

TRENDS TO A NEW WORLD ORDER

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Abstract

The scientific transition from the concepts of absolute space-time to relative ones took centuries and centuries. The same process has happened slowly in politics, including institution building. However, the actual world order is more a nation-state order, where the influence of national aspects or allegiance to one's country is still strong. This means that the space (territory) is still more absolute than relative, becoming a divergent barrier to the foundations of the globalization process, with a strengthening of an interdependent component in international relations. An increasing role in weakening the reality of nation-state is played, recently, by different human rights organizations and some specialized international instruments.

On the other side, the poverty, the digital divide and the great imbalances among rich and poor countries are playing an important role in the mixing of different populations through legal or illegal immigration. They are also a source of injustices and conflicts. Parallel to this, rampant corruption and different kinds of exploitation

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are a breeding ground of terrorism or varied religious strife. The last one is obscurely classified as a "clash of civilizations".

What is needed today is a careful analysis of the new trends in our world, their generalization and reflection in reforming the main political concepts and the important international institutions. This paper considers some of them closely linked to respective challenges.

Keywords

Globalization, world order, independence-interdependence, poverty, digital divide, human rights, moral economy, etc.

Introduction

Is the present world the same as it was 20-30 years ago? The answer is clearly "No". And, what about the actual world order, the actual political concepts and practices applied? Undoubtedly, a lot of positive changes have taken place, but this evolutionary process is relatively slow and more or less coercive. As a result, actual global politics is practically and theoretically lagging behind some important spatial and temporal changes of the recent decades. The rapid transformation and progress in information and telecommunication technologies and the acceleration of the process of globalization itself after the demise of the Soviet Union, are strongly pressing global political leadership to accept and adopt these changes. In particular, the "electronic" compression of space-time is making economically fluid, even transparent, the national boundaries and separated territories. Through such process the split between domestic concerns and global affairs is becoming more insignificant. As a consequence, this new space-time in the actual world is attacking the political foundation of nation-state construction of world order, generating a gradual erosion of the concept of state sovereignty in many aspects and increasing the role of interdependence at the international level. The growth of the international protection of human rights, and its extreme urgency - the international intervention - has contributed to these important changes.

Another question today is: can we transform the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and respective conventions to a doctrine, a

kind of ideology, a "universal religion" for all humanity? Yes, it is possible and it is necessary; because, it is believed, that this human doctrine is supporting, and will continue to support, the democratic and secular institutional building of the state, on one side, and it makes the citizens equal to each other (despite their religious, racial, ethnic affiliations, etc.), on the other.

In this paper, we will consider some of the present priorities and challenges in the evolution of world order. Among them, very important, from a theoretical and practical point of view, are the new realities related to the relationships between interdependence and sovereignty and their prospects, politics and business, democracy, open society and sovereignty of the citizen, good governance, economic freedom and corruption, poverty and the digital divide.

1. Interdependence and Sovereignty

One of the most important aspects of the political process, which is taking place in our world, is a profound change in the relationship between independence and interdependence. Closely linked to this effect-change are two causes of economic and technological nature. Those are: one, actual spatial and temporal contours of globalization; and two, "relativity", or better, "reduction" of space-time itself under the "pressure" of new communication technologies. Also, the Human Rights instruments are playing a considerable role to the internal dynamics between independence and interdependence. Let us analyze some of these ideas.

Relativity of Space and Time

In science one of the fundamental questions is: How is the nature of space and time to be viewed, *absolutely* ("*universally*") or *relatively* ("*individually*")? In ancient times, Aristotle² believed that for an object in motion, some agent must be responsible for that motion. When that agent stops, the motion stops. According to him there is a privileged being: The Prime Mover. He is the first agent, responsible for moving objects, which, in turn, move other objects. The Prime Mover, he argued, must be at Absolute Rest. (By "absolute rest", we mean that all observers will

² George Sarton, *A History of Science*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952-66.

universally agree on that state of rest). Later, according to Galileo³ the "absolute rest" has no universal meaning. And more, for him, the state of "being at rest" has been demoted from being a public, universal concept to being a private, personal concept. Through his Principle of Relativity, Galileo establishes a sort of *democracy* among all inertial observers. Newton,⁴ for his part, states that there exists an absolute space and time. And this led to the understanding that there is no absolute ("public") notion of speed - the speed of an object is a relative ("private") concept. This is what led us to abandon Aristotle's notion of absolute rest and replace his space-time with Galileo's space-time. Einstein⁵ challenged both absolute time and absolute space. For him, space and time are relative. It is believed that a similar process is happening in social-political motion, particularly from the Treaty of Westphalia,⁶ establishing the political system of sovereign nation-state, to nowadays.

