

COMMITTEE FOR A
DEMOCRATIC U.N.

Developing International Democracy For a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations

A Strategy Paper of the
Committee for a Democratic U.N.



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Developing International Democracy –
For a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations
A Strategy Paper of the Committee for a Democratic U.N. (CDUN)

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Preface

This first strategy paper of the Committee for a Democratic UN is the best confirmation of the decision of the Club of Budapest to become patron of the organization and its aims. The Committee for a Democratic UN puts the proposal to establish a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations into the focus of its efforts. Who does not want to put the democratic achievements of humanity in the past centuries at risk, but rather wants these to be maintained in the age of globalization, has urgently got to deal with the question how democratic principles may also take effect on the global level, the most important level today. There is no place where the abuse of opaque, uncontrolled and undemocratic decision-making structures can have more serious effects on mankind than on the global level. Who thinks that a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations is not important has to tolerate the question why democracy has no importance to him exactly on this significant scale.

The considerations regarding the establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations come just at the right time. The concept seamlessly builds upon the report of the High Level Panel on UN-Civil Society Relations headed by the former Brazilian president, Henrique Cardoso, which was presented in June 2004. The merit of the Committee thereby is to bridge the distance between *realpolitik* and visionary approach. A Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations could already be established today. At the same time it shows the course to the long-term vision to enrich the United Nations with a real world parliament. In the face of increasing interconnections and the existential challenges of mankind the need for action is very urgent. On the global level as well we cannot do without the strength and energy radiated by democracy. First steps are possible as the recommendations of the Committee show. They fit well into the comprehensive efforts of the Club of Budapest to foster a global consciousness.

It is to be wished that the proposal gives rise to a broad public resonance and is seriously considered by the United Nations and the governments of its member states.

Neuss, in August 2004



Peter Spiegel
Secretary General of the Club of Budapest

I. Introduction

1. Since the end of the Cold War the world order is going through a time of upheaval. After the breakdown of socialist planned economies, capitalism has prevailed as an economic system. In the time between 1970 and 1990 the peak of world trade experienced between 1880 and 1913 has been reached again, having been interrupted by the worldwide interbellum economic crisis and the world wars. Since the last lowest point in 1950, world trade has grown by the factor of 16, the gross world product by the factor of 5.5. The corresponding term of globalization reflects the increasing interconnection of national economies through foreign trade, direct investments and movement of capital. The classical pattern of international division of labour, simplified as exchange of raw material from developing countries with manufactured products of the industrial countries, is thereby undergoing a drastic structural change. Certain industries and services now spread over the whole world or are beginning to do so. At the same time, international movement of capital has separated from foreign trade. At the end of the 1990s, the share of financial transactions related to trade lies only between 2.5 to 5 percent of overall international foreign exchange. As national economies and financial markets have transformed into a single global market, companies have had to adapt to the concerns of a world economy.

2. Globalization is not solely an economic phenomenon, it is all-encompassing. Developments in the fields of information, communication and transportation enable cost-effective global exchange across all national borders. Distances in space and time disappear. This development is marked by an ever increasing interdependence of the actors involved; these include states, regions, companies, non-governmental organizations and, last but not least, of individuals themselves. The emerging world civilization is highly fragile and vulnerable. Breakthroughs in biology and genetics as well as existential challenges in the fields of environmental protection, biodiversity, climate change, threats of terrorism, ethnic and religious conflicts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, demographic development, and the unequal distribution of resources and prosperity have made the stability of the international community and its capacity to act a critical issue of the future. Global industrial progress is coupled with an existential threat to the ecological foundations of life on Earth and therefore makes it a necessity to ensure *the survival of future generations*.

3. These tasks and challenges require structures at the global level capable of effective enforcement of international policies. The United Nations (UN) and its associated system of special programs and organizations - as well as the independent financial and economic organizations - form the centre of international co-operation. This system must be fundamentally strengthened, better co-ordinated and made more transparent. To achieve real acceptance and legitimacy of decisions taken by a strengthened United Nations, its decision-making processes have to be democratized. Critical developments have taken such dimensions that they cannot be solved any longer without taking into account the will, ideas and initiatives of the people of the world. The participation of the people is not only needed for the planning of lasting solutions of the world's problems, but also to transform the UN into an effective instrument of global governance. In April 1991, the Stockholm Initiative on Global security and World Order concluded that "the global challenges call for structural principles of worldwide say and participation".¹ In this spirit the initiative proposed "to convene a world summit which - similar to the conferences in San Francisco and Bretton Woods in the 40s - discusses institutional reforms of the world order (global governance)."² In his speech to the 43rd UN General Assembly in 1988, Michail Gorbachev proposed a meeting of civil society organizations under the auspices of the United Nations³ in order to include them into the discussions of international questions. Meanwhile, the Millennium Declaration of the heads of states and governments of the UN member states has implicitly

recognized that national parliaments and civil society have to be better integrated if the Millennium Development Goals are to be achieved.⁴

4. However, a new adjustment of international structures still seems far distant. In his address to the joint session of the US Congress Vaclav Havel said in 1990 that “without a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness, nothing will change for the better in the sphere of our Being as humans, and the catastrophe toward which this world is headed, whether it be ecological, social, demographic or a general breakdown of civilization, will be unavoidable.”⁵ As rational species, we should work towards the aim of a strengthened United Nations as a *precautionary measure* - before mankind is forced to do so by the *consequences of worst catastrophes*. This cannot take place without the development of international democracy.

Conclusion 1:

Mankind faces the task of ensuring the survival and well-being of future generations as well as the preservation of the natural foundations of life on Earth. The inclusion of the people into the institutional structure and into the decision-making mechanisms of the international system thereby has essential importance. In the following, the Committee for a Democratic UN chooses to address this issue out of the comprehensive complex of global governance.

II. The International Democracy Deficit

5. As the plenum of the UN member states, the UN General Assembly (GA) has a comprehensive competence with regard to “any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter.” Through resolutions, the General Assembly may give recommendations related to specific questions and thereby call on the member states to act accordingly. Each member state has one vote, which is cast by representatives bound to the instructions of the governments they represents. The populations of the world are represented in the General Assembly only indirectly through their governments. The latter certainly vote democratically in the General Assembly, but the range between government and opposition parties as mostly existent in national parliaments is not reflected. The same is the case with regard to the other special organizations and programs as well as the financial and economic institutions. The governance of the international system is therefore a process between governments alone. An international representation of citizens or parliamentary control of international governmental action and international organizations as such, does not exist.

6. The same applies for foreign policy processes altogether: These are exclusively in the hands of government executives and their officials. At the same time, national policy is increasingly decided on multilateral levels. The traditional separation of foreign and domestic politics has frequently become a contradictory illusion. In the face of deepening global social interconnections resulting in a decreasing capacity to act on the side of national governments, these choose the direction of intergovernmental co-operation.⁶ The considerable need for coordination and regulation at the international level can be seen by the more than 500 multilateral treaties deposited with the office of the UN Secretary General. These treaties cover the whole range of human activity and form the core of international law. Negotiation and further development of international agreements largely takes place without participation of or control through parliaments as immediate representations of the population. As results of intergovernmental negotiations, international treaties as a rule can only be accepted or rejected as a whole if it comes to ratification in the respective parliament, but without parliament having been involved in the negotiation

process.⁷ In reality even oppositional groups approve most of the treaties submitted for vote by governments, unwilling to cause harm to foreign relations.⁸ Therefore, it must be noted that a democracy deficit exists on that score as well: Exclusive intergovernmental negotiations anticipate the result of national ratifications.

7. Globalization and related efforts to shape global policies make democracy deficits more visible and significant.⁹ The final report of the Special Commission on “Economic Globalization” of the German Bundestag of 12 June 2002 speaks about a “frequently criticized democracy deficit of the UN”¹⁰ and of “participation gaps in the field of global politics”.¹¹ The report calls upon the federal government to “work, in co-operation with the EU, towards a democratization of international institutions”.¹²

8. Consequently civil society groups try to influence international decision-making processes and negotiations directly. The protests against the conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle in December 1999, which have led to a mobilization thrust in parts of the international civil society, may be regarded as a mile stone in this regard. Hardly any international conference of importance passes any more without the occurrence of demonstrations with thousands of participants. Failing conferences such as the 5th WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancún in September 2003 are thus celebrated as successes. The discontent is even deeper and more widespread than these demonstrations suggest.¹³ UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos 2001: “Our challenge is not the protests we have witnessed, but the public mood they reflect and help to spread.”¹⁴ This mood reflects that *wide parts* of the populations do not feel sufficiently represented by their government in international institutions and negotiation processes.

9. The growing dynamics in the field of global civil society, which eventually strives for a democratization of international relations, is part of an evolutionary social process which will most likely endure and become stronger.¹⁵ It is time to take this development into account and to launch tangible international initiatives in order to prevent a serious loss of confidence in international co-operation.

Conclusion 2:

The populations of the UN member states have to be better and more directly included into the activities of the United Nations and its international organizations. They must be allowed to participate in order to prevent growing discontent, to secure acceptance and legitimacy of the United Nations and international co-operation as well as to strengthen the United Nations’ capacity to act. The Committee for a Democratic UN (CDUN) conceives the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) as a decisive step towards the introduction of a new quality, a new impetus and a stronger representation of citizens into the international system.

III. Basis of the UNPA Concept

10. A Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations would serve to bring the voice of the citizens into the United Nations and international politics. This wouldn’t merely be a new voice, it would be a fundamentally *different kind* of voice. While diplomats have to take the interest of their government as guiding principle, delegates of the UNPA would be free from instructions, free from the constraints of a *raison d’etat*, free to take a global perspective and to represent the world community as such. Initially only active with consultative function, the assembly in the further development shall be step-by-step vested with comprehensive information, participation

and control rights. An example for such a development is given through the European Parliament.

