



**DEMOCRACY
WITHOUT
BORDERS**

DISCUSSION PAPER

UNITED HUMANS

**INTERNET VOTING FOR A WORLD PARLIAMENT,
A GLOBAL CYBERSPACE ("WORLD PARLIAMENT
EXPERIMENT") AND A NEW WORLD ORGANIZATION
OF THE THIRD GENERATION**

DR. RASMUS TENBERGEN

June 2018



CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	1	THE GLOBAL CYBERSPACE.....	9
SUMMARY.....	2	DEALING WITH THE “DIGITAL DIVIDE”	12
INTRODUCTION.....	4	THE EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCH	12
THE ADOPTION OF GLOBAL REGULATIONS.....	5	FUNDING.....	13
GLOBAL ELECTIONS AND THE WORLD PARLIAMENT	7	IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MODEL.....	14
A GLOBAL CITIZENS’ INITIATIVE AND GLOBAL REFERENDA.....	8	CLOSING REMARKS	15
THE WORLD SENATE	9	ENDNOTES.....	16



PREFACE

The following discussion paper was written for Democracy Without Borders as a contribution to the new strategy of the organization: While the Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) remains by far the most important project and the most desirable way towards a more democratic world order based on support by various civil society organizations as well as by individuals from 150 countries, among them more than 1,500 current and former members of parliament and numerous distinguished individuals from all walks of life, this does not contradict the importance to support other approaches. On the contrary: this paper argues that different approaches (top-down and bottom-up, for example, to mention just one of several possible dichotomies) complement each other and increase the likelihood of success. This is why the new expanded mandate of Democracy Without Borders states among other aspects, that it “provides assistance relative to research, development, and implementation of democratic instruments and processes, among them, for example, innovative forms of citizen participation such as models of electronic, direct or ‘liquid’ democracy”. Two pro-

jects aiming in this direction are relevant in the following text: An internet tool for global debate, voting and elections (GDVE-it) as one main aspect of the paper and - partly related to it - a UN World Citizens’ Initiative (UNWCI).

The author is grateful for many contributions to this paper, above all for the tremendous support from Andreas Bummel, including critical questions, substantial proposals on different aspects and even the concrete wording of longer parts of the text. Having acknowledged this, the author also wishes to add the disclaimer that the sole responsibility for the theses put forward here remains with him. The text is a discussion paper and as such it does not reflect a formal policy or opinion of Democracy Without Borders. Instead, it is a work in progress that invites further thoughts on the subject matter. It is written, however, in the hopes to present a concrete and realistic proposal on how the different approaches mentioned in the organization’s mandate could lead to global democracy.



SUMMARY

There are global challenges that cannot be solved efficiently by today's intergovernmental system. The establishment of global policy and its implementation is a lengthy and fragmentary process. In addition, intergovernmental decision-making that is prevalent in more and more spheres lacks transparency, legitimacy and inclusiveness.¹

As a combination of representative and direct democracy, the model presented here describes an innovative and radical approach towards mobilizing the world's citizens in support of global action and including them in global decision-making. It is suggested that a citizen-elected World Parliament based on internet voting and virtual electoral constituencies is to become the centerpiece of a renewed world organization of the third generation (W3G) that succeeds today's United Nations.

In parallel to the World Parliament there would be a global cyberspace, a World Parliament Experiment, that would facilitate an optimum level of democratic involvement of the world's citizens.

This new world organization eventually would consolidate the existing structure of the United Nations system under the roof of a World

Commission and allow for the adoption and implementation of universally binding global regulation in clearly predefined areas of global concern.

Issues that should be considered and would require a clear definition include, among others, climate change mitigation; sustainable development; environmental protection; management of the human impact on Earth system boundaries; regulation of artificial intelligence, genetic engineering and transhumanist technology; elimination of weapons of mass destruction; conventional disarmament; prevention of aggression, genocide and mass atrocities; combating transnational terrorism and organized crime; food and water security; migration; ensuring global financial stability; preservation of world trade; and energy security.

It is suggested the world legislature empowered with the task of adopting global regulation consists of the World Parliament and a World Senate. While the World Parliament would represent the world's citizens and global public opinion, the World Senate would represent the governments of W3G member states, resembling today's UN General Assembly.



Citizen participation would be enhanced by the instrument of a Global Citizens' Initiative and by the power of the World Parliament to call for global referenda.

