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The Cosmopolitan epoch: Configuring a just world order

Abstract

Extract:

In summary then, the 'new cosmopolitanism' offers a basis to establish a more just global order, predominantly through its espousal of a commitment to humanity as a whole, facilitated by building consensus on values which demonstrate a commitment beyond the nation. It is not universalist, although it has the potential to become so, and it is not predicated on the existence of a global public opinion. Rather, it seeks frameworks for political and economic decision-making at the global and national levels. In this context, NGOs have a key role to play in activating the 'new cosmopolitan' system given their cosmopolitan credentials.

Keywords

Cosmopolitanism, NGOs (Non-Government Organisations), global, philosophy

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The Cosmopolitan Epoch: Configuring A Just World Order

by Dawn Carey

'My country is the World, my countrymen are Mankind'

-Thomas
Paine
(1)

If global security is to be realised in the present epoch it is necessary for international political actors to pursue morally sound policies that work toward the realisation of global justice and equality. To facilitate such an agenda it is essential to establish a shared set of norms and values, formulated beyond the construct of the state, thereby demonstrating a commitment to the wider problems which plague humanity. In determining the foundations of an ethical foreign policy, and in explaining NGOs (Non-Government Organisations) contributions to this process, cosmopolitanism as a distinct tradition of deontological theory greatly assists this endeavour.(2) In this context, it is necessary to provide an operational definition of the 'new cosmopolitanism',(3) extracting key features which are considered the most pragmatic for the cosmopolitan project. Drawing on these features, it will be demonstrated that NGOs can be considered genuine cosmopolitan actors, which has facilitated their development of a legitimate set of transnational values.

Expanding the Circle Towards Global Justice: 'The New Cosmopolitanism'

The evolution of thought regarding justice as it applies to political communities has been a fundamental preoccupation of modern political philosophy for centuries.(4) The background of analysis and reflection concerning the nature of global justice mainly derives from earlier efforts to conceive of justice in relation to a specific community.(5) "This tradition in the West can be traced back to ancient Athens and the conceptions of justice set forth by Plato and Aristotle, and carried forward to contemporary circumstances perhaps, most notably by John Rawls."(6) The notion of justice is particularly significant in the present epoch where the success, legitimacy and effectiveness of international organisation depends upon striking an appropriate balance between openness to the (contentious) justice claims of different political agents and the existence of (widely accepted, entrenched and legitimated) authoritative practices.(7) In this context, Antonio Franceshet has contended that "a normative key to striking this balance is substantial global political reform premised on **cosmopolitan** and democratic principles of political accountability across states and societies."(8) Despite this contention, as Andrew Linklater observes "for the most part we have not thought that questions of cosmopolitanism were at the core of the study of international politics."(9)

However, the theory has recently been reinvigorated by new theories responding to new conditions. This is attributed, to some extent, to the fact that although nationalism has acquired some fresh legitimacy since the end of the Cold War,(10) many viewed this mode of consciousness as undesirable and outmoded and have thus sought alternatives.(11) Moreover, cosmopolitanism yields valuable contributions in the contemporary period, since at heart the cosmopolitan position offers an alternative to various forms of fundamentalism and exclusivism, thereby undercutting support for extremists.(12) This contention is extremely important in the present epoch where fundamentalist organisations proliferate and there are increasing expressions of dissent to the exclusivity of global processes.

Determining what constitutes the concept of cosmopolitanism is a challenging task, primarily because cosmopolitanism may take diverse forms.(13) There are however, two distinct forms of cosmopolitanism, political and moral. Political cosmopolitanism refers in general to any position which prescribes types of political practice and institutions that operate over, above or across the boundaries of the nation-state and

which are at least potentially global in their reach.(14) Alternatively, moral cosmopolitanism refers to any moral theory which presumes the universal validity and applicability of moral principles, whereby moral commitments extend beyond political borders as well as ethnic, ideological, socio-economic and religious divides.(15) Although distinct, the later species has always had implications for the former.(16)

By no means a new phenomenon, cosmopolitanism has its origins in the Greek words for 'order', 'world', and 'citizen'.(17) It is also rooted in the ancient philosophy of Stoicism, which prescribed one divine universe, one rational human nature, and therefore one appropriate attitude to all men, with the Stoic thus being a citizen of the cosmos rather than the polis.(18) Importantly, for the purposes of this discussion, Immanuel Kant's(19) writings in the 18th century, particularly *To Perpetual Peace*, outline that true and world-wide peace is possible only when states are organised internally according to republican principles,(20) when they are organised externally in a voluntary league for the sake of keeping peace,(21) and when they respect the human rights not only of their citizens but also of foreigners.(22) Recognisably, these articles have a truly cosmopolitan intent, not limited by any geographic or cultural boundaries. They are meant not merely as precepts of a 'right of nations' (*ius gentium*),(23) applying to the relations between sovereign states, but beyond this also as principles of *ius cosmopolitanicum*, which regards all peoples of the earth as a 'single universal community' or 'universal state of humankind' founded on the 'universal right of humanity'.(24) In this respect, Kant's cosmopolitanism signifies a turning point where moral politics or political morality needs to be formulated beyond the polis or state form, the point at which 'the political' becomes, by moral necessity, 'cosmopolitical'.(25)

It has been suggested that cosmopolitanism might be equated with the potential realisation of world government and the global political institutions that would presumably accompany it, often championing the creation of a world state.(26) However, contemporary theorists' visions of cosmopolitanism are very wary of the idea of a world state formulated according to the familiar principle of state sovereignty.(27) Even Kant does not propose a single all-embracing world state,(28) rather a federation of free states which does not seek power of the sort possessed by the nation state.(29) This should not be viewed as undermining the theoretical premise of cosmopolitanism as some authors have contended. Rather, the 'new cosmopolitanism' recognises that "the cosmos is not yet a polis, and we should not even try to make it one by creating a world state, which is bound to be remote, bureaucratic, oppressive, and culturally bland."(30) Thus, contrary to the contention of the 'hyperglobalizers',(31) although contemporary globalisation has complicated the nation-state form, it has not rendered it obsolete as a form of political organisation.(32) Further, the Kantian tradition takes the essential nature of international politics to lie not in conflict among states, as on the Hobbesian view, but in the transnational social bonds that link the individual human beings who are the subjects or citizens of states.(33) Thus, the dominant theme of international relations, on the Kantian view, is only apparently the relationship among states. In really, this is premised on the relationship among all men in the community of mankind - which exists potentially, even if it does not exist actually.(34)

From a Kantian perspective, cosmopolitanism is understood as a fundamental devotion to the interests of humanity as a whole, characterised by an apparent claim to universality through its independence and detachment from restrictive forms of identity such as the bonds, commitments, and affiliations that constrain ordinary nation-bound lives.(35) In general, cosmopolitanism endorses reflexive distance from one's cultural affiliations, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity.(36) This form of cosmopolitanism, whereby primary loyalties are directed to the whole of humanity, may be termed 'impartialist cosmopolitanism'.(37) The position has been subject to widespread criticism due to its rejection of the experiences which condition human existence.(38) However, it is important to realise that cosmopolitanism is a flexible term, whose forms of detachment and multiple affiliation can be variously articulated and variously motivated.(39)

'Embedded cosmopolitanism' or 'rooted cosmopolitanism' offers a more pragmatic account of cosmopolitanism in an international order still dominated by the construct of the state. In this respect, although this position is slightly more mundane than impartialist cosmopolitanism, it allows for the moral sense to be formulated from a particularist starting point.(40) On this view, however, one should not defend or celebrate national affiliations and cultural differences when they burden outsiders with intolerable costs; cosmopolitans need to combine loyalties to co-nationals with moral obligations to the members of other societies which include the duty to do no harm.(41) This is based on the contention that identification with loyalties facilitates the development of a more effective *cosmophil* (cosmopolite). As Tennyson stated in his *prima facie* contradictory verse '[t]hat man's the best cosmopolite/ that loves his native country best.'(42)

Building on this sentiment Martha Nussbaum has notes that:

None of the major thinkers in the cosmopolitan tradition denied that we can and should give special attention to our own families and to our own ties of religious and national belonging. In obvious ways, we must do, since the nation-state sets up the basic terms for most of our daily conduct, and since we are all born into a family of some sort. Cosmopolitans held, moreover, that it is right to give the local an additional measure of concern. But the primary reason a cosmopolitan should have for this is not that the local person is better per se, but rather, that this is the only sensible way to do good.(43)

In this vein, it is a common experience that those who strongly identify with their community and feel a sense of responsibility for its actions are the most likely to feel ashamed and protest when it behaves badly. (44) The enemy of cosmopolitanism is not peoples' attachment to the familiar:(45) individuals' affiliations can be multilayered and non-antagonistic.(46)

The forms of distance from cultural identification that are advocated range from negative or exclusionary to expansive and inclusionary. Exclusionary, as in the Stoic position eschews petty allegiances in favour of a universal standard with little to no weight given to the exploration of disparate cultures: all value lies in an abstract or "cosmic" universalism.(47) At the other end of the spectrum, inclusionary, are those cosmopolitans who promote understanding of many different cultures and experiences, with universalism finding expression through sympathetic imagination and intercultural exchange.(48) This entails what has been called 'sensitive universalism', with an ongoing dialogue between universal values and local definitions.(49)