11. During the *first step* the strategy consists in affiliating the UNPA to the UN General Assembly as a secondary body or special organization with consultative function.¹⁶ This means that the assembly would be able to draft and pass recommending resolutions without binding force and to submit these officially to the General Assembly for information and further consideration. The issues with which the UNPA could deal with would be defined analogous to Article 10 of the UN Charter and therefore would contain all those issues with which the General Assembly can concern itself. These are all questions which concern the United Nations. There would be hardly any limits.¹⁷ The UNPA would be initially composed of members of national parliaments.

12. In later steps, the UNPA's sphere of influence should be extended to the institutions of the UN system and the economic and financial institutions through a similar gradual affiliation. The UNPA therefore would become the parliamentary umbrella of international co-operation and could as such help to overcome the fragmentation of international efforts in the UN system. In the frame of comprehensive UN reform, the UNPA could finally be incorporated into the UN with the status as main body. In the long run, partial or complete direct election of its members could also be considered.

13. Corresponding to national parliaments and existing parliamentary assemblies, the work of the UNPA would be shaped by plenary, commission and party sessions. It would be obligatory that plenary hearings and sessions are held in open session. In its activities, the UNPA should cultivate a close exchange and a close co-operation with civil society and governments.

14. Through the parliamentarians it assembles and through its commissions, the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly would serve as an additional connecting link between civil society and the United Nations system. The concept put forward here is complementary to other forms and procedures of participation and inclusion of civil society organizations. These are not at all affected.

15. The conceptual basis of a Parliamentary Assembly of the United Nations was developed in 1992 by the World Federalist Movement.¹⁸ While considering the international developments since 1992, this paper expands on that earlier work.

The Voice of the Citizens

16. In the long run, a parliamentary assembly on the world level would introduce a qualitatively new dimension into international relations – the voice of parliamentarians who do not feel obliged to their governments and countries, but directly to the citizens. The relations of governments to each other are commonly marked by patterns which, in the face of the magnitude of global problems, conflict with effective action for the welfare of all. Because of the rivalry of national interests, results which would be necessary for the maintenance of global stability and development often are only produced sluggishly or hesitantly – as no government can expect that an advantage it abandons for the benefit of the common international long-term interest would not be exploited by others. In this situation the national interest seems to serve as only useful guideline of foreign policy. A paralysis comes into being which prevents the realization of the global public welfare and tends to undermine multilateral efforts.¹⁹ In an international parliamentary assembly, by contrast, parliamentarians organize according to party politics or programmatic considerations rather than by country of origin.

17. The symbolic strength of a UNPA is derived from its self-image as a genuine global parliamentary assembly which is directly bound to the populations of the world. Endowed with this moral authority, the UNPA could exercise more political influence even during its first phase than its merely consultative status would lead to assume. The establishment of a UNPA fosters several profound political ideas:²⁰

- § the idea of a direct relationship of an individual to the planet without national governments or other bodies as go-between;
- § the idea of the individual as a world citizen;
- § the idea of the world as a community – and not only as a collection of states and their governments;
- § the idea of the world striving for growing political integration.

Conclusion 3:

A Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations would not simply be a new institution. As the voice of citizens, taking a global view in the common international interest, the Assembly would be the manifestation and vehicle of a changed consciousness and understanding of international politics. To bring about such a change is of major importance in coping with the existential challenges facing humanity.

A Parliamentary Umbrella for International Cooperation

18. The UN is still far from being a “centre for harmonizing the actions of nations” as the Charter proclaims in Article 1. The UN was intended to be a global centre for the coordination of measures on the field of macro-economics as well as financial and trade policies for the benefit of all peoples. The General Assembly was supposed to decide on these and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) should guard their implementation through the special programs.²¹ In fact the UN system is characterized by serious coordination problems and a consequent loss in efficiency. A particular challenge emerges from the independence of the Bretton Woods institutions and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Important fields of international policy and decision-making therefore are to be located in the special organizations and programs as well as in the Bretton Woods institutions and the WTO themselves. Because of this, proposals have been made to establish a parliamentary dimension or parliamentary assemblies (PA) directly within these bodies.²² The European Parliament especially supported the proposal for a WTO-PA.²³ Out of that the question arises how the UNPA is to be positioned within the UN system and with regard to the independent organizations and how the UNPA proposal relates to efforts on the level of these institutions.

19. First of all, the practical assessment has to be made that parliamentary energies and resources available for international tasks are limited. Wanting to provide each institution in question with its own parliamentary assembly therefore does not appear to be useful. In view of a multitude of already existing parliamentary bodies and institutions on the international level this would mean to dissipate and drain parliamentary energies - exactly the opposite of the strengthening which is actually intended. This could lead up to bringing discredit upon such institutions in large parts of the population and through that to a further decrease of confidence in international co-operation.

20. Sporadic and informal parliamentary conferences centering upon specific issues or institutions do not meet the demands of effective democratic inclusion and stronger representation of citizens on the international level. However, the establishment of a UNPA and such special con-

ferences are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, even in the first phase of development, the UNPA should not be regarded as an isolated consultative body to the General Assembly, but rather as the central parliamentary umbrella of international cooperation. Parliamentary activities on all levels of the UN system could be practically co-ordinated and brought together by the UNPA secretariat. In regard to content as well, the UNPA as a parliamentary institution on the world level, and anchored in international law, would be the best possible centre to process the results of informal parliamentary deliberations on specific issues, to further disseminate these within the United Nations system and to support implementation of recommendations in the long run. The UNPA would be, so to speak, the institutional memory of these activities.

21. In a more formal shape, this means that the commissions of the UNPA could regularly, but not solely, hold sessions in which such parliamentarians are included who are not members of the UNPA, but are experts in their respective fields in their national parliaments and belong to respective commissions. The UNPA statute could proscribe that the respective parliamentary commissions of the member states decide on the delegation of a representative to the respective sessions of the corresponding UNPA commission.²⁴ Such a composition of the commissions would guarantee an enduring and close interlocking relationship with national parliaments - even if the UNPA members may be partially or completely directly elected in later stages. Through hearings, the commissions additionally could directly include information, recommendations and expertise from civil society into their deliberations.

22. The commissions could deal with international negotiation processes among other subjects. Forming a UNPA delegation, a certain number of members of the appropriate commissions could in each case be directly admitted to respective intergovernmental conferences. The recommendations of the commissions would go to the UNPA plenum for final treatment and voting and then would be communicated accordingly.

The results of this approach would be a concentration of parliamentary energies on the international level.

Conclusion 4:

The UNPA is to be regarded and designed as a parliamentary umbrella and parliamentary focal point of international cooperation. The commissions of the UNPA should regularly include national parliamentarians, who are not members of the UNPA, but are experts belonging to the respective commissions of their national parliaments. Delegations of the UNPA should be directly admitted to international governmental conferences.

A Catalyst for UN Reform

23. Since the foundation of the United Nations in 1945, there have been proposals to reform the world organization to make it more democratic, efficient, representative and more capable of asserting itself.²⁵ According to Articles 108 and 109 the UN charter can only be changed and revised under difficult conditions. Fundamentally, modifications have to be approved by the General Assembly with a majority of two thirds of the votes. Furthermore, for the purpose of a general revision of the Charter, it is possible to convene a general conference of the UN member states, whose decisions also need a two thirds majority. In both cases, changes only come into effect if ratified by two thirds of the UN members states including all permanent members of the UN Security Council. Every change of the text of the Charter therefore is subject to the veto right of the permanent Council members.²⁶

24. During the Cold War, the political conditions for reform of the Charter did not exist. However, hopes for reconsidering the institutional structure of the UN's main bodies, its decision-making processes and their relations to each other as well as of the UN system altogether have not been fulfilled even more than ten years after the end of the blocs' confrontation. The ceremonies on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the UN in 1995, as well as the Millennium Summit of the heads of states and governments of the world in 2000, have not been used to give concrete impulses to reform efforts. Political interests and the extraordinary awkward procedure of the Charter still paralyze the development.

Conclusion 5:

Addressing the possibilities and concepts for reforming the United Nations and the UN system should be one of the thematic main tasks of the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. As a unique and institutionalized hinge between parliaments, civil society, the United Nations and governments, the UNPA could become a political catalyst for further development of the international system and of international law.

IV. The Establishment of a UNPA

To Bring the UNPA into Being

25. As a completely new institution, the UNPA formally could be established underneath the threshold of Charter reform in two ways. The first option would be to establish it through a decision of the UN General Assembly under Article 22 of the UN Charter as semi-autonomous secondary body. On the basis of Article 22 it is not possible to establish independent subjects of international law.²⁷ Option two would be to establish it as an independent special organization on the basis of an international treaty and a subsequent co-operation agreement on the mutual relations with the United Nations.²⁸ We consider an affiliation according to Article 57 of the Charter as not applicable since this rule affects a relation with the Economic and Social Council and therefore would imply undesirable thematic limitations.

26. The establishment through an independent international treaty with subsequent agreement providing for the inclusion of the organization into the UN system corresponds to the way which the international community has taken with regard to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the International Criminal Court (ICC). Theoretically this way is also applicable to a UNPA, though it is not to be recommended. It would imply a diplomatic tour de force - conviction of the greatest possible number of participating countries, whereby the problem of its reach comes up as discussed in the following. Negotiation of the exclusive UNPA Statute, the subsequent ratification process in the respective national parliaments and then - after its success - negotiation of the co-operation agreement with the United Nations, followed by a vote in the General Assembly. The less countries participating, the less likely it becomes that such an agreement comes about - whereas the more participating, the more difficult it would be to initiate the process in the beginning altogether. The transformation of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) as a semi-autonomous body to a special organization based on an international treaty demonstrates that the result of option 2 can also be achieved through option 1, only much faster and more comprehensively. In this case the conversion of an existing secondary body, which is already active and with which governments have already experience, to an organization based on an international treaty is incomparably easier than to establish a completely new international institution.