W3G's charter would have to include a commitment to a catalogue of fundamental human rights. The bodies and officers of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of W3G would be legally bound to the charter's provisions. A member state that considers any regulation or action to constitute a violation of W3G's charter or an infringement of its rights or those of one or more of its citizens may present a constitutional complaint to a World Constitutional Court that may render a final judgement.

In the World Senate, today's official nuclear powers are each allocated a voting strength of 6%. The voting strength of the remaining member states is distributed in accordance to the principles of sovereign equality and population size.

In the World Parliament, every world citizen has an equal vote. The election of the World Parliament departs from traditional geopoliti-

cal considerations and follows a truly global approach. The members are elected by internet voting based on virtual electoral constituencies that are set up by world citizens according to their own choice. In principle, no political parties are required to set up constituencies and to nominate candidates.

Funding of W3G is based on three sources: (1) contributions by W3G member states according to their share in world GDP, (2) fees collected from individual world citizens who register for the global cyberspace, and (3) voluntary contributions from member states or non-state actors, including individual citizens.

We believe *any* model of a W3G that allows for binding universal regulation as a key instrument to cope with global challenges will only come about if there is significant and ongoing pressure from world public opinion on the world's governments.

The global cyberspace provided for in this model may be a groundbreaker for an actual World Parliament as a cornerstone of an inclusive and democratic W3G.



UNITED HUMANS: INTERNET VOTING FOR A WORLD PARLIAMENT, A GLOBAL CYBERSPACE ("WORLD PARLIAMENT EXPERIMENT") AND A NEW WORLD ORGANIZATION OF THE THIRD GENERATION

This paper outlines key elements of a world order model that is based on internet voting and online participation of the world's citizens in global elections of a world parliament, in global citizens' initiatives and global referenda. The official procedures are complemented by a global cyberspace ("World Parliament Experiment") that allows for the formation and expression of global public opinion.

INTRODUCTION

Global public opinion was called the "new global superpower." International surveys show that on average, the world's citizens are more progressive relative to global solutions than national governments. Mobilizing this potential in a sustainable and institutionalized way will help convince national governments to support collaborative global action in response to global challenges.

The model presented here combines elements of representative and direct democracy in order to provide an optimum level of democratic involvement of the world's citizens in global decision-making while at the same time assuring the system's overall efficiency.

Elements of the suggested decision-making model could be started in intermediary phases in parallel to the existing structures of the United Nations (UN) and global governance. The ultimate goal, however, is to consolidate and transform the UN and the institutions of the UN system into a world organization of the third generation that includes the above features. For the purpose of this piece the latter organization shall be called W3G.

While the eventual official name of W3G is secondary at this point, we still would like to

put on record a suggestion that would reflect a main feature of W3G in comparison to its predecessors, the League of Nations and the UN. While the latter were exclusively state-based organizations, W3G will recognize individuals as pivotal stakeholders. In this spirit, "United Humans" (or "United Citizens") may be an appropriate name for W3G.

The purpose of a W3G is to provide for democratic mechanisms for the adoption of binding global regulation in the framework of a system of checks and balances and to oversee adequate implementation through an executive branch. Following the principle of subsidiarity, binding global regulation is only permitted on issues of global concern that are stipulated in W3G's charter.

The bodies, structures, procedures and fundamental values that are sketched in this contribution will need to be defined in detail in W3G's founding charter. The bodies and officers of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of W3G need to be bound to fundamental human rights enshrined in W3G's charter.

W3G's human rights catalogue should be based on the Universal Declaration of Human



Rights and refer to established human rights instruments, in particular, but not limited to, the International Covenant on Civil and Political

Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

THE ADOPTION OF GLOBAL REGULATIONS

Global regulation in the meaning of this submission has universally binding character. In principle, it has precedence over national and international law and may modify intergovernmental treaties. It is adopted through decisions of a world legislature or through global referenda.

The world legislature is composed of two main bodies: a World Parliament (WP) which represents the world's citizens and a World Senate (WS) which represents the member states of W3G. Both chambers may initiate regulation. In addition, regulation may be proposed to the WP or WS for further consideration by the executive branch, the World Commission (WC).

There are two kinds of regulations: Regular laws and emergency decisions.

PROCEDURES

A regular law is considered adopted if it is passed by a majority vote in the WP and if the WS does not exercise its right to object (which requires a 4/5 majority vote within 3 months). The WS can initiate a regulation by referring it to the WP with a majority vote.

An emergency decision is considered adopted if it is passed by a majority vote in the permanent Council of the WP (CWP) and if the permanent Council of the WS (CWS) does not object with a 4/5 majority. In the case of coercive action, the latter needs to take a decision within 3 days and otherwise within 7 days. The CWP can initiate an emergency decision by referring it to the CWP with a majority vote.

