

My Vision of Europe and Globalization

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Bringing Globalization under Control

My country is fully integrated in the globalization process, in this dynamic created by the opening of markets, the movement of capital, rapid spread of technological innovations and ever-faster communications. Globalization is the reality within which we are living. But it is an ambivalent reality. It promotes global growth, yet brings growing inequality. It encourages the exploration of human diversity, yet carries within it the risk of uniformity. It releases our energies, but also brings negative forces which must be brought under control.

The course this globalization process takes will depend on the action we take in relation to it, because although globalization is a fact, it is not an end in itself. We must bring it under control if we are to enjoy its benefits and prevent its negative aspects.

Globalization therefore is a political issue that calls for a political response – by our governments.

Crucial questions cannot remain unanswered.

How can we distribute the benefits of globalization more equitably? The opening-up of economies, growth of trade, acceleration of technical progress: all this has promoted growth. But inequality is increasing between countries and within each economy. The profits of the ten largest international corporations are greater than the combined GDP of the least developed countries. Grinding poverty is the lot of nearly one human being in four.

What can we do to ensure that the accelerated growth of communications networks benefits everyone? The multiplication of information sources, increasing circulation of ideas, proliferation of new projects are all highly promising developments. But inequality in education is impeding access to this new technology. The existence of these tremendous tools for increasing knowledge can create a formidable 'digital divide'.

How can we take greater account of our planet's fragility? Our environment is not a product, a simple stock of raw materials for us to use without regard to future generations. The only real development is sustainable development.

How can we fight organized crime? It has seen a veritable explosion as a result of globalization. Ease of communications allows criminal networks to exploit differences between national laws and the weaknesses of some of them, and so escape from justice.

These are all political questions. They concern every citizen from every nation of the world. So the emergence of a global debate is a logical development.

A sort of 'world public opinion' is emerging. Association, trade union and student activists, women and men, are mobilizing all over the world taking advantage of the very dynamics of globalization: the Internet and media. In Seattle in late 1999, then in the margins of the meetings of the IMF, World Bank and Davos Forum, and more recently at Pôrto Alegre, this movement has demonstrated a growing awareness of the political issues at stake with globalization: quality of the environment, workers' social rights, consumer protection, development of the countries of the South, cultural diversity. This mobilization is welcome. But it is not enough since these forces cannot claim alone to represent the international community. The voluntary sector and non-governmental organizations have neither the accountability nor the capacity to act of the sort that are conferred by sovereignty, especially sovereignty resulting from universal suffrage. The decisive role is thus still played by states, because it's within states that political choices

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are prepared and made. Moreover, not all peoples have the same priorities. The developing countries are calling above all for fairer trade; the prosperous countries' concerns, crucial as they are, are not necessarily priorities shared by all.

Political globalization, therefore, remains to be built. And it has a name: regulation. Wherever there is a risk that the only effective law will be that of the jungle, where private interests damage the public interest, where the quest for short-term profit undermines social justice and harms the environment, states must define the 'ground rules'. By working together in a multilateral framework, states must build an international regulatory architecture. This requires, *inter alia*, supplementing and strengthening the United Nations institutions. This effort must be supported by states which, like Brazil and France, are willing to play their full part in redefining the world order.

To this end, Brazil and France are developing a common approach.

My discussions with President Cardoso have been highlighting the convergence of our views. My people – like yours – are conscious of their past, their characteristic traits and their language. They are attached to their identity, in the same way as Brazil, whose history is above all one of a meeting of cultures, intends to preserve the special legacy of this mingling of races.

This does not mean that France, any more than Brazil, is afraid to open up her country to the world. But she intends to do so in her own way, a controlled way, which takes account of her economic situation, social balance, political traditions and cultural background. Similarly, the mighty Brazilian economy is wholly dependent on international trade, and you have realized the cost of monetary turmoil linked to too-rapid globalization of the financial markets.

So, our two countries know that it is imperative to find a better way of organizing the world. How firmly they believe this is clear not only from the part they each play in the international institutions, but also from their commitment to building regional

organizations. Through the European Union, France is helping to build a unified continent. For her part, with her Mercosur partners, Brazil is promoting economic development and co-operation. So we are committed to building a multipolar world, underpinned by law and the sovereignty of states.

Together, we must bring about the effective regulation the world needs.

International financial regulation

The global economy needs a stable framework.

Recent economic and financial crises have demonstrated that rules are indispensable to the proper functioning of the market economy. Over the past three years, significant progress has been made in taking on board the lessons from these crises. However, much remains to be done, particularly in the area of international financial regulation.