Further, Kantian cosmopolitanism affirms the existence of cross-cultural moral truth, at least to the point of affirming a cross-cultural basis for such truths.(50) The observation that societies can agree on some basic universal moral rights and duties, however much they are divided on other scores, is also consistent with the Grotian tradition of thought.(51) Nevertheless, this contention stands in opposition to cultural relativism, attracting criticism as insensitive to cultural difference and for promoting assimilatory cosmopolitanism.(52) In defence of the goal of cosmopolitan moral universalism, Andrew Linklater argues it can best be achieved by following the principles laid out by Jurgen Habermas in his *Theory of Communicative Action* and culminating in a moral theory referred to as discourse ethics.(53) Habermas argues that discourse ethics ascertains the validity of norms in a process of discourse and argumentation between genuine concrete, situated agents: "rather than ascribing as valid to all others any maxim that I can will to be universal, I must submit my maxim to all others for purposes of discursively testing its claim to universality."(54) It is further contended by Habermas, after Kant, that for morals to be valid they must be universalisable:

. . . only those norms are accepted as valid that express a general will. As Kant noted time and time again, moral norms must be suitable for expression as 'universal laws'. . . . Kant wants to eliminate as invalid all those norms that 'contradict' this requirement.(33)

In this context, a central claim of Habermas' discourse ethics is that the validity of principles can only be established through forms of dialogue which in principle are open to every human being.(56) In applying this theory it is argued that consent can only be achieved by establishing a realm that allows a universal and unconstrained dialogue of equals.(57) Consequently, Linklater envisions a cosmopolitan community in which all humans can participate in discussion concerning matters that affect them, including the drawing of moral boundaries; a community in which no person and no moral position can be excluded from dialogue in advance.(58) This theory therefore supports the normative commitment to cosmopolitan democracy, which seeks to extend the boundaries of political community by institutionalising universal moral principles that embody respect for cultural differences.(59) Diversity is not seen as being inevitably in opposition to universalism and is therefore not regarded as an insurmountable obstacle to consensus,(60) and thus does not undermine cosmopolitan theory. The goal of the 'new cosmopolitanism' is therefore "not to disseminate one world view but rather to build a consensus that leaves room for difference and diversity while being sufficiently substantial to provide the basis for the validity of norms."(61)

Kant and Grotius shared the belief that independent political communities have moral obligations to three constituencies: to fellow citizens, to the wider society of states and to the all-inclusive universal community of humankind.(62) Both thinkers, it might be added, defended the Stoic idea that the members of the universal community have fundamental, perfect or non-optional duties not to harm one another.(63) The harm principle is a core element of a sociology of state systems with a cosmopolitan intent:

cosmopolitan democratic theory takes issue with the classical account of community by arguing that outsiders have an absolute right to be consulted about decisions that may harm them. There is therefore a corresponding duty to create global arrangements that will ensure that outsiders have voice and representation whenever decisions are being taken that may damage their vital interests. Kant argued that a serious commitment to the principle of avoiding harm to outsiders would require the human race to strive for perpetual peace. A community that wants to make progress in a broadly cosmopolitan direction has to avoid inflicting harm on others and avoid being a beneficiary of harm that befalls outsiders.(64)

Another non-optional duty of communities that want to display their cosmopolitan credentials is resistance to cruelty and indifference.(65) Cosmopolitan obligations are necessary to establish good international citizenship and form the "cannons of an ethical foreign policy."(66)

In framing this discussion to explain the impact of NGOs on political processes it is necessary to consider the political dimensions of cosmopolitanism. According to Kaldor, the term cosmopolitanism, when applied to political institutions, implies a layer of governance that constitutes a limitation on the sovereignty of states and yet does not itself constitute a state.(67) In other words, a cosmopolitan institution would coexist with a system of states but would override states in certain clearly defined spheres of activity.(68) In this context, it is also necessary to consider the political project of cosmopolitan democracy. Cosmopolitan democracy argues for a range of institutions below and above the level of the state to ensure individual protection and accountability in the light of economic globalisation and the increased importance of global issues of human rights, peace and ecology which require global responses.(69) A cosmopolitan democracy would not call for a diminution *per se* of state power and capacity across the globe, rather it would seek to entrench and develop democratic institutions at regional and global levels as a necessary complement to those at the level of the nation state.(70) This is political project is based on the recognition of the continuing significance of nation-states, while arguing for a layer of governance to constitute a limitation on national sovereignty.(71) Cosmopolitan democracy is therefore a project which aims to develop democracy within nations, among states and at the global level, assuming that the three levels, although highly interdependent, should and can be pursued simultaneously.(72)

Despite the apparent appeal of cosmopolitanism, the theory has its detractors.(73) Anti-cosmopolitan arguments, usually in addition to challenging the reading of history given by cosmopolitans, tend to take a statist or communitarian form (or some combination of the two) and hinge on the value of state agency and cultural autonomy. From this viewpoint, political cosmopolitanism is generally interpreted as covert imperialism.(74) However, Ken Booth *et al* challenge this criticism by claiming that just because many Western ideas were spread by commerce and the Gatling gun, it does not follow that every idea originating in the West, or backed by Western opinion, should therefore simply be labelled 'imperialist' and rejected.(75) He develops this by stating that "there are some ethnocentric ideas - and individual human rights is one of them - for which we should not apologize."(76) According to Booth, what matters from a cosmopolitan perspective is not the birthplace of an idea, but the meaning we give it.(77) Moreover, the 'new cosmopolitan' goal to give a voice to all, through discourse and discussion, fundamentally undermines the contention that cosmopolitanism is an imperialist project.

Additionally, traditional cosmopolitanism has been criticized as a privileged position, an aloof detachment from the obligations and affiliations that constrain nation-bound lives and move people to political action.(78) However, the assertion that cosmopolitanism is an elite project overlooks the potential of world society, of trans-cultural sympathisers and the growing densification of contacts and support for transnational NGOs who work on behalf of such world-order values as humane governance, economic sustainability, non-violence, human rights and environmental protection,(79) essentially for those who live underprivileged lives.

Despite these criticisms, there are many aspects of a reconfigured cosmopolitanism which are fundamental in expanding the circle of loyalty to work toward global justice. In summation, to ensure that the 'new cosmopolitanism' is not merely some quixotic invocation, the underlying premise of a commitment to all humanity must be facilitated from an 'embedded' position encompassing an expansive, inclusionary form of cultural identification. In affirming the existence of a 'cross cultural moral truth', a process of discourse and argumentation will assist in establishing the validity of these values. Further, whilst the fundamental duty of the 'new cosmopolitanism' is the obligation not to harm, outsiders possess a right to be consulted about decisions which may result in this eventuality. Thus, the establishment of political processes or institutions which act above or below the state to ensure that policies are consistent with the interests of humanity is also a necessary feature of the 'new cosmopolitanism'. As has been articulated by Dombrowski, "the question is

whether this notion is in the province of scholars and commentators seeking to promote a particular vision or an empirical phenomenon with real effects upon social, economic, legal, and, ultimately political practices."(80) In this context, it will be demonstrated that global civil society, particularly NGOs, possess the potential 'moral muscle'(81) for this cosmopolitan project.

Transnational NGO Networks as Cosmopolitan Actors: Transnational Competence and Moral Legitimacy

The uneven 'force field' of the cosmopolitical has produced and will continue to produce inspiring examples of politically oriented cosmopolitanisms: Amnesty International (AI), Médecins sans Frontières (MSF), and the Asia Pacific People's Environmental Network, to name just a few examples.(82) NGOs have emerged as prime movers on a broad range of global issues, framing agendas, mobilising constituencies toward targeted results, and monitoring compliance as a sort of new world police force.(83) NGOs can be viewed as authentic cosmopolitan actors which have a fundamental role to play in activating the international political matrix to operate along the 'new cosmopolitan' track. The increased solidarity among individuals of the world through the "internationalisation of social life"(84) by virtue of association to NGOs can be viewed as a step toward embracing a community of humankind. The ability of the NGO sector's ability to contribute to the development of a cosmopolitan world system is attributed primarily to two factors: their 'transnational competence'(85) and their moral legitimacy.

"The increasingly invoked notion of 'transnationalism', referring to various kinds of global or cross-border connections,"(86) currently frames views regarding the operation of NGOs. This transnational dimension of the NGO operational framework is a central factor in explaining their cosmopolitan disposition; it demonstrates their identification with a larger sphere of the world. More precisely, by virtue of focussing on issues that transcend state borders and promoting agendas that can be viewed in the interests of humanity as a whole, NGOs demonstrate loyalties which transcend the construct of the nation state. Such a commitment is in fact explicitly acknowledged by various NGOs.(87) The NGO formulation of interests beyond the polis is impelled by the reality that many of the most serious problems faced today, such as climate change, epidemics and terrorism, have no respect for national borders, thus their solutions must be found in the international arena.(88) "Effective approaches for treating complex interdependence issues must therefore bring together geographically dispersed actors, information and expertise."(89) This mutual perception of shared objectives and purpose motivates diverse stakeholders to form, participate in, and sustain transborder and inter-organisational networks and to seek to combine their separate capabilities when confronted with highly interdependent challenges.(90) This is achieved through the mobilisation of collectivities in the construction of NGOs.

