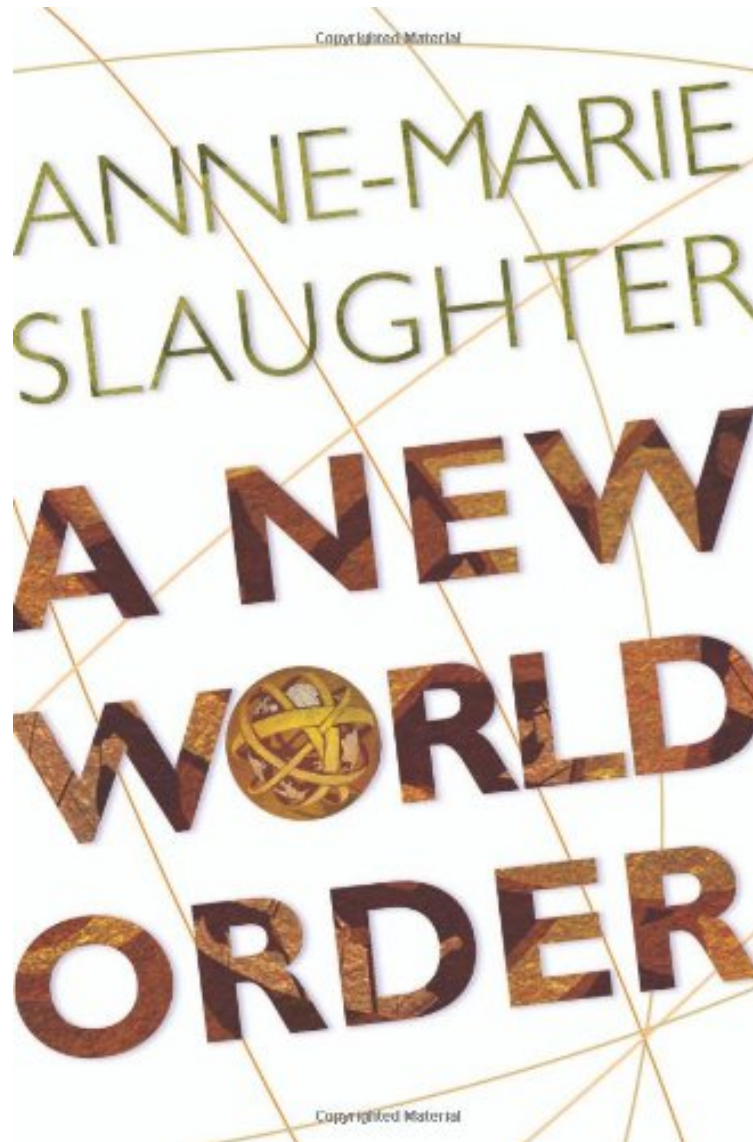


(Free pdf) A New World Order

A New World Order

Anne-Marie Slaughter

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Anne-Marie Slaughter : A New World Order before purchasing it in order to gauge whether or not it would be worth my time, and all praised A New World Order:

4 of 5 people found the following review helpful. Insightful, but perhaps inadequately critical. By Peter Monks As I write this review, the High Court of Australia has just overturned a federal government policy designed to reduce illegal immigration on the grounds that the actions of a third party (Malaysia) would fail to meet Australia's obligations to a UN treaty - a development that gave me cause to reconsider the arguments of Slaughter's 'A New