CWP and CWS are bodies that are in permanent session to consider ongoing issues. CWP is composed of at least 15 members, including the President and the Vice-Presidents of the WP, elected for the duration of the WP's legislative term. CWS is also composed of at least 15 members, each elected by the WS for a two-years term based on a system of balanced regional representation of W3G's member-states that takes population sizes into account.

The WP has the power to modify or suspend an emergency decision in whole or in part.

Should the WS or the CWS decide to object to a regulation that was passed by the WP or the CWP, the WP can overrule this decision with a 2/3 majority vote. In this case, the WS may pass a 2/3 majority vote to refer the matter to a World Constitutional Court (WCC) for a final judgement on the legal validity of the regulation in question. The WCC consists of 9 judges, 2/3 of which are elected by the WP and 1/3 by the WS.

Once a regulation has come into force, any W3G member state that considers it to constitute a violation of W3G's charter or an infringement of its rights or those of one or more of its citizens may present a constitutional complaint to the WCC.

Changes in W3G's charter adopted by the world legislature need to be approved by a global referendum and need to be ratified by 2/3 of W3G member states.

In addition to global regulation, the WP, CWP, WS and CWS may pass non-binding declaratory resolutions.



Figure (1) illustrates the procedures and relationships between W3G bodies.

PURVIEW

It will require thorough negotiations to determine which issues of global concern will be in the purview of global regulation. As a general guideline, global regulation should be possible on all matters that are relevant to the human species as a whole, that concern international peace and security or that may threaten the functioning of the world system and the well-being of large parts of the world's population.

For the purpose of this piece, it is not possible to offer in-depth definitions. However, key concerns include climate change mitigation; sustainable development; environmental pro-

tection; management of the human impact on Earth system boundaries; regulation of artificial intelligence, genetic engineering and transhumanist technology; elimination of weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear disarmament and arms control; conventional disarmament; prevention of aggression, genocide and mass atrocities; combating transnational terrorism and organized crime; food and water security; migration; ensuring global financial stability; preservation of world trade; and energy security.

