

Opening to

OMNI-lateralism

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Latin Logic towards Omni- lateralism

- **Uni-** (by only one nation, e.g. USA of Trump)
- **Bi-** (two, e.g. FTA between China and CH (global Spaghetti Bowl))
- **Tri-** (three, e.g. China-Japan-Korea Secretariat, Seoul)
- **Pluri-** (more than two, e.g. TiSA of 23 in WTO; EU?)
- **Multi-** (many, only accepted “*nations*”, 193 in UN-GA)

- **Omni-** (incl. **all stakeholders**; *omnibus*
= for and by all, beyond “*nation*”)
cf. I. Kant “*allseitig*” in “*Metaphysik der Sitten*” 1785



Pan-demos?



- **Pandemic** literally concerns ‘*all people*’, as announced late by the **WHO** in March 2020

However:

- **Already in December 2019**, **WHO** was informed of new coronavirus abroad
- This first alert **not** coming from a member-nation  (cf. SA) caused a time lag, costing **millions of lives**  and **trillions of Euro** in damages all over the world, continuing now ... 

Reason:

- **UN** accepts only nations under its outdated **multi-lateralism**, (but not all “*We the peoples*” which would mean opening to wider **omni-lateralism with non-state stakeholders, omnibus**)

https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/03/19/taiwan-shows-its-mettle-in-coronavirus-crisis-while-the-who-is-mia/?utm_campaign=Center%20for%20Northeast%20Asian%20Policy%20Studies&utm_source=hs_email&utm_medium=email&utm_content=85459036

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x8KmXIAxy1g&list=PLQN0Q-K1FkmS6lO9qbo5JnXO0dXdv7XUI>