World Order'. In 'A New World Order', Anne-Marie Slaughter (who in other contexts has been both a thoughtful critic of and useful contributor to US policy, and an articulate advocate of something approaching a 'Responsibility to Protect' that transcends state sovereignty) argues that not only is traditional state sovereignty being eroded by the prevalence of formal multinational institutions and informal networks, but that these developments are overwhelmingly positive. The first part of her argument - that states are becoming 'disaggregated' and subject to a range of formal and informal external influences unlike the unitary 'billiard balls' of traditional Realist IR theory - is clear and convincing, with well-developed arguments and supporting examples that illustrate the reality of this phenomenon. While she illustrates a number of positive effects of these developments (which are in my view more unambiguous at the technical or transactional end of policy), I am less convinced by her enthusiasm for the increasing tendency for the judicial and legislative classes (who look like what Samuel Huntington described as the 'Davos Culture') to refer to each other and present the *hoi polloi* back home with a *fait accompli* of a binding multinational decision for their own good (European Union, anybody?) rather than go to the effort of persuading sovereign citizens and voters. Slaughter is a bit too confident in the ability of her peers to always get it right and inadequately concerned that they might be a bit more remote from the consequences than ordinary citizens for my liking - and perhaps a bit too confident that supranational decision-making elites will only be thinking of the greater good rather than narrower interests. Slaughter has performed a real service by describing a very real evolution in international affairs with clarity, and through her advocacy for these developments from an informed liberal democratic perspective. While I am not entirely convinced, 'The New World Order' is still an informative and valuable work that lends a new perspective to understanding modern IR.

0 of 0 people found the following review helpful. Five Stars
By julian c stanley
easy read. very interesting
1 of 3 people found the following review helpful. For a Serving Elite, Genius--Out of Touch with Non-Elites
By Robert David STEELE
Vivas
Now that my own book INTELLIGENCE for EARTH: Clarity, Diversity, Integrity, Sustainability is at the printer am back into reading and really looking forward to catching up with the 25 books on my "to do" shelf. This one jumped to the top of the list at the recommendation of James Fallows, recently back from China and author of Blind Into Baghdad: America's War in Iraq among many other extraordinary books. This might have been a four because despite the gifted genius of the author--I use the term with admiration--the book is out of touch with two thirds or more of the relevant literature and all the non-elite movements that are doing precisely what she advocates but DISPLACING governments. HOWEVER, the recurring theme of multinational information-sharing and information-driven harmonization grabbed me by the throat. A handful of quoted phrases, generally citing others properly end-noted: + European agencies "are best described as 'information agencies.' Their job is to collect, coordination, and disseminate information needed by policymakers. + "Modes of regulation based on information and persuasion..." + "Deboutsee also sees the European information agencies as network creators and coordinators." + "In short, the ability to provide credible information and an accompanying reputation for credibility become sources of soft power." She acknowledged here that non-governmental organization networks are doing this now, and that government networks need to do more of this. + The following sentence moved me--the author has clearly derived on her own some very powerful ideas for which literatures exist outside the legal-governmental frame of reference--the bottom up multinational crowd-sourcing world--and this one sentence, idealistic as it may be, is so consistent with all that I believe in it more or less sealed my appreciation for this work: "The concept of regulation as a high flexible process of collective learning through dialog is precisely what animates the United Nation's new effort to improve corporate behavior..." While not connected to the "true cost" and ecological intelligence literatures, and understating all the corruption or data pathologies and information asymmetries that characterize the global arena, "collective learning through dialog" (and of course information sharing) grabs me as a gold nugget would. The book is also a five because the author is an innovator and a builder, not a typical ivory tower pontificator, and in her brand new political job as Director for Policy Planning at the Department of State (from mid 2009) she initiated the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. She does not have the staff or the in-house knowledge to get that done right, but it is a good start, and could one day help the Secretary of State both implement the ideas in my own book and General Tony Zinni's book, The Battle for Peace: A Frontline Vision of America's Power and Purpose, perhaps by taking over the Open Source Agency that Congressman Rob Simmons (R-CT-02) and I and a tiny handful of others have been working toward for these past 21 years. In this book, which is 1993 knowledge updated in a sabbatical in 2000-2001 and finally published in 2004, and in her other book that I will review today, The Idea That Is America: Keeping Faith With Our Values in a Dangerous World I am moved by the author's idealism, sincerity, and frustration with the hypocrisy that is American policy and American mis-behavior. The author strikes me as a deeply moral and equally pragmatic person who is confounded by the disconnect--the cognitive dissonance--between what America can and should be, and what America "is" in the reality. I share those sentiments, and am often comforted by Winston Churchill's dictum, "The Americans always do the right thing; they just try everything else first." We're done with trying everything else first, it has not worked, and the author's vision in this book, and her current position with two years remaining, and her creation of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (which impresses me hugely) could be the beginning of America doing the right thing into the future. All of that to justify the fifth star. The author's next book, deeply informed by first-hand evidence of how decrepit the US Government has become, how