27. In the case of the establishment of the UNPA as a new institution, option 1 therefore is to be preferred. Through the establishment of the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN World Trade Conference (UNCTAD), the UN Development Program (UNDP) and the UN Environmental Program (UNEP) the General Assembly has already created several institutions under Article 22 which, as "quasi-autonomous special bodies", have a legal status as secondary bodies within the UN system, but however are largely autonomous in the observation of their responsibilities.²⁹ The status of the UNPA could be shaped in a similar way, in case of which, however, a complete autonomy regarding the observation of parliamentary responsibilities would have to be granted. Membership though would have to be open to every member of the United Nations with a constitutionally embodied parliament. Votes according to Article 22 have so far been taken by the General Assembly in consensus. If no consensus is reached, passage could also be conceivable by simple majority vote. If it comes to a vote, the establishment of a body under such circumstances could also be regarded as "important decision" according to Article 18:II of the UN Charter. In this case a two-thirds majority would be necessary.³⁰

28. Besides of the establishment of the UNPA as completely new institution, it could also be considered whether the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) could be "developed and turned into" a UNPA.³¹ The IPU, founded 1889, is the international umbrella organization of national parliaments, of which 138 are currently members.³² Between the IPU and the UN a cooperation already exists, reflected by numerous resolutions of both institutions.³³ Since November 2002 the IPU has been granted observer status at the UN General Assembly and may circulate its official documents there.³⁴ Moreover the UN General Assembly has recommended to the special organizations of the UN system to agree on similar modalities.

29. Certain aspects are preconditions for the transformation of the IPU to a UNPA. The self-image of the IPU as umbrella organization of national parliaments, as reflected in Article 1 of its statute, does not yet fully correspond to the intention on which the UNPA concept is based. Mandate and self-image of the IPU would have to be extended by the representation of the populations on the international level, emphasising this point. Besides, the traditional institutional independence of the IPU from the UN system is up for discussion. One of the premises of the UNPA concept is a firm and legal integration of the Parliamentary Assembly into the UN system. Moreover, the IPU would have to open itself more extensively towards civil society.

30. Finally there is the question whether the IPU is, in the long run, able to carry out the development stages which are connected to the UNPA concept. If it comes to a partial or complete introduction of direct elections of the delegates in a later development stage the immediate personal connection to the national parliaments would get lost. In the respective cases, members would no longer be national parliaments as institutions, but the directly elected delegates. However, the revitalisation of national Parliaments in international questions and the establishment of an immediate parliamentary representation on international level need not contradict themselves. National regulations such as Article 45 of the German constitution which embodies the Commission on European Affairs within the German parliament could guarantee an interlocking relationship between national parliaments and the UNPA in later development stages.

31. Having these aspects in mind, two possibilities could be considered with regard to the IPU. The first would be the transformation of the IPU into a UNPA through a decision of the General Assembly according to Article 22 of the UN Charter, or alternatively, affiliation of the IPU to the United Nations as the UNPA through a co-operation agreement on the mutual relations. The existing cooperation would have to be increased by far reaching regulations. From today's standpoint, the most beneficial procedure for the IPU would be that of option 2. The IPU's organizational and financial autonomy would not be touched. Establishing the UNPA by a transformation of the IPU is an obvious way, but not a compelling one. Should the IPU not be able to

go the way of either of the two options, it would continue to contribute the interests and experiences of national parliaments on the international level as their representation. The UNPA would be set up as new institution. In the European Union, for example, there does exist similar equivalents: On the one side the European Parliament (EP) as directly elected representation of the EU-population, on the other side the Commissions dealing with European affairs from the national parliaments are represented in the *Conférence des Organes Spécialisées sur les Affaires Communautaires (COSAC)*.³⁵

Conclusion 6:

As a first step, the Committee for a Democratic UN recommends the creation of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations as new institution which is established as consultative, semi-autonomous secondary body to the UN General Assembly through a vote of the General Assembly under Article 22 of the UN Charter. Alternatively to that, as far as the Inter-Parliamentary Union is ready and fulfills the preconditions, the Inter-Parliamentary Union could be transformed into a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly in form of a secondary body or alternatively a special organization on the basis of a decision under Article 22 or on the basis of a cooperation agreement on the mutual relations with the United Nations. Both options are open for development.

Representation of Undemocratic States?

32. A Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations would be open to a participation of all UN member states as currently defined. Yet not all of the states represented in the UN possess a parliament which came about through democratic procedures, some do not have any. Some of the delegates in the UNPA therefore would not be free in the execution of their mandate and actually would be subject to the instructions of their governments. There are objections that the participation of such parliamentarians could undermine the legitimacy and moral authority of the assembly altogether. This opinion contradicts the fact that the affected states are represented in the United Nations with equal rights according to international law. In view of this, excluding these states from a participation in a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations could hardly be explained. Furthermore, to draw the line between the criteria for an inclusion and those against would hardly be possible in a convincing way. An exclusive membership would undermine the global perspective and would make it implausible. WFM correctly states that the arguments against participation could be compensated for by arguments for in other fields: “In welcoming pseudo-parliamentarians into its midst, the assembly may well become a democratizing influence on *them*, and in this way become a force for the advancement of democracy in the non-democratic countries”.³⁶ The German proposal to establish a world parliament in the framework of the League of Nations in 1919 was based, among other things, on the thought of the positive repercussions of such a body on the new democratic parliamentary system of the German republic.³⁷

33. The UNPA could accordingly be open for every country with a parliament, however this is constituted - in the knowledge that the majority will be democracies. The claim that the United Nations mainly is composed of undemocratic states, as opponents of the UNPA idea often put forward, is incorrect. In a study of 2003 Freedom House has classified 117 from the 192 states in the world as democracies.³⁸

Conclusion 7:

The Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations should be open to all member states of the United Nations which are provided with a constitutionally embodied parliament.

The Procedure for Electing Delegates

34. The assembly would be composed of delegates of the participating UN member states. According to parliamentary tradition, the delegates, in execution of their mandate, decide freely and unbound by instructions of their delegations or national governments.

35. With respect to democratic legitimacy and the election procedure there are principally three possibilities: 1. The delegates are elected by the population of their country of origin in free, secret and equal elections. 2. The delegates are elected from the midst of the parliament, or 3. the national parliaments act as an electoral college and elect delegates from the midst of the whole population. Since in democratic states the parliaments and electoral lists include opposition parties, delegates elected according to the specified procedures would reflect a cross-section of the population of their country.

36. Delegates elected by the procedure of the first option would have the most democratically sound legitimacy and could concentrate on their works as “UN Parliamentarians”. Direct elections, however, would be logistically demanding and costly, similar to national elections. On the other hand, to reduce the cost they could be held at the same time as the regular national parliamentary elections. The second option is well tested as a practice of existing parliamentary assemblies and is technically simple. The problem here is the strain on the work of the parliamentarians. Being only delegated, they still bear the responsibilities as national MPs and therefore run the risk of neglecting the work in the UNPA. Delegates elected according to the third option would only have an indirect democratic legitimacy. The problem of overwork and political obstacles regarding direct elections, however, would be evaded in this case. Moreover, this approach also allows inclusion of personalities from civil society who do not directly come from the sector of party politics.

37. In terms of democratic legitimacy and with regard to the ability to focus on the UNPA, direct election of the delegates is the best option. Since direct elections at the moment are only a realistic possibility within a very limited number of countries, this procedure is automatically exclusive if it is to be generally applied. So it has to be weighted whether an assembly with low outreach and best possible democratic legitimacy is preferable to an assembly with best possible outreach and an indirect election through the parliaments. In a matter of fact the proposal has been put forward to initiate a “global parliamentary assembly” even with a number of only 20 to 30 states as far as these are “geographically and economically diverse enough to be credible founders”.³⁹ In our assessment it would even be difficult to convince 20 to 30 states to introduce a direct election to a consultative assembly with limited outreach right out of the gate. In spite of its high democratic legitimacy, statements and deliberations of such an assembly could hardly be regarded as representative opinion of the populations of the world. The proposal is based on the assumption that the number of participating states would grow bit by bit.⁴⁰ But before a threshold is not exceeded which is hardly determinable, say one half to two thirds of the UN member states, the assembly could scarcely fulfil the purpose aimed at here: namely to be affiliated to the UN General Assembly as consultative institution at short notice.

38. The question has to be considered whether the delegates of the UNPA on this stage actually would have to be elected according to a uniform procedure in all countries at all. To meet na-

tional characteristics and requirements, it would be conceivable even in the first step already, to leave it to the participating countries themselves to decide which of the three options to elect the delegates they want to apply. The inclusive character would be guaranteed while experiences with the different procedures would be of benefit to all. But because of pragmatic considerations and because of the exercise already available in the framework of existing parliamentary assemblies, option 2 is to be recommended as uniform practice - insofar as such a uniform practice is deemed necessary.

Conclusion 8:

The Committee for a Democratic UN recommends that in the first development stage, the delegates of the Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations are uniformly elected from the midst of the parliaments of the participating countries.

