

becoming more intrusive. Environmental and industrial standards, subsidies, preferential access to natural resources, investment incentives, intellectual property protection, competition policy, exclusionary marketing arrangements and supply-management structures have all become the focus of the international economic agenda.

The internationalization of issues as diverse as human rights, the environment and arms control have not proceeded from any grand design about the need to limit sovereignty in the interests of a wider global community. Rather, changes have been pragmatic, incremental and largely non-ideological responses to specific circumstances.

3. The Impact on Doctrines of Sovereignty and the Principle of Non-Intervention

The fabric of the international system has already been affected by new factors which have undermined the old inter-state order, in particular the growing economic, political and ecological interdependence of states. Sovereignty as a concept has been eroded in a number of directions:

- the multiplication of international fora, agreements and arrangements on many issues; some entail legal obligations, like the growing network of treaty-based bodies, while others, such as the CSCE, rely on collective political will;
- the growth of transnational corporations and a large and vocal non-governmental organization (NGO) community, acting outside the traditional channels of inter-state relations; the ties that bind the international system are less the bonds of inter-state obligation and more the networks of the corporate and NGO associations, each with its own rules and series of obligations;
- the international appearance of non-state political actors, such as supra-national organizations (certainly the EEC, arguably the Commonwealth and la Francophonie), and sub-national units (provinces, laender, states); effective power at the national level is challenged both from above and below.

These trends, which have been emerging for well over the past two decades, now affect the functioning and the structures of the old order, as well as perceptions among the main actors. These trends have:

- reduced the effective exercise of sovereignty by states; national freedom of choice is circumscribed by a growing network of international legal obligations, and by international political forces which can no longer be ignored;