Spatial and Temporal Contours of Globalization

Globalization has a solid (economic, political and cultural) structure and is presently defining a new framework for the world order. As a phenomenon, globalization is inevitable and irreversible. As a process, globalization has been going on for the past 5000 years, but it has significantly accelerated since the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991. Consequences of globalization are trans-border capital, labor, management, news, images, and data flows. From a humanist perspective, the philosophy of globalization entails both positive and negative outcomes: it is both narrowing and widening the income gaps among, and within nations; it is intensifying and diminishing political domination; and homogenizing and pluralizing cultural identities.

Although sharp differences continue to separate different people, there is a contemporary interpretation that endorses the view that

³ Galileo Galilei, *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei*, Edizione Nazionale. 20 vols. Edited by Antonio Favaro. Florence: Barbera, 1890-1909; reprinted 1929-1939 and 1964-1966.

⁴ Isaac Newton, (Sir, 1642-1727). *Isaac Newton's Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica / Isaac Newton*; assembled and edited by Alexandre Koyr and I. Bernard Cohen, with the assistance of Anne Whitman. 3rd ed. [reprinted] : with variant readings. [London], Cambridge University Press, 1972; Newton I, Letter to Boile of 1679, "Isaac Newton", Acad. S.I. Vavilov., published by The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1943, in Russian, pp.95-98.

⁵ Albert Einstein, *The Collected Papers of Albert Einstein*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, V. 2(1989), V. 3(1993), V. 4 (1995), V. 6(1996), V.7(2002).

⁶ See, Francis Botchway, *Documents in International Economic Law* (Ch.1- Peace of Westphalia, Münster, 24 October 1648), V. 1, P.2, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, December 2005, pp. 3 – 14.

globalization and the "joint revolution" of information and telecommunication technologies are generating fundamental changes in the spatial and temporal contours of social existence; according to which the significance of space or territory undergoes shifts in the face of a significant acceleration in the temporal structure of crucial forms of human activity⁷. But those alterations in humanity's experiences of space and time are gradually undermining the importance of local and even *national boundaries*, in many arenas of human endeavor.⁸ Thus, since globalization contains far-reaching implications for virtually every facet of human life, it necessarily suggests the need to rethink key questions of normative political theory. It embodies itself a transformation in the spatial-temporal organization of social relations and transactions (expressed in interconnectedness, in transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and power).

Human Rights in a New Space-Time Environment

The compression of space-time is becoming more present through e-communication, e-commerce and e-business. In this global process, the geographical or national boundaries, and separated territories between domestic matters and global affairs are becoming economically fluid, even transparent. As a consequence, this new space-time conception of economic activity is inevitably attacking the political foundations of the Westphalian Nation-State construction of world order, generating a gradual erosion of the old concept of *state sovereignty* in many aspects. One of them is the international protection of Human Rights, and its extreme urgency - the international intervention.

The international standards of the Human Rights and their implementation are definitely challenging the idea that sovereignty provides governments with insulation against accountability, provided that their actions are confined to territorial limits and that their leaders have an immunity respected throughout the world. The fundamental idea that governments must act within certain prescribed limits - that even political and military leaders might be held accountable of their actions (if they

⁷ Geographical distance is typically measured in time. As the time necessary to connect distinct geographical locations is reduced, distance or space undergoes compression or "annihilation." Changes in the temporality of human activity inevitably generate altered experiences of space or territory.

⁸ See, Rexhep Meidani, *Las trampas del Estado-nación* (in Spanish), Siddharth Mehta Ediciones, Madrid 2007; *The traps of Nation-State* (in Alb.) Publishing House Toena, Tirana 2005

amount to crimes against humanity and severe patterns of human rights abuse)- represents important legal, political and social development. For the most part, there is no longer any secure place to hide in the world; particularly now with the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court in Hague (Rome Treaty of 1998). This was the case for such a kingpin as the Serbian president S. Milosevic, and other political and military leaders of the former Yugoslavia. Their indictment and judgment in International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), for inflicting horror on citizens, applying a policy of ethnic cleansing and genocide to Bosnia and Kosovo populations, is a clear demonstration of a great ethical and human rights achievement of the 20th century. But investigating and penalizing a collective crime, which is now considered as an *international justice responsibility*, doesn't mean, by applying the "*principle of less action*", to obtain political and ethnic balances by investigating and penalizing individual crimes, which are and have to be countries judicial responsibilities. There are some signs of this kind of "extrapolation" in the case of ICTY.