Composition of UNPA

39. Several aspects have to be taken into account regarding the assignment of the number of representatives per country in the UNPA.⁴¹ On the one hand, the right of all countries to be represented, derived from the principle of federalism and sovereignty, has to be considered. On the other hand political control is principally derived from and legitimized through the individual. Both aspects are equally legitimate. It can hardly be justified to grant strong advantages to the citizens of small countries, to those of miniature states even extreme ones. The principle of the General Assembly, in which all states are equally represented, would be the one extreme, the other would consist in adjusting the representation only proportionally to the population - whereby miniature states would become completely insignificant in the assembly, if still represented at all. Considerations derived from democracy theory alone obviously do not lead to satisfactory results. The mediatory solution for the UNPA hence consists in graduated levels of representation of its members. Following the sample of the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe or the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the smallest states get less and the larger states get more members. The 313 members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe for example are elected or appointed from the midst of the 45 national parliaments of the members states. The number of representatives per country is graduated between 2 and 18 and is dependent on the respective population size.⁴² The 732 MEPs of the 6st session of the European Parliament from the 25 member states are graduated in packages between 6 and 99 delegates according to country. The IPU only provides for two grades, 8 seats for parliaments of states with a population size under 100 million and 10 seats for parliaments for states with a population size larger than that. The IPU, however, has additionally incorporated a graduation of votes.⁴³

40. The examples of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and the IPU, standing for a larger number of established parliamentary assemblies on international level, make it very clear that the question of how to compose the UNPA cannot be portrayed as fundamental or even a “scarcely surmountable”⁴⁴ problem – insofar as the political will to establish the assembly is existent. There are numerous solutions conceivable. The number of representatives per country could be determined, for example, according to the square root of the population size in millions.⁴⁵ This number could be added to a base of two representatives for all countries, so that states with a population size of less than one million could at least get two seats.

41. Additionally to a graduation of membership, it could be further differentiated through a graduation of votes. In the IPU each member has a base of ten votes which is increased by up to 13 votes according to population number.⁴⁶ There are further proposals to build a graduation of

votes upon the principle of sovereign equality of states, the population principle and actual membership contributions to the appropriate budget.⁴⁷ According to that scheme, every contribution would be equally treated as a percentage of the total number.⁴⁸

42. It is obvious that the determination of the actual graduation finally can only be solved within negotiations of the participating states and not on a mere theoretical basis. The intention to propagate the UNPA concept together with a fixed ratio formula for its composition therefore would be misguided.

43. When determining the composition of the UNPA, an upper limit of the total number of delegates has to be considered. If the assembly has too many members, this would undermine its practicability. The largest possible total number probably lies between 700 and 900 delegates.

Conclusion 9:

The determination of the number of delegates per country in the UNPA should be left to the political negotiations of the governments during the preparatory process. Basis of the negotiations should be a commitment to a graduation oriented according to population size, corresponding, in principle, to existing parliamentary assemblies. Before entering into the negotiations on the actual distribution it is recommended that an upper limit for the total number of delegates be defined. This number probably lies between 700 and 900.

Financial Requirements and Further Questions

44. The UNPA needs resources to carry out its work. The required means, however, have to be kept as low as possible. Indispensable are means for the establishment and maintaining of a permanent secretariat, the administration, of logistics and to carry out the parliamentary work. The UNPA would have a president or speaker elected from its midst, who, as well as commission chairpersons or rapporteurs, would be supported by the permanent secretariat. Among other things the secretariat would prepare and organize the meetings and sessions of the UNPA.

45. In the first step the plenary meetings of the UNPA in all probability will take up to two to six weeks per year. Plenary sessions could be held in the hall of the UN General Assembly in New York. Rental cost thereby should not be charged. Commission meetings which are held at different times could be carried out in rooms at the UN headquarters or at other suitable premises all over the world, free of charge as far as possible. Also with regard to plenary meetings, an annual rotating conference venue is conceivable. This would involve the opportunity to impart the work of the UNPA to a larger public in the according regions. It could additionally contribute to a global perspective of the delegates. Erecting or purchasing a UNPA building or special meeting premises does not seem to be absolutely necessary. However, suitable offices have to be found and financed for the secretariat and the administration. This is connected to the question where to locate the administrative headquarters. If a government is ready to place appropriate premises at the UNPA's disposal, at zero cost and for an indefinite duration, this could be an argument to settle the administrative headquarters at said location. However, the possibility of carrying out plenary sessions and other meetings of the UNPA should definitely be given at the location of the administrative headquarters as well.⁴⁹

46. The delegates' ability to work has to be financially guaranteed. Independent from emoluments as national parliamentarians, such as certain costs for travelling, accommodation and discretionary expenses, are to be borne by the UNPA budget. This is especially the case with regard to members of parliaments of the least developed countries. The possibility to use certain means of transportation free of cost, as is granted to the members of the German parliament for

example, would have to be examined. In later stages directly elected delegates, who are not members in their national parliament, have to be paid out of the UNPA budget and have to be endowed with office space and staff in their country of origin.

47. As a basis to estimate the financial need for the UNPA administration in the first place, the budget of the IPU can be consulted. In 2004, and with approximately 40 employees, this amounts to 6.2 million Euro.⁵⁰ In the plan for the EU budget 2004 an amount of 95.5 million Euro has been set aside for the members of the European Parliament for travelling, accommodation during sessions and summoning as well as for extra costs, costs for special travels in execution of the mandate and general reimbursements.⁵¹ These figures as well can be used as an additional basis for a rough estimate of the respective items of a UNPA budget. Costs for receptions and representative means and translations have to be added.⁵² During the first realization stage with an indirect election through the national parliaments there would not be any UNPA-specific emoluments. Allowances, however, could be considered for special posts such as for the UNPA president and commission chairpersons. A first rough total estimate for the running costs of the UNPA during the first realization stage therefore comes to an amount between 100 and 120 million Euro per year. Measured in comparison to the general UN budget for 2004-2005⁵³ which lies at USD 3.16 billion. (ca. EUR 2.6 billion) this would make up about 3.85 percent, if EUR 100 million is taken as a basis. This amount could be raised through incorporating it into the regular UN budget, as far as the UNPA is established according to Article 22, otherwise through a budget which has to be set up and financed separately.

48. Analogous to Article 116 of the Statute of the International Criminal Court, voluntary contributions for a direct financing of the UNPA from governments, international organizations, individuals, corporations and other entities should be made possible. This could relieve the regular contributors. Precondition would be that these contributions are in accordance with relevant criteria defined for this purpose which especially have to guarantee the independence of the UNPA from donors.

49. In the face of yearly military expenditures of worldwide equalling USD 956 billion at the moment (ca. EUR 793 billion)⁵⁴ it is short-sighted to reject the UNPA and an improvement of the UN because of the above-mentioned costs involved. These costs are an investment which is designed to contribute to the reduction of follow-up costs of the global crisis which are, in the end, unquantifiable.

Conclusion 10:

The actual financial need for the first step can only be quantified if it is clear how the UNPA is to be designed, for example composition, voting procedure, participating states and legal basis. A first rough total estimate on the basis of the conclusions of the Committee for a Democratic UN comes to 100 to 120 million Euro per year. This figure is based on the assumption that all UN member states participate which possess a constitutionally elected parliament.

V. Further Steps and Perspectives for Development

The Example of the European Parliament

50. The development of the European Parliament (EP) is an instructive example for the further development of UNPA.⁵⁵ Developing out of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community, founded in 1952, the consulting function of the early European Parlia-

ment, set up in 1962, was widened to include the right to be heard in legislative processes. Since 1975, the EP has been allowed to co-decide with regard to the budget. Whereas the rights of the European Communities (EC) were enlarged further, the requirement for better democratic legitimacy at the European level was growing likewise. At the beginning, the EP consisted of representatives of national parliaments. In 1979, direct election of EP parliamentarians in the EC member States was introduced. Politically strengthened in that way, the EP rejected the draft budget of the Commission for the first time.

51. In the early 1980s, the EC became entangled in a complex of paralysing problems, the so-called “eurosclerosis”. The crisis mainly stemmed from the obsolete institutions, especially from their process of decision-making - a parallel to the United Nations comes to one's mind. Under the condition that each of the twelve governments could block a decision, often no decision was made at all. As a response to this, the European Parliament in 1984 presented a draft constitution for a federal European Union with a genuine legislature.⁵⁶ With this initiative, the development of the EC and its institutional reform by governments was revived. Similarly, as mentioned above, a UNPA could work as the catalyst for a comprehensive UN reform.

52. Today, the European Parliament has the same rights as the European Council with regard to three quarters of all legislative projects. It is securing a direct democratic connection to the populations of the European Union. In accordance with the draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, adopted by the European Convention on 18 July 2003, the European Parliament acts regularly together with the Council of Ministers, has equal rights as the Council with regard to the budgetary expenditure, and elects the President of the European Commission.⁵⁷

Functions and Rights

53. The functions and rights of a UNPA could include, within different stages of development, for example the following:

- § Submission of its own opinions/resolutions to the General Assembly, ECOSOC, the Secretary General, the Security Council, and to the organs and other institutions of the UN system;
- § consultation by the General Assembly, ECOSOC and by organs of other institutions of the UN system with regard to important questions;
- § the right to address questions to the Secretary General, the Presidents of the General Assembly, of ECOSOC and of the Security Council as well as to the heads of other institutions of the UN system;
- § rights of information and participation in relation to the activities of the institutions of the UN system including the still independent Economic and Financial Institutions;
- § readings of draft resolutions of the General Assembly and of ECOSOC with the right to submit suggestions for amendments;
- § the right to submit to the General Assembly and to ECOSOC draft resolutions for further negotiation and adoption;
- § co-decision with regard to the adoption of the UN budget;
- § co-decision with regard to the election of the UN Secretary General;
- § the right to be integrated into all treaty negotiations which are conducted under the auspices of the United Nations to found or modify international institutions;
- § the right also to be integrated into the remaining multilateral treaty negotiations at the international level;
- § the right to submit, in accordance with Article 65 of its Statute, legal questions to the International Court of Justice.