Transnational forms of organisation and identity are not constrained by national boundaries.(91) The political dimension of these transnational actors seems to challenge the limits of the political as defined by the modern state.(92) As Peter Mandaville argues, "we should view transnationalism as a space of resistance in that it allows us to re-imagine the boundaries of political community and to question hegemonic notions of the political."(93) In this regard the formation of transnational bonds among humankind through the construct of NGOs establishes this new transnational political community. Amnesty International, for example, hosts more than a million members in over 140 countries,(94) connected through their concern for the promotion of human rights. Whilst this does not point to the creation of a federation of states, as Kant specified, this factor does demonstrate the importance of the networks of people rather than the relationship among states; a fundamentally cosmopolitan characteristic. New technologies, too, are capable of linking people across societies and cultures, and have a significant role in creating and empowering a cosmopolitan civil society.(95)

The cosmopolitan nature of NGOs is also highlighted by the fact that they possess a significant degree of what has been termed 'transnational competence', indicating a strong ability to operate in a global environment. More precisely, transnationally competent actors are knowledgeable about local, national, and international roles that contribute in a decisive way to future global security and sustainability.(96) This competence is augmented by their often expansive international web of membership, facilitating access to information and expertise in specific policy areas which governments are unable to match, and is strengthened by the fact that they can adopt strategies of direct action disregarding the customs and conventions which sovereignty-bound governments are required to observe.(97) In short, they can often operate in areas where diplomats and politicians cannot because of political constraints. This competence is

also strengthened by the fact that these organisations are relatively independent and non-bureaucratic. Thus, they are able to be both flexible and innovative.(98)

A particularly relevant aspect of transnational competence is 'transnational analytical skills', which require the ability to convert culture-specific and culture general information into understanding.(99) "Specifically, this component of transnational analytic competence concerns the acquisition of a reasonably complete understanding of the central beliefs, values, practices and paradoxes of interface cultures and societies."(100) An organisational framework constructed across more than three states, encompassing an expansive transnational web of membership dispersed throughout the globe, provides the basis for this type of information. Primarily, this is a result of the interaction among the members from diverse ethnicities, cultures and nationalities. This competence is essentially a cosmopolitan feature, since "cosmopolitanism endorses reflective distance from one's cultural affiliations and a broad understanding of other cultures and customs."(101) Of particular relevance is the expansive, inclusionary form of cultural identification, which promotes understanding of different cultures and experiences predominantly through intercultural exchange. (102) In this sphere, the transnational trajectory of NGOs establishes a forum for the discussion and exchange of issues from diverse participants. This is central to Habermas's discourse ethics theory, which Linklater argues can be achieved through a community in which all humans can participate in discussion concerning matters that affect them and the drawing of moral boundaries. In a post-September 11 world, this specific attribute demonstrates that transnational civil society organisations, particularly NGOs, are needed now more than ever. They have a capacity to reach out across borders to excluded groups in the world, especially among the Islamic community, and so offer an alternative to the appeal of fundamentalist groups. (103) In this context, Abdullagi An-Na'im proposes that what is needed now is:

A proposition of internal discourse within different constituencies of global civil society and dialogue between them, in order to promote an overlapping consensus about the normative content of their solidarity and cooperation...These prerequisite conditions include mutual respect and appreciation of cultural and contextual difference and the possibility of peaceful coexistence, as well as an appreciation of the need for consensus building, instead of seeking to impose one's view on others.(104)

In this context, 'transnational analytical skills' will play a key role in building a consensus of transnational values among the NGO community, given that such skills facilitate discourse among the participants.

In addition, NGOs possess a high degree of moral legitimacy through their cosmopolitan commitment to the interests of humanity. Encapsulating this theme is the growing trend to refer to NGOs as the 'conscience of the world'.(105) This is a result of the widespread attitude that NGOs consist of altruistic people campaigning in the general public interest, while governments consist of self-serving politicians.(106) The moral dimension of NGO work derives from its struggle against injustice and deprivation.(107) This accords them a significant degree of legitimacy.(108) As Peter Willetts notes, "legitimacy attaches to actors in the way we perceive their status, and to ideas or policies, in the way we measure their moral value."(109) Further, he argues that the concept of power (as capability rather than as influence) is usually taken to cover the ability to utilise coercion, thus the ability to mobilise legitimacy should also be seen as a power capability.(110) In this domain, it is conceivable that Amnesty International for example, has greater power than many governments.(111) It derives global legitimacy both from its very high status and from the high moral value that so many people attach to the policies it is pursuing. Their moral legitimacy is also strengthened by the fact that the organisations are predominantly impartial and independent of any government, political persuasion or religious creed.(112) However, it should be noted that whilst NGOs theoretically assert that they are neutral, practice sometimes suggests a different reality. Nevertheless, given that NGOs bring a moral flavour to the global agenda and articulate a global and ethically informed vision on how states should treat their citizens, this also establishes their moral legitimacy. This facet of the NGO personality is central in demonstrating that such organisations possess some right to participate in international political processes.

"In a rich variety of modest increments, NGOs exchange knowledge and influence policy outcomes widely around the world through the individuals who act on their behalf and, in so doing, participate in spheres of authority (SOAs) that allocate values and evoke compliance as they engage in the activities that activate and delineate each sphere."(113) On this basis, there is a growing capacity for this group to operate alongside governments in the international arena and to challenge their authority.(114) The global scope and multi-layered complexity of new issues has increased the need for partnerships between the established state actors and proliferating NGOs.(115) The importance of the role they play is demonstrated by the fact that there has

been an increasing reliance on NGOs for focus and direction, drafting and implementation of declarations, platforms and treaties on crucial international issues, including landmines, human rights and the environment.(116) The transnational NGO phenomenon can be conceptualised as providing a nascent layer of moral governance seeking to monitor and promote issues on the international agenda. This is not to suggest the undermining of state sovereignty. Rather, good nongovernmental advocacy work will tend to strengthen state capacity for ethical decision making through utilisation of cosmopolitan processes and advocacy of a cosmopolitan agenda. This will enhance acknowledgment of responsibilities that transcend national boundaries.

At this point, it must be acknowledged that although NGOs are committed to set about establishing a more just international order, there are certain misgivings attributable to these organisations. Despite their constant advocacy of effectiveness, transparency, and accountability, relatively little is known about their organisational structures, management systems, modes of operation, and effectiveness.(117) Predominantly, NGOs have received a considerable degree of criticism because of the democratic deficit which plagues their organisational structure. It is contended that this undermines their right to influence international channels. Their democratic deficit is of concern as even the most humanitarian of NGOs require strict supervision, and they are less likely to receive it because the transnational domain they inhabit is not fitted with the usual well tried domestic alarms.(118) Nevertheless, many organisations emphasise their commitment to democratic structures, for example Amnesty International states that it is a democratic movement, self-governed by a nine-member International Executive Committee whose members are elected every two years by an International Council representing sections.(119)

NGOs, therefore, can unequivocally be viewed as genuine cosmopolitan actors. Their establishment of an agenda and political community that transcends the state or local community, their 'transnational competence', particularly their transnational analytical skills, and their moral legitimacy are pivotal features in demonstrating their cosmopolitan character. This places NGOs in a position to act as legitimate advocates for humanity and wider human concerns. Clearly, transnational civil society influence rests on a political base (representivity), political knowledge (including 'intelligence'), tactics and strategy, plus issue-related expertise and values.(120) However, according to Nigel Martin, President of Forum International de Montreal, it is the articulation and consistency of values that are the key for successful efforts.(121) In this respect, the transnational NGO trajectory provides a forum where Habermas' discourse ethics can ascertain the validity of cosmopolitan norms through discourse and argumentation, ultimately leading to the building of consensus.

The NGO Value Stream: Inherent Incompatibility or Synergy and Interdependence?

The case can be made that transnational networks of NGOs have effectively been able to build 'ethical consensus'(122) on a set of values, resulting in the formation of a framework of transnational values (TNVs). (123) The emergence of a set of TNVs is central in establishing that NGOs are activating a form of moral cosmopolitanism. This is evident given the fact that they are promoting moral values and commitments which extend beyond political borders, as well as beyond ethnic, ideological, socio-economic and religious divides. This can be seen in a number of cases, and via a two tiered analysis, surveying not only the mission statements of various NGOs (evinced their explicit adherence to value systems), but also surveying the processes they adopt to achieve their objectives (thereby demonstrating their implicit adherence to particular values).

Although these values are not completely synergised, their shared commonality does outweigh their inherent differences. It is striking that despite significant cultural, social, economic and political differences, there is a growing amount of common ground.(124) In addition, even though many NGOs are highly specialised, and some rather parochial in their area of work, it is nevertheless evident that such organisations are still able to build consensus on a common set of values and interests. Through an analysis of the goals of the organisations it is evident that respect for human rights, democracy, inclusion in the international political system, the promotion of peace and non-violent resolution of conflict, and the pursuit of sustainable development and poverty reduction are the values which can guide humanity toward a more just, tolerant, peaceful and sustainable society. Further, their commonality and interdependence is epitomised through their development of coalitions around transnational issues and the formation of 'virtual' NGO communities.