Parallel to the action of the international structures such as: UN High Commissioner or Council for Human Rights, Court of Human Rights (Europe), International Court of Justice or International Criminal Court, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Minority Rights Group, Ethical Trade Initiative, International Labor Organization, European Court of Human Rights, Amnesty International, etc., the significance of human rights is also a consequence of pressures mounted by activists of civil society, at local, national or international level. In particular, the rise of international human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is expressing new modes of transnational political action in this new space-time environment. As instruments of persuasion and public opinion awareness, they are challenging entrenched and oppressive state power. But still today, besides the common efforts at each level and structure, there are some deformations caused by the old conception or misconception of geopolitical priorities, or more likely, based on the global fight against terror. Those are producing even pro-authoritarian interventions and severe regulations, at the expense of human rights and democracy. In this situation, in some special circumstances main global scopes or very important geopolitical and national objectives, on one side, and human rights, on the other, are linked in complex ways; even in contradictory ways in a broader context. Or, at least they are perceived as such in the new space-time environment.

However, the fight against terror cannot serve as a shield (or pretext) to enable a government, or its respective structures, to engage in abusive behavior toward innocent people. Some problematic cases in Chechnya, strong bombardments in Palestinian camps or Lebanon, the behavior of some soldiers toward prisoners in Iraq, etc., are manifesting this perceived contradiction, or at least the *dual nature* between words and actions at this stage of implementation of international human rights standards. This also means that the different "partisan initiatives" to fight terror may work for or against human rights, depending upon the circumstances, and more concretely, upon the presence or the lack of consensus in international community.

Another problem for the world order is the fact that the real power still remains at the level of the state; while the international legal enforcement mechanisms associated with the implementation of human rights are relatively weak. For these reasons, the "subversion" of sovereignty by human rights regulations is, in some cases, more apparent than real; while in several key settings it becomes real as well as apparent. However, in general, we can speak about a positive trend. In particular, the transnational NGOs, dedicated to the promotion and implementation of human rights, have created a strong set of non-state political actors on the global stage. With the norms of human rights having been legitimated by governments, the claims for implementation by these NGOs are difficult to be discounted, especially in the actual space-time environment, joined or supported by a powerful global media. They are "pushing" some of the political leaders to resize the essence of the concept of sovereignty.

Independence and Interdependence

In this perspective, to conceive a new world order, one of the basic political concepts to be reformed, from all points of view, is the concept of national sovereignty; because in an integrated world, all important policies might be global. This is why, it is believed, that instead of the old concept of classic independence or sovereignty, it is necessary to elaborate better the concept of interdependence in order to make compatible the principle of *self-determination* with the principle of interdependence. This is also the way to make compatible the concept of national sovereignty with the concept of globalization and its sub-phenomenon - regionalization. It does not mean the dissolution of national sovereignty, but rather an independent choice states are making to devolve more power to regional authorities or to

pool their sovereignty within supranational authorities. The establishment of the Euro as a common currency is one of examples of the pooling of sovereignty in certain areas of governance. In the framework of a "twofold" state, there is no sense to permit or ponder that any kind of domestic issue (Balkans was one illustration, Middle East is another) has the potential to become sources of conflict and bloodshed. Also, in the perspective of a balanced binomial: sovereignty-interdependence, it is possible to perceive the future of Kosovo as a new state, integrated step by step to NATO and the EU.

Religious and Multiethnic Coexistence

For humanity to progress, cultural diversity, linguistic pluralism, preservation of the traditions, etc., should remain factors that everyone would uphold, against the *human homogenization*. Of the same importance, is the perfection of the *inter-cultural, inter-ethnic and inter-religious dialogue*, a cultural approach to political governance? In this way, it is possible to move on from a *multicultural* process to an *intercultural* one.

After a decade of bloodshed and wars in the former Yugoslavia, there are real efforts in Balkan countries for more tolerance, mutual understanding and cooperation among different national, ethnic and religious communities.

In this sense, there is a very positive experience in Albania for building relations between the state, minorities and religions. Albanian society has been and remains traditionally a very positive model of religious co-existence among three main religions: Islam, Catholicism and Orthodoxy. Also, the most important element for the Albanian identity has not been any specific religion, but mainly the language, common history and culture. This has helped Albanian society to avoid any kind of fabricated project, which was aimed at provoking religious or ethnic disproportion and strife. Illyrians, Arbers, therefore Albanians, being involved in the historical evolution of the religions in Balkans space, have forged new synthesis through pragmatic and harmonic ways, avoiding at maximum different destructing effects. They have tried, very often, to minimize such negative effects, by proposing and applying reconciliation alternatives.