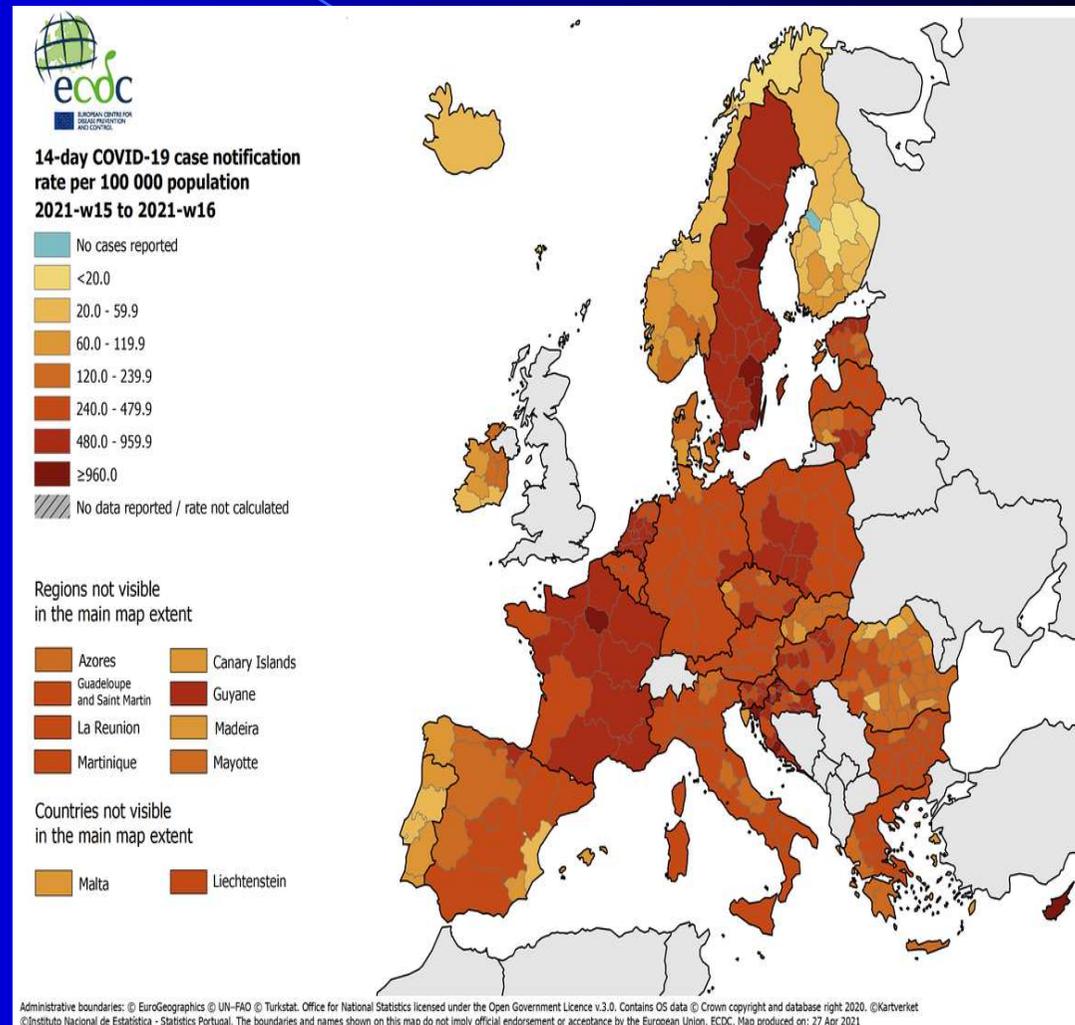


Welfare concerns not only *national* but *all* levels of governance, from local to global!

Covid data show *local* and *provincial* clusters of infections, often *overlapping national borders*.

Various appropriate *levels of governance*?

- ***EU*** buying vaccines for all 27 MS together (while exporting most worldwide, unlike Anglo-Saxons),
- but ***local*** officials deciding distribution (***subsidiarity!***)





Even *War-fare* rarely anymore at national level (unlike at Peace of Westphalia, 1648)

“...US failed ...in Afghanistan”

... problem is the nation-state. Westerners tend to assume that a “government” should be equated with a “nation”. However, Afghanistan is a shifting mosaic of city states and overlapping fiefdoms. The ‘nation-state’ is not a strong concept there...” (FT, 24.4.2021)

( asymmetric wars increasing, cf. “9/11”)

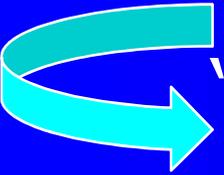
All the way from **WEL**fare to **WAR**fare

- **NO** nation is absolutely **sovereign**, anywhere (not even **NK**)

“Sovereignty leads to international anarchy” (T. Hobbes, 1651)

- **Governance** (central or federal) acts at **several levels**, everywhere

Governance at many levels

- Local commune 村, Province 都道府県 ...
- **Nation** 国 borders mainly by war since Westphalia 1648;
sovereignty lost up- and downstream in war- and welfare,
globalization, media giants and subsidiarity/devolution

“Westphalian nation = historic aberration”
- Region 地域 ASEAN, AU, Mercosur, NAFTA; RCEP, CPTPP etc.
as still **inter-governmental**;
only **EU** as supra-national by pooling sovereignty
=stepping-stone to ...
- Global governance => omnilateral

Massive Move to ***Omni-***lateral Governance

- At COP26 in Glasgow, 12000 outside voices ("observers") from **non-state organisations** ("*We the peoples*"! =UN?) with **expertise, civil society** tried to influence outdated multi-lateral (多国) votes of 197 *unequal UNations* (cf. 1999 WTO "*Battle of Seattle*")