To argue that there is inherent synergy in the plethora of NGOs prevalent today may be considered a

dangerous undertaking. Dharam Ghai has suggested that "they are characterised above all by their diversity - in objectives, activities, means of action, scale of operation, organisational structure, and methods of work. Thus, generalisations are hazardous."(125) For example, given the large number and variety of civil society organisations a great deal of scope for social conflict exists among them. Conflict can erupt along racial, ethnic, gender, class and ideological lines, demonstrating that 'global civil society' is not a realm of free and harmonious association.(126) Case studies of global civil society actors illustrate the existence of these conflicts and tensions.(127) Ken Conca, in a broad survey of environmental organisations' efforts to influence the UN system, comments on the existence of cleavages across the North versus South and system-reforming versus system-transforming divides.(128)

The same North-south tensions that pervade relations among states can spill over into charges of paternalism and parochialism within and among nongovernmental organisations. These obstacles are formidable if NGOs seek to pressure governments, build effective mechanisms of international governance or transform social values.(129)

Nevertheless, as has been highlighted by Fred Gale, "a key aspect of the capacity of global civil society actors to influence global politics is an ability to manage successfully their internal tensions and to construct an externally perceived distinct identity around shared goals and processes."(130)

An important factor explaining the success of NGOs is their strong desire to work together to achieve their objectives, perhaps because their aims are so ambitious. Most organisations emphasise their wish to cooperate with one another; for example in order to achieve its objectives Amnesty International cooperates with other NGOs.(131) In addition, One World states that they work in a spirit of partnership with organisations with overlapping aims.(132) This signifies that many NGOs are conscious of the fact that there exists a degree of commonality regarding their aims and the moral framework which guides these aims. This can be seen, for example, in the Global NGO community (NGOs associated with the United Nations) which articulates its aim as:

to promote collaborations between NGOs throughout the world, so that together we can more effectively partner with the United Nations and each other to create a more peaceful, just, equitable and sustainable world for this and future generations.(133)

In this regard, NGOs have recognised the increased effectiveness they can have through operating collectively. The American-based NGO, InterAction, explicitly acknowledges that it is a 'force multiplier' that gives each member the collective power of all members to speak and act on issues of common concern, thus it convenes and coordinates its members in unison so they can influence policy more effectively.(134) This realisation has led to the growing trend for NGOs to form coalitions in the pursuit of specific objectives. Prominent examples of the formation of NGO coalitions are the Hague Appeal for Peace, an international network of peace and justice organisations, the creation of the Trade Justice Movement (a coalition of eleven NGOs including the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds and Friends of the Earth.), (135) the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) and the Coalition for the International Criminal Court (CICC). Closely linked to this trend is the creation of 'virtual' NGO communities. For instance, 'Idealist and Action Without Borders' declares that its mission is to connect people, organisations and resources to help build a world where all people can live free and dignified lives.(136) Additional examples include One World(137) and the Union of International Associations.(138) The use of the internet in this way by NGOs may be described as a form of 'netpolitik', a style of diplomacy which seeks to exploit the powerful capabilities of the Internet to shape politics, culture and values.(139)

Further indicative of the emerging trend of the growing agreement on a set of values is the Values Caucus at the United Nations, which was founded in August 1994 among the NGOs at the UN. The Values Caucus is a forum based on a commitment to values shared by all of humankind.(140)

The Values Caucus affirms that such values exist, and we believe that choosing to live by these values will lead to a global future of peaceful cooperation in an interdependent and culturally diverse world. We believe that without this commitment to shared values, humanity will continue to live under the threat of war, subsistent standards of living, and depletion of the natural resources of our endangered planet. (141)

Together these trends indicate that there is a clear potentiality for ethics to flow across world landscapes, thus creating an 'ethicscape'(142) of the twenty-first century where values resonate transnationally. In

essence, the case being advanced (the development of a set of values determined by NGOs operating transnationally) is fundamentally at odds with Samuel Huntington's clash of civilisations thesis. Huntington argues that, "the clash of civilisations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilisations will be the battle lines of the future."(143) Thus, according to Huntington:

Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, democracy, free markets, the separation of the church and state, often have little resonance in Islamic, Confucian, Japanese, Hindu, Buddhist or Orthodox cultures.(144)

Huntington is right to note that the individualist values embodied in Western understandings of liberal democracy do not command universal assent; they express the ethical life of only a few Western societies. (145) However, Huntington fails to acknowledge that these values do resonate in other societies. For example with regard to Islamic societies it should be noted that there is widespread support in the Qu'ran for the values of democracy,(146) human rights,(147) and equality.(148) "Human rights and their postulates such as equal dignity of human beings resonate in all the cultural traditions of the world."(149) Although these values may currently not be adhered to, there is still the potential for this eventuality. Further Huntington's scenario highlights the importance of recognising 'culture', but instead of stressing the need for a dialogue of civilisations, it emphasises geopolitical divisions and identification of new enemies.(150) Here, we see that NGOs play a crucial role in challenging Huntington's thesis given the forum they provide for discourse between civilisations and the challenge they pose to geopolitical divisions by strengthening the bonds between citizens of the world. In addition, despite the fact that there may be a degree of difference on specific values it is the case that a true universality of values would acknowledge significant difference, as well as sameness, in constituting a world order based on procedures and norms explicitly designed to ensure equitable participation by each major world civilisation. (151)

Toward a transnational declaration of cosmopolitan values

"In general, NGO and civil society concerns stem from the realisation that while globalisation has led to benefits for some, it has not led to benefits for all."(152) In this context the majority of work undertaken by NGOs relates to the eradication of poverty, establishing a culture of peace and democracy, promoting human rights and facilitating the inclusion in the international political system. Interestingly, it has also been noted that in general these groups deal broadly with the 'sustainability' movement encompassing economic development, environmental protection, social justice and quality of life.(153) This has led Paul Hawken, author of several books on sustainable business practices, to state:

The sustainability movement does not agree on everything, nor should it. But remarkably, it shares a basic set of fundamental understanding about the earth and how it functions, and about the necessity of fairness and equity...This shared understanding is arising spontaneously, from different economic sectors, cultures, regions and cohorts.(154)

In general, it can be observed that the NGO sector is united in their interest to build a better world through the promotion of cosmopolitan values.

The promotion of human rights

Since the founding of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 and the subsequent twin Covenants (the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights [ICCPR] and the International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [ICESCR]), not to mention a number of other international covenants which have followed, the international community has been influenced by the proliferation of a number of NGOs campaigning for governments to observe internationally recognised human rights. In part due to the efforts of this sector, respect for human rights is today viewed by many as a fundamental value which transcends the construct of the nation-state. Many organisations are committed to norms and values entrenched within the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Further, the notion of 'human dignity' is regarded by numerous NGOs as a core value and a foundation of global ethics. (155) In this context, the value of the promotion of human rights is used as a frame of reference in support of the other values which NGOs promote.

One notable actor in this sphere is of course Amnesty International. Amnesty International's vision is of a world in which every person enjoys all of the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights and other international human rights standards, thus it monitors the human rights situations in all countries, demonstrating its commitment to providing justice for all.(156) This is elucidated through its espousal of its core values:

Amnesty International forms a global community of human rights defenders with the principles of international solidarity, effective action for the individual victim, global coverage, the universality and indivisibility of human rights.(157)

Another north based human rights organisation operates on the same basis. US based Human Rights Watch is also dedicated to protecting the human rights of all the world's people.

We enlist the public and the international community to support the cause of human rights for all. Human Rights Watch believes that international standards of human rights apply to all people equally.(158)

Contrary to many claims, human rights organisations are not solely constructs of the Western Christian-Judaic liberal model. For example the Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), an Asian-based independent NGO, seeks to promote greater awareness and realisation of human rights in the Asian region, through upholding international human rights law. Thus, according to its charter the AHRC:

Endorse(s) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and other international instruments for the protection of rights and freedoms. We believe that rights are universal, every person being entitled to them by virtue of being a human being. Cultural traditions affect the way in which a society organises relationships within itself, but they do not detract from the universalism of rights which are primarily concerned with the relationship of citizens with the state and the inherent dignity of persons and groups.(159)

To strengthen this argument there are also Pan-Arab NGOs which promote the adherence to international human rights standards. For example the Arab Commission for Human Rights is an independent non-governmental organisation dedicated to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the Arab world, guided by the UDHR, ICESR, ICCPR and other human rights instruments.(160) This point is further underscored by the 1993 Vienna Summit, when both non-Western cultural relativists and Western universalists were ambushed by an alliance of African, Latin American, and Asian NGOs. They argued in particular for women's rights as human rights. They preserved their anti-Western bona fides while bravely confronting their own governments: they did this by taking universalism into their own hands, thereby gaining some power that neither the Western governments nor their own wanted them to have.(161) On this basis human rights organisations cannot be criticised for promoting Western-dominated globalism. (162)

Further, there are a plethora of broader based NGOs which also advocate their commitment to the realisation of human rights for all, more specifically through their efforts to ensure social and economic rights. Although their agendas may specifically focus, for example on the environment, sustainable development or humanitarian relief, the pursuit of such missions denotes their commitment to ensure the betterment of the human lot, in essence driven by their core value of the respect for human rights. An example of this is One World, an organisation diversified in its operation, which is driven by "human rights for all as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."(163) In addition, Médecins sans Frontières (MSF) asserts that in carrying out humanitarian assistance it sets out to "alleviate human suffering to protect life and health and to restore and ensure respect for the human beings and their human fundamental human rights."(164)

Given the complex web of NGOs all focussed either implicitly or explicitly on civil and political or social and economic rights, it is evident that these organisations form a transnational network, as Geoffrey Best has termed it, a 'Human Rights International'.(165) Further, they are primary examples of the way in which cosmopolitizing forces can operate within international society but outside the states system; as such they have become active and influential enough to dent, but not break, states' historic monopoly of the panel of international legal personae.(166) It is on the basis of the demonstrated accord on the indispensability of human rights that we can explore consensus on other transnational values, which quintessentially are classified as subsets of the core value of inalienable human rights.

