

executive - supplement existing intergovernmental organisations.

The institutions of global civil society do exercise direct control on one essential point: the prevention of acts of genocide. They can demand the immediate intervention of the governments of all states. An international criminal court tries individuals responsible for acts of genocide, crimes against fundamental human rights, aggression against other states, and war crimes. The fact that jurisdiction is individual means that the responsibilities of a people may be separated from those of its rulers, and it is consequently possible to punish the wrongdoer.

This description of the cosmopolitan democracy model may appear puzzling. How is it possible to achieve this kind of world order and how does this conceptual model relate to existing international organisations?

The United Nations is the natural candidate to be the vehicle of cosmopolitan democracy: it could do so by enlarging its powers and competences. But, on a regional scale, the European Union (EU) is a more likely candidate. In fact, the EU resembles the cosmopolitan model. Its members are sovereign states which have voluntarily transferred increasingly broad tasks to the Union. Europe, furthermore, has displayed a notable centripetal force, greater even than that of the United States of America.

Constitutionally, it is significant that, in the EU, an intergovernmental institution - the Council of Ministers - is backed by a technical institution - the Commission - and even by a body directly elected by citizens - the European Parliament. The EU is an experiment of great importance and offers interesting clues for a possible reform of the United Nations.

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## Uncivil City

by John Keane

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A Sunday morning stroll through the broken heart of Beirut. Brilliant sunshine. The proud bells of the Catholic Church of St. Francis. Streets choked with rubbish. Tall clumps of white-barked eucalyptus unscarred by war. Boys in ragged trousers kicking footballs on makeshift red earth pitches. Satellite dishes. Hilltop mosques. Tooting taxis and jackhammers. Men gambling at backgammon, sipping dark coffee in the shade. Syrian soldiers nearby, dressed in red berets and AK47s, bayonets fixed. A sparkling new Pizza Hut. Smells of raw sewage. Rusted-out Datsuns doubling as roadside stalls, stuffed with used blankets, brassware, buckets, brushes, bags, books. Youth on roller skates. Pedestrians on crutches, missing limbs, limps. Ripped-out car seats used as street chairs. Hotels guarded by men in white gloves and smart grey suits. Wall poster pictures of unknown martyrs and well known teachings of sheikhs preaching militancy. Drink Coca Cola billboards, rusted and shot up, splattered with wartime graffiti: MRGOTOHELL GH+ST NASTY NIKE BOYS HAKIM BOOMBASTIC FUCK YOU BEVERLY HILLS DISIRE LAW=LIES. Laughter of children. The rumble of giant Caterpillars and six-wheeled trucks belching black smoke. Choking dust, whiffs of salty air from the stinking Mediterranean. Old men, young men pushing handcarts piled high with cardboard. Tangled nests of electrical and telephone wires at every street corner. Air France overhead. Banks. Highrise condos with wishful names like Florida Tower and Mirage Plaza. The wrecked squalour of Sabra and Chatil. Lemon juice stands. Battered tyres piled high on oil-soaked pavements. Second-hand demolition cranes, pounding twisted and broken buildings day



and night, finishing off the job begun by the masked men with bazookas. Skylines of rubble. Here and there a fig or almond sapling fighting for its right to survive. Workmen perched on scaffolding, chiselling, sweating, trying to rescue walls not earmarked for levelling. Half-camouflaged green tanks. Mobile phones, tarp splattered alleycats, veils, moustaches, Parisian fashion, rubbish sorters searching for matching shoes buried in offal and rotting vegetables, bourgeois shops selling the spoils of war: brass beds, silver platters, gold rings, chandeliers, nineteenth-century English paintings. Twisted metal minarets gutted by gunfire. Heaps of white concrete pipes. Archaeologists digging deep to bury the recent past. The kitsch esplanade: traffic jams, ferris wheels, families slurping icecream, young boys holding hands, Mortal Kombat arcades, cafes where young women relax, veiled and unveiled together, all smoking Marlboro. The blue-fronted Holiday Inn, the city's tallest building: moon-cratered and shell-blackened walls, see-through floors, a 25-storey corpse flanked by twisted metal, heaped debris and hunchbacked men rummaging for a future, shrieking swallows circling overhead.

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*Professor John Keane is Director of CSD and the author of Reflections on Violence (1996). Written during an academic exchange visit to the American University of Beirut, this prose poem aims not only to convey something of the contradictoriness of daily life in Beirut after nearly two decades of violence: it also highlights the immense tasks of social healing and postwar political reconstruction facing the cities of all uncivil war zones, whose populations typically suffer various forms of long-term physical, psychological, economic and ecological damage.*

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### CSD News

#### New Address

Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster, 309 Regent Street, London W1N 5AL. Tel./fax numbers, and e-mail address, remain unchanged.

#### Inaugural Lecture

On Tuesday, 26 November 1996, at 5.00 pm, Barry Buzan, Professor of International Studies at the University of Westminster, will be giving his inaugural lecture, 'Where we are at the End of the Second Millenium: a View from International Studies'. This will also be a CSD Public Lecture. Contact CSD office for details.

#### Events

20 May 1997: An Encounter with Richard Rorty. Details of this day workshop from the CSD office.

#### Visiting members

Professor Edmund Byrne of Indiana University, Visiting Research Associate; Eszter Pál and Gusztáv Nemes, PhD students at the Institute of Sociology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Visiting Research Scholars (under the auspices of a three-year EU-funded Tempus project); and Graham Thom, University of Sydney, Visiting Research Scholar.

#### Publications

*Deconstruction and Pragmatism*, edited by Chantal Mouffe (Routledge, 1996). ISBN: 0-415-12170.

*Rethinking the European Union: Institutions, Interests and Identities*, edited by Richard Whitman and Alice Landau (Macmillan, 1996). ISBN: 0-333-66125-7.

#### Forthcoming

*The Common Foreign and Security Policy: Obstacles and Prospects*, by Richard Whitman (CSD Perspectives, No. 11, December 1996).

*Managing Variety: Issues in the Integration and Disintegration of States*, by Margaret Blunden (CSD Perspectives, No. 12, December 1996).

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