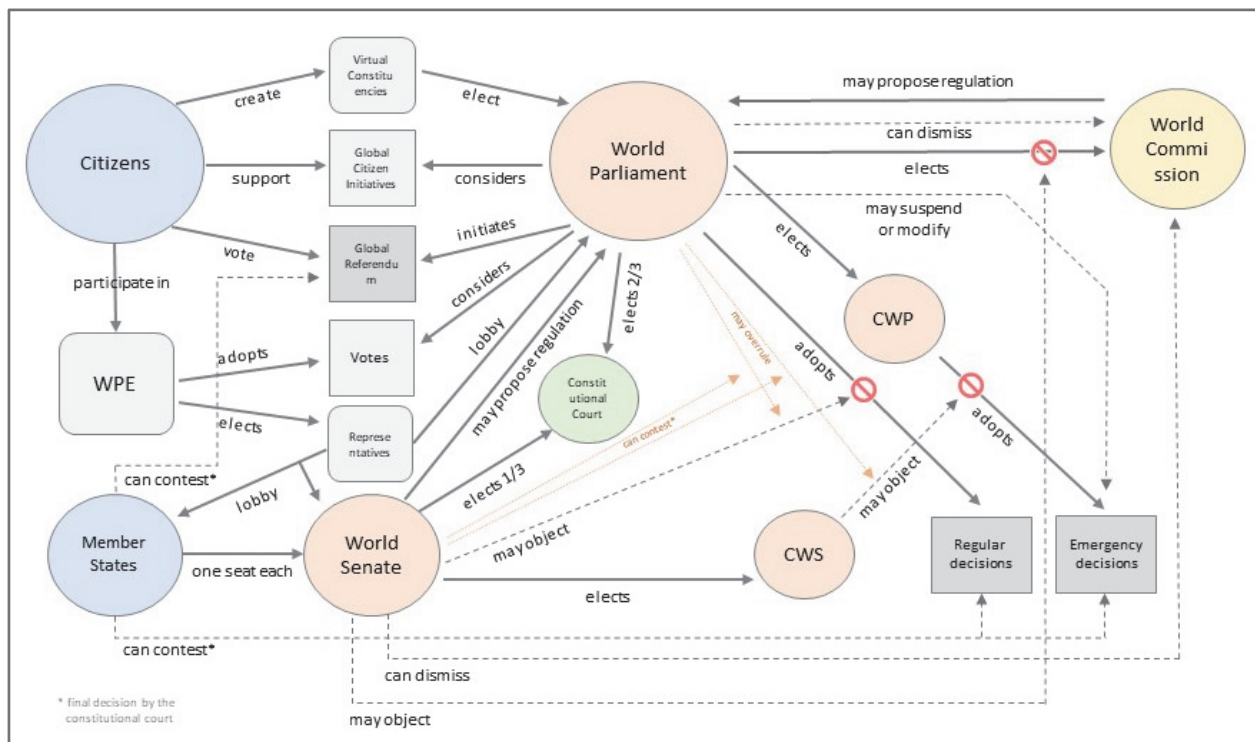


Figure (1): Procedures and relationships between W3G bodies



GLOBAL ELECTIONS AND THE WORLD PARLIAMENT

Every world citizen 16 years or older is eligible to register online for global internet voting and online participation. Multiple registrations and fraudulent use are prevented by combining unique biometric identification techniques with cutting-edge security technology (the potential of blockchain technology will require special consideration).²

Experience to draw upon is offered by Estonia's electronic ID card and the internet voting system that is being developed and used since 2005, in particular lessons learned in terms of robustness and cybersecurity.

Every user is issued a world identity card that may be used for official purposes beyond online voting and participation. The ID is issued independently from national citizenship status.

The problem of more difficult access to the internet in less developed regions ("digital divide") will be addressed in a separate section below.

All citizens who registered for global internet voting (in the following "users") can participate in the global elections of the WP. The duration of WP's legislative term may be five years.

The total number of WP seats to be elected depends on global population size. For each full one billion people, 100 seats are allocated. At this time, the WP would thus consist of 700 seats. Once global population size exceeds 8 billion people, 800 seats would be allocated, etc.

VIRTUAL ELECTORAL CONSTITUENCIES

The global elections are prepared in a 12-month start-up phase. In this phase, users set

up self-defined virtual electoral constituencies (VEC) that may represent any identity, interest or subject-issue. All users have an equal vote which they assign to one or more VECs of their choice in parts of 1/5.³

For instance, VECs could be set up to represent a certain geographical area such as a country, region or city, a certain national, ethnic, or cultural group as well as any other issue such as a certain political perspective, an ideological outlook, a specific interest or anything else. The definition of VECs is entirely in the hands of users. It may be broad like defending the environment or narrow like protecting elephants. Only such VECs will be successful, however, which gain a critical mass of assigned votes that allow them to fill at least one seat.

While VECs are set up and users assign their votes, at the same time single candidates are nominated in each VEC. For a nomination to be registered for the election, it needs to be supported by at least 1,000 votes. No political parties are required to set up VECs or to nominate candidates.

Two weeks ahead of the election date, the registration of VECs and the assignment of votes are closed. Relative to the total number of assigned votes at the registration deadline, all VECs that did not get sufficient assigned votes to pass the threshold necessary for one seat are automatically dissolved. For instance, if there are 700 seats to be elected and a total number of one billion votes were assigned to all VECs, the threshold for a VEC to be officially registered for the election would be 1,428,571 assigned votes.

Within 14 days votes assigned to dissolved VECs can be re-assigned among the remaining ones.



ELECTION OF CANDIDATES AND ALLOCATION OF SEATS

On the election day, every user can vote for a single candidate nominated in any VEC where he/she has assigned at least 1/5 of his/her vote. The number of seats that can be elected in each VEC depends on the number of votes assigned to a particular constituency at the election date relative to the total number of votes. If we follow the above example and assume that 700 seats are to be elected and a total number of one billion votes were assigned, then for each 1,428,571 votes assigned to a VEC, one seat could be elected.

As a matter of routine, a certain number of seats will be unallocated after this process. These seats will be distributed among VECs in the order of the most remaining number of assigned votes per VEC until the required total number of seats is reached.

At the election, the seats per VEC are distributed to the candidates who received the most votes.

GROUPS AND COMMITTEES

The members of the WP sit in political groups organized by political affiliation or any other self-defined common interest. 5 percent of the members are needed to form a group and at least five VECs must be represented with at least 3 members each.

The members are divided up among specialized standing committees and sub-committees. The committees initiate, draft, amend and adopt legislative proposals that are then being dealt with and voted on by the WP's plenary. The WP will conduct its business primarily through physical meetings.