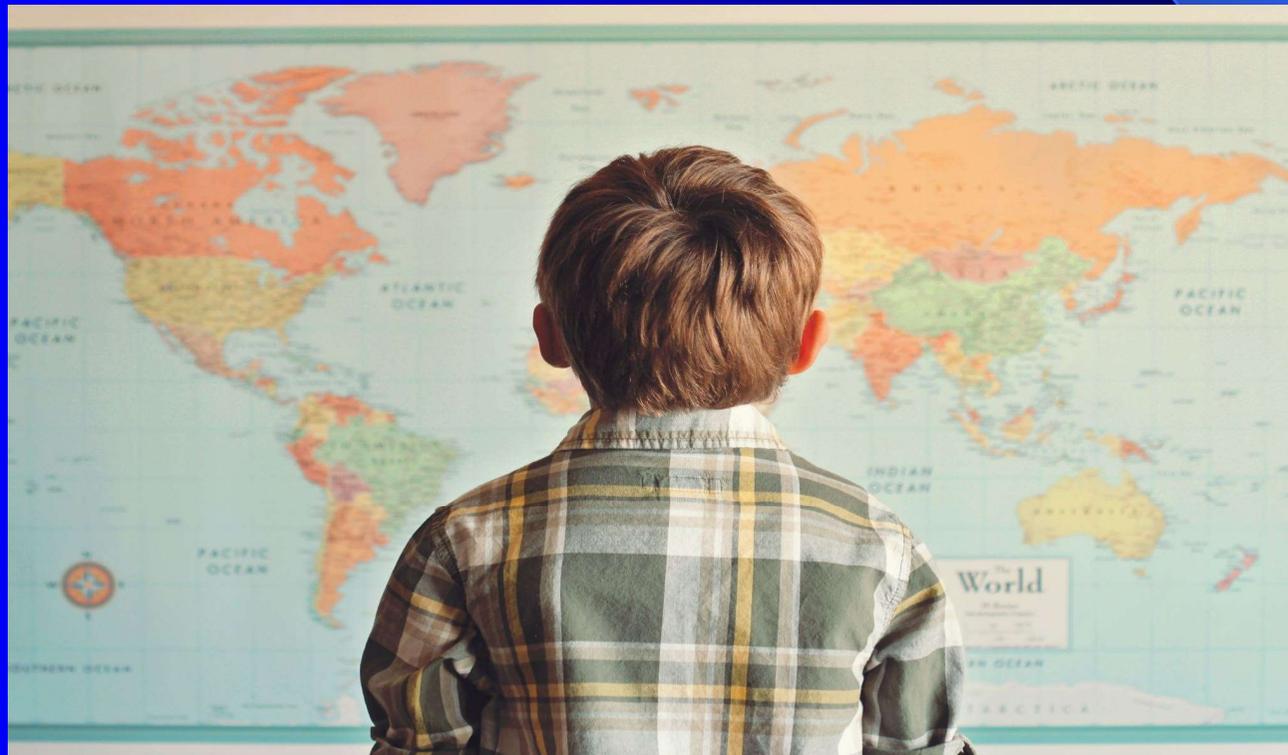
NEW trend towards inclusion:

Omni-lateral 全边 Global Governance by+for all,
"***omni-bus***"   (*Airbus*) > ***stakeholder VOICES***

(beyond only '*nations*' votes under *multi-lateralism*)

“Nations” representativity at UN
bewildering world of big and small

China has 145,000 x population of Nauru
but both with equally 1 seat in UN-GA ...



One-person = One vote

as principle of democracy losing 'System Legitimacy' over 'Performance Legitimacy'

- *“Tyranny of the Majority”* (A. de Tocqueville, 1831); esp. in **Presidential Systems** with populists like Trump, Putin, Erdogan, Duterte, ... Le Pen?
- **Parliamentary control** and ‘**Checks and Balances**’ by professional party politicians properly functioning in increasingly polarising societies?
- **Crowdvoting** for best results in public affairs?
- **Consensus-building** only in plurilateral ‘black box’ of **voices** in European Council?

Legitimate democracy by people's participation: *"From quantity of votes to quality of voices"*

- **Local:** most direct participation because of **proximity** of issues (**interests**; e.g. *"football stadium or theatre?"*) by PC-click **votes!**)

- Provincial
- National: Brexit, DT
- Regional
-

Increasing
market-media
dependence
(GAFA,BATX)

- **Global:** least direct participation possible because of comprehensiveness of 'mediated' issues

=> need science + omnilateral stakeholders' **voices**,
cf. COP21 (values; e.g. *"climate change?"*)

Legitimate Stakeholders?

- Traditionally, **public elections** give legitimacy through **quantitative voting** within territory (state)
- **Stakeholders** gain legitimacy with **qualitative voices** through accreditation by criteria of good governance:
 - **Accountability, transparency, responsibility; reasonableness, science-based expertise etc.**

Businesses as Stakeholders?

- Multi-national enterprises need competition rules on world market, esp. media giants GAFA, BATX (GATT => WTO, but opposed by USA); cf. OECD for 15% minimum tax
- UN Global Compacts => voices of selected MNEs
- Glasgow Financial Alliance for Net Zero by 450 private investors etc. has 130 trillion \$ (6x GDP of USA!) and “*hijacked climate talks*” (NYT 26.11.21) ... ESG-greenwashing money-business?

Need to move from monetary dominance of narrow-minded plutocracies ...