The promotion of democracy

Within the transnational NGO trajectory there also appears to be concordance found through the multitude of NGOs espousing a commitment to the promotion of democracy. Importantly, regardless of a specific commitment to spreading and promoting adherence to democratic values, NGOs are also indirectly responsible for propounding democratic ideals by virtue of the process of giving a voice to ordinary citizens of the world, thus facilitating the construction of a more cosmopolitan and democratic world order. A prominent example of an NGO which recognises its role in this regard is OpenDemocracy. This online community asserts its commitment to being an arena for democratic change, through closing the distance between people and power in order to influence global policy.(167)

An organisation which more explicitly promotes its commitment to the value of democracy is Freedom House, which states its mission as being "a vigorous proponent of democratic values and a steadfast opponent of dictatorships of the far left and the far right."(168) The National Democratic Institute (NDI) also works to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions.(169) Furthermore, to demonstrate the inherent transnationality of the value of democracy, despite contentions from some sites that democracy is inherently a Western value, there are in fact a number of organizations working toward the promotion of democratic change within the Middle East. One notable example is the Middle East Network for Democracy (MEND), an emerging virtual network of groups and activists dedicated to promoting democracy in the Middle East and North Africa. It developed out of the need to establish a network that brings together nongovernmental organizations, activists, and scholars who share a commitment to participate in and benefit from building democracy in their respective societies and throughout the region. On this basis, given both the NGO sector's implicit commitment to democratic ideals by virtue of providing a forum for the citizens of the world and their explicit commitment through efforts to ensure democracy prevails at a state level, there is demonstrated agreement on the importance of the value of democracy.

Inclusion in the international political system

Inextricably linked to democracy is the value of inclusion in the international political system. The opportunity for citizens to express their views by virtue of being a member of an NGO facilitates to varying extents their inclusion in world politics, with such inclusion being imperative for meaningful dialogue to take place. The commitment to providing a voice is evident in the mission statements of various NGOs. For example, "One World aims to transcend geographic and linguistic barriers; in particular to give a voice to those typically overlooked by mainstream media and policy-makers."(171) Clearly, virtual NGO communities facilitate this goal. This is epitomised by statements reflecting the intent of groups such as OpenDemocracy:

OpenDemocracy is an independent space for the diversity of ideas and experience, attracting a worldwide network of people. Our defining formula in achieving this is our model of [Contested Exchange](#), bringing together thought-leaders on specific subjects and enabling a real, global dialogue between them and our membership. [Contested Exchanges](#) are designed to increase understanding and unlock better ways forward.(172)

Another site from which the value of inclusion emanates is from the 'anti-globalisation' movements. This has been recognised by Duncan Green and Matthew Griffin who note that they are "united at heart by a concern for social justice and a refusal to accept the depredations of the powerful and the exclusion of the poor and the powerless from the mainstream political system. In this sense it is not a negative movement but a positive attempt at inclusion."(173) Facilitating the inclusion of diverse actors in the international political system can thus be seen as a common value which drives the operation of NGOs.

The promotion of peace and non-violence

Also discernible among the NGO community is a commitment to achieve their objectives through non-violent processes, which include *inter alia* networking, conferences and protests. For example, Amnesty International has adopted a wide range of non-violent methods to achieve its goals which range from public demonstrations to letter writing, from human rights education to fundraising concerts, from approaches to local authorities to lobbying intergovernmental organisations, from targeted appeals on behalf of a single individual to global campaigns on a specific country or issue.(174) The Bretton Woods Project has also adopted similar methods stating that it works as a networker, information provider, media informant and

watchdog to scrutinise and influence the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Through briefings, reports and the bimonthly digest it monitors projects, policy reforms and the overall management of the Bretton Woods institutions.(175) Greenpeace also states that it uses "non-violent, creative confrontation to express the global environment's problems."(176) In many cases the adoption of non-violent processes leads the organisations to assert their opposition to conflict and war. For example Greenpeace states that "as an organisation based on principles of peace and non-violence, we strongly believe that violence cannot resolve conflict."(177)

This commitment also extends to NGOs which specifically advocate peaceful means to prevent and end conflicts. A case in point is The Hague Appeal for Peace, which is "focused on promoting a Global Campaign for Peace education dedicated to the integration of peace education into curricula and communities worldwide as a means of reducing violence and preventing war."(178) There is an ostensible focus on addressing the root causes of war; promoting adherence to international humanitarian and human rights law and institutions; focussing on prevention, resolution and transformation of violent conflict; and exploring the issues of disarmament and human security.(179) The International Crisis Group's (ICG) operations and mission also parallel this to some extent. The ICG is a multinational organisation, operating on five continents, working through field-based analysis and high level advocacy to prevent and resolve deadly conflict. Teams of political analysts are located within or close by countries at risk of outbreak, escalation or recurrence of violent conflict where they produce analytical reports containing practical recommendations targeted at key international decision makers.(180) Further expression of the commitment to these values is manifested in a number of campaigns which have mobilised NGOs on issues central to establishing a peaceful and secure international environment. For example, the operations of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA),(181) the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (182) and the campaign to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers(183) clearly demonstrate a commitment to this value.

However, in the event that a culture of peace cannot be maintained, there are a number of operational NGOs who commit themselves to humanitarian missions to reduce the suffering of civilians. The most prominent example is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which has an exclusively humanitarian mission to protect the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence and to provide them with assistance.(184) Further the ICRC endeavours to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and humanitarian principles.(185) Thus, whether through employing non-violent means to achieve the objectives of the organisation, promoting non-violent means and peace education to resolve or prevent conflicts, pursuing campaigns to establish a more secure global milieu or assisting civilians in times of crisis, it is clear that NGOs find common ground on the value of promoting non-violence and peace.

Sustainable development and poverty reduction

Given that 80% of the world's population lives in the zones of turmoil, development and transition,(186) the values of sustainable development and poverty reduction are of high importance. In the realm of working for sustainability and poverty reduction NGOs are at the frontline.(187) The agenda has clearly been impelled by the series of conferences held in the 1990s which reached agreement on specific goals for universal minimum living standards, targeting the areas of, among others, children's welfare, nutrition, health, family planning, education, clean water, and sanitation.(188) The most well known NGO in this sphere is Oxfam International, a confederation of 12 organisations working to find lasting solutions to poverty, suffering and injustice.(189) It works primarily through local accountable organisations, seeking to strengthen their empowerment.(190) Another notable example is InterAction, an alliance of 160 US-based international development and humanitarian NGOs operating in every developing country, working to overcome poverty, exclusion and suffering by advancing social justice and basic dignity for all.(191) Further, World Vision International is also committed to community development, driven by its mission to serve the neediest people of the earth, to relieve their suffering and to promote their wellbeing.(192) The Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) is another civil society organisation, undertaking development initiatives to positively effect the lives of poor, weak, marginalised and excluded sections of the society, by encouraging and enabling their participation in the processes of their governance.(193) Other Organisations reflecting similar goals and values include ActionAid,(194) the CARE consortium(195) and Eurostep.(196) In this context, given the number of NGOs committed to the promotion of sustainable development and poverty reduction, it is clear that the NGO sector has agreed that these are imperative values in the present epoch.