stupid, how uninformed, how inept, is certain to be a block-buster. And now my notes and comments on the substance of this excellent work that is narrowly cast. + Clearly a culmination of years of work with two Oxford degrees and time at Harvard and Chicago, this is a legal scholar broadly impacting on the rather immature discipline of international relations. The bibliography is really fascinating, this is both a hugely integrative and a hugely explorative work. + The book is a major push-back on "World Government" as both the Wall Street bankers and the United Nations aspirants would have it be, and also a pragmatic examination, with strong legal understanding generally lacking in most books in this field, of how vertical and horizontal governmental networks can use information sharing to achieve regulatory harmonization, achieving transnational good effect without "global sovereignty" by any one party. She calls this the disaggregation of the state. + It is at this point that I realize the author has not integrated the insights in either Philip Allot's *The Health of Nations: Society and Law beyond the State*, no doubt because he is a Cambridge man; or the work of J. F. Rischard, then Vice President for Europe of the World Bank, whose book *High Noon 20 Global Problems, 20 Years to Solve Them*, including his attention to the need for a new rule book and new forms of global issue networks, remains one of a half-dozen truly useful books relevant to the future of humanity on earth. + Horizontal and vertical (informal) integration functions include information exchange, enforcement cooperation, harmonization, and technical assistance training. + Five principles concluding the book including global deliberative equality (drawing on Michael Ignatieff); legitimate differences, positive comity (new code words for multilateralism); checks and balances, and subsidiarity, the really important one, locating government at the lowest possible level, with a nod by the author to Montesquieu. + The subversive element of this book lies in its realism in pushing away from national sovereignty as a unitary concept, and instead seeking to imbue partial sovereignty status as an informed and sanctioned representative on informal participation by varied elements in multinational networks (much as the intelligence inspector generals have recently done in Asia). + I note with interest the author's draw on Michael Dorf and Charles Sable on "Democratic Experimentalism". + Throughout the book I see subtleties that might be missed absent a high regard for both informal governance and information sharing and learning as a form of governance--I still smile thinking of George Will's book, *Statecraft as Soulcraft*--my own book seeks to create a human soul by reconnecting humans to one another and to all information in all languages, and the author keeps me on side when she observes that the role of government is not to control the information, but rather to set up the networks, jump start the information flow, foster learning, and step back. + The author's reference to virtual public spaces is precisely what I outline in my new book and at Phi Beta Iota the Public Intelligence Network--we need to create the World Brain and the Global Game so that we become Whole again through shared information and dialog across all issues addressed holistically as would be made possible by Robert Ackoff in *Redesigning Society* (Stanford Business Books) and others like myself in de-designing government to eliminate intermediaries with vested interests and shorten the OODA loop (Orient Observe Decide Act) to humans, decisions, and behavior--more often than not, money can be left out of the equation. + I note with interest the citation in the main body of Lani Guinier's emphasis on power with versus power over. + I agree that government networks are under-appreciated, under-supported, and under-used, but that is because political corruption has created a government tailored to special interests and pork in which easily two thirds of the spaces and buildings and dollars are fraud, waste, and abuse. + Useful concluding focus on the Nordic system which is where my Swedish military colleagues and I derived the new term of art M4IS2: Multinational, Multiagency, Multidisciplinary, Multidomain Information-Sharing and Sense-Making....95% of it NOT secret, NOT federal, and NOT in English. + I note the author's statement that soft power flows from expertise, integrity, competence, creativity, and generosity with time and ideas (see *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom and Collective Intelligence: Creating a Prosperous World at Peace*). I am out of links, so I will end with the observation that all the other books I might have listed are linked out of the free copy of my new book that is already online in pre-typo draft at Phi Beta Iota, and also searchable via the 98 categories in which I read in non-fiction, also at Phi Beta Iota. It's time we start doing the right things righter. The information-based processes this book advances are worthy.