A GLOBAL CITIZENS' INITIATIVE AND GLOBAL REFERENDA

A group of at least 15 users from at least 3 world regions can launch a global citizens' initiative (GCI) online. A GCI is an invitation to the WP to initiate global regulation or to launch a global referendum within the scope of W3G's competences.

Users can cast votes for or against a GCI. Within one year, to be successful, a GCI has to be backed by a majority of at least 10 million users from 4 of the 5 world regions whereas a specified minimum number of favorable votes is necessary in each region. An example to draw upon is the European Citizens' Initiative that was introduced with the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007 and was operative in 2012.

A global referendum can be launched by the WP by a majority vote. The referendum date must not be sooner than 6 months after the WP's decision to hold the referendum. It is adopted if approved by a majority of users whereas a minimum of 25% of users need to participate in the vote.



THE WORLD SENATE

The government of each W3G member state has one seat in the WS.

We suggest that initially the voting weight for each state is distributed as follows whereas none shall receive a voting weight of more than 6%:

Each of today's official nuclear powers who are now permanent members of the UN Security Council – China, France, Russia, United Kingdom and USA – receive a voting weight of 6% which in sum accounts for a total of 30%.

Another voting strength of 35% is distributed equally among the other 188 member states. If we assume that W3G's membership includes 193 states (as the UN does today), each of them would receive a voting weight of at least

0.1861% (35/188). Finally, another voting strength of 35% is then distributed to the 188 member states in accordance with their share in the world's total population size (excluding the P5).

To illustrate how this would work, let's assume that the population size without the P5 is 5.5 billion and India's population is 1.32 billion. Based on population size, India would thus receive an additional voting strength of 8.4% (24 percent of 35) and the total voting strength would be at around 8.5861%. However, as no W3G member state shall receive a weight of more than 6%, India would have a voting weight of 6%. To provide another example, Indonesia as the world's fourth largest country in terms of population size (4.74 percent of 5.5 billion) would receive a total voting weight of 1.8451%.

THE GLOBAL CYBERSPACE

The establishment of a global cyberspace that allows the world's citizens to exchange and discuss ideas, to collaborate and coordinate, and to express their opinions is a key element in the present model. The role of the population in influencing the actions and decisions of the WP and W3G goes beyond online elections, GCIs and global referenda.

The global cyberspace provides for a platform for the continuous expression of global public opinion that is directed at the bodies of W3G and the WP in particular. We expect that it would influence the agenda-setting and decision-making of main bodies such as the WP, the WS, and the WC.

The global cyberspace is based on the same infrastructure as the system for online elections and online voting. The framework guar-

antees the authenticity of all users and prevents fraudulent use.

Users can sign up to participate in a World Parliament Experiment (WPE) where they can self-organize as they wish; this space allows for delegated voting and liquid democracy. Its purpose is to facilitate the expression of interests and opinions of users in parallel to the official procedures and decision-making of the world legislature.

In addition, it allows users to familiarize with global electronic democracy and to mobilize critical masses necessary, for instance, to set up successful VECs or to launch successful GCIs. It is a space that is also relevant for political campaigning ahead of global elections.⁴



The global cyberspace is a platform that may be used at sub-global levels, too, for instance for municipalities, cities, regions or at the national level.

The bodies and officials of W3G may take opinion making and outcomes of WPE into consideration. Although non-binding and unofficial, votes self-organized in the framework of WPE may have political and moral relevance.

In principle, at WPE, every user can influence any aspect of the framework at any time (that is, content, procedures or representation). The instruments to do so are votes. Every user is able to suggest “future votes” on any subject-matter, be it the procedures or structures of WPE, any subject-matter or even the election of representatives (for instance, users could elect speakers for the whole system or for sub-units). Suggestions put forward are then evaluated by the other users who can either endorse or disapprove of them. Those suggested “future votes” that receive a majority endorsement of at least 5 percent of WPE users are elevated to the status of “current vote” and are then open for voting. A vote is considered adopted if it receives a majority and if at least 10 percent of WPE users participated. Valid votes are collected in an archive as “past votes” and determine WPE’s functioning and policy.

Users can either vote directly or they can delegate their vote, fully or in parts, to other users who vote on their behalf. A new preliminary version of a WPE that illustrates possible functionalities is currently in preparation by a non-governmental group. Examples include:

- Users can delegate or retrieve their votes at any time
- It is possible to see how many delegated votes a user controls
- There is a scoring system based on activities such as commenting, voting, etc.

