Überlegungen, um besser zu verdeutlichen, worum es ihm in der Studie insgesamt gegangen ist: Das Bemühen, Ordnung zu halten, individuelle Freiheit zu schützen, Frieden zu wahren unter heutigen Verhältnissen, die den Staat teils zu "Rückzügen" veranlaßt haben, ihn gleichwohl fordern, wo seine Präsenz unabdingbar bleibt, ihn aber jedenfalls in Europa für die meisten Staaten eingebunden finden in ehedem ungekannte überstaatliche Strukturen.
Ein anregendes, ein weiterführendes Buch auch für denjenigen, der nicht allen in ihm enthaltenen Einzelbeobachtungen folgen möchte, ein Buch überdies, das auch an die (weitere) Frage denken läßt, ob sich aus Wandel der Völkerrechtsordnung Konsequenzen für die Definition und die "Lehre" vom Staat ergeben.

Philip Kunig

Maurice Bertrand / Daniel Warner (eds.)
A New Charter for a Worldwide Organisation?
Kluwer Law International, The Hague, 1997, 288 pp., £ 55.00

"Is an international organisation possible in our current world? Can the current international organisations cope with the nature of the problems with which they are confronted? Is it possible to envision a new generation of international organisations to deal with current or future crises?" (p. 250). Those were the questions behind Bertrand's theoretical basis for the colloquium held in Geneva more than three years ago.
Maurice Bertrand wisely calls his own research for a new charter of a worldwide organisation utopian, as it goes the opposite way from what we commonly accept in this area. "The only objective here has been to show that there is a path that would permit us to avoid utopia and to commit ourselves to concrete accomplishments ..." (p. 38). While the authors admit wondering whether their way is the 'correct' one, and state that 'enormous work' is still to be done, Bertrand's paper adds a new dimension to the term 'utopia' and perhaps should have been titled: 'A Charter for a New Worldwide Organisation'. Generally one tends to find members for a new club and then agrees on club rules, one does not come up with regulations and then searches for people (nations) wishing to join.
Characterising the current charter as a 'useless framework for reform of any magnitude likely to institute a worldwide organization adapted to modern problems because the fact that people continue to believe in it prohibits any progress in the matter' (p. 3), stating that the 'Security Council no longer serves any purpose except to carry out patronising humanitarian activities', 'the employments of the Blue Helmets for imprecise and confused aims to maintain peace where no peace exists ...' (p. 6), criticizing the faulty monetary and financial system among other issues, Bertrand's work is almost rudely challenging, when it scrutinizes the fundamental conceptions behind the United Nations we know and finds it sadly

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lacking. In the author's view the UN today should therefore be replaced by a worldwide organization, doing away with the Bretton Woods organizations as well as the specialised agencies.

Maurice Bertrand's draft text of a charter is the core of this volume, after a few introductory essays, there is a short summary of the immediate critiqze offered by the participants of the panel.

The main features of the the author's proposal are the creation of a Global Security Council with 23 members represented by their Heads of State, on a ministerial and permanent representative level, a General Assembly of Member States (approx. 150 as only states with a certain population will be allowed in), a World Parliament of 800, a Minority Council and a World Commission, similar to the European Commission. In order to make his text more clear, there is a table of the proposed institutional system that helps the reader understand the set-up at a glance. Still, reading the entire draft is a must. There are too many new aspects and changes from the current system to list and a new model for scientific purposes, on the importance of the regional level which Bertrand stresses and the creation of a better system to deal with threats to the peace, divergences appear – among others – on the issues of the creation of an international police force, international taxation and the operation of the Minority Council.

The second part of the book comprises longer essays on closely-related subjects, showing other approaches and ideas as well as offering opinions for and against the draft charter. Among these, *Victor-Yves Ghebali*'s overview on the UN Reform Proposals since the end of the Cold War stands out, as well as *Yozo Yokota*'s essay and *Jan Woroniecki*'s 'A New Worldwide Organisation'.

Not as easy to read as other books on related subjects, the reader has to pay careful attention on the complex details or he will be lost. The authors and their partners in the discussion show a new path – if not one to go, then one to inspire and raise dreams. It wohld have been helpful if the editors had included Stassen's blueprint in order to make comparisons more vivid.

Conclusion: Published before the UN and U.S. were ready once again to become active in Iraq in the early months of 1998, before the Kosovo crisis and other events, not looking at other experts' ideas for a less shocking change of the international system, meybe not all thoughts and statements made in the book are (still) true.

Bertrand's proposal has already been defined as a major contribution to future research – indeed the words 'bold' and 'daring' spring to my mind, too. No doubt the intellectual gabe Bertrand plays is brilliant and perhaps addictive but (not because of ist flaws) it is bound to remain just that: a test for brainpower, a brainteaser, not a basis for anyting real.

How about some positive spirit for what we have and for those small changes – cruelly criticised, yet possible – when we as well as the editors of this new work are – perhaps painfully – aware that the complete change desired here is not?!

Dagmar Reimmann

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