

Can European integration teach us anything about the prospects and optimal shape of global democratic federalism?
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A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realisation of Utopias.

-- Oscar Wilde (1890) "The Soul of Man Under Socialism"

National sovereignty, always tenuous in its hold on life, seems to be a patient on life-support . . . Determined nationalists may fight rearguard actions in the face of these changes, but their cause looks more and more doomed – and liable to issue in an untenable isolationism or vicious right-wing retrenchment.

-- Mark Kingwell (2000) *The World We Want: Virtue, Vice, and the Good Citizen*, p. 6.

Abbreviations: A: Actual V: Vision (mine)

Characteristic	Comment	World	EU
1. Taxes and Revenues	"The focus of World Public Finance is the raising of revenue to pay for the operations of the global public sector, including their activities in support of global public purposes, i.e., those activities that are deemed to have global impact and which are not amenable to the actions of other jurisdictions, either acting alone or in groups. Included in these public purposes would be development financing, efforts on behalf of greater global equity and the provision of global public goods." – Frankman	A: €20 billion = 0.06% of world gross product, V: Initially taxes on activities that benefit from the existence of global order, later income, profit, wealth taxes. Min requirement: 5% of World Income = €1.5 trillion	A: Limited until 2006 to 1.27% of EU GDP. Budgeted expenditure 2000: €92 billion [GDP = €8.5 trillion] MacDougall Report 1977: from initial 0.7 to 2- 2.5 to 5% (weak union) or 25 % (strong union). General gov't expend/GDP in the EU average 1999 48.0%, range UK 40.1%, Sweden 60.4%
2. Currency	Ronald McKinnon: world is an optimum currency area "The United States example shows that a currency union works to great advantage when sustained not only by centralized monetary authorities but also by other common institutions." -- James Tobin (1994)	V: Single world currency subject to democratic control & with prompt compensation as required	A: Euro; ECB – independent of democratic control and without compensatory arrangements to offset adverse market effects.
3. Basic Income	"When speaking of real-freedom-for-all we must mean it: <i>for all</i> . In other words, we must pursue the objective of introducing substantial redistributive mechanisms on a world scale, indeed ultimately an individual basic income at the highest sustainable level for each human being." Van Parijs (1995), <i>Real Freedom For All (RFFA)</i> , p. 228. "Redistribution should be treated as the reverse side of the free market coin. We should not speak of one without invoking the other." Frankman (1989) "The Region and the Globe: External Perspectives on 1992"	V: Planet-Wide Citizen's Income = 20% of world per capita income; €1000 per head per year; € 6 trillion annual total	A: No EU-level arrangements. "the Community's present initiatives in the allocation branch do indeed need to be balanced by policy developments in the stabilization and distribution branches. . . . Indeed, if no action is taken in these areas, even the acquis in other fields would be at stake." Padoa-Schioppa 1987

4. Movement of People	<p>“we must all learn to live with ethnocultural diversity, rapid social change, <u>and</u> mass migration. There is no peaceful alternative.” Anthony Richmond (1994) <i>Global Apartheid</i>, p. 217</p> <p>“If we seriously believe in ‘real freedom for all’ then the two central issues become the establishment of open immigration policies combined with the extension of both human rights and a citizen's income that would make remaining in one's own country a viable alternative.” Frankman (1997) “A Planet-Wide Citizen’s Income . . .”</p>	V: Free to move, free to stay home	A: Free movement within. Varying degrees of restrictiveness for outsiders; Schengen and non-Schengen states. Transitional arrangements for 10 enlargement states in which national measures may limit entry of people. Note: Per capita purchasing power of Poland (population 38.7 million, > than the 9 other enlargement states) is 32.5% that of Germany; 31.2% that of Belgium
5. Citizenship	“. . . the point of a nation is not to draw a line in the sand and keep its members behind it, but to create world citizens who are secure enough to treat others equally . . .” --Gloria Steinem (1992) <i>The Revolution Within</i>	V: World citizenship as a birth right.	A: European passport but different national rules for citizenship; right to petition European Parliament and refer matters to European Ombudsman.
6. Democracy	“Transnational democracy, not international bargaining, is the institutional tool for real-freedom-for-all” Van Parijs, RFFA (1995), p.229	A: Weighted voting in IMF, World Bank, UN: Security Council Veto. No people’s assembly & no elected representatives. NGO voice and consultation as a (poor) alternative to democracy.	A. Elections to European Parliament; Democratic Deficit commonly spoken of.

“The human community is not so much a community of reason as it is, at a basic level, a community of feeling. Reason simply is not equal to the job of politics across differences, because without imagination I do not care about your claims of justice in the first place.” -- Kingwell (2000), p. 69.

“. . . one can discuss at length the technicalities of global taxes, a global currency, global competition policy and progressive global income redistribution, but they cannot exist until we are ready to establish global government. . . . Moreover, a global government without adequate taxing powers will not be equal to the tasks that must be addressed at the highest level, including dealing with the need for compensatory transfers that might be occasioned by the existence of a world currency.” Frankman (2002) “Global Taxation: Extending the Fractal” [This and other papers noted above can be viewed on my web page, URL in header on p. 1]