Global governance is here--but not where most people think. This book presents the far-reaching argument that not only should we have a new world order but that we already do. Anne-Marie Slaughter asks us to completely rethink how we view the political world. It's not a collection of nation states that communicate through presidents, prime ministers, foreign ministers, and the United Nations. Nor is it a clique of NGOs. It is governance through a complex global web of "government networks." Slaughter provides the most compelling and authoritative description to date of a world in which government officials--police investigators, financial regulators, even judges and legislators--exchange information and coordinate activity across national borders to tackle crime, terrorism, and the routine daily grind of international interactions. National and international judges and regulators can also work closely together to enforce international agreements more effectively than ever before. These networks, which can range from a group of constitutional judges exchanging opinions across borders to more established organizations such as the G8 or the International Association of Insurance Supervisors, make things happen--and they frequently make good things happen. But they are underappreciated and, worse, underused to address the challenges facing the world today. The modern political world, then, consists of states whose component parts are fast becoming as important as their central

leadership. Slaughter not only describes these networks but also sets forth a blueprint for how they can better the world. Despite questions of democratic accountability, this new world order is not one in which some "world government" enforces global dictates. The governments we already have at home are our best hope for tackling the problems we face abroad, in a networked world order.

From Publishers Weekly Breaking new ground in international relations theory, Slaughter urges readers to lose their "conceptual blind spot" and see how the world really works. Scholars, pundits and policymakers, she writes, have traditionally seen nations as "unitary" that is, as single entities that "articulate and pursue a single national interest." In fact, she says, we would do better to focus on government networks, both horizontal and vertical. Horizontal networks link counterpart national officials across borders, such as police investigators or financial regulators. Vertical networks are relationships between a nation's officials and some supranational organization to which they have ceded authority, such as the European Court of Justice. Networks, she says, are the solution to the "globalization paradox": The world needs global governance to combat problems that jump borders, like crime and environmental degradation, and yet most people fearfully, Slaughter implies the idea of a centralized, all-powerful world government. The book both describes the here and now and plots a course for the future: Strengthening existing networks and developing new ones "could create a genuine global rule of law without centralized global institutions." The author, who is the dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton as well as president of the American Society of International Law, is steeped in these issues and offers genuinely original thinking. Written in dense academic language, this book will not pick up many casual readers, but it will likely attain instant textbook status and generate much discussion about foreign policy and whether, as Slaughter believes, the U.S. should welcome such networks in a globalized world. Copyright Reed Business Information, a division of Reed Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved. Finalist for the 2004 Lionel Gelber Prize One of Times Literary Supplement's International Books of the Year for 2004 Honorable Mention for the 2004 Award for Best Professional/Scholarly Book in Government and Political Science, Association of American Publishers "[An] important [book]. By showing how today's world--of what she calls 'disaggregated states'--actually works, Slaughter cuts the ground away from nationalists and internationalists alike. This, she says, is how it is, for America and everyone else. She also, quite clearly, believes that this how it should be . . . because nothing else will work. . . . I have absolutely no doubt that Slaughter is on to something."--Tony Judt, New York of Books "Breaking new ground in international relations theory, Slaughter . . . offers genuinely original thinking. . . . [A New World Order] generates much discussion about foreign policy."--Publishers Weekly "[A] major new statement about modern global governance. . . . Particularly revealing is Slaughter's remarkable account of the cooperation between national judicial authorities and international and regional courts."--Foreign Affairs "[A] groundbreaking book, a striking combination of both pragmatism and vision. . . . Slaughter represents the cutting intellectual edge of this decade's new way of thinking about global governance."--Kenneth Anderson, Harvard Law "This excellent, thought-provoking analysis covers a widespread but little studied shift in the way the world works."--Financial Times/getAbstract "The new world order of network governance will be a better place, especially if the reforms proposed by Slaughter are adopted and networks open up, enabling broader participation and increased accountability."--Andras Sajo, International Journal of Constitutional Law From the Publisher One of the Times Literary Supplement's International Books of the Year 2004