

## SELECTED QUOTES ON GLOBAL DEMOCRACY AND A WORLD PARLIAMENT

Compiled by the Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly  
2 June 2011

### **2010-NOW**

---

“[Moves] that this House invite the Government to advocate at the 66th session of the United Nations General Assembly for the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) within the UN system [...]”

**Motion lodged by Dr. Kennedy Graham, MP, in New Zealand's House of Representatives, 17 May 2011**

“[...] addresses the recommendation to the Council to advocate the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) within the UN system in order to increase the democratic character, the democratic accountability and the transparency of global governance and to allow for better citizen participation in the activities of the UN [...]”

**European Parliament's Commission on Foreign Affairs, 9 May 2011**

“The revolt in Egypt is also an inspiration for all those who advocate a more democratic world order and the creation of a world parliament. The protesters in Egypt had enough of being condemned to being passive subjects that had no say in the affairs of their country. Many people have a similar feeling with regard to international affairs.”

**CEUNPA's Secretary-General Andreas Bummel, February 2011**

“At the world level as well policy can only be legitimized and become mandatory through elected parliamentarians. Bureaucracies should accept that”

**Professor Christoph Zöpel, former Parliamentary Secretary of State in the German Foreign Ministry and former MP, February 2011**

“It is remarkable that major international organizations do not yet possess any formal parliamentary organ, not even in an advisory capacity. In particular, this is the case with regard to the UN, the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF. A UNPA would contribute significantly to overcoming an ever-growing legitimacy gap at the international level.”

**Claudia Kissling, Committee for a Democratic U.N., January 2011**

“International Organisations, including the United Nations, cannot be in the hands of diplomats only. The citizens of the world should have a direct access to its operations, as recommended by a variety of campaigns.”

**Professor Daniele Archibugi, Research Director at the Italian National Research Council (CNR), January 2011**

“The fact that the governments that represent countries at international organizations are the result of citizens' choices through domestic elections is, in itself, not sufficient to ensure the legitimacy of the international organizations. [The] international community must do a better job of adequately reflecting the interests of citizens. This means integrating democracy more fully into global governance.”

**Pascal Lamy, Director General, World Trade Organization, October 2010**

“The reform process at the UN Security Council is a bit like re-arranging the deck chairs on the Titanic. What we need is new ideas and that is what a global parliament would bring.”

**Gordon Glass, UNPA activist, October 2010**

“Today democracy has become the touchstone for legitimate governance at the local, provincial and national levels. Perhaps the international system's greatest anomaly in our age of globalization is that it is not yet organized along democratic lines. It is time for global parliamentary assembly.”

**Professor Andrew Strauss, Widener University School of Law, United States, October 2010**

“We all know that getting our proposal onto the UN's agenda is a challenging task. All the more it is important that we do not retreat and continue to stress the huge potential benefit of a UN Parliamentary Assembly.”

**Jo Leinen, Member of the European Parliament, in a message to today's meeting of the UNPA-Campaign, October 2010**

“The Declaration of Buenos Aires no doubt reflects what we shall continue advocating for until we achieve the desired results. I am particularly happy that the Secretariat of the UNPA campaign has been mandated to advocate specifically for a preparatory process towards an intergovernmental conference establishing a UN Parliamentary Assembly. This, I believe, is a bold step which can only be applauded and encouraged.”

**Boutros-Ghali, CEUNPA supporter and former UN Secretary-General, October 2010**

“The goal is to replace the brutality of imperialism with constitutional and parliamentary principles at the global level.”

**William Pace, Director of the World Federalist Movement, at the UNPA-Meeting on 4 October 2010**

“The goal of establishing a UN Parliamentary Assembly may appear to be far away down the road, but global realities are changing so fast that the relevance of an Assembly may become salient much sooner than is now supposed.”

**Alfred Sant, Member of Parliament and former Prime Minister of Malta, in a message to the UNPA-Campaign meeting in Buenos Aires, October 2010**

“Democracy is the best guarantor of pluralism consensus and an end to corruption. That's why we will continue in our joint efforts towards the creation of a UN Parliamentary Assembly”

**Edward McMillan-Scott, Vice-President of the European Parliament, in a message to the 2010 CEUNPA meeting, October 2010**

“The UN and any reformed global financial system has to guarantee that the world's citizens [are] heard in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of global policy. A global parliamentary assembly should be established in order to create a direct democratic link between global decision-making and the world's people.”

**Andreas Bummel, CEUNPA's Coordinator, October 2010**

“Democracy is only complete if elected representatives take part in decision-making. That's why a parliamentary assembly also needs to be created for international organizations. It shouldn't be a mere talking shop but instead needs to have adequate powers.”

**Eva Högl, MP from Germany, September 2010**

“At the United Nations level, my view is that the relevant statutes need to be amended to give room for the participation of parliaments in decision making.”

**Abdurahim Abdi, Speaker, East African Legislative Assembly, at the 3rd World Conference of Speakers of Parliaments, 20 July 2010**

“The possibility of global democracy may not be independent from people's beliefs about the possibility of global democracy.”

**Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, Senior Lecturer in Global Politics, London School of Economics, June 2010**

“A UN Parliamentary Assembly could play an important role to increase transparency at the World Bank. Increasing transparency is not only about increasing access to information, but increasing opportunities for inclusion and participation. A global body of elected representatives might serve this purpose well.”

**David Shaman, author of the book "The World Bank Unveiled", April 2010**

“I would see a global Parliament as operating in a similar way to a national Parliament ... It would debate key issues in plenary, providing broad guidelines as guidance for international institutions, while specialized committees would ensure the accountability of such institutions. The Parliament could also select the heads of international organizations.”

**Economist David Woodward, March 2010**

“Given the increasing importance of the UN in a range of fields such as human rights, democracy promotion and climate policy, it is now time to consider the establishment of a parliamentary assembly to provide democratic oversight.”

**Edward Mcmillan-Scott, MEP, Vice-President of the European Parliament, March 2010**

“The only thing that can save mankind from a (climate) tragedy is the exercise of global democracy.”

**Bolivia's UN Ambassador Pablo Solon, March 2010**

## **2000-2010**

---

“[The Climate Conference in] Copenhagen has demonstrated that the sum of the national interests is very far from delivering the world interest. It is hence vital that we build institutions that allow the world interest to be represented. A first step in this direction would be to constitute a world parliament.”

**Joan Marc Simon Secretary-General, Union of European Federalists, December 2009**

“Globalization has transformed the relationship between the individual and the world community, and made necessary the need for practical measures to democratize global governance. A UN Parliamentary Assembly would be an important step in the right direction.”

**Lloyd Axworthy, President and Vice-Chancellor of University of Winnipeg and former Foreign Minister of Canada, March 2010**

“The project of cosmopolitan democracy gives a central role to the idea of a world parliament. Even if with limited powers such a parliament could be the institution on which the peoples of the world deliberate and suggest some cosmopolitan norms.”

**Professor Daniel Archibugi, openDemocracy, January 2010**

“Green Party MPs will ... Launch a global dialogue on the notion of a bicameral UN, with one house being the General Assembly of nation-state representatives, and a Peoples' Assembly ... with direct election on behalf of the worlds' peoples.”

**From the Green Party of Canada's "Vision Green", January 2010**

“I can imagine that ... a democratic world parliament comes into being and that this world parliament tackles the problems which actually should be dealt with today already: Pollution, developing the economical and ecological foundations for coexistence, the prevention of war.”

**Peace activist Uri Avnery, November 2009**

“The global architecture is in need of refurbishing. It is necessary to build democratic principles into global governance. [...] The creation of a UN Parliamentary Assembly composed of national legislators could be part of the solution.

**Mike Moore, Former Prime Minister of New Zealand and former WTO Director-General, July 2009**

“Creating a UNPA is a small step, but a small step can be significant when it sets direction. If a UNPA directs us away from wasteful conflict and towards enlightened co-operation, it could be our single most important advance in the 21st century.”

**Warren Allmand, former Canadian MP, April 2009**

“Curiously, while it would require a Charter amendment for the UN to increase the size of the Security Council by even one seat, a UN Parliamentary Assembly could be established without such a step in that Article 22 enables the General Assembly to [establish subsidiary organs]. What better way to democratize the UN?”

**Prof. Joseph E. Schwartzberg, fellow, World Federalist Institute, January 2009**

“[T]he establishment of parliamentary assemblies in the Bretton Woods Institutions, the WTO, and the UN seems worth trying as a first and relatively modest building block of a democratization of global governance.”

**Professor Anne Peters in the book "The Constitutionalization of International Law", 2009**

“There are reasons to believe that a global parliament should be high on the immediate agenda of transformative global politics.”

**Professor Heikki Patomäki, 2009**

“Respect for international law is ... essential for the peaceful co-existence of individuals and states. ... I hope with the establishment of a truly representative world parliament, international laws will get the same force and respect as national laws.”

**Shri Kannusamy Venkatapathy, MP and former Union Minister of Justice, India, December 2008**

“[...] the Latin-American Parliament declares [...] its support to efforts towards the creation and establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly of the United Nations Organization (UNO) with the purpose of strengthening the effectiveness, transparency, representativeness, plurality and legitimacy of the international system.”

**24th Ordinary Assembly of the Latin-American Parliament, Panamá, December 2008**

“A UN Parliamentary Assembly would not replace or duplicate the Inter-Parliamentary Union's functions. Quite the contrary, a UNPA would provide a response to the democratic deficit in global governance which the IPU in its current structure is unable to offer.”

**Conclusions of the CEUNPA meeting in November 2008 in Brussels**

“Today the time has come for this idea.”

**Danilo Türk, President of Slovenia, on a parliamentary assembly at the UN, 14 July 2008**

“A long-term Green goal is overcoming the international democracy deficit. This includes greater democratisation of the UN and other international institutions. Among these reforms, Greens support the creation of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) as a parliamentary body within the UN system.”