This should also be the case, today, in cultivating the reconciliation and the interfaith of present civilizations, by applying the principle of *inclusion*, not that of *exclusion*. Following this path, it is possible to avoid any futility and "clash of civilizations". For the EU countries to fuel the myth of Christian Nations and to foster the connection between Christianity and politics as a strong emotional force, is the worst thing ever thought of. The same problem also exists on a relative scale in the USA. Throughout the American history, we have seen many cases where the allegiance to God was tending to go hand in hand with American allegiance to country. In many Arabic countries we see also today a powerful trend in the installation of religious states. The political regimes that heavily adhere their state institutions to Islam however, represent national or regional political culture, not the embodiment of a modern state, which to be really democratic needs *secular institutions*. As former Turkish President Süleyman Demirel was right in noting: "*Islam does not foresee a specific system of state*", or "*Islam lends itself to evolutionary applications in matters of governance*", and more "*Islam does not in and of itself pose an obstacle to the establishment of a democratic regime*"⁹.

2. Democracy, Open Society and Sovereignty of Citizen

While firmly condemning terrorism of all origins, it is necessary to clearly distinguish between terrorism and the legitimate rights of all the peoples under foreign occupation and alienate control, guaranteed by international law and UN Charter. At the same time, one needs to be vigilant regarding the respect for freedom and human rights, to avoid any kind of attempts by anti-democratic and autocratic regimes to gain from the war on terrorism. For that, it is necessary to supplement existing legal powers in a number of areas: by reconsidering particularly and seriously the implementation of the Conventions for Human Rights and Freedom, and by reinforcement of democracy and civil societies in the world. These are and must be, without any doubt, important instruments in the fight against terrorism. Similarly, related to the human rights, it might be useful to transit gradually to the *sovereignty of citizens*, to their rights, accepted globally, instead of those of ethnic or national size. Perhaps, in the same way, through a step by step conceptual transformation, within the twofold concept: *Sovereign* and *Interdependent*, i.e., by less accentuation of the

⁹ Süleyman Demirel, *Islam in Turkey; Its Place in People's Lives and Its Reflections on Politics*, Daily News, 15 April, 2004.

ethnic minority concept in international political–institutional practices, it is possible to go to the concept of *sovereign citizens*, all equals before the law. This could be the new world order of an open society and a sovereign citizen. G. Soros was right in saying:

*"A world order based on the sovereignty of states, moreover, cannot take care of our common human interests. The main source of poverty and misery in the world today is bad government – repressive, corrupt regimes and failed states. And yet it is difficult to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries because the principle of sovereignty stands in the way. One way to overcome the problem is to offer countries positive inducements for becoming open societies. That is the missing ingredient in the current world order. There are penalties for bad behavior, from trade sanctions to military intervention, but not enough incentives and reinforcements for good behavior..."*¹⁰

And behind these penalties or incentives, simple people are living, not only some autocratic leaders. For the human emancipation, of the first group, which is majority, we must pay appropriate care and attention to our national or international actions. In particular, the ordinary people need more incentives than penalties, more democracy and acceptable standard of living than any kind of sanction.

Samuel Huntington's "*Third Wave*"¹¹ of transitions started in Portugal and Spain and was followed by Latin America in the eighties. It culminated with the democratic process in Eastern Europe and in some countries after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Now, we are immersed in a new difficult phase, threatened by a democratic "deficit" and a social "fragility", a lack of respect to the national and international law. The high expectation that followed the transition process in many countries has given way to massive disillusion, a weak and corrupted economy, and a democracy lacking in content. It has offered poor options, even though elections are pluralistic and periodic, they have not always been free and fair.

¹⁰ George Soros, *America's Global Role*, The American Prospect, Vol.14, Iss.6, 2003.

¹¹ Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

3. Good Governance and Economic Freedom: Shadow Economy and Corruption

In these two last decades, however, considerable progress has been made in the world in terms of democratic governance. It is quite clear today that many countries, including the Balkans countries, have been important moves toward good governance, achieving macroeconomic stability and opening up to trade relations. It is quite certain now that where there is strong domestic commitment to sound policies, international assistance can be highly productive. This conclusion regarding healthy governance is by no means new. A striking image of good governance can be seen in the famous 14th century Sienna frescos by Lorenzetti, entitled "*Effects of Good and Bad Government*", which depicts two cities. In one, the government is counselled by Justice, Wisdom and Compassion; in the other by Wrath, Self-Pride and Avarice. The former is orderly, happy, and prosperous; the latter is poor, corrupt, and oppressed.

We see similar situations even today. Also, one of the serious challenges is the joint attempt to fight organized crime, corruption, smuggling and any kind of incrimination. Of course, these are not only Balkans problems, but worldwide ones, affecting also the rich countries.

In different international reports, but also in many publications, it was estimated that the money circulated annually by transnational crime was approximately 1-1.5 trillion US dollars.¹² This large amount of criminal money is a real threat for our *world* and our democracies. Therefore, to fight it a *global doctrine* is needed, supported by viable political and financial international institutions with more legal authority of the Security Council, a more dynamic role of the UN and respective agencies.

