

Forthcoming

“A Democratic World Parliament” (working title)

By Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel

Preliminary table of contents with summaries

The book is divided into three sections that cover the history, present, and future implementation of the idea of a world parliament.

Part 1: The idea of a world parliament: its history and pioneers

Summary

The opening first part includes, for the first time, a meticulously researched and comprehensive account of the idea of a world parliament. It is written like a reference work. The authors trace the intellectual and political history of this vision through its development from classical Greek philosophy via the French Revolution to the present day. The narrative touches on the development of plans for peace, democracy, and contemporary history. The reader is made aware that the idea has been debated and developed intensively for a long time. Dozens of prominent supporters such as H.G. Wells, Albert Einstein, Albert Camus, and Arthur C. Clarke are identified and quoted.

Chapters

1. From the Stoics to Kant: cosmopolitanism, natural law, and the idea of a social contract
Cosmopolitanism in ancient Greece—Cosmopolitan roots in India and China—Vitoria's 'republic of the whole world'—Models of peace under the 'sovereign power of the state'—The idea of the social contract in Hobbes and Locke—The social contract and Wolff's 'Völkerstaat'—Kant's cosmopolitan project
2. The 18th century: enlightenment, revolutions, and parliamentarism
The American federal state and representative democracy—The historical roots of parliamentarism—Cosmopolitanism in the French Revolution—Cicero's 'republic of humanity'—The end of cosmopolitanism
3. From the Vienna Congress to the Hague Peace Conferences: the dynamics of integration and the beginning of inter-parliamentarism
Sartorius' 'peoples' republic'—Pecqueur's concept of worldwide integration—Pecqueur's world federation and world parliament—Tennyson's 'Parliament of Man'—The long struggle to extend the right to vote—The birth of the inter-parliamentary movement—The establishment of the IPU—The Hague Peace Conferences as a catalyst—Internationalism in the USA—An initiative at the IPU—Arguments emerging out of the German peace movement

4. World War, the League of Nations, and the Paris Conference

The programme of the 'Round Table' group—The theory of sociocultural evolution and a world federation—A world parliament on the Versailles agenda—The 'German Plan' for the constitution of the League—Disappointment over the League of Nations

5. The Second World War and the atomic bomb: World Federalism in the early days of the United Nations

Federalism under pressure from fascism—The growth of world federalism—Planning the post-war order—Fundamental criticism of the UN, and the shock of the atom bomb—Prominent support for a federal world order—Reves' critique of democracy, the nation state and sovereignty—Albert Einstein and Albert Camus as advocates—The position of the Catholic Church—The British initiative of November 1945—The issue of a Charter review conference—The foundation of the Council of Europe—Sohn's proposal for a parliamentary assembly at the UN—Models for a world constitution—The Clark and Sohn model—Parliamentary cooperation for a world federation

6. Bloc confrontation and the emergence of «non-governmental organizations»

World federalism caught between the fronts in the Cold War—The federalist movement and the founding of NATO—The declining popularity of world federalism and a world parliament—The World Order Models Project—The growing importance of NGOs—The idea of a 'Second Chamber'—The issue of weighted voting in the UN General Assembly—Bertrand's report—Perestroika and Gorbachev's initiative

7. The end of the Cold War: democratization and the resurgence of the debate

The democratization wave—The revitalization of the debate—A UN parliamentary assembly as a strategic concept—Support for a world parliament and a UNPA—The report of the Commission on Global Governance—The report of the World Commission on Culture and Development

8. Cosmopolitanism and democracy in the age of globalization and the «world risk society»

Globalisation and the nation state—The theory of 'cosmopolitan democracy'—The Falk and Strauss essays—A community of the democracies?—Höffe's federal world republic—The call for a WTO parliament and the role of the IPU—Other initiatives towards a world parliament and a UNPA

9. The «war against terror», the role of the IPU, and the Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly

The ban on landmines, the International Criminal Court and the World Social Forum—New contributions to the idea of a global parliament—The Lucknow conferences—9/11 and global democracy—The report of the German Bundestag's Enquete Commission—The report of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization—The Ubuntu Forum campaign—The Cardoso panel report—Growing support for a UNPA—The international campaign for a UNPA—Calls for a UNPA since 2007—The third World Conference of Speakers of Parliament—The recommendations made by de Zayas—Later developments—The report of the Albright-Gambari Commission