- It is possible to delegate your vote to all other users or a group of users equally
- It is possible to delegate your vote on a random basis

Delegated voting allows users to decide for themselves what degree of involvement they wish to have at a certain point in time. They can react immediately to the performance of a proxy who received a delegated vote by retrieving it. Votes adopted by WPE are automatically forwarded to a petition committee set up by the WP in order to connect the cyberspace and official global deliberations and decision-making. Contrary to CGIs, however, the WP is not obliged to react to WPE votes. The WP may invite WPE representatives to hearings on topics covered by votes and may consider setting up a permanent advisory committee composed of representatives elected by WPE.

The process may be subject to modifications adopted by WPE users. WPE users may opt to elect officers and representatives as they see fit. The task of the representatives may be to lobby for WPE decisions and to implement them to the real-life political process as claims to decision-makers. The WPE institutions may serve as shadow institutions to the other institutions mentioned in this model and may have equal or even greater influence on political processes. WPE enables users to decide on how strongly they wish to influence WPE’s decision-making process directly and in how far they wish to delegate their vote to representatives.⁵ The charter of W3G will define elements of the global cyberspace that may not be subject of change. This includes, but may not be limited to, the inability to deprive users of their right to WPE registration and full participation in adopted procedures.



WPE decision-making process

A World Parliament is possible, see how it works:

The World Parliament Experiment is a part of the Global Democracy Experiment that is meant to be a model of a perfect democracy on the internet. Therefore, everyone can influence any aspect (contents, procedures or representatives) of the project at any time. This is guaranteed by the following decision-making process:

Step 1: Every participant has the right to submit “future votes” concerning contents, procedures or representatives of the system.

Create a Future Vote

Here you can write your own Future Votes!
(You still can write 10 Future Votes this week)

Subject:	Category:
<input type="text"/>	Foreign & International Relations
Text:	
<input type="text"/>	

Step 2: The future votes are evaluated by the other participants and selected for voting.

Future vote

UN General Assembly
(Katja, 2002-07-09 00:02)

The GA is kindly asked to decide the following:
The UN General Assembly should give nations voting rights in relation to their population. The principle should be one person, one vote rather than one nation, one vote.

(This Future Vote currently has 1 YES-VOTES)

Step 3: The most selected future votes get on a regularly updated list of “current votes”, the participants vote in favor or against.

Current vote

3 current votes
(Jasper, 2002-07-01 09:31)

I kindly ask the GA to decide that only the top 3 (instead of 10) future votes should become current votes.

From reducing the number of current votes I expect a more in depth discussion about the respective votes and an increase of competition with respect to the future votes section and the selection made. This would allow the government to collect a meaningful number of opinions on a single issue in order to draft GDE report of opinions, which can be fed into other media and democratic processes.

Jasper

(This Current Vote currently has 3 YES-VOTES and 5 NO-VOTES)

Step 4: Past current votes are collected as “past votes” in an archive. Past votes with a minimum participation and a majority in favour are adopted.

Katja	Global Democracy Project 10% is a good margin	13	7	current vote by 11.56% of 173 citizens included in program
Finished: 2002-06-10 11:51		Posts: 3 last at 2002-06-18 10:46		
Fabian	Global Democracy Project Weekly Program of the President	14	5	current vote by 10.98% of 173 citizens included in program
Finished: 2002-06-10 11:49		no comments		
Jasper	Global Democracy Project sleeping participants	8	2	current vote by 5.78% of 173 citizens

Step 5: Through future votes, the participants elect representatives. It is the task of the representatives to implement the program into the international political process as claims to decisions-makers.

Program Global Democracy Candidates

Fabian for President

2002-05-17 19:22
14 YES-VOTES and 9 NO-VOTES = 13.53% of 170 citizens
written by Katja

The GA is kindly asked to decide the following:

Fabian should be GDE President.

Fabian is the most active member of the government and (in the long run) the most active member of the GA. Furthermore, he has supported the project from the very beginning, he has worked a lot for the project and his political opinions mirror the goals of the GDE.



DEALING WITH THE “DIGITAL DIVIDE”

The problem of more difficult access to the internet in less developed regions (“digital divide”) has to be addressed in this model, but it can be solved: For the WP election, internet voting is an advantage in terms of effectiveness but not a necessary condition – the decision for a VEC and for a candidate in the actual election can be executed in a more traditional way if internet access is a problem in a region. Even in the global cyberspace, world citizens without internet access can give a proxy vote to a person with internet access and take it back and give it to another person if he or she not satisfied with the form

of representation. This is not the ideal working mode of the model, but it shows that it can start dealing with legitimate concerns and counter-arguments. We believe, the model does not work against the interests of citizens affected by the digital divide- on the contrary: it gives them more influence than they have now and presents a possible way to solve their problems including the likelihood of better internet access in the future up to full and equal participation in a global democratic process.

