legislative and the judiciary; there is also a vertical separation of powers between the federal government and the States

In general, matters of federal authority are always defined in the constitution of the federal nation; all matters not falling within federal authorities belong to the States.

It is possible to affirm that, to the initial tripartition of powers between legislative, executive and judiciary theorized by Montesquieu in the XIII century, another power has been separated in modern history: the financial branch.

In the United States as well as in European nations, the financial branch is not managed by the Government but independently by central banking systems.

The separation of the monetary power can be observed more clearly at international level with the separation between the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the United Nations.

There are three different forms of federalism: traditional federalism, dual federalism and confederalism.

Traditional federalism is the model adopted by the United States, where the States relinquish their sovereignty to the federal government, who in turn represents them in front of other nations.

It constitutes a centralized model of federalism, where State laws are subject to the federal constitution.

Dual federalism considers both governmental entities, the federal government and the States, each sovereign within their respective sphere of power².

The most decentralized model of federalism is the confederation of States.

Confederalism differs from traditional federalism because the States have a higher degree of power and freedom:

They have the right to withdraw from the confederation;

The federal authority can only exercise the powers expressly conferred by the Member States;

Federal laws are a lesser source of law than State constitutions;

Federal authorities have no jurisdiction on the citizens of the States and can only apply sanctions to the States' governments;

Member State's citizens don't vote directly to elect federal representatives.

Confederalism shall not be considered a different political system in respect to federalism, rather a decentralized form of it.

In fact, they both are political systems based on the two elements of separation of powers.

Historically, the doctrine has always mixed elements of federalism and confederalism in elaborating federal forms of government.

In the Federalist Papers, James Madison theorized a form of federalism where the States preserved their sovereignty³.

In his vision of federalism Madison affirmed the State right to declare a federal law unconstitutional, as expressed in the Virginia Resolution of 1798.

The preservation of State sovereignty is a characteristic element of confederalist models; however, its application to the US federal constitution has been an object of discussion.

It is possible to affirm that the difference between federalism and confederalism is based on the degree of State independence from the central authority.

Historical models of confederation are Switzerland between 1291 and 1847, the United States between 1781 and 1789 and the European Union⁴.

The European Union can be considered an example of such system of government, because its Member States preserve their sovereignty even though they relinquish part of it to the community's authorities in specific matters.

Because of the States' reluctance to cede part of their authority to a intergovernmental organization, a centralized model of federalism cannot be adopted at international level.

The higher the degree of political decentralization, the higher the probabilities are that nations will join the international organization.

Federalism requires the existence of an agreement, which has historically assumed the form of a constitution, because of its rigidity which does not allow amendments without the consent of a super majority of Member States.

Considering the importance of the constitution in federal organizations, the preservation of the terms of adhesion is essential to avoid amendments which can alter the scope originally attributed to federal authority causing an invasion of State sovereignty and the consequent separation of the States from the federal entity.

An authoritative doctrine has noticed that federalism tends to disintegrate in the form of secession or centralize in a unitary government⁵.

Such risks need to be confronted and prevented during the preparation of the federal constitution.

The reasons why world federalism is becoming a compelling need for nations are multiple:

a) The development of advanced technologies in the transportation field has reduced distances among people resident in different areas of the world, developing international relationships and the need to create uniform rules to discipline them.

b) The invention and spread of new telematic means of communication, like the internet, has constituted an additional step towards globalization, abating States borders and allowing people of different nations to communicate, transfer capitals and operating purchase and sales of products in which the buyer and the seller are located in distant places of the globe.

Technological evolution represents one of the main sources of globalization, yet the process of abatement of borders has historic roots which will be analyzed in the following Chapters.

Globalization is an inescapable phenomenon: the only questions are when and how it will happen.

The choice of the best form of government is essential to avoid that a positive and natural phenomenon leads instead to a new global conflict.

World federalism is a form of government, which in contrast to totalitarianism and centralism, allows different nations to maintain their sovereignty, relinquishing to the federal authority, only the powers to manage and regulate the intergovernmental relationships.

This way it is possible to achieve a double result: on one side, the regulation of international relationships; on the other, the prevention of conflicts among States, promoting peace and cooperation, as well as economic prosperity

through the elimination of barriers to international commerce and to the free circulation of people, services and capitals⁶.

Furthermore, the federal system protects Member States from the risk of totalitarianism and dictatorship⁷.

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The confederation is the model which better applies to an international government, due to its flexibility which leaves Member States with broad freedom and intrinsically limits their relinquishment of sovereignty.

The centralization of powers and the transformation from confederation to federation has been historically caused by the nations' necessity to defend their interests from the aggression of other nations.

Because world federalism would incorporate all nations, the lack of external threats would cancel the need for a strong central authority.

At the same time, the world government has the function to facilitate the relationships among nations: it is created as an instrument to assist nations, not as an entity superimposing them.

The only function in which the sovereignty of the world government is superior to that of States is the preservation of international peace and security.

The increase of the international social-economic exchange has created the necessity to build international organizations with the task of regulating juridical relationships among the components of the international community.

The United Nations and its specialized agencies have been created to fulfill this purpose; such organizations have limited powers and due to internal structural problems, they cannot carry out their functions efficiently.

In recent years many non governmental organizations have been created to promote a federalist model for the international community.

The most important are the World Federalist Movement and the World Federalist Association, (which has recently changed its name to Citizens for Global Solutions).

Many think-tanks are studying globalization, the most prominent among them are the Globalization Institute and the Royal Institute for International Affairs of London (also known as Chatham House), the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission and the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Washington, DC.

Some of these organizations have the prurpose of spreading the concept of world federalism among the population; others study its advantages and the ways to realize it.

However, it is important to notice that a world federalist government can only be the result of the will and the effort of each nations' government, because at international level, consent is expressed by the organs of the countries and not directly by people.

In the case of the United Nations, for example, both in the Assembly and in the Security Council, the voting right is conferred to the States delegates, which are appointed by each nation's government (usually with the ratification of the Senate).

There is no direct participation of the people in the election of delegates in the international organizations.

This is due to the fact that, as this book will examine in the following Chapters, because of the unequal distribution of world population, if universal suffrage was adopted by the international organizations, just a few countries like China and India would take absolute control of the organizations.

The adoption of a federalist system at world level shall be carried out by governments, under the pressure of regulating international business and attracted by the benefits of free circulation of people, goods, services and capitals.

Social-economic inequality represents the main obstacle to globalization: if, for example, the inhabitants of Mexico and Cuba were allowed to freely move

to the United States, because of the severe economic imbalance between nations there would be a mass exodus of people in search of job opportunities.

The result would be the economic impairment of both nations, as well as an increase of unemployment in the wealthiest nation.

To avoid such an example of negative globalization there are two possible solutions:

a) Allow developing countries to emerge economically, thereby reducing the differences that divide them from the most industrialized nations;

b) Create a model of regional federalism among the most developed nations and extending it to developing countries, which would be allowed to adhere when they reach acceptable social-economic standards.

The above mentioned are the two most realistic ways to globalization.

World federalism constitutes the political expression of globalization.