The reform of the Bretton Woods institutions must be pursued. The IMF now has the means to prevent the spread of a financial crisis in one part of the world. It must strengthen still further its watching brief.

Preventing financial instability also requires more transparency and more effective involvement of private players. This is why we need new prudential rules. The Financial Stability Forum has made some useful recommendations on this subject, particularly regarding the regulation of hedge funds and supervision of offshore banking. These must be fully implemented by strengthening the national laws of the states concerned and improving international co-operation. Similarly, the fight against money laundering must be one of our central concerns.

We are also working together to curtail the purely speculative volatile short-term capital movements. The goal is no different from that of the 'Tobin tax'. If it is to be a genuine measure for regulating the international financial system, then the systematic taxation of

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capital movements would have to be universal. I would like the International Monetary Fund to begin considering, beyond the steps already taken, under what conditions a ‘viscosity’ – source of stability – could be introduced into international capital movements.

Fair trade/WTO/development round

The world needs fair trade.

Half a century after the Havana Charter and the founding of GATT came the establishment of a World Trade Organization (WTO). Europe fought for the creation of this organization, which allows trade disputes to be dealt with objectively and protects us from unilateralism. This regulation is conducive to the growth of international trade.

This regulation must ensure that trade does not take precedence over all other aspects of public policy. Each nation’s choices in public health, environment and public services cannot be considered solely in the light of trade rules alone. This is why the European Union wants the next round of multilateral trade negotiations, whose broad outlines will be discussed at next November’s WTO ministerial conference in Qatar, to have a broad, comprehensive agenda reflecting the interests of all member countries: social progress, public health and the environment.

The world needs to share its riches more harmoniously.

Developing countries must be better integrated in the world economy. This is why France and the European Union are arguing that the next WTO conference should make this integration a clear priority. In the same spirit, France wants the new round of multilateral trade negotiations to be the ‘development round’.

LDCs/ODA/debt

Without waiting for this, the European Union has decided to open its market completely to all products from the least-developed

countries. It hopes that the other industrialized countries and major emerging countries will follow the same path. For all its importance, however, this decision does not exhaust our commitment to the poorest countries. These countries, which cannot yet obtain sufficient resources from trade, need official development assistance (ODA). France will go on devoting a major effort to this.

For these countries, the most important obstacle to development remains the debt burden. With a contribution of more than €8 billion, France is today the largest contributor to the initiative set in train in Lyons in 1996 to cancel the debt of the poorest countries. Forgiveness of their debts allows these countries to concentrate on their absolute priority, which is the satisfaction of the fundamental needs of their people: food, education and health.

Public health, in particular, demands the solidarity of the international community. Exacerbated by the inequality resulting from underdevelopment, new epidemics are threatening entire populations. The majority of people infected with the AIDS virus thus live in developing countries. This tragic situation demands that it be made easier for these patients to get access to the available treatment. And so I am delighted that the large pharmaceutical companies have become aware of their responsibilities and are beginning to offer differential pricing to help broaden access to affordable medicines in developing countries. All aspects of the multilateral TRIPS agreements must also be enforced; they set minimum standards for the protection of intellectual property rights, while at the same time underlining the need to limit any use of those rights which proves excessive. So those agreements must not undermine the programmes aimed at combating epidemics, but, on the contrary, be used to the full to the benefit of public health policies.

Cultural diversity

Finally, the world needs the diversity of its cultures; these must be safeguarded.

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Through these regulations we are establishing new spheres of solidarity between people. This reflects what must be the ultimate purpose of globalization: interdependence among nations, the community of our respective destinies.

Peace/conflict resolution/UN/former Yugoslavia

If we know how to control it, globalization can be a new milestone in the progress of civilization. First, it can offer a new chance for peace. To safeguard peace, a stable and civilized structure of international relations must be built. Although the world is no longer divided into opposing blocs, it still is riven by complex rivalries and by ethnic and religious antagonism which fuels serious regional conflicts.

The United Nations has the prime responsibility for resolving these conflicts. Our world needs the United Nations. It is modern, because – since its origin – it has sought global solutions; its role is today perfectly attuned to our globalized world. The Security Council must remain our authority when it comes to launching collective action. In this framework, a source of international legitimacy, I believe that regional solidarity can play a growing stabilizing role. At a time when we are confronted with new tensions in the former Yugoslavia, the path of hope for all that region's people, after the re-establishment of democracy in Serbia, has to involve the prospect of ever-closer association with the European Union.