THE EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCH

THE WORLD COMMISSION

Regulation adopted by the world legislature or through global referenda is implemented by the WC in collaboration with W3G member states.

The President of the WC is elected for a two-year non-renewable term by the WP. WP groups and the WS may nominate candidates. The WS has the right to object to a President elected by the WP with a 2/3 majority vote.

Once elected, the President suggests at least 20 Commissioners who need to be confirmed individually by a majority vote of the WP. The WS has the right to object to individual Commissioners confirmed by the WP with a 2/3 majority vote.

Existing UN agencies and programs are consolidated as departments lead by individual Commissioners. The Commission drafts a consolidated W3G budget that requires the approval of the WP and the WS.

The WP and WS provide ongoing democratic oversight of the WC’s operations. The WC or individual Commissioners may be subject of a no-confidence vote. It is successful if approved by a majority of the WP or by a 2/3 majority of the WS.

A RAPID REACTION FORCE

In order to enable W3G to provide an effective and quick response to security threats and emergency situations, a rapid reaction force (RRF) with enforcement capabilities should be established. While under the command of the WC, its deployment and mandate is decided by the world legislature according to the provisions for global regulations described above.

The RRF is made up of individually recruited volunteers and complements larger peace-keeping forces composed of troop contributions by W3G member states (in continuation of today’s UN peacekeeping).



THE WORLD JUDICIARY

The WCC has the final say on the legality of global regulations and thus is a key element in the checks and balances provided for in the present model. Still, it is only one of multiple courts or court-like institutions that cannot be covered in this submission but nevertheless will play a role.

For conflicts between W3G member states, for instance, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) will continue to fulfill an important func-

tion as will the International Criminal Court (ICC) relative to the prosecution of individuals for crimes against humanity, genocide, war crimes and the crime of aggression. Appropriate reforms will be in order, however. The jurisdiction of the ICJ should be compulsory and that of the ICC should be universal, to name just two points.

An important premise that follows from the weight that is given here to a WP is that the latter should have primacy in the election of the judges of any international court.

FUNDING

Funding of W3G is based on contributions by member states in proportion to their share in the gross world product. A maximum assessment rate is set at 20% of the total budget.

For illustration, based on current data which estimated world GDP at around 75 trillion US\$ in 2016, contributions based on a percentage of 0.05% of GDP would have yielded resources in the order of 37.5 billion US\$. By comparison, the regular budget adopted by the UN for the two-year period of 2016-2017 amounts to 5.4 billion US\$.

For least developed countries a lower assessment may be set.

Member states that are in arrears for a certain time and amount should forfeit their voting rights in the WS.

Basic funding of the issuance of world identity cards and WPE is covered by fees collected from individual users. The fee should be appropriate to the circumstances and vary according to a user's capability and origin. WPE, that is the users, can set up a budget on how

surplus should be used that is not needed to maintain its online infrastructure. This WPE surplus budget can be devoted to any task and needs approval by the WP.

The fee is a manifestation of the premise that world citizenship – in this case being able to participate in WPE – goes along not only with rights but also with duties ("no representation without taxation", a reversed Boston Tea Party slogan).

As a funding mechanism the fee opens the door towards a global funding source that is based on individual contributions and independent from W3G member states. Through the WPE surplus budget that is controlled by users these revenues may be directed towards W3G programs and activities that otherwise would be underfunded.

Finally, W3G may accept voluntary contributions from member states and non-state actors. The global cyberspace and WPE are platforms that would allow for global crowd-funding.

.



IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MODEL

We believe *any* model of a W3G that allows for binding universal regulation as a key instrument to cope with global challenges will only come about if there is significant and ongoing pressure from world public opinion on the world's governments.

Establishing a provisional WPE based on the internet and organized by civil society is possible today. There is no need to wait. From the beginning, a WPE should claim to be a model and groundbreaker for an actual world parliament as a cornerstone of an inclusive and democratic W3G. Even in its provisional form, a WPE should try to influence actual political processes.

Of course, in terms of its representative character and legitimacy, a WPE can only speak on behalf of its supporters and participants. To a large degree, the success of a WPE in influencing world public opinion and governments will depend on the number of supporters. Gaining a critical mass thus will need to be a main focus.

The implementation of W3G with the elements described in this submission may roughly take place in the following sequence. Throughout the process it will be important to mobilize the support of world citizens through a global cyberspace.