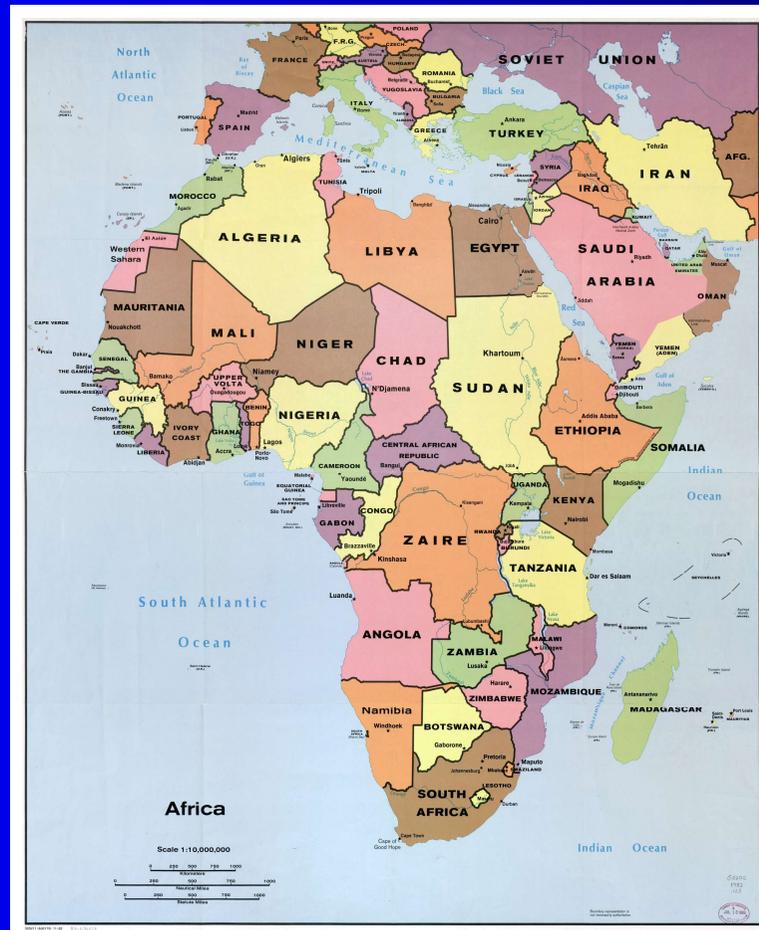
From monetary to
Monitory Democracy
with permanently power-scrutinising
civil society worldwide



Older Problem: Inter-*national* law = Western-biased from start

- "*Mare Liberum*" 1609 by **Hugo Grotius**, founder of inter-*national* law, gave Dutch rights to trade in 'East Indies' over others (esp. Port.+Spain) which were not yet colonising there (cf. EEZ, now China?)
- Then, **on continents** Western colonisers' drew new frontiers which later with independence became borders of "*sovereign nations*" in UN (= **multilateral 'Westphalian System'**)

“National” but not natural borders
drawn mainly by European colonisers,
e.g. Africa



Nation of 'natives' = 国?

- A most frequent character 国 (with 王 = king) invariably translated as nation, country, land, state (国家), province etc. (Taiwan?)
- China: 中国 literally 'Middle Kingdom' but since millennia in soft concentric Mandala form, now with 56 self-declared "nationalities"
- Japan: multi-lateral = 多国 = multi-national(s)
- Concept of nation and inter-national law (国际法) invariably imposed on world by divisive West, but still old script in East Asia, cf. 安 woman under roof = safe, cheap

Possible **non-Western** contributions

- **Softer** approach than **Western sciences'** “hard medicine and laws” based on divisive✂ analyses
- **Holism**: less linear, individualistic and anthropocentric; in favour of natural cycles☁ for environment and society as a whole; Mandala flexibility instead of hard national borders, rice culture's collectiveness, Mandela's African reconciliation and Islamic interest-free banking for joint responsibilities

Conclusion: **Omnilateralism**

- Multilateralism = between *nations* as Western imposed, mostly by wars
- Omnilateralism = wider participation
 - 1) by+for all **legitimate stakeholders** and
 - 2) broader purposes with **non-western input**

Now trend '*from only quantity of votes of nations to more quality of voices*': UN Sec-Gen Guterres (7 May 2021) stressed the need to “*integrate [civil society] contributions in our strategic thinking, in our decision-making*”

My “Memo-Thesis”:

Opening to Omnilateralism

Democratic governance for all, from local to global with stakeholders

汎地球主義 全边主義”

AuthorHouse UK, 2021

Thank you 謝 !

<http://omnilateralism.blogspot.com>

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Monitory democracy

Stakeholders' accreditation:

1. democratic agency
2. input-, throughput- and output-legitimacy
3. transparency
4. accountability
5. expertise

(cf. Terry Macdonald, Global Stakeholder Democracy, Oxford 2008)

Learning from historical aberration of the nation ?