Part 2: Governance and democracy in the Anthropocene: towards cosmopolitan world law

Summary

The second part relates to its contemporary relevance. Against the backdrop of the “problem of modernity”, this section provides an overview of the most important global challenges of our time – for example the management of global commons, climate change, arms proliferation, terrorism, poverty and hunger, protection of privacy, transnational crime or the down-sides of economic globalization including tax avoidance and financial instability. These issues are not dealt with in an isolated way, however. Instead, there is an overarching narrative that describes the structural dysfunctions and failings of the international order. At the same time, the alternative of a democratic world order and its underlying principles is presented in growing detail. Starting with Karl Polanyi’s concept of a “Great Transformation” this section describes the contours of a process of global state formation that is already taking place. The authors argue that this process currently serves a global elite and that the world’s citizens need to assert control through the establishment of a world parliament. Finally, this part analyses long-term trends in the cognitive, moral, and psychological development of humanity. The authors draw on standard works and, whenever possible, include key quotes. Sources and references are always provided, enabling the interested reader to go deeper. The purpose of this part is to convey to the reader that the idea of a world parliament is directly relevant to the important issues of our time and that it holds out a prospect of providing solutions within the framework of a new global enlightenment.

Chapters

10. The Anthropocene, planetary boundaries, and the tragedy of the commons

The era of humankind—Earth system boundaries—The problem of voluntarism—The ‘tragedy of the commons’—The management of global common goods—The problem of the generations—Global majority decision-making—The tragedy of international law

11. The problem of growth, the «Great Transformation», and a global eco-social market economy

Overshoot and ecological footprint—The end of the Utopia of growth—Material prosperity and happiness—A new indicator for prosperity—The challenge of global eco-social development— ‘Political barriers’ as the main obstacle to transformation—The process of state formation and the rise of the market economy—The ‘double movement’ between market fundamentalism and state interventionism—A global eco-social market economy

12. Turbo-capitalism, the financial crisis, and unfettered global competition

The contemporary relevance of the ‘double movement’ and the emancipation question—The financial crisis and the continuing systemic risk—State intervention to stabilise the financial system—The financial system as a ‘priority global public good’—The anarchic system of international law—Liberalism, Laissez-faire and the question of a world state—The global race to deregulate—The key role of tax havens and anonymous shell companies—The hidden billions—Global state formation as the goal of the counter-movement

13. The question of a world currency, global taxation, and worldwide fiscal federalism
A world currency and a world central bank—The external impact of national monetary policy and currency wars—Recent proposals for a world reserve currency—The tax race to the bottom—Uniform taxation of multinational corporations—Rejection by the OECD—Global fiscal federalism and the restitution of fiscal sovereignty—Ideas for global taxes—The management, supervision and expenditure of global tax revenues
14. World domestic policy, trans-sovereign problems, and complex interdependence
‘Trans-sovereign problems’—The concept of Interdependence—Transgovernmental networks and the fusion of domestic and foreign policy—The evolutionary phases of the international order—Sovereignty and the era of ‘implosion’
15. The fragility of world civilization, existential risks, and the evolution of humankind
The potential for worldwide collapse—The Genome as part of the heritage of humankind—Reprogenetics—Transhumanism and artificial intelligence—Autonomous weapons systems—Bioterrorism, nanobots and new pathogens—The need for regulation under global law
16. The threat of nuclear weapons, «general and comprehensive disarmament», and collective security
Nuclear war as ‘the end of all things’—The danger of drifting into nuclear war—The risk of nuclear accidents—The unmet commitment to general and complete disarmament—The architecture of nuclear disarmament—The link between nuclear and conventional disarmament—The McCloy-Zorin Accords—The unrealised peace concept of the UN Charter, and UN armed forces—The four pillars of a world peace order—The role of a World Parliament
17. The fight against terrorism, the backlash, and data protection
The ‘war against terror’ as an end in itself—The covert warfare of the USA—The consequences of US foreign policy and the ‘war against terror’—Human rights violations and the USA’s drone warfare—The roots of transnational terrorism and the significance of a World Parliament—The global surveillance system and universal disenfranchisement—Global data protection legislation
18. A world law enforcement system, international criminal prosecution, and the post-American era
The need for world police law and a supranational police authority—The failure of classical sanctions—A supranational police to support the ICC—Extending the powers of prosecution of the ICC—Strengthening international criminal prosecution and a World Parliament—The inadequate controls over Interpol—A World Parliament as an element of world police law—The role and significance of the USA
19. Global food security and the political economy of hunger
The extent of worldwide hunger and the right to adequate nutrition—Population growth and food production—The fragility of global food supply—Dependence on oil and phosphates—Hunger as a problem of political economy—The relevance of democracy and the