(1) Conceptualization and development of a preliminary WPE platform for testing and feedback

(2) Establishment of a fully functional online platform and reliable registration process

following the proposed model in the framework of a mock WPE in collaboration with like-minded states and civil society organizations.

(3) First global online elections in the framework of WPE.

(4) The WPE begins to operate and creates moral public pressure through its decisions and procedures; a global social movement for global democracy is initiated.

(5) Nation-states and the UN begin to debate the benefits of the potential new body and process. The UN establishes the mechanism of an advisory GCI.

(6) Negotiation of an universal intergovernmental treaty to establish a W3G, possibly in the framework of a general review conference of the UN as provided for in Article 109 of the UN's Charter. According to para. 3 the review conference can be held if so decided by a majority of the UNGA and a vote of any 7 members of the UNSC.

(7) Ratification begins. 2/3 of UN member states and all P5 approve of the system. The ratification process is supported by moral and political public pressure originating from WPE and other fora.

(8) Entry into force and implementation of the new W3G.

(9) Conduct of the first global elections for the new WP and launch of the online participation procedures.



CLOSING REMARKS

Since its emergence in ancient Greece, democracy was identified with direct participation of citizens in decision-making at the scale of small city states (“town hall democracy”). Citizens were able to discuss face-to-face with everybody present. During the American and French revolutions, the representative form of democracy was developed, suited for the new large territorial states with distances and population sizes that made it impossible for everybody to be part of decision-making. Thus, citizens elected representatives to decide on their behalf.

Now, in the planetary age, the next step is imminent: the creation of a democratic system that spans the entire globe and all the world’s citizens. Advancing technology has brought about new threats and challenges but at the same time it has reached a point that makes global democracy possible as a hybrid between direct and representative democracy, bringing together the best elements of both and enabling a new form of democratic governance that is in touch with the needs and desires of world citizens as part of a new global enlightenment⁶.

What is needed for a W3G and global democracy to become a reality is to mobilize the will of individual citizens, like-minded institutions and eventually the world’s states that hold the key to administrative, political, and legal authority.

While the goal is to achieve a transformation of the UN to a universal W3G with the support

of all major powers, especially the P5, in strategic terms it may be necessary to consider alternative approaches outside and in parallel to UN reform.

If history has shown one thing, then it is that governments tend to defend the idea of national sovereignty even if in reality it by now may be no more than a nominal concept. Creating a W3G that has the power to adopt binding global regulation even within certain limitations will require tremendous effort.

We have attempted to propose a design that may accommodate the big powers’ wishes to preserve certain privileges. Obviously, there are limits to this, however, if a W3G is to constitute a leap forward compared to the UN (especially the latter’s inability to adopt universally binding norms outside of the Security Council’s Chapter VII authority).

As a degree of inertia is to be expected, the way forward may be that like-minded and progressive governments agree on the establishment of a new supranational institution with W3G-like features as put forward in this submission and that this nucleus institution grows over time until it achieves universal membership and can replace the UN. It may only be in view of such an emerging alternative path that powers that enjoy a historic privilege today recognize the need to compromise and support an inclusive approach towards a W3G.



ENDNOTES

- 1 A detailed description of this context can be found in: Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel: A World Parliament, Governance and Democracy in the 21st Century, published by Democracy Without Borders, Berlin, 2018
- 2 Details on the development of a new internet tool for global debate, voting and elections are described in a blog post by Michael Weidinger on www.democracywithoutborders.org/4196/ and on the corresponding page on www.democracywithoutborders.org/gdve-it/ seen on June 5, 2018
- 3 The concept of a WP with VECs is inspired by a presentation made by Thomas Pogge on October 1, 2016, in Berlin. The model presented here may deviate in detail.
- 4 There's already an NGO called WPE that is working on establishing a WPE platform; a preliminary (but fully functional) version is already online since the year 2000 on: www.world-parliament.org and a big new version in preparation including many proposals for improvements made by the online community. This version will appear on the project page: www.democracywithoutborders.org/gdve-it/.
- 5 This and other aspects of the WPE are described in a paper for the Virtual Congress of World Citizens in 2006 on www.rasmus-tenbergen.de/index_htm_files/worldparliament.pdf, seen on April 25, 2018
- 6 The connection between planetary consciousness and a new global enlightenment is explained in detail in: Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel: A World Parliament, Governance and Democracy in the 21st Century, published by Democracy Without Borders, Berlin, 2018, p. 337 and p. 365