- EU integrating beyond nation (supra-nationality) by pooling sovereignty as stable stepping-stone to global governance of omnilateralism ?



United *Nations*

- By its name and membership of 193 *nations* (“all peoples ...“?) *de iure still* prime organisation of (*inter-governmental*) *multi-lateralism*; cf. G20 (=/= EU pooling sovereignty *supra-nationally*)
- However, worldwide growing awareness of *need to open towards non-nation stakeholders and expertise*, e.g. COP; also in view of some *national governments’* recent anti-scientific *populism* (anti–vaccine!) and their societies’ increasing *polarisation*

Problems of present multilateral order

- **Systemic incoherence** in policy-making because of ad-hoc creation of economic, environmental and social systems;
e.g. COP **Copenhagen** \neq **Paris**
- **Short-termism** and lack of instruments for more comprehensive vision contribute to **crisis of legitimacy** of institutions;
'Battle of Seattle' in 1999: **NGO voices** $>/<$ **WTO votes**

Need for efficient + legitimate trans-border governance

- “... *sustainable development, security, peace and equity, ... objectives no territorial actor can secure alone*” (EU White Paper 2001)
- **Global issues need global solutions:** ranging from **climate change, Internet, High Sea, Outer Space, pandemics to poverty** (e.g. FT12.3.18: “*Multinationals pay less tax*” than in 2008, while taxes on consumers increase; change with **OECD** and Biden?)

“Hybrid Multilateralism” on way to Omnilateralism

- Since COP21 opening to broad coalition of first 15 cities, 22 states and 200 companies and numerous (O)NGOs seeking to devise sustainable development
- Non-State Actor Zone for Climate Action (NAZCA) launched by towns, regions, businesses, (O)NGOs and civil society in monitoring (not monetary !) democracy of national action (8000 non-state actors as observers at COP21 leading to 12,000 climate “commitments”)

From **old Western Multilateralism** to “**Open Omnilateralism**”

- Good global governance needs not only legitimate state- and **non-state-actors**, but also to include those from **all different cultural and historic backgrounds** to be truly ‘**omnibus**’, i.e. **for and by all** on this planet 
- Current multilateralism (UN; IMF, WB) based on nation-centric **western systems neglecting others** , e.g. **Buddhist cyclical thinking, African reconciliation; Islamic banks; China setting up alternative institutions** (cf. AIIB, BRICS, BRI, SCO...)

- By launching the Glasgow Dialogue, Parties, civil society and technicians come together to discuss how to increase the funds applied to loss and damage and how Parties in need can access these funds. COP26 did not reach consensus on a proposal from developing countries to set up a financing facility dedicated to loss and damage.

Sec-Gen Guterres' vision for 2nd term at UN:

(7 May 2021)

Upon question from EU on his idea of “*more inclusive UN*”, he identified need for:

“...*a mechanism to make sure that we integrate [civil society] contributions in our strategic thinking, in our decision-making*”

Recently, 50 nations and over 200 NGOs supported #UNmute initiative calling for *Special Envoy for Civil Society* for participation across UN.

From inter-national to
“*inter-popular*” for true
demo-cracy

Independent Panel by WHO:

(11 May 2021)

3.3 (*Economist*: “10”) million people died

- “*Pandemic was preventable*”
- “*Alert system too slow*” (Wuhan directly to WHO?)
- “*WHO should have declared global emergency one week earlier*”
- “*Without change, world vulnerable to another major disease*”

Pew Survey 2020

- *Asia supporting UN significantly less in 2020 than a decade earlier:*
- especially in South Korea,
- but also less in Japan where support for UN *down from 61% to only 29% of population*



United *Nations*

- By its name and membership of 193 *nations de iure limited to (inter-governmental) multilateralism; cf. G7,20* (≠/≠ EU pooling sovereignty supra-nationally)
- However, now worldwide growing awareness of need to open towards non-nation stakeholders and expertise, e.g. at COP to solve global problem globally

- **Upstream: globalisation** in communication, finance, trade; global commons => **interdependence**
- **Downstream: subsidiarity**; devolution (Scotland, Catalunya; 沖縄), (con-)federalisation; 都道府県); Covenant of Mayors, Urban 20, Compact C40 etc

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Direct Democracy?

- If in village A, 1 votes against project and remains in minority => can move to B
- In global world, no one (nation) can move to Planet B ! => need consensus of all, omnibus