Conclusion 11:

According to the example of the European Parliament, the initially only consulting Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations should, within further stages of development, step by step be provided with genuine rights of information, participation and control.

The Idea of a World Parliament

54. The most far-reaching concept of representation and participation of the populations of the world is that of a world parliament. A parliamentary representation of the population at the international level was already profoundly discussed and called for before World War I⁵⁸ and at the beginning of the League of Nations.⁵⁹ In 1913, a motion was introduced in the French National Assembly that “the French government shall open diplomatic negotiations with the purpose to reach a world parliament”, which after all received 146 votes.⁶⁰ The new German Republic's governmental draft on a Covenant of the League of Nations provided for the establishment of a “world parliament” which should at first consist of representatives of the single parliaments of the League's member States, alongside with a Congress of States.⁶¹

55. The idea of a world parliament recently has received renewed attention not only in academia, but also in civil society. The democratic-theoretical ideal is a parliament directly elected in all countries of the world and which has all parliamentary, especially legislative, rights. This ideal today still faces insurmountable difficulties because of the existing extreme social and political differences in development and interests. The mere election of delegates to such a parliament in the undemocratic states is not conceivable. Thus, its realisation, in addition, surely depends on the development of stable democratic systems at the level of nation states.

56. Without efforts in favour of democracy at the level of nation states, international democracy is not credible. However, democracy is not limited to the conduction of democratic elections. Democracy at the level of nation states moreover is an essential transformer for economic and social development as a whole, which contributes to surmounting the inner-state and worldwide clashes of interests.⁶² Empirically, democracy and development seem not to be separable on the long run. However, events have not always pointed towards a clear causal link between both processes. Within some countries, a certain stage of development was reached which was followed later by a trend towards democratisation. Within other countries, democratisation has paved the way for an economic revolution.⁶³

57. The idea of a world parliament and a democratisation of the international system is inextricably linked with comprehensive questions of human development. Having recognized this, the Committee for a Democratic UN supports holistic and integrative development concepts such as the Global Marshall Plan for a world-wide eco-social market economy.⁶⁴ In addition, the idea of a world parliament, requests a fundamental change of paradigm in international law. However, a world parliament is absolutely necessary in terms of developmental history and democratic theory.⁶⁵ It is a long-term vision to which the concept of a UNPA is directed in the long run.⁶⁶

Conclusion 12:

The establishment of a directly elected world parliament with political competences is the most far-reaching concept of global democracy. The Committee for a Democratic UN supports the idea of such a world parliament. Efforts for a democratisation of the international system, however, are inextricably linked with comprehensive questions of human development. The Committee for a Democratic UN explicitly supports the initiative of the Global Marshall Plan for a world-wide eco-social market economy, since it identifies in the

surmounting of extreme poverty and of the prosperity gap in the world one of the conditions for a far-reaching democratisation of international relations.

One Step after the Other

58. Steps have to be taken which pragmatically consider the conditions existing today, but which at the same time lay the ground for further developments and thus link reality and vision. With the establishment and gradual development of a UNPA, one reciprocally can contribute to the development of a corresponding “We”-identity at the global level and to the consolidation of national democratic systems. In order to play a role in the international political practice, serious concepts have to be directed at their institutional embedding within the existing international system and at the recognition by governments and populations as well as civil society.

59. The concept for a consulting Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations which is expounded here fulfils these requirements. Its essentials draw upon a long-term strategy for development which, in its first steps, can be realised underneath the threshold of a comprehensive UN Charter reform. Moreover, the Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations is modelled as an integral part of the UN system, which shall be set up in collaboration with governments. It shall serve as the parliamentary interface with the populations and civil society.

Conclusion 13:

Under existing conditions, a world parliament cannot be realized from one day to the other. There is need for realistic and pragmatic alternatives which, however, are open for further development. In order to achieve the vision of a world parliament, a long-term development strategy has to be striven for. Manifestation and vehicle of this strategy is the UNPA.

VI. State of Affairs and Next Steps

60. According to the recommendations worked out here, the establishment of the UNPA requires the agreement of at least a simple majority of votes in the General Assembly. The practical goal must be to let the proposal mature theoretically and politically in such a way that it is taken up by governments and is put on the diplomatic agenda. Theoretical maturing means discussion, further development and deepening of the UNPA concept. As a starting point, this paper gives detailed reflections which pick up and continue the concepts developed during the 1990s.

61. Political maturing means that the importance of the UNPA is acknowledged in large political and civil society circles and that the concept is actively supported in the following. Parliamentarians, national parliaments, existing parliamentary assemblies and other parliamentary institutions and informal networks as well as non-governmental organizations of the international civil society play a special role in this regard. Here as well, consolidated fundamentals already exist. As it is shown in the excerpts listed in the annex⁶⁷, numerous bodies and conferences already have dealt with the UNPA concept and the question of a “parliamentary dimension” at the international level. 1992 a report of the Liberal International suggested that in the long run the establishment of a directly elected second chamber to the General Assembly should be considered. In spring 1993, the establishment of a UNPA was supported by the Canadian House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade⁶⁸, at the beginning of 1994 by a resolution of the European Parliament. Since the middle of the 1990s,

the UNPA approach at times has been covered up by the term “parliamentary dimension”. The terms of “UNPA” and “parliamentary dimension” therefore need further reflections.

62. In 1999, the European Parliament put the term in concrete form when interpreting it as “parliamentary bodies composed of the chairmen of parliamentary committees of national and regional parliaments [...]”. The German Bundestag asked the Federal government in 1999 to “to contribute to establishing the IPU as the parliamentary dimension of the United Nations”. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe subsumed, in a resolution of 2000, to “parliamentary dimension” a body of the United Nations “with competencies similar to that of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe”. According to those examples, in the end one can conclude that the term of “parliamentary dimension”, depending on how it is used, emphasises and singles out approaches which are contained in the UNPA concept and are put in a more comprehensive and concrete context there. If the term “parliamentary dimension” shall take shape and get development perspectives which go beyond mere political pragmatism, the reflections on the UNPA concept already give the framework for such a discourse. Thus, it is not surprising that recently a new reflection on the better defined goal of a UNPA can be observed.

63. In the year 2000, the UNPA concept was picked up, and the consideration of its creation recommended by the Millennium Forum of Civil Society. The XXIIInd Congress of the Socialist International, in October 2003, explicitly pronounced itself in favour of a UNPA. In the middle of 2003, during a debate in the Swiss National Council, it was suggested to assign a parliamentary assembly to the UN.⁶⁹ For the first time in ten years, the European Parliament explicitly picked up the approach in a resolution in early 2004. In its report of February 2004 the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization established by the International Labour Organization (ILO) called for an expansion of accountability for global policies and actions to “parliamentary groupings” on international level.⁷⁰

64. Not at least, the proposal to set up a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations seamlessly builds upon the proposals of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations of June 2004.⁷¹ This is a good starting position to mobilize more and deepened support for a UNPA and to introduce the concept into the reform process at the United Nations.

“[The] United Nations would probably have to rest on two pillars: one constituted by an assembly of equal executive representatives of individual countries, resembling the present plenary, and the other consisting of a group elected directly by the globe's population in which the number of delegates representing individual nations would, thus, roughly correspond to the size of the nations. These two bodies would create and guarantee global legislation.”

Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations, New York, 8 September 2000

VII. Conclusions and Summary

1. Mankind faces the task of ensuring the survival and well-being of future generations as well as the preservation of the natural foundations of life on Earth. The inclusion of the people into the institutional structure and into the decision-making mechanisms of the international system thereby has essential importance. In the following, the Committee for a Democratic UN chooses to address this issue out of the comprehensive complex of global governance.

2. The populations of the UN member states have to be better and more directly included into the activities of the United Nations and its international organizations. They must be allowed to participate in order to prevent growing discontent, to secure acceptance and legitimacy of the United Nations and international co-operation as well as to strengthen the United Nations' capacity to act. The Committee for a Democratic UN (CDUN) conceives the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) as a decisive step towards the introduction of a new quality, a new impetus and a stronger representation of citizens into the international system.

3. A Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations would not simply be a new institution. As the voice of citizens, taking a global view in the common international interest, the Assembly would be the manifestation and vehicle of a changed consciousness and understanding of international politics. To bring about such a change is of major importance in coping with the existential challenges facing humanity.

4. The UNPA is to be regarded and designed as a parliamentary umbrella and parliamentary focal point of international cooperation. The commissions of the UNPA should regularly include national parliamentarians, who are not members of the UNPA, but are experts belonging to the respective commissions of their national parliaments. Delegations of the UNPA should be directly admitted to international governmental conferences.

5. Addressing the possibilities and concepts for reforming the United Nations and the UN system should be one of the thematic main tasks of the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. As a unique and institutionalized hinge between parliaments, civil society, the United Nations and governments, the UNPA could become a political catalyst for further development of the international system and of international law.

6. As a first step, the Committee for a Democratic UN recommends the creation of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations as new institution which is established as consultative, semi-autonomous secondary body to the UN General Assembly through a vote of the General Assembly under Article 22 of the UN Charter. Alternatively to that, as far as the Inter-Parliamentary Union is ready and fulfills the preconditions, the Inter-Parliamentary Union could be transformed into a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly in form of a secondary body or alternatively a special organization on the basis of a decision under Article 22 or on the basis of a cooperation agreement on the mutual relations with the United Nations. Both options are open for development.

7. The Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations should be open to all member states of the United Nations which are provided with a constitutionally embodied parliament.

8. The Committee for a Democratic UN recommends that in the first development stage, the delegates of the Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations are uniformly elected from the midst of the parliaments of the participating countries.

