



COMMISSION ON
GLOBALISATION

**‘NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY & UNIVERSAL CHALLENGES:
CHOICES FOR THE WORLD AFTER IRAQ’**

18TH - 20TH JUNE 2003

CONFERENCE REPORT

REPORT PREPARED BY THE EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS



■ publicaffairs.ac ■

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY & UNIVERSAL CHALLENGES: CHOICES FOR THE WORLD AFTER IRAQ

CONTENTS

1. Moderators' Introduction.....	5
2. Conference Programme and Speaker/Rapporteur biographies.....	7
3. List of Participants & Associates.....	31
4. Conference Record	43
5. Breakout Sessions Record	67
6. Selected Speeches.	79
7. Six Themes – and executive summary.....	123
8. Post Conference Thoughts	129

APPENDIX 1

Briefing Documents – Index.....	133
--	------------

APPENDIX 2

Background Documents – Index.....	135
--	------------

‘NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY & UNIVERSAL CHALLENGES: CHOICES FOR THE WORLD AFTER IRAQ’

MODERATORS’ INTRODUCTION

The Conference grew out of the previous work of the Commission on Globalisation with its interest in the dynamics of a globalising world and the search for institutions of effective global governance. The Commission on Globalisation, conceived in New York in September 2000, was formally launched in London in December 2001 in the shadow of September 11th. The arrival of the Bush Administration in Washington had challenged much of the previous consensus thinking on multilateralism. By the high summer of 2002, it was clear that a substantial shift had taken place in America’s sense of self and her role in the world. The organisers of this Conference were dissatisfied with the level of debate triggered by Robert Kagan’s article on ‘American Strength and European Weakness’. They conceived of a conference that would look beyond the merely Atlantic and would address the theoretical questions of the relationship between national sovereignty and the universal challenges faced by nation states, from the smallest up to the towering figure of the world’s sole hyper-power. The Commission on Globalisation met in Mexico City in December 2002 in a world increasingly dominated by the probability of American action in Iraq. For the organisers of this Conference, the military action in Iraq, in the absence of UN approval, dramatised the choices facing the world both collectively and individually. There can of course be no definitive ‘after Iraq’ moment in a military or political sense. Rather the sub-title was intended to refer to ‘Iraq’ as the most dramatic manifestation to date of the new American doctrines of pre-emptive intervention and full spectrum dominance.

Having had the privilege of moderating the Conference, we believe that the consistent excellence of the speakers and the vigour of debate more than justified the ambitious aspirations of the organisers. All the participants spoke as individuals, knowing that they were on the record. They took full advantage of the absence of any need to agree a Conference communiqué. While each session had been designed to explore differences, a rough consensus emerged and the courtesies of debate were, almost without exception, observed. It is therefore with a sense of mission achieved that we offer this document as a record of a unique event and as a source for further thought in a new world.

We would like to thank the Speakers, Participants and above all, the team of Rapporteurs. Faced with the choice between early publication of the Conference Record, with its summaries of contributions, and the prospect of delayed publication of agreed texts, we have opted for freshness. If this leads to any misinterpretation, we apologise in advance. The participants and those who were unable to finally attend the conference, but who indicated a wish to remain involved in its deliberations, are in touch with each other by e-mail. They will no doubt choose to communicate any sense of grievance which we have inadvertently provoked in the spirit which they so elegantly displayed in the magnificent Bibliothèque Solvay,.

**July 4th 2003
Spencer**

Gordon Smith and Tom