Increasingly in the international development sphere NGOs find concordance on more specific guidelines promoting sustainable development and poverty reduction. Primarily, the NGO sector endeavours to promote a participatory approach to development, whereby the process is not something that is conferred on people from above or from outside, but rather is constructed as a social process locally decided upon and engaged in.(197) For example, central to World Vision's method is the empowerment the community, encouraging communities to recognise that they possess the resources to make change possible.(198) Thus, programmes such as health care, agricultural production, water projects, education and micro-enterprise development are carried out by the community with the support of World Vision. Further, ActionAid, BOND and Oxfam, among others, are also beginning to advocate the need for the increased scrutiny of and adjustment of developed countries' policies, rather than a sole focus on developing countries policies.(199) In this sphere there is consensus that private capital flow, trade, migration, agricultural protection and environmental policies of developed countries must be assessed to ensure that they do not undermine development goals.(200)

This analysis is in no way an exhaustive survey of all the values where the NGO trajectory has built consensus. However, it seeks to paint a picture of the main areas where there has been agreement and to demonstrate that we are witnessing the emergence of a transnational set of values as defined by the transnational trajectory of NGOs. It must further be emphasised that these values are truly transnational; they are reflected in the missions of NGOs that operate not only in the 'North', but also in the 'South', and therefore the emergence of these values cannot be classified as part of the 'West's hegemonic project'.(201) It is clear that NGOs are a 'cosmopolitanizing' force in world politics given their commitment to values for the good of the world community, rather than solely for the good of the state. Thus, as the upholders of an ethical canon that applies across nations and cultures, international actors in civil society now, to varying degrees, define as well as set the moral norms which should in principle govern national and international orders.(202) NGOs are thus increasingly recognised as the guardians of a morally informed consensus on the minimum that is due to human beings.(203) In this context, global civil society actors legislate and mandate normative principles and thus provide a morally authoritative structure for the national and international community.(204)

In summary then, the 'new cosmopolitanism' offers a basis to establish a more just global order, predominantly through its espousal of a commitment to humanity as a whole, facilitated by building consensus on values which demonstrate a commitment beyond the nation. It is not universalist, although it has the potential to become so, and it is not predicated on the existence of a global public opinion. Rather, it seeks frameworks for political and economic decision-making at the global and national levels.(205) In this context, NGOs have a key role to play in activating the 'new cosmopolitan' system given their cosmopolitan credentials. Transnational networks of NGOs have facilitated the dissemination of TNVs at the 'microlevel', yet their impact at the 'macrolevel', that is their influence on powerful liberal states,(206) is a different field of investigation. Further inquiry into this topic, however, may reveal that NGOs constitute an essential element in the cosmopolitan political project, bringing a nascent moral layer to international politics.

Endnotes

1. This articulation by Thomas Paine draws strongly on Diogenes the Cynic's frequently cited phrase 'I am a citizen of the world', (Diogenes Laertius VI 63) his answer to Alexander the Great when he asked him where he was from. The answer seemed to imply that he had no attachments to any community, no desire to accept the convention that the interests of 'insiders' come first. (Malcomson, Scott "The Varieties of Cosmopolitan Experience", in Cheah, Pheng and Robbins, Bruce (eds), *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, University of Minnesota Press, London, 1998, p233.)
2. Editorial footnote: Deontology traditionally refers to a systematic approach to ethics which 'emphasizes duties or rules' (Hursthouse, Rosalind *On Virtue Ethics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, p1.)
3. I borrow this term from Pheng Cheah who questions whether we can speak of the emergence of a 'new cosmopolitanism' and, if so, what practical - logical forms this 'new cosmopolitanism' has taken or ought to take. (Cheah, P. "Given Culture: Rethinking Cosmopolitan Freedom in Transnationalism", in Cheah, P. & Robbins, B. (Eds), *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, op cit.,p291.)
4. Such thought relies on a dualism, most clearly evident in the *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes; specifically, justice and ethics are inapplicable in the absence of a viable international community (Falk, R. *Human Rights Horizons*, op cit., p14-15).
5. *ibid.*, p14.

6. Rawls' *A Theory of Justice* provides a contemporary rearticulation of the character of justice as pertaining to organised society rather than to the human condition. Rawls presents "the main idea of justice as fairness, a theory of justice that generalises and carries to a higher level of abstraction the traditional conception of the social contract." (Rawls, J. *A Theory of Justice*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, p3). In more recent writings, Rawls has given a global dimension to his views about political benevolence. (Rawls, John "The Law of Peoples", in Shute, Stephen & Hurley, Susan (eds.), *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures*, Basic Books, New York, 1993, 41-82.) Rawls draws strongly on the emergence of a universally endorsed human rights framework for establishing conditions of political legitimacy in state-society relations. (Falk, R. *Human Rights Horizons*, op cit., p15.)
7. Franceschet, F. 'Justice and International Organisation: Two Models of Global Governance', *Global Governance*, 8 (2002), 19-34, p19.
8. *ibid.*, p 20, emphasis added.
9. Linklater, A. 'Cosmopolitan Political Communities in International Relations', *International Relations*, Volume 16, Number 1, April 2002, pp135-150, p136.
10. Malcomson, S. op cit., p233.
11. Cheah, P. "The Cosmopolitical -Today", in Cheah, P. and Robbins, B. (eds) op cit., p21.
12. Kaldor, M. op cit., p19
13. As Robbins suggests, cosmopolitanisms, like nations, are now plural and particular. Like nations, they are both European and non-European, and they are weak and underdeveloped as well as strong and privileged. (Robbins, Bruce "Actually Existing Cosmopolitanisms", in Cheah, P. & Robbins, B. op cit., p2.) Further, cosmopolitanism comes in various guises, in Kantian, utilitarian, contractarian, Marxist and critical theoretical forms. (Hutching, Kim *International Political Theory*, SAGE Publications, London, 1999, p153.) Although this may be the case, every cosmopolitan argues for some community among all human beings regardless of social and political affiliation.
14. Hutching, K. op cit., p153-4; See also Erskine, T. "'Citizen of nowhere' or 'the point where circles intersect'? Impartialist and embedded cosmopolitanisms", *Review of International Studies* (2002), 28, 457-478, p457.
15. Hutching, K., op cit., p153. & Erskine, T. op cit., p458. Moral cosmopolitanism is also termed ethical cosmopolitanism by various authors, see for example Erskine, T. op cit., p457.
16. Thus, those arguing for political cosmopolitanism in one form or another very often invoke moral cosmopolitanisms in their theses. (Hutching, K., op cit., p154.)
17. Malcomson, S. op cit., p233.
18. Anderson, Amanda "Cosmopolitanism, Universalism, and the Divided Legacies of Modernity", in Cheah, P. & Robbins, B. op cit, p162
19. Unequivocally, Kant is one of the most influential philosophers on cosmopolitanism; his vision remains the single most important philosophical source for contemporary normative theories of international relations, including accounts of global civil society and the international public sphere. (Cheah, P. "The Cosmopolitical -Today", op cit, p23.)
20. First Definitive Article of Perpetual Peace, Kant, I. op cit., p 112.
21. Second Definitive Article for a Perpetual Peace, Kant, I. op cit., p115.
22. Third Definitive Article for a Perpetual Peace, Kant, I. op cit., p118.
23. Kant was not the first to subscribe to the idea that peace between states should be achieved under a system of international law, as early modern theorists such as Hugo Grotius and Samuel Puffendorf also dealt with the notion. (Wood, A. "Kant's Project for Perpetual Peace", in Cheah, P. & Robbins, B. (eds), op cit., p59-60)
24. *ibid.*, p62.
25. Cheah, P. "The Cosmopolitical - Today", op cit., p23.
26. Erskine, T. op cit., p457.
27. Hutchings, K. op cit, p 154.

28. Wood, A. op cit., p63.
29. Kant, I. Second Definitive Article for Perpetual Peace, op cit., p117.
30. Parekh, Bhikhu "Cosmopolitanism and global citizenship", *Review of International Studies* (2003), 29, 3-17, p12.
31. A term coined by David Held referring to those who assert that the nation-state is no longer central to the modern world; it is displaced; it is locked into a variety of complex processes; its power is denuded *inter alia* by world markets, by the growth of regions, by changing structures of international law and by environmental processes. (Held, David "Realism vs Cosmopolitanism: A Debate Between Barry Buzan and David Held Conducted by Anthony McGrew", *Review of International Studies* (1998), 24, 387-398, p389).
32. Cheah, P. "Given Culture: Rethinking Cosmopolitan Freedom in Transnationalism", op cit.,p291.
33. Bull, H. *Anarchical Society* Second Edition, Macmillan Press, London, 1995, p24.
34. *ibid.*
35. Robbins, B. "Actually Existing Cosmopolitanisms", op cit., p1., Anderson, A., op cit., p266.
36. Anderson, A. op cit., p267.
37. Erskine, T. op cit., p459.
38. For example, critics of an impartialist cosmopolitan position lament its failure to acknowledge the role of community and social relationships in constituting both selfhood and agency. They reject the perceived underlying assumption of Impartialist cosmopolitanism: that we can be removed from our social contexts and still possess a rich enough embodiment of who we are in order to arrive at moral decisions. (Erskine, T. op cit., p461; Parekh, B. op cit., p8).
39. Anderson, A. op cit., p267.
40. Robbins, B. "Actually Existing Cosmopolitanisms", op cit, p5; Erskine, T. op cit, p457.
41. Linklater, A. 'The Problem of harm in world politics: implications for the sociology of states-systems', *International Affairs* 78, 2 (2002) 319-38, at p 324.
42. Lord Tennyson, A. 'Hands All Round' [1885], *The Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson* (ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1994), pp371-2 at 371, cited in Erskine, T. op cit., p464.
43. 'In Reply', in Cohen (ed.), *Love of country*, pp131-44 (at 135-6) cited in Erskine, T. op cit., p464.
44. Parekh, B. op cit., p12.
45. Booth, K. op cit., p120.
46. Anderson, A. op cit., p277.
47. *ibid.*, p268.
48. *ibid.*
49. *ibid.*
50. Donaldson, T. "Kant's Global Rationalism", in *Traditions of International Ethics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, p143.
51. Linklater, A. "The Problem of harm in world politics", op cit., p324.
52. Shapcott, R. "Cosmopolitan Conversations: Justice Dialogue and the Cosmopolitan Project", *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 2002, p222.
53. *ibid.*