9. The determination of the number of delegates per country in the UNPA should be left to the political negotiations of the governments during the preparatory process. Basis of the negotiations should be a commitment to a graduation oriented according to population size, corresponding, in principle, to existing parliamentary assemblies. Before entering into the negotiations on the actual distribution it is recommended that an upper limit for the total number of delegates be defined. This number probably lies between 700 and 900.

10. The actual financial need for the first step can only be quantified if it is clear how the UNPA is to be designed, for example composition, voting procedure, participating states and legal basis. A first rough total estimate on the basis of the conclusions of the Committee for a Democratic UN comes to 100 to 120 million Euro per year. This figure is based on the assumption that all UN member states participate which possess a constitutionally elected parliament.

11. According to the example of the European Parliament, the initially only consulting Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations should, within further stages of development, step by step be provided with genuine rights of information, participation and control.

12. The establishment of a directly elected world parliament with political competences is the most far-reaching concept of global democracy. The Committee for a Democratic UN supports the idea of such a world parliament. Efforts for a democratisation of the international system, however, are inextricably linked with comprehensive questions of human development. The Committee for a Democratic UN explicitly supports the initiative of the Global Marshall Plan for a world-wide eco-social market economy, since it identifies in the surmounting of extreme poverty and of the prosperity gap in the world one of the conditions for a far-reaching democratisation of international relations.

13. Under existing conditions, a world parliament cannot be realized from one day to the other. There is need for realistic and pragmatic alternatives which, however, are open for further development. In order to achieve the vision of a world parliament, a long-term development strategy has to be striven for. Manifestation and vehicle of this strategy is the UNPA.

Annex

I. Excerpts from Selected Resolutions

The following chronologically mentioned resolutions relating to UNPA are available in full text on www.uno-komitee.de.

a) European Parliament, Resolution on the Relations between the European Union and the United Nations (2003/2049 INI) of 01-29-2004 (Pt. 39, IV):

“39. Invites the UN Secretary-General and the UN’s political bodies, its Agencies, Funds and Programmes, to extend the current practices of dialogue, cooperation and coordination with the EU Council and Commission to the European Parliament, by: [...] jointly launching, in cooperation with regional or world Parliamentary Assemblies (e.g. the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly) a network of parliamentarians, which should meet on a regular basis in a Consultative Parliamentary Assembly under the United Nations, to discuss major political issues related to the UN’s activity and the challenges it faces, [...]

40. It is of the opinion that reinforcing political dialogue and cooperation with the European Parliament (the Parliament of a Union of 25 States and representing about 450 million people from 2004 on), will contribute to the success of the efforts of the UN Secretary-General to develop, in close cooperation with the Inter-Parliamentary Union, a parliamentary dimension of the UN;”

b) XXIIInd Congress of the Socialist International, São Paulo, 27-29 October 2003, adopted Report: Governance in a Global Society – The Social Democratic Approach:

“3.3.[...] d) The goal of the SI must be to parliamentarise the global political system – with the representation of political parties that offer alternatives of global political values, theories and projects.

e) Better-structured democratic control and accountability is needed if the world’s democratic deficit is to be addressed seriously. At some point, contemplation of a UN Parliamentary Assembly will be needed. Such a development should be supported by the gradual emergence of truly global citizenship, underpinned by rights drawn from the 1948 declaration on Human Rights and the 1966 Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic and Social rights.

f) This idea is disputed and is often brushed aside as utopian. Before rejecting it, one should at least look closely at European experience, which, admittedly on a smaller scale, shows that international democracy is feasible and politically necessary.

g) Such an Assembly should be more than just another UN institution. It would have to become a building block of a new, democratically legitimate, world order. Far from being utopian, recent developments and trends are opening the way towards it. The Inter-Parliamentary Union was set up more than a century ago. Now, a WTO Parliamentary Assembly is being brought to life. The UN is already organising a Parliamentary Forum in the context of major international conferences.

h) In order to attain the goal of a UN Parliamentary Assembly, every effort needs to be made by the large party communities, and they need to strengthen their cooperation. The principal starting point could be in the assemblies of the Interparliamentary Union (IPU).

i) The large party communities will also need to seek links with parties that do not belong to one of them. That is necessary in particular in highly populated countries such as China, In-

dia, Indonesia, the United States and Russia. It will be even harder to represent the global political and democratic alternatives in a potential UN parliamentary assembly without a representative involvement of parliamentarians from these states. [...]"

c) Council of the Socialist International, Casablanca, Morocco, 31 May - 1 June 2002: Resolution on Participation of Political Parties and Parliamentarians:

"1.1 On a global level today, parliamentarians cooperate in the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The IPU has to have more institutionalised authority within the United Nations system. The Socialist International considers the strengthening of a global parliamentary dimension essential to the international decision-making processes in the 21st century and invites the IPU and the UN to advance with concrete initiatives in this sense.

1.2 Parliamentarians should participate in delegations of UN member states to UN Conferences."

d) German Bundestag, Resolution 14/5855 of 03-28-2001: The United Nations at the Threshold of the New Millennium (Annex):

"Der Deutsche Bundestag fordert die Bundesregierung auf, [...]sich dafür einzusetzen, dass die Vereinten Nationen um eine parlamentarische Dimension erweitert werden und die nationalen Parlamente regelmäßig und eingehend unterrichtet werden, [...]"

("The German Bundestag asks the Federal Government [...] to support the extension of the United Nations to include a parliamentary dimension and the regular and in depth information the national parliaments, [...]").

e) Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Recommendation 1476 (2000) of 09-27-2000: The United Nations at the Turn of the 21st Century:

"13. The Assembly encourages the United Nations to start developing, in close co-operation with the Inter-Parliamentary Union, a parliamentary dimension of the organisation with competencies similar to that of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Such a body could contribute to finding new solutions where government policies have reached a deadlock."

f) Conference of Presiding Officers of National Parliaments, 30 August - 1st September 2000, Declaration, The Parliamentary Vision for International Cooperation at the Dawn of the Third Millennium:

"We call upon all parliaments and their world organisation - the Inter-Parliamentary Union – to provide a parliamentary dimension to international cooperation. Parliament is made up of men and women elected by the people to represent them and express their aspirations. It is the organ of State that allows society in all its diversity to participate in the political process. Parliaments embody the sovereignty of the people and can, in all legitimacy, contribute to expressing the will of the State internationally.

To provide the parliamentary dimension, parliaments and their members must assume increased responsibility in international relations, play a more active role at the national, regional and global levels, and generally reinforce parliamentary diplomacy.

[...].

At the international level, concurrently with the reinforcement of the political input of national parliaments into the process of inter-State cooperation, the Inter-Parliamentary Union should be consolidated as a world organisation for inter-parliamentary cooperation and for relaying the vision and will of its members to intergovernmental organisations.

Thus, we hereby solemnly confirm our support for the Inter-Parliamentary Union and our determination to participate in its work with renewed vigour, thus giving the IPU the means to discharge to the full the mission entrusted to it. In this process we also call upon the IPU to undertake such statutory and structural reforms as may be required to strengthen the organisation and its institutional links with parliaments. [...]"

g) Millennium Forum of Civil Society, Final Declaration of 05-26-2000: We the Peoples Millennium Forum, Declaration and Agenda for Action. Strengthening the United Nations for the 21st Century. (Part F):

"The Forum urges the United Nations [...] To consider the creation of a UN parliamentary body related to the UN General Assembly. One proposal that should be considered is the creation of a consultative Parliamentary Assembly. Any parliamentary body established at the United Nations should have its membership selected through an election process, and should conduct its business in an open, democratic manner."

h) European Parliament, Resolution A4-0077/1999 of 03-23-1999: Resolution on the Challenges of Global Governance and the Reform of the United Nations:

"The European Parliament, [...] 10. Therefore proposes the introduction of a parliamentary dimension into the system of the UN organizations by creating parliamentary bodies composed of the chairmen of parliamentary committees of national and regional parliaments, starting e.g. with Environment and Foreign Affairs, thus strengthening the existing cooperation between the United Nations and the International Interparliamentary Union; Hopes that by creating such parliamentary accountability at world level the UN could become more relevant in the parliaments of the world; [...]"

i) German Bundestag, Resolution 14/1567 of 09-09-1999: The Role of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) at the Age of Globalisation:

"Aus Anlass der Interparlamentarischen Konferenz in Berlin fordert der Deutsche Bundestag die Bundesregierung auf, [...] 2. dazu beizutragen, die IPU zur parlamentarischen Dimension der Vereinten Nationen zu machen;"

("On the occasion of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Berlin, the German Bundestag asks the Federal Government, [...] 1. to contribute to establishing the IPU as the parliamentary dimension of the United Nations;").

j) European Parliament, Resolution A3-0331/1993 of 02-08-1994: Resolution on the Role of the United Nations within the UN and the Problems of Reforming the UN:

“The European Parliament [...]17. Wishes consideration to be given to the possibility of setting up within the UN a parliamentary consultative assembly to enable the elected representatives of peoples to participate more fully in the work of UN bodies; [...]”

k) Parliament of Canada, House of Commons, Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade, 8th Report, Spring 1993 (penultimate par.):

“By way of building the public and political constituency for the United Nations, the Committee recommends that Canada support the development of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (21) and that we offer to host the preparatory meeting of the Assembly in the Parliament Buildings as the centrepiece in our celebration of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations in 1995. We would further recommend that the Government work closely with the national organizing committee for the 50th anniversary and encourage the active participation of non-governmental organizations in the planning and holding of the Assembly.”

l) Report of the Liberal International, “Strengthening of the United Nations”, published 1992, p. 11/12:

„As a long term goal, consideration should be given to the establishment of a Second Chamber of the [General] Assembly or a 'World Parliament', whose members would be directly elected by the peoples of the member states. It could serve as a discussion forum not only in the field of peace and security but in other fields as well. It would also bring a democratic ingredient into both, the UN itself and - through the elections - the lives of people worldwide.”