International security/disarmament

International security also requires the pursuit of disarmament. States must reaffirm their commitment to collective agreements designed to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In this area, France, which in the past few years has ratified several agreements – convention prohibiting chemical weapons,

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Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and convention banning anti-personnel landmines – intends to pursue international negotiations to expand the range and scope of these treaties, hoping that all this will not be seriously disrupted by the American NMD projects.

Human rights

At the same time as encouraging peace, controlled globalization can promote the blossoming of a new universalism.

This has a name: protecting human rights.

The globalization with a human face we are earnestly calling for demands proactive measures. Indeed, I do not think the spread of democratic values is an automatic and natural consequence of the opening-up of trade. Nor do I think that they can be imposed overnight by countries which, having developed them over a long period, appear today to think they have the instant recipe. Democratization is a process and, as we know, constitutes a victory for peoples.

I am convinced that we must leave no stone unturned in our quest for progress in human rights, by giving the requisite weight to these issues in our political dialogue with the countries concerned, placing conditions on aid, according priority in our co-operation to strengthening the rule of law, and even through judicious use of sanctions, provided these do not end up worsening the plight of the peoples concerned, and do not deprive us of channels of communication and positive influence within those societies.

ICC

As for the gravest violations of human dignity, genocide and crimes which are repugnant to the conscience of mankind, those responsible must be brought before an international court. The establishment of the International Criminal Court will constitute a decisive step forward in this direction.

Environment

Globalization can safeguard the future of the coming generations.

Globalization is forcing us to face up to a collective responsibility: that of protecting our environment. The one which allows us to live and in which the next generations will have to live. Since the 1992 Rio summit significant commitments have been made concerning the climate, biodiversity and desertification. The Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change and Biosecurity Protocol testify to the importance of this new awareness. But the uncertainty regarding our future climate and recurrence of natural catastrophes exhort us to implement these measures fully and prepare new initiatives.

The European Union and France are, for their part, committed to this. The position of the United States will be of key importance: I want here to signal France's great concern about the new American administration's initial statements on this issue. We must resolutely fight the temptation to abdicate all responsibility vis-à-vis future generations, solely on the grounds that unlimited deregulation of electric utilities has led to a few rare temporary shortages.

The same rationale underpins the dialogue between oil-producing and oil-consuming countries: it is essential to ensure oil price stability at a reasonable level. This stability is necessary to ensure the generalization and permanence of policies for reducing consumption of polluting energies. This is a prerequisite for stable, sustainable growth, especially for the developing countries.

Globalization is an opportunity that we must seize, a reality full of promise that we must succeed in shaping so that it benefits the whole of humanity. So we are faced with a collective choice. We can let allegedly natural economic laws guide the development of our societies, and thereby abdicate our political responsibilities. Or, on the contrary, we can seek to steer the forces at work in

Jospin : "Je suis Français. Je me sens Européen"

France Soir : 29/5/2001

Le premier ministre veut renforcer l'Europe sans bouleverser son équilibre institutionnel.

Éditorial. Jospin annonce la volonté de l'État français de renforcer l'Europe sans bouleverser son équilibre institutionnel.

On ne peut se satisfaire d'une simple répétition de la même parole. Il faut en faire un véritable débat public. C'est ce que nous faisons dans ce dossier. Les idées de Jospin sont intéressantes, mais elles ne peuvent être acceptées sans un débat public. C'est ce que nous faisons dans ce dossier. Les idées de Jospin sont intéressantes, mais elles ne peuvent être acceptées sans un débat public. C'est ce que nous faisons dans ce dossier.



Philippe Pélissier, le ministre de l'Éducation nationale, et le président de la République, Jacques Chirac, lors d'une cérémonie à l'Assemblée nationale.

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Jospin Envisions An Alternative EU

French Leader's Blueprint Sets Out a Socialist Europe



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Herald Tribune : 29/5/2001

ÉDITORIAL Continuons le débat !

Par Bruno Frappat

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La Croix : 29/5/2001

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economic globalization. That way we shall be able to humanize globalization and make this an era of progress for all peoples. To do this, we need countries that are fully conscious of what is at stake, responsible governments determined to take proactive measures, and legitimate and transparent multilateral institutions that respect the laws of all countries. I am convinced of this and I wanted to share my conviction with you. I believe that the international community must organize globalization in line with the law and justice. This is what our peoples expect from us.