54. Habermas, J. *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge, 1990, p67.
55. *ibid.*, p64.
56. Linklater, Andrew "Citizenship and Sovereignty in the Post Westphalian European State", in Archibugi, Daniele, Held, David & Koehler, Martin (eds), *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Stanford University Press, California, 1998, p122. However, this position has attracted criticism. It has been argued that it requires too high a degree of homogeneity amongst the participants in the conversation for it to be inclusive of the truly radically different. Stephen Hopgood, for instance, argues that discourse ethics implicitly requires the remaking of those who do not fit the picture of the liberal self into those that do. Nevertheless, such criticism does not necessarily undermine the vision of a global conversation community. (Shapcott, R., *op cit.*, p222-223.)
57. Shapcott, R., *op cit.*, p225.
58. Linklater, A. "Citizenship and Sovereignty in the Post Westphalian European State", *op cit.*, p122.
59. *ibid.*
60. Ellis, J. "International regimes and the legitimacy of rules: a discourse ethics approach", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, July-Sept 2002, v27, i3, p273 [Internet Access via Infotrac].
61. *ibid.*
62. Bull, H. *op cit.*, pp73-75
63. Linklater, A. "The Problem of harm in world politics", *op cit.*, p324.
64. *ibid*; Parekh, B. also advances a similar argument in "Cosmopolitanism and global citizenship", *op cit.*, p9.
65. Linklater, A. "Cosmopolitan Political Communities in International Relations", p144.
66. *ibid.*
67. Kaldor, Mary "Proposal to the Economic and Social Research Council for a seminar on Cosmopolitan Democracy", University of Sussex, Brighton, 1993, cited in Archibugi, D. Held, D. & Koehler, M. (eds), *op cit.*, p216.
68. *ibid.*
69. Hutchings, K. *op cit.*, p161.
70. Held, D. "Democracy and Globalisation", in Archibugi, D. Held, D. & Koehler, M. (eds), *op cit.*, p24.
71. *ibid.*
72. Archibugi, D. "Principles of Cosmopolitan Democracy", in Archibugi, D. Held, D. & Koehler, M. (eds), *op cit.*, p216.
73. Indeed, Martin Wight argued that cosmopolitan and other radical approaches are an important reminder that state-systems contain deep moral imperfections, but he doubted that such approaches, or indeed progressivist tendencies in general, would ever enjoy lasting success. (Linklater, A. "The Problem of harm in world politics", *op cit.*, p321.)
74. Hutchings, K. *op cit.*, p156.
75. Booth, Ken "Human Wrongs and International Relations", *International Affairs*, vol. 71, 1995, p113.
76. *ibid.*
77. *ibid.*
78. Anderson, A. *op cit.*, p237
79. Booth, K. *op cit.*, p115.

80. Dombrowski, P. "Fragmenting Identities, Shifting Loyalties: The Influence of Individualisation on Global Transformations", *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1998, p382.
81. Booth, K. op cit., p119.
82. Cheah, P. "The Cosmopolitical - Today", op cit., p36.
83. Spiro, Peter J. "New global communities: nongovernmental organisations in international decision-making institutions", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 1995, v18, n1, p45 [Internet access via Infotrac]
84. Galbraith, J. 'The New Internationalism: The Fact and the Response', *UN Chronicle*, No. 3, 1997 [Internet Access at <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle-arch/1997/essay.htm>]
85. This is a term which has been coined by Peter Koehn and James Rosenau and will be explored below.
86. Vertovec, Steven "Transnationalism and identity", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol 27, No. 4: 573-582, October 2001, at p573.
87. For example OpenDemocracy states "We have a 'circle of concern' which goes far beyond our immediate local and national circumstances." [Internet Access at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/about/index.jsp>]
88. Green Cross International, op cit.
89. Koehn, P. & Rosenau, J. "Transnational Competence in an Emergent Epoch", *International Studies Perspectives* (2002) 3, 105-127, p107.
90. ibid.
91. Kearney, M. 'Borders and Boundaries of State and Self at the End of Empire', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 4 (1991), p.55, cited in Mandaville, Peter 'Reading the state from elsewhere: towards an anthropology of the postnational' *Review of International Studies* (2002), 28, 199-207, p204.
92. ibid.
93. ibid.
94. 'About Us', *Amnesty International Website* [Internet Access at http://web.amnesty.org/pages/AboutAI_index]
95. Bell, Coral "Normative Shift: influence on international relations", *The National Interest*, Winter 2002, p44(11), Internet access via Infotrac on 02/02/03.
96. Koehn, P. & Rosenau, J. op cit, p120.
97. Coolsaet, Rik "The Transformation of Diplomacy at the Threshold of the New Millennium", *Diplomatic Studies Programme Discussion Papers*, Centre for the Study of Diplomacy, No. 48, December 1998, p11.
98. Clements, Kevin P. "Civil Society and Conflict Prevention", *Centre for Development Research: Facing Ethnic Conflicts*, [Internet access at http://www.civicus.org/main/server_navigation/skeletons/Civicus_01/framework/navigation.cfm?contendid=D16EE2C4-0016-4884-82BED77D071A23AF]
99. Koehn, P. & Rosenau, J. op. cit., p109.
100. ibid, p110.
101. Anderson, A. op cit., p267
102. ibid, p268.
103. Glasius, M. & Kaldor, M. op cit, p4.
104. An-Na'im, Abdullahi "Religion and Global Civil Society: Inherent Incompatibility or Synergy and Interdependence", *Global Civil Society*, 2002, The Centre for Global Governance, [Internet Access via <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Yearbook/outline2002.htm>] p 70.

105. Willetts, P. *'The Conscience of the World': The Influence of Non-Governmental Organisations in the UN System*, The Brookings Institute, Washington D.C., 1996, p11.
106. *ibid.*
107. Ghai, Dharam "Human Solidarity and World Poverty", *Global Governance* 7 (2001), 237-241, p239.
108. Chandhoke, Neera "The Limits of Global Civil Society", *Global Civil Society*, 2002, The Centre for the Study of Global Governance, [Internet Access via <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Yearbook/outline2002.htm>] p41.
109. Willetts, P. *Pressure Groups in the Global System: The Transnational Relations*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1982, p23.
110. *ibid.* p24.
111. Clark, Ann Marie *Diplomacy of conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2001, p24.
112. For example Amnesty International and 'idealist.org' assert that they are independent of any government, political ideology or religious creed. (see AI Website, *op cit.* & the Idealist Website [Internet Access at <http://www.idealists.org>]) To maintain their independence they do not accept donations from governments or corporations but rely on contributions from individual supporters and foundation grants. This is the position adopted by Greenpeace, Amnesty International, Oxfam to name but a few of the most prominent organisations.
113. Koehn, P. & Rosenau, J. *op. cit.*, p106
114. Sassen has argued that there is "today a massive interest by Western governments in NGOs and the large western private funders are putting enormous resources into some NGOs. In fact some NGOs function as subcontractors to governments: for instance, the US wildlife Fund gets over half of its budget from USAID, to do work which the government could do". (Sassen, S. "A New Geography of Power?", *University of Chicago*, [Internet Access at <http://www.globalpolicy.org/nations/sassen.htm>])
115. Thakur, Ramesh "Security in the new millennium", in Cooper, Andrew F. English, John & Thakur Ramesh (eds), *Enhancing Global Governance: Towards A New Diplomacy*, United Nations University Press, Tokyo, 2002, p277.
116. Muldoon, J. "Multilateral Diplomacy and the Post-Cold War United Nations" *Diplomatic Studies Programmes Discussion Papers*, No. 47, November 1998, p14.
117. Ghai, D., *op cit.*, p239.
118. Robbins, B *op cit.*, p9.
119. *Amnesty International Website*, *op cit.*
120. Martin, N. "Building Civil Society Conference", A Working Paper, Forum International de Montreal, p2 [Internet access at <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/hauser/engagementimpact/BTCSpapers/martin.pdf>]
121. *ibid.*
122. Hans Kung uses this term to refer to agreement on particular values, criteria and attitude as a basis for world society that is coming into being. (Kung, Hans *A Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics*, SCM Press, London, 1997, p91.)
123. This is a term needed to describe the formation of these values. It would be inaccurate to say that these values are global, or universal as they are not adhered to globally or universally, despite the fact that they are constructed to have global or universal application.
124. Naidoo, Kumi "NGOs should be made more effective in strengthening democracy: The new civic globalism", *The Nation*, May 8, 2000 v 270 i18, p34, [Internet access via Infotrac].
125. Ghai, D. *op cit.*, p239.
126. MacDonald, L., "Globalising Civil Society: Interpreting International NGOs in Central America", *Millennium*, Vol 23, No. 2 (Summer 1994), p281, cited in Gale, F. "Constructing Global Civil society Actors: An Anatomy of the Environmental Coalition Contesting the Tropical Timber Trade Regime", *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations*, vol 12, No.3, 1998., F. *op cit.*, p347.