**Global Greens Second Congress, São Paulo, May 2008**

“The UN is an important advocate for democracy in the world. Democratization is decisive to increase accountability of national governance. We believe that this also applies to international organizations. To maintain its credibility the UN itself has to become more democratic. A UN Parliamentary Assembly would be a means to achieve this.”

**Mokshanand Dowarkasing, Member of Parliament from Mauritius, October 2007**

“We believe that a singularly meaningful step to introducing global democracy would be the negotiation of a treaty establishing a popularly elected global parliamentary body.”

**Professors Richard Falk and Andrew Strauss, January 2008**

“The Pan-African Parliament ... notes that in a first preliminary step the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly could be composed of national parliamentarians, but that eventually it should be directly elected by universal adult suffrage in the UN member states. [...] Stresses that a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly eventually should have participation and oversight rights [...]”

**Pan-African Parliament, October 2007**

“As part of the essential role of a reformed and strengthened United Nations in global democratic development, the Parliament of Canada should give favourable consideration to the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly.”

**Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, House of Commons, Canada, July 2007**

“We need to promote the democratization of globalization, before globalization destroys the foundations of national and international democracy. The establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly at the UN has become an indispensable step to achieve democratic control of globalization.”

**Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former UN Secretary-General from Egypt, May 2007**

“We cannot just dream, or wait for someone else to bring our dream about. We must act now. In this sense, I strongly encourage you in your struggle for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. Once established, this new body will be a decisive contribution to strengthen democracy at all levels.”

**Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former UN Secretary-General from Egypt, May 2007**

“[A UN Parliamentary Assembly] would be the manifestation and vehicle of a changed consciousness and understanding of international politics. The assembly could become a political catalyst for further development of the international system and of international law.”

**From the Appeal for a UN Parliamentary Assembly, signed by over 600 MPs, 250 NGOs and 3,500 individuals from over 140 countries, April 2007**

“Those of us who want a world parliament are often accused of trying to invent a system of global governance. But there is already a system of global governance. The UN Security Council, the World Bank, the IMF and the World Trade Organisation make decisions that affect us all. They do so without our consent.”

**George Monbiot, April 2007**

“[A UN Parliamentary Assembly] has the potential to profoundly restructure the current geopolitical situation. ... National representation would no longer fall to a single person but would be incarnated by a delegation whose members would cover all major political positions within a given state.”

**G rard Onesta, MEP, 2007**

“A chamber might be established to sit alongside the General Assembly at the UN: not (yet) a parliament, but an elected body of individuals, which would offer advisory resolutions on topics under discussion at the [UN Security] Council and General Assembly.”

**Former British diplomat Carne Ross in his book "Independent Diplomat", 2007**

“The World Federation of United Nations Associations supports the establishment of a UN Parliamentary Assembly as a consultative body within the United Nations system as a voice of the citizens and calls upon the governments of the United Nations member states, parliamentarians and civil society representatives to jointly examine possible steps and options [...]”

**38th Plenary Assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, Buenos Aires, November 2006**

“A parliament at the United Nations would symbolize the notion of humanity as a community of world citizens.”

**Günter Grass, Nobel laureate in literature, April 2006**

“The European Parliament calls for the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) within the UN system, which would increase the democratic profile and internal democratic process of the organisation and allow world civil society to be directly associated in the decision-making process.”

**European Parliament, June 2005**

“We need a global parliament, a global government and possibly a global ministry for security.”

**Lech Walesa, Former President of Poland, August 2005**

“In the belief that the principles of separation of powers and democracy should be made beneficial on the international level ... the Liberal International calls on the member states of the United Nations to enter into deliberations on the establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations.”

**53rd Congress of the Liberal International, Sofia, May 2005**

“A Parliamentary Assembly at the UN would encompass a number of advantages. Representation of the population and participation of civil society within the organization would promote the faith of citizens in the UN and increase its acceptance and legitimation. ... peoples and minorities could introduce their concerns more efficiently within a Parliamentary Assembly at the UN, ultimately promoting the preservation of global diversity.”

**Open letter of a majority of 101 members of the Swiss National Council to then UN-Secretary General Kofi Annan, February 2005**

“Parliamentary oversight of the multilateral system at the global level should be progressively expanded. We propose the creation of a Parliamentary Group ... which should develop an integrated oversight of major international organizations.”

**World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, April 2004**

“In my view, world governance and democracy are inseparable. The existence of one is a precondition for the success of the other. Without democracy, world governance cannot exist.”

**WTO Director-General Pascal Lamy in 2004**

“A number of global public goods ... such as global financial stability, eradication of poverty or global environmental protection ... should be part of those key policy issues that [a democratically elected world parliament] should dedicate itself to.”

**Fariborz Moshirian, Professor of Finance, Australian School of Business, 2003**

“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 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.”

**22nd Congress of the Socialist International, São Paulo, October 2003**

“I move ... that the Senate ... supports the vision of a global parliament which empowers all the world's people equally to decide on matters of international significance”

**Motion of Senator Bob Brown in the Australian Senate, 