international system—Agricultural subsidies, the WTO and food security—Commodity markets and financial speculation—Food security as a global public good and the failure of the G20—The FAO, a World Food Board and global food reserves—Free trade, food security and a world peace order—Democratising global food policy and a World Parliament

20. Global water policy

The present state of drinking water supply—Water security as a global concern—The democratic deficit in water governance and a World Parliament

21. The eradication of poverty and basic social security for all

Poverty as a key issue—Extreme poverty and the right to an adequate standard of living—The need for a new approach to international development—Economic growth is not enough—Social security as the foundation of a planetary social contract—A global basic income—Universal access to the global commons—The dream of a life free of economic pressures

22. Global class formation, the «super class», and global inequality

The emergence of global class conflicts and the role of the middle class—The global precariat—The concept of the multitude—The super rich and global power structures—The transnational capitalist class—A transnational state apparatus—The interconnections between transnational corporations—The need for a global anti-trust authority—Global inequality and instability—Inequality as a cause of the financial crisis—The growth of capital investments and a global tax on capital—The need for global public policy instruments and a World Parliament—A new global class settlement

23. The world order debate, a planetary «hierarchy of actualization», and the age of entropy

The global elite and the question of a world government—The spectre of a global Leviathan—Hierarchical order and complexity—Different types of hierarchies—The principle of subsidiarity—The fragmentation of global governance and of international law—Coherent world law and a World Parliament—The chaotic world order and the ‘age of entropy’—The entropic decline of world civilization?—World federalism as a means of reducing complexity—A world state as a prohibited topic—The teetering paradigm of intergovernmentalism—The standard reactionary arguments

24. The third democratic transformation and the global democratic deficit

The waves of democratization—Economic development and democracy—The post-industrial transformation in values change—Democracy as a universal value—The right to democracy—The undermining of democracy by intergovernmentalism—The influence of transnational corporations—The Codex Commission as an example—ACTA as an attempt to set standards by undemocratic means—Fragmentation as a problem of democracy—The problem of scale—The concept of a chain of legitimacy—Output legitimacy—Accountability to the world’s citizens—Equality and representation in international law and world law—The third democratic transformation—International parliamentary institutions

25. The development of a planetary consciousness, and a new global enlightenment

War and sociopolitical evolution—The decline of violence—The development of reason, empathy, and morality—Group selection as the root of morality—Group morality and humanity's adolescent crisis—Sociogenesis and psychogenesis—The growing circle of empathy—The transition to an integral consciousness—Group narcissism and the Promethean slope—The problem of cultural lag—Global identity and the Other—The overview effect and a planetary world view—Identity, demos, and state formation—The progressive attitude of the world population—Global history and world citizenship education—Big History as a modern creation story—The continuation of the project of modernity—The new global enlightenment

Part 3: Shaping the future: design and implementation of world democracy

Summary

The third part sets out how a world parliament and a system of democratic world law could become reality. The authors discuss issues related to its implementation, address preconditions such as long-term value change, and develop possible scenarios for getting us there.

Chapters

26. Building a world parliament

The example of the European Parliament—The proposal for a UNPA—The extension of powers and responsibilities—Growing democratic challenges—The allocation of seats

27. Creating world law

International law and world law compared—A bicameral world legislature—A world constitutional court

28. The necessary conditions for the transformation

The structural conditions for institutional change—A cosmopolitan movement—The role of NGOs—A UNPA as a catalyst for change—The creeping revolution—The revolution from below—The revolution from above—The trigger—Anticipating and averting catastrophe—Climate-induced events—A democratic China—In the beginning