Actually, all countries in Balkan region are making positive efforts in changing their isolated and centralized political-economic systems to open democratic and free market ones. But still the rank of *economic freedom* for the majority of countries in the region has to be ameliorated. Based on the index of economic freedom (with four levels) for the year

¹² See, Paul Burnham Finney, *The Perils of Bribery Meet the Open Palm*, New York Times, May 17, 2005 (Among different remarks, it was written there that "bribery and other "illegal transactions" cost the world economy an estimated US \$1 trillion a year").

2006,¹³ for different countries in the region, we have: as *mostly free economies*- Slovenia (with overall score of 2.41), followed by Albania (2.75), Croatia (2.78), Greece (2.80), Macedonia (2.80) and Bulgaria (2.88); as *mostly unfree economies*- Bosnia (3.01), Moldavia (3.10), Turkey (3.11) and Romania (3.19), while for Serbia and Montenegro there are no data for 2006 (but three years ago the overall score for their union was nearly 4.28, which reflected a *repressed* economy). There are no data regarding Kosovo. Studying these data over the years, the first positive conclusion is that the level of economic freedom in different fields¹⁴ has been ameliorated in a continuous way. Looking also at the data on informal markets, we see positive progress in all countries; but still, on average, there is a relatively high level of shadow economy in the region. For that, in the "software" field, European assistance must be orientated towards strengthening the reform processes and governance capacities, to building new legal structures in reducing the black market and shadow economy, fiscal evasion, conflict of interests, corruption, etc.

To better illustrate the idea, also consider the corruption perception index (based on a scale of 10 "positive" scores),¹⁵ which for Balkan countries is respectively: Slovenia- 6.1, Greece- 4.3, Bulgaria- 4.0, Turkey- 3.5, Croatia- 3.4, Romania- 3.0, Bosnia-Herzegovina- 2.9, Moldova- 2.9, Serbia and Montenegro- 2.8; Macedonia- 2.7; Albania- 2.4. From these figures it is clear that it is necessary to promote a strong regional anti-corruption network, including states structures, NGO's and an independent media in particular. Without a regionally integrated effort against these phenomena, it is not possible to perceive how the development and integration process of the Balkans countries will proceed.

4. Poverty and Digital Divide

Fighting against terror and increasing human security or guarantying global peace doesn't mean merely an absence of war and conflicts, but an absence of all those profound reasons which cause these conflicts and wars.

¹³ The Heritage Foundation/Wall Street Journal *Index of Economic Freedom 2006*. (<http://www.heritage.org/research/features/index/countries.cfm>)

¹⁴ These fields are: *Trade Policy, Fiscal Burden, Government Intervention, Monetary Policy, Foreign Investment, Banking and Finance, Wages and Prices, Properties Rights, Regulation and Informal Market*.

¹⁵ Transparency International (TI), *2005 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)* (Transparency International and University of Passau, 2005) (http://www.icgg.org/corruption.cpi_2005.html).

In the process of globalization, poverty on global scale is a very serious question and it is considered as a *human injustice*, or more, as a lack of morality and human solidarity. However, to date, much of the world is desperately poor. Over one billion people have been abandoned. They are struggling to remain alive on less than one-two dollars a day. But, with modern communication and the aggressive marketing of Western culture, the poor are now much better informed about how the other part live. It is hardly surprising that there is widespread hostility to globalization as a Western rampage. So there is a risk of globalization being choked by its own "equal" opportunities. The answer is not to give up, but how to help the poor countries and to make globalization compatible with a new kind of *moral meta-capitalism* on the international level.

Many countries in the world (including Albania and other former communist countries in the region) during this last decade have made concrete move towards good democratic governance, but not yet towards sustainable development and a reduction of poverty. Also, the way of rendering the help and assistance to different poor regions has to be changed. Lecturing the poor countries and criticizing their own weak governance, whilst providing little money to support technological advance, public health, education and other needs, is cheap all right. This simply does not work. This strategy has to be changed, particularly regarding the concrete support of the most important global financial institutions such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) or the UN bureaucracy itself. There is a financial exaggeration on training or, worse, on parallel "*software*" projects. For example, regarding this exaggeration, in Albania the coefficient of "*effectiveness*" of the "*hardware*" part has never passed 20-25% in different projects.

Also, humanitarian aid, to some extent, are not only uncoordinated and realized through different associations and institutions, but, in many cases, they are perceived as high salaries for their international employees, as profit for donors and their organizations, and furthermore, they are channeled by interests of a political nature. In general, the principles at high level of international organizations are correct, but they are applied by bureaucrats of different origins or countries, expressing their personal orientations and interests. Additionally, they are perceived, as profit making means by the donors and their organizations, or based more on given political, national or strategic geopolitical interests. Poor countries and their leaders, being in different difficult situations, have to accept any proposal

or to "play ballet" among the most important partners and donors. And more, in general, the international "methodology" is much more based on the promises than the concrete steps or real contributions...