II. About the Committee for a Democratic U. N.

The Committee for a Democratic U. N. (CDUN) is a German non-governmental organization under the patronage of the Club of Budapest which supports the democratization and strengthening of the United Nations system and of all global governance processes. In the CDUN public figures from politics, society and science as well as organizations of civil society have joined together.

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Notes

- ¹ The Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance, “Common Responsibility in the 1990’s“, Stockholm, Office of the Prime Minister of Sweden, 1991. Quoted and translated from the German edition, published by Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden, Bonn, 2nd ed. 1991, p. 69; participants of the initiative *inter alia* were Willy Brandt, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Ingvar Carlsson, Thabo Mbeki and Maurice Strong
- ² *ibid.*, p. 70
- ³ “convening a regular assembly of public organizations under the auspices of the United Nations”; Mikhail Gorbachev, Address to the 43rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 7 December 1988
- ⁴ UN-Doc. A/55/L.2, 08.09.2000, “30. We resolve therefore:[...] To strengthen further cooperation between the United Nations and national parliaments through their world organization, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, in various fields, including peace and security, economic and social development, international law and human rights and democracy and gender issues; To give greater opportunities to the private sector, non-governmental organizations and civil society, in general, to contribute to the realization of the Organization’s goals and programmes.”
- ⁵ Vaclav Havel, Address to the Joint Session of the U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C., February 21, 1990
- ⁶ Karl Kaiser, “Globalisierung als Problem der Demokratie”, in: Internationale Politik, April 1998, p. 5
- ⁷ see also the Final Report of the Study Commission on “Globalisation of the World Economy - Challenges and Answers”, German Bundestag 14th electoral period, Printed Paper 14/9200 of 06-12-2002, pp. 445 f.
- ⁸ see Klaus von Beyme, “Niedergang der Parlamente”, in: Internationale Politik, April 1998, pp. 21 ff.
- ⁹ see also Alessandro Pinzani, “Demokratisierung als Aufgabe. Lässt sich Globalisierung demokratisch gestalten?”, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 33-34/2000, pp. 32, 33
- ¹⁰ Final Report of the Study Commission, note 7, p. 430
- ¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 442
- ¹² *ibid.*, p. 428
- ¹³ see Richard Falk / Andrew Strauss, “Toward Global Parliament”, in: Foreign Affairs, January/February 2001, p. 212
- ¹⁴ on 01-28-2001; http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/address_2001.htm
- ¹⁵ Falk/Strauss, note 13, p. 220
- ¹⁶ the official languages would thus correspond to those of the UN
- ¹⁷ however, Art. 12 of the UN Charter has to be observed which foresees that the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to a dispute or situation dealt with by the Security Council unless so requested by the Council
- ¹⁸ Dieter Heinrich, “The Case for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly”, World Federalist Movement (ed.), 1992; the support for the establishment of a UNPA by WFM last was renewed by corresponding resolutions at the World Congresses of 1998 in India and of 2002 in Great Britain; resolution I.2. of 2002 says: “[...] Reaffirms support for the establishment of a UN Parliamentary Assembly, conceived as a step towards a World Parliament directly elected and endowed with legislative powers; [...]”. The last step of development in the strategy envisaged is thus meanwhile stronger emphasized.
- ¹⁹ one example for this is the slow ratification and implementation of the Kyoto Protocol, negotiated in 1997, to the Framework Convention of the United Nations on Climate Change; nearly all big polluters fail to achieve the target figures, partly extensively, see Fritz Vorholz, “Der Protokollverstoß - Die Klimavereinbarung von Kyoto droht zu scheitern - die Folgen werden tabuisiert”, in: Die Zeit, 11-06-2003, No. 46

- ²⁰ see Heinrich, note 18, p. 29
- ²¹ see Brian Urquhart, Erskine Childers, “A World in Need of Leadership – Tomorrow's United Nations”. Development Dialogue 1990: 1-2, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, espec. pp. 68 ff.
- ²² see Thilo Bode, “Die Demokratie verrät ihre Kinder”, Stuttgart, München, 2003, p. 193
- ²³ with the participation of the IPU, this has become the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO; see recently: Cancun Session of the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO, Cancun (Mexico), 9 and 12 September 2003, organised jointly by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the European Parliament, with the support of the Mexican Parliament, Declaration adopted on 12 September 2003, www.ipu.org/splze/cancun/declaration.htm
- ²⁴ this proposal *inter alia* takes up resolution A4-0077/1999 of the EP; the representatives of national committees can, but do not have to, be the committee Presidents
- ²⁵ e. g.: Emery Reves, “The Anatomy of Peace”, London and New York, 1945; Grenville Clark / Louis B. Sohn, “World Peace Through World Law”, Cambridge, 1958
- ²⁶ for a critic on the veto see Hans Köchler, “Neue Wege der Demokratie”, Wien, New York, 1998
- ²⁷ Bruno Simma (ed.), “The Charter of the United Nations: Commentary”, Art. 22, p. 390
- ²⁸ proposed by Thilo Bode, note 22, pp. 192 f.; more precisely Joseph E. Schwartzberg, “Creating a World Parliamentary Assembly”, in: Federalist Debate, November 2002, pp. 10 ff.
- ²⁹ see Bruno Simma (ed.), note 27, p. 385
- ³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 388
- ³¹ see Uwe Holtz, “2020: Das globale Dorf ist auf dem Weg zu Frieden, Demokratie und Wohlstand für alle”, in: BUND/Misereor (ed.), “Wegweiser für ein zukunftsfähiges Deutschland”, München 2002, p. 303
- ³² for self-definition and definition of purpose see Art. 1 of its Statutes:
- “1. The Inter-Parliamentary Union is the international organisation of the Parliaments of sovereign States.
 2. As the focal point for worldwide parliamentary dialogue since 1889, the Inter Parliamentary Union shall work for peace and cooperation among peoples and for the firm establishment of representative institutions. To that end, it shall:
 - (a) Foster contacts, coordination and the exchange of experience among Parliaments and parliamentarians of all countries;
 - (b) Consider questions of international interest and express its views on such issues with the aim of bringing about action by Parliaments and their members;
 - (c) Contribute to the defence and promotion of human rights, which are universal in scope and respect for which is an essential factor of parliamentary democracy and development;
 - (d) Contribute to better knowledge of the working of representative institutions and to the strengthening and development of their means of action.
 3. The Union, which shares the objectives of the United Nations, supports its efforts and works in close cooperation with it. It also co-operates with the regional inter-parliamentary organisations, as well as with international, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations which are motivated by the same ideals.”
- ³³ see Anders B. Johnsson, “A Parliamentary Dimension to International Cooperation”, in: Mendlovitz/Walker (ed.), “A Reader on Second Assembly and Parliamentary Proposals”, CUNR, May 2003, p. 20
- ³⁴ see UN-Doc. A/RES/57/32 und A/RES/57/47; the IPU has to bear the costs for translating the documents into the official languages of the UN
- ³⁵ see the Protocols to the Treaties establishing the European Communities and to the Treaty on European Union, here: Protocol on the role of national Parliaments in the European Union 1997; by the latter, the COSAC is called to “make any contribution it deems appropriate for the attention of the institutions of

the European Union and to “examine any legislative proposal or initiative in relation to the establishment of an area of freedom, security and justice which might have a direct bearing on the rights and freedoms of individuals”, as well as to make “any contribution which it deems appropriate on the legislative activities of the Union” to the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission.

³⁶ Heinrich, note 18, p. 17

³⁷ see Gottfried Knoll, “Der Deutsche Regierungsentwurf zu einer Völkerbundssatzung vom April 1919”, Leipzig 1931, p. 21; citation of Count Bockdorff-Rantzau uttered in an interview with the Daily News of 17 February 1919 and mentioned therein: “German democracy cannot be safe unless and until there is some measure of democracy in the League...”, Daily News, February 25, 1919

³⁸ see Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2004, www.freedomhouse.org; on the definition: 1. Democracies: While these states are not all rated Free, all provide considerable political space and media access for opposition movements, and allow for elections that meet minimum international standards of ballot secrecy and vote tabulation. 2. Restricted democratic practices: These are primarily regimes in which a dominant ruling party controls the levers of power, including access to the media, and the electoral process in ways that preclude a meaningful challenge to its political hegemony.

³⁹ see Andrew Strauss / Richard Falk, “Not a Parliament of Dreams”, in: WorldLink, 16 July 2002, www.worldlink.co.uk/stories/storyReader\$1152; on the GPA proposal also *id.*, “For a Global Peoples Assembly”, in: International Herald Tribune, 14 November 1997; *id.* and more precisely on the criteria: Joseph E. Schwartzberg, note 28, pp. 10, 15

⁴⁰ also David Held seems to start from this assumption, see *id.*, “Democracy and the Global Order”, Oxford 1996, p. 273

⁴¹ the following arguments follow Ottfried Höffe's exposition in *id.*, “Demokratie im Zeitalter der Globalisierung”, München 2002, pp. 311 f.; similarly already Quidde, *op. cit.*, p. 16

⁴² see Art. 26 of the Statute of the Council of Europe; distribution according to the version of 3 April 2003:

Albania 4; Andorra 2; Armenia 4; Austria 6; Azerbaijan 6; Belgium 7; Bosnia and Herzegovina 5; Bulgaria 6; Croatia 5; Cyprus 3; Czech Republic 7; Denmark 5; Estonia 3; Finland 5; France 18; Georgia 5; Germany 18; Greece 7; Hungary 7; Iceland 3; Ireland 4; Italy 18; Latvia 3; Liechtenstein 2; Lithuania 4; Luxembourg 3; Malta 3; Moldova 5; Netherlands 7; Norway 5; Polen 12; Portugal 7; Romania 10; Russian Federation 18; San Marino 2; Slovakia 5; Slovenia 3; Spain 12; Sweden 6; Switzerland 6; „The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” 3; Turkey 12; Ukraine 12; United Kingdom 18.