127. *ibid.*
128. Conca, Ken "Greening the UN: Environmental Organisations and the UN system", in Weiss, Thomas & Gordenker, Leon *NGOS, the UN, and Global Governance*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1996, pp 103-119.
129. *ibid.*, p117.
130. Gale, F., *op cit.*, pp343-344.
131. *Amnesty International Website*, *op cit.*
132. *One World Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.oneworld.net/about/>]
133. *Global NGO Community Website* [<http://www.ngo.org/index2.htm>]
134. 'About Us', *InterAction Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.interaction.org/about/index.html>]
135. Green, Duncan and Griffith, Matthew "Globalisation and its discontents", *International Affairs* 78, I (2002) 49-68, p54.
136. Mission", *Idealist Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.idealists.org/mission.html>]
137. *One World Website*, *op cit.*
138. *Union of International Associations Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.uia.org/uia/home.php>]
139. Bollier, David "The Rise of Netpolitik: How the Internet is Changing International Politics and Diplomacy", A Report of the Eleventh Annual Aspen Institute Roundtable on information Technology [Internet Access at <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/about/pdfs/netpolitik.pdf>]
140. "An Evolving Mission Statement", *The Values Caucus at the United Nations Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.valuescaucus.org/index.html>.]
141. *ibid*
142. Drawing on one well-known conceptualisation of globalisation which talks of 'ethnoscapes', 'technoscapes', 'finanscapes', 'mediascapes', and 'ideoscapes', as was articulated by Appadurai, Arjun in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, Oxford University Press, Dehli, 1997, p33. Ken Booth adds the new category of 'ethicscapes' in Booth, K. *op cit.*, p109.
143. Huntington, S., 'The Clash of Civilisations?' *Foreign Affairs*, Vo. 72, No.3 (1993), pp22-50, p22.
144. *ibid.*, p40-41.
145. Gray, R., 'Global utopias and clashing civilisations: misunderstanding the present', *International Affairs* 74, I (1998) 1469-164, p156.
146. The centrality of the concepts of *ummah* (community), *shura* (consultation) and *ijma* (consensus) to the Islamic faith are clearly consistent with the precepts of democracy.
147. For example there is the right *inter alia* to life (6:151), the right to a basic standard of living (51:19), the right to freedom (9:60), and the right to justice (4:135).
148. It is asserted that all human beings are equal, (4:1; 49:13)
149. Coomaraswamy, R., 'Reinventing International Law: Womens's Rights as Human Rights in the International Community', in Peter Van Ness (ed.), *Debating Human Rights: Critical Essays from the United States and Asia*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp167-83, at 169.
150. Tehranian, M. & Reed, L. "Evolving Governance Regimes", in Tehranian, M. *Worlds Apart: Human Security and Global Governance*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1999, p72.
151. Falk, R. *Human Rights Horizons*, *op cit.*, p149.
152. See Green, D. and Griffith, M. *op cit.*, p58.

153. Knickerbocker, B. "Nongovernmental Organisations are Fighting and Winning Social Political Battles", *Christian Science Monitor*, February 6, 2000 [Internet Access via www.globalpolicy.org].
154. *ibid.*
155. Green Cross International, *op cit.*
156. *Amnesty International Website*
157. Statue of Amnesty International, As amended by the 25th International Council, meeting in Dakar, Senegal, 17 to 25 August 2001 [Internet Access at http://web.amnesty.org/web/web.nsf/pages/AboutAI_statute]
158. *Human Rights Watch Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.hrw.org/about/>]
159. *Asian Charter of Asian Human Rights Commission Website* [Internet Access at www.ahrck.net/charter/mainfile.php/eng_charter/56/]
160. 160. *Arab Commission for Human Rights Website* [Internet Access at <http://home.swipnet.se/w~79939/wiae.htm>]
161. Malcomson, S., *op cit.*, p236.
162. This contention is debateable however, considering that Western NGOs still dominate the global civil societal milieu, and are yet to be matched by those organisations representing the interests of the South.
163. *One World Website*, *op cit.*
164. "The MSF role in emergency medical aid", *MSF Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.msf.org/about/index.cfm>]. It is in fact part of MSF's work to address any violations of basic human rights perpetrated or sustained by political actors which are encountered by field teams. It does so by confronting the responsible actors themselves, by putting pressure on them through mobilisation of the international community and by issuing information publicly. (MSF Website, *op cit.*)
165. Best, Geoffrey 'Justice, international relations and human rights', *International Affairs* 71, 4 (1995) 775-799, p796.
166. *ibid.*
167. *OpenDemocracy Website*
168. "Mission Statement and History", *Freedom House Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/aboutfh/index.htm>]
169. "About NDI", *National Democratic Institute Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.ndi.org/about/about.asp>].
170. *Middle East Network for Democracy Website* [Internet Access at http://www.wmd.org/mena/mena_mend.html].
171. *One World Website*, *op cit.*
172. *OpenDemocracy Website*, *op cit.*
173. Green, D. & Griffin, M. *op cit.*
174. Clark, A. M. *Diplomacy of conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms*, *op cit.*, p26
175. "About Us", *The Bretton Woods Project Website* [Internet Access at www.brettonwoodsproject.org]
176. *Greenpeace Website* [Internet Access at http://www.greenpeace.org/extra/?item_id=4365&language_id=en].
177. "Features", *Greenpeace Website* at <http://www.greenpeace.org/features/>
178. *The Hague Appeal for Peace Website* [Internet Access at <http://hagupeace.org/index.php?name=aboutus>].
179. *ibid.*
180. "About ICG", *International Crisis Group Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/about/program.cfm?>

[typeid=4](#)].

181. This is a global network of NGOs working to stop the proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons. World attention is increasingly focussed on the humanitarian impact of these weapons, and IANSA brings together the voices and activities of NGOs across the world to prevent their deadly effects. (*IANSA Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.iansa.org/mission/index.htm>])

182. A loose coalition of likeminded NGOs, the ICBL has sought an international ban on the use of production, stockpiling and transfer of antipersonnel landmines, and increased resources for mine action and for victim assistance. (*ICBL Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.icbl.org/>])

183. The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child soldiers was formed by leading NGOs seeking an end to the military recruitment and use of all children under 18 years of age, whether by governmental armed forces or armed opposition groups. (<http://www.haguepeace.org/index.php?name=campaign6>)

184. Article 4 -Role, *Statute of the International Committee of the Red Cross*, 30/09/1998 [Internet Access at <http://www.icrc.org>]

185. *International Committee of the Red Cross Website* [Internet Access <http://www.icrc.org/HOME>]

186. *Global Policy Workshop*, "Globalisation and Equity: The Development Impact of Rich Countries' Policies", Fourth Annual Conference of the Global Development Network, Cairo, January 16-17, p1.

187. Elias, V. "Who is aware of Agenda 21? Missing Conditions: Three Major Barriers", in Dodds, Felix (ed) *Earth Summit 2002: A New Deal*, Earthscan, London, 2000, p32.

188. Ghai, D. op cit., p238.

189. "About Us", *Oxfam International Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.oxfam.org/eng/about.htm>]

190. "Oxfam International's Mission Statement", *Oxfam International Website* at: http://www.oxfam.org/eng/about_strat_mission.htm

191. "About Us", *InterAction Website* [Internet Access <http://interaction.org/about/index.html>]

192. Its mission also extends to emergency relief, education, health care and the promotion of justice. ("Who is World Vision", *World Vision International Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.wvi.org/home.shtml>]) It should also be noted that this organisation has a religious flavour; it maintains a strong Christian identity.

193. "About Us", *The Society for Participatory Research Asia (PRIA) Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.pria.org/cgi-bin/about/aboutpria.htm>]

194. "About Us", *ActionAid Website* [Internet Access at <http://actionaid.org/aboutus/home.shtml>]

195. *CARE Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.care.org/>]

196. *Eurostep Website* [Internet Access at www.eurostep.org/]

197. Falk, Richard Falk, Richard "Trends Toward Transnational Justice: Innovations and Institutions", Human Development Report Office, Occasional Paper, [Internet Access at http://hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background_papers/2002/Falk_2002.pdf]. However, in practice NGOs are not always successful in ensuring that a participatory process eventuates.

198. This is achieved by focussing on the children in the community who World Vision see as the hope for the world's future. (World Vision Website, op cit.) Similarly the Save the Children Federation also focuses on changing the lives of children in providing international relief and development. (*Save the Children Website* [Internet Access at <http://www.savethechildren.org/mission.shtml>])

199. Oxfam espouses that "to overcome poverty and suffering involves changing unjust policies and practices, nationally and internationally." (Oxfam International's Mission Statement, op cit.)

200. *Global Policy Project Workshop*, "The Impact of Rich Countries' Policies", Fourth Annual Conference of the Global Development Network, Cairo, January 16-17, 2003, pp7-13.

201. Sassen, S. op cit.

202. Chandhoke, N. op cit., p41.

203. ibid.

204. ibid.

205. Vibert, F. "The new cosmopolitanism", 20/03/02, *OpenDemocracy*, [Internet Access at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/debates/article.jsp?id=3&debateId=77&articleId=1069>]

206. The conceptualisation of the impact at the 'micro-levels' and the 'macro-levels' is borrowed from Sarah Mendelson. (Walker, Stephanie & Costigan, Sean "Interview with Sarah Mendelson", *Columbia International Affairs Online*, 27 September 2002 [Internet Access at <http://www.ciaonet.org/coursepack/cp07/cp07b.html>]).

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Transnationalism", in CHEAH, P. & ROBBINS, B. (Eds), *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, University of Minnesota Press, London, 1998.

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