With the end of the Cold War, old ideological divisions are mostly over. But a more intractable division is taking place; this time based *on technology*. A small part of the globe, accounting for about 15% of the earth's population, provides nearly all of the world's technological innovations. A second part, perhaps half of the world's population, is able to absorb and adopt these technologies. The remainder, around a third of the world's population, caught in a poverty gap, is technologically disconnected. Paradoxically, this trend is accentuated by the increasing importance of information technology, which puts greater power and economic rewards in the hands of the wealthy and well-educated people. The question is not how to impede the digitalization of the world, but how to bridge the digital divide; or at least how to create the chances for many of the technologically-excluded regions to become technological users. This is not only a springboard for further democratic evolution and free trade liberalization, but also a necessary step against the actual technological division. Otherwise we will capitulate in front of this injustice, which is embodied in the famous expression of George Orwell's "Animal Farm": "*All animals are equal but some are more equal than others*".¹⁶ And more, this reflects a kind of *crude form of social Darwinism*¹⁷ in which the survival of the fittest depends on competition, not cooperation. In the economy, the competition could be among firms; in international relations, among states. Also, it is not enough to have the political institutions representing states or countries in place. From a human point of view, the peoples living there are much more important. And among people, as human beings, we should not foster *wild competition*, but a *good cooperation!* This is not only a global moral question but also a way to fight poverty and digital divide, to develop democracy throughout the world.

Albania and other countries in the region are successfully profiting from their capacities of absorbing and adopting new technologies, but this process is not reflected yet in the reduction of the *brain drain*. Still, the loss

¹⁶ George Orwell, *Animal Farm* (First Edition). New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946.

¹⁷ George Soros, *The Atlantic Monthly*; February 1997; *The Capitalist Threat*; Volume 279, No. 2; pp. 45-58; *America's Global Role, The American Prospect*, Vol.14, Iss.6, 2003.

of intellectual and professional potential is critical for some countries in transition, Albania included. At the same time, this human loss is also a concrete financial loss for the weak economy of the country. In a moral view, it is also a social loss, because it represents a reduction of democratic civic potentials in poor countries, creating new barriers and difficulties for the absorption and the transfer of technology and know-how.

5. Politics and Business

We can identify today many positive facts in our world. In particular, they are the great changes in information and communication technologies, in democratization and free trade, and more in general, in the further global integration of goods, technology, labor, and capital. However, there are already a growing numbers of problems and anxieties about the future of global policy and economy or the new world order, particularly considering the last events, crisis, conflicts and strong international disagreements. One of them of conceptual nature, in the process of globalization, is how to overcome the actual differences in foundations and "methodologies" between two communities: politics and business. In fact, the "stable" communities of business, based on capital, and their concepts are more concrete and pragmatic. They are moving over national frontiers and changing, in the process of globalization, faster than those of the "unstable" community of politics. The last one is based on elections, power rotations and internal-external "games" and balances. Because of that, there are opinions that globalization, with the main scope of passing from national, unilateral decisions to more international, multilateral ones, is supposed to have left political mentality behind the global world trade process.¹⁸

6. Integration and Political Globalization in Balkans

The full integration into NATO and the EU are absolute strategic priorities in the foreign policies of Albania and other Balkans countries. Actually, they are cooperating closely with NATO, the USA and the EU. At the same time, most of them are participating in the international effort to

¹⁸ In this view, a concrete reflection, was, some years ago the clear hesitation of international administration in Kosovo, to act in economic domain, particularly to accelerate the process of privatization. There were also other delays in Kosovo, created by the postponement of the final decision on its status, including the political agenda of "*standards before the status*", instead of "*standards to the status*"[18], which is actually going to the final phase.

fight terror as real or *de facto* NATO members, or are providing the facilities of their national sea, land and air space, even military units in Bosnia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Also, Albania is cooperating strongly with Western Balkans countries in the process of regional and Euro-Atlantic integration. An incarnation of these principles for regional stability was manifested by the Albanian policy during Kosovo and Macedonia crisis. But in this perspective of regional cooperation and stability the situation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) still remains a point of concern; particularly regarding the full legal and practical implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The situation in Kosovo has gradually ameliorated during the last seven to eight years. However, many observers accept that during this period, the general process in Kosovo was relatively slow regarding the main problems of institution building and reform, privatization, the reduction of the high level of unemployment, the elimination of parallel structure, etc. Also, the process of the devolution of the power and competencies from international administration to elected structure was very slow, even frustrating. And this did not help the democratic, economic and institutional recovery of Kosovo and its preparation, including a Stabilization-Association process, for EU membership. Regarding Serbia and Montenegro, the general perception of Euro-Atlantic integration was that, instead of attempting to orchestrate the ultimate shape and final relations between Serbia and Montenegro, the Europeans ("inventing" a 3-years Union) caused a delay or loss of three years in the consolidation of these two states, of their democracies and their own European future. Now, Serbia and Montenegro are two separated states. Another new separated state will be also Kosovo. This action as the last step of analysis (separation) in Western Balkans will finally open the "door" of this region to synthesis (integration) with the EU.

Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia itself, just as the future of the entire Western Balkans cannot be based on artificial federative configurations,¹⁹ but on the development of viable political and democratic systems, as independent countries, within the *interdependent process* of European accession; and more, by the building of a new cohesive political and economic space and by reducing and making less important the *geographic frontiers*.

¹⁹ Rexhep Meidani, *Balkans a general Overlook. Montenegro, Bosnia, Kosovo, FYROM, Serbia: Near –Term Challenges*, Publishing House Toena, Tirana 2001, pp. 37-61; *Globalization, Integration and Albanian Nation*, (in Alb.), Publishing House Toena, Tirana 2002, pp. 99-137; *Jus Gentium*, (in Alb.) Publishing House Dita, Millennium Club Center, Tirana 2003, pp. 62-80.

There is a strong belief that the process of integration into the EU is the key issue for any country in the Balkan region. Also, a rapid accession of Turkey to the EU is very important, not only in the process of mutual development, but more, to build a powerful bridge for the reconciliation of different religions and cultures. On the cross-roads of several civilizations, Turkey has much in common with the Europeans and great relations with people in the Middle East and Asia - another reason why Turkey should become a very important member of the EU. The best example is Turkey's membership to NATO and the very positive consequences following it. Regarding the positive reflection of this process of integration, it is clear that:

*"The successful conclusion of Turkey's accession process to the EU will represent a higher degree of integration and harmonization of a Muslim society with the peoples of Europe on the basis of common universal and democratic values...In the same vein, millions of Muslims living in Europe today will draw a positive message for integration into their host societies. This will also demonstrate that inclusiveness can prevail over exclusivity, strengthening the European case for the universal applicability of the values it advocates"*²⁰

Considering the future of all in the Western Balkan region, its international collaboration and its association with the EU, the general opinion is that actually more support is needed for the progress of its "hardware" or material infrastructure (roads, water, electricity, etc.) than for its "software" or human infrastructure (institutional reforms, training, social projects, etc.). This will contribute to reduce the actual economic gap between the Balkan region and the EU.

Keeping in view this framework, a real regional integration, the implementation of regional policies and joint economic and infrastructure programs are needed for an easier integration with the EU. In this process, the creation of a free - trade zones, under the mutual free trade agreements, according to article XXIV of GATT and other provisions of World Trade Organization (WTO), the implementation of a common fiscal legislation and customs unification, which is leading to a common free market among

²⁰ Süleyman Demirel, *Islam in Turkey, its place in people's lives and its reflections on politics*, Daily News, 15 April, 2004.

the countries of the region, is providing a very momentum to the integration with the EU. The removal of the barriers to trade and investments, joined by a harmonization and unification of VAT, is leading, step by step, to the opening up and liberalization of our national economies as a common effort towards integration. This is based on the free movement of people, cultures and goods in the region, i.e., on the establishment of a regional "*common economic space*", or "*mini Schengen*". Otherwise, more problems and difficulties will be created for the free movement for citizens of Albania and other Western Balkan countries, which will be the last ones to be integrated into the EU; particularly after the last "*selected*" *European Big Bang*. Although, after the necessary period of normalization, following this enlargement with many states at a time, another accelerated step to the accession process could be a new contribution to the relevance of economic and social cohesion policies at the national, regional and European level. And this has to be realized without supplementary conditions or delays, without *artificial ranking* or *states classifications* in Europe.

On our path forward, the criteria of different democratic reforms must not, and cannot, be built upon spontaneous or bureaucratic interpretations of special "heads", but on universal and specific parameters that are not only national, but more international in their nature. Also, a *mechanical borrowing* of the models of other countries is not certain to be successful if it does not consider local conditions or it is not founded on specific political, social, economic, psychological and moral factors. In general, "imposed" models are not giving always the right results, because a model could be "exported" by one way or another, but not the necessary mentality to hold it. Because the change of mentality is an *evolutionary* process not a "*revolutionary*" one.