⁴³ The corresponding rule in Art. 10 No. 2 of the Statutes of the IPU is the following: „The number of members of Parliament appointed as delegates to the first annual session of the Assembly by a Member of the Union shall in no case exceed eight in respect of Parliaments of countries with a population of less than one hundred million inhabitants, or ten in respect of Parliaments of countries with a population of one hundred million inhabitants or more. The number of delegates to the second annual session shall not exceed five, or seven for Parliaments of countries with a population of one hundred million inhabitants or more.”

⁴⁴ but see the Final Report of the Study Commission, note 7, p. 430

⁴⁵ so-called Penrose Method; see the proposal of Thomas Pogge according to Höffe, *op. cit.*, p. 313

⁴⁶ in accordance with Art. 15 of the Statutes:

“1. Only delegates present in person shall have the right to vote.

2. The number of votes to which each Member of the Union is entitled shall be calculated on the following basis:

(a) Each Member of the Union shall have a minimum of ten votes;

(b) Each Member of the Union shall have the following additional number of votes in relation to the population of its country:

From	1	to	5	million	inhabitants:	1	vote
From	more than 5	to	10	„	„	2	votes

„	„	„	10	to	20	„	„	3	„
„	„	„	20	to	30	„	„	4	„
„	„	„	30	to	40	„	„	5	„
„	„	„	40	to	50	„	„	6	„
„	„	„	50	to	60	„	„	7	„
„	„	„	60	to	80	„	„	8	„
„	„	„	80	to	100	„	„	9	„
„	„	„	100	to	150	„	„	10	„
„	„	„	150	to	200	„	„	11	„
„	„	„	200	to	300	„	„	12	„
From	„	„			300	„	„	13	„

(c) Any delegation composed exclusively of parliamentarians of the same sex shall have a minimum of eight votes (instead of the ten for mixed delegations) at the Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. For delegations entitled to a certain number of additional votes, the overall calculation will be made on the basis of eight votes instead of ten.

3. A delegation may split its votes so as to express the diverse views of its members. No one delegate may record more than ten votes.”

⁴⁷ For the General Assembly: see Joseph Schwartzberg, “Entitlement Quotients as a Vehicle for United Nations Reform”, in: *Global Governance*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Jan. - March 2003, pp. 81-114; and *id.*, “Re-vitalizing the United Nations. Reform Through Weighted Voting”, Institute for Global Policy / World Federalist Movement; New York, The Hague, 2004

⁴⁸ $EQ = (P + C + M) / 3$. You could multiply this quotient by 100

⁴⁹ the Federal Republic of Germany could take into consideration an establishment in the “UN City” Bonn where besides numerous office space and conference centres also the old chamber of the Bundestag would be available

⁵⁰ in accordance with the results of the Council of October 2003, www.ipu.org/conf-e/109.pdf, pp. 35 ff., exactly 9.815.530 Swiss Francs

⁵¹ see Final Adoption of the general budget of the European Union for the financial year 2004 (2004/132/EC, Euratom), Official Journal of the European Union, 23 February 2004, p. I/152; see also the remarks on p. I/161

⁵² the EU budget 2004 foresees 39 Mio. Euro for translation and interpretation activities of the EP (*ibid.*, p. I/160); this amount is not a good basis for a comparison since in the EU much more as the official languages of the UN have to be covered.

⁵³ see www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2003/ga10225.doc.htm

⁵⁴ figures for 2003, source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), see SIPRI Yearbook 2004, Armaments, Disarmament and International Security, Oxford 2004, <http://editors.sipri.se/pubs/yb04/pr04.html>

⁵⁵ see Heinrich, note 18, p. 5; Brian Urquhart, Erskine Childers, “Renewing the United Nations”. *Development Dialogue* 1994: 1, Dag Hammarskjöld Stiftung, pp. 178 ff.

⁵⁶ Draft Treaty of the European Parliaments on the foundation of the European Union of 14 February 1984 (or “Spinelli draft” according to the Italian President of the institutional Commission of the European Parliament - Altiero Spinelli); Official Journal EC No. C 77 1984, p. 27

⁵⁷ see Art. 19 I and Art. III-302 of the draft

⁵⁸ see Walther Schücking, “Der Staatenverband der Haager Konferenzen”, in: *Das Werk vom Haag*, Vol. 1, München and Leipzig, 1912, pp. 298 ff.

⁵⁹ see R. Broda, “Das kommende Weltparlament”, in: *Der Völkerbund*, 1920, pp. 347-358; L. Quidde, „Völkerbund und Demokratie”, 2. ed., Berlin 1922, p. 16

- ⁶⁰ Initiative of the deputy François-Fournier, see Gottfried Knoll, “Der Deutsche Regierungsentwurf zu einer Völkerbundssatzung vom April 1919”, Leipzig 1931, p. 22 (translation by the author)
- ⁶¹ of April 1919; excerpt from Chapter II., Vorschläge der Deutschen Regierung für die Errichtung eines Völkerbundes, according to Knoll, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.:
- “[...]A. Der Staatenkongreß.
6. Der Staatenkongreß ist die Versammlung der Vertreter der Völkerbundstaaten. Jeder Staat hat einen bis drei Vertreter; die Vertreter können nur einheitlich abstimmen.
7. Der Kongreß tritt mindestens jedes dritte Jahr zusammen.
8. Der Kongreß führt die Geschäfte des Völkerbundes, soweit sie nicht anderen Organen übertragen sind; er wählt bei seinem ersten Zusammentritt einen ständigen Ausschuß, der in der Zwischenzeit die Geschäftsführung besorgt.
9. Die Beschlüsse des Kongresses werden, soweit der Vertrag nichts anderes bestimmt, mit einer Mehrheit von zwei Dritteln der vertretenen Staaten gefaßt. Im übrigen regelt der Kongreß seine Geschäftsordnung selbst.
- B. Das Weltparlament
10. Das erste Weltparlament setzt sich zusammen aus Vertretern der einzelnen Parlamente der Völkerbundstaaten. Jedes einzelne Parlament wählt für je eine Million der Bewohner seines Staates einen Vertreter; doch darf kein Parlament mehr als zehn Vertreter entsenden.
11. Über die spätere Zusammensetzung des Weltparlaments entscheidet das Weltparlament unter Zustimmung des Staatenkongresses.
12. Die Zustimmung des Weltparlaments ist erforderlich für:
- a) die Änderung der Bundesverfassung;
 - b) die Aufstellung allgemein gültiger internationaler Rechtsnormen;
 - c) die Einsetzung neuer Bundesbehörden;
 - d) die Feststellung des Bundeshaushalts;
- In diesen Angelegenheiten besitzt das Weltparlament zugleich die Initiative
13. Das Weltparlament tritt gleichzeitig mit dem Staatenkongreß zusammen. Im übrigen regelt es seine Geschäftsordnung selbst. [...]”
- ⁶² see Agenda for Development, Report of the UN Secretary General, 6 May 1995, Chapter II. E., Par. 118 ff.
- ⁶³ Agenda for Development, Report of the UN Secretary General, 6 May 1995, Par. 118
- ⁶⁴ www.globalmarshallplan.org; see Paper of 20 January 2004
- ⁶⁵ see Hans Köchler, “The United Nations and International Democracy”, Vienna 1997, p. 19
- ⁶⁶ see the latest resolution of the WFM World Congress on the subject: “...Reaffirms support for the establishment of a UN Parliamentary Assembly, conceived as a step towards a World Parliament directly elected and endowed with legislative powers; [...]”, excerpt from resolution I.2: Globalisation, International Democracy and World Parliament, WFM XXIV Congress, London 2002
- ⁶⁷ also source of the following citations
- ⁶⁸ For more on this see: „Canadian Support for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly Under the New Foreign Affairs Minister”, Briefing Paper No. 30, February 1996, WFM Canada, www.worldfederalistscanada.org/0896unpa.html
- ⁶⁹ see “Schweiz und die Vereinten Nationen. Zusammenarbeit”, No. 03-018, summary; www.parlament.ch/afs/data/d/rb/d_rb_20030018.htm
- ⁷⁰ World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, established by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in February 2002, Final Report of 24 February 2004 (para. 544, p. 121, online available at www.ilo.org/public/english/wcsdg/index.htm):
- “544. Parliaments can also play an important role in promoting accountability and coherence of public policy at the global level. Global parliamentary associations such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), Parliamentarians for Global Action, World Women Parliamentarians for Peace and regional parliamentary assemblies such as the European Parliament, Latin American Parliament and African Union

Parliamentary Assembly, can encourage better performance and accountability on the part of international agencies. Several inter-parliamentary groups have already been established to promote action and monitor developments with reference to specific areas of global social and economic policy. These include parliamentary networks involving the World Bank and WTO. We call for a progressive expansion of accountability for global policies and actions to such parliamentary groupings. We call in particular for the creation of a Global Parliamentary Group concerned with coherence and consistency between global economic and social policies, which should develop an integrated oversight of major international organizations of the UN system, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the WTO.”

⁷¹ We the peoples: civil society, the United Nations and global governance. Report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations, UN-Doc. A/58/817, June 2004, see Chapter VI., Engaging with elected representatives, Par. 101-119