We have seen these kinds of problems during the close cooperation with the financial institutions such as IMF, WB and other structures such as the OSCE. However, getting positive or negative results, this kind of interaction and overlapping is a necessary phase in the internal dynamics of two aspects: *independence* and *interdependence*. At the same time, there is a need to encourage all the ongoing changes designed to increase effectiveness and dynamism at the international level. A certain lack of efficiency deriving from the relevant procedures and actions is also an integral part of the *price paid for democracy* in order to avoid unlimited power at this level. On the other side, there is a pressing need for reforms in the international architecture. Only through these reforms it is possible to

ensure that inertia does not gain the upper hand over dynamism. Also, very importantly, they could better guarantee the consensus, the compatibility or the reconciliation of the two simultaneously complementary and contradictory objectives, namely *democratization* and *effectiveness*.

7. Political Consensus or Juridical One?

Considering the new reality and environment, Albania is taking part in every international initiative, considering that any system of the various collective bodies, representing the type of *top-down* globalization would be incomplete and not entirely fruitful if it will not be followed by a *bottom-up* global process through civil society. This can happen through the cultures, beliefs and traditions, on one side, and, the respect of human rights and public opinion, on the other side. This convergence of both sides helps the credibility and legitimacy of international institutions, which are a kind of fragile commodity: slow to be built and quick to be destroyed. It is especially problematic because at this level the concepts of a world society, world institutions and governance are not ones towards which people are naturally attracted by sentiments, traditions and symbols. Nationally, we have our flags, our anthems and our myths. At the international level it is much harder to build this kind of *loyalty* and legitimacy; and if we do not support and respect the international institutions and try to give them deep democratic roots and structures, they will lose their authority and legal morality. The actual anti-globalization movement could also be seen as a demonstration of the weakness and fragility of some international institutions. They are not manifesting a clear democratic and social *worldwide morality*. This explains, in some sense, why international policy and diplomacy also have their flaws. One such flaw is that it gives priority to methods based on a *relative political consensus*, as a means of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. In practice, this kind of consensus means that political solutions to conflicts prevail over judicial solutions. The political solutions, however, satisfy the interests of the various great powers and those closely associated with them. Consequently, the politics might defeat international law and order; and this could have negative repercussions. Of course, at the international level, this is quite relative, since the political method of consensus in different international disputes, or the *use of force*, in some cases, particularly to fight terror and antihuman reigning, can also be very useful. But, for a democratic global order (including the continuous legal improvements - by a broad consensus

- of the international law and its response instruments), the *discipline of law and rules*, which means *judicial consensus*, must supersede.

Kissinger rightly argued that the policy challenge of today is: "*to transform power into moral consensus*".²¹ But the question here is what kind of consensus: a relative political consensus or a larger judicial one? The general view is that by emphasizing the second type of consensus, the international mechanisms could help in a healthy way the global security, including the quality and security of life itself. George Marshall in his famous speech at the Harvard commencement address in 1947 argued that: "*our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos...*"²² and elsewhere: "*democratic principles do not flourish on empty stomachs, ...people turn to false promises of dictators because they are hopeless and anything promises something better than the miserable existence that they endure*".²³ All of which convinced this soldier-statesman that he should vigorously oppose "*the tragic misunderstanding that a security policy is a war policy*".²⁴ And the last events and evidences, particularly in the Middle East, are showing us that his anxiety was very realistic.

Conclusions

In the actual process of globalization, we are facing different problems and difficulties. The most serious of them is the terrorism, which is not a "clash of civilizations", but an evil manipulation of different religions, using people in want and the weaknesses of present societies. In order to overcome the various difficulties in the framework of the human security, it is a necessity to conceive a new world order where the interdependent component is greatly emphasized and strictly legalized. At the same time, it is becoming urgent to combat growing poverty in a large part of the world, including the technological divide. Of the same importance is an entire and deep revision and reform of the main political concepts on the state institutions and international instruments and their mutual interactions.

²¹ Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Simon & Schuster Adult Publishing Group, 1994.

²² George Marshall, *Commencement address at Harvard University*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 5, 1947; (USAID - Marshall Plan Home Page).

²³ George Marshall, *Essentials to Peace*, Nobel Lecture, December 11, 1953, (From Nobel Lectures, Peace 1951-1970, Editor Frederick W. Haberman, Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1972).

²⁴ United States Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Forces, *Universal Military Training*. Hearing on Mar. 17-8, 22-5, 29-31; Apr. 1-3, 1948.

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To better the actual world order and the living standards worldwide several "pillars" have to be reconsidered or rebuilt. They are:

- The installation of a *moral* free market economy on a global level.
- The education of the "*ideology*" of peace, freedom and human rights as a global *philosophy* or "*religion*".
- The empowerment of international and collective instruments of justice, security and policy-making.
- A kind of *common sense revolution* in our space-time thinking and behavior, referring to dualism interdependence-sovereignty, to the relation of the individual within the neighborhood, community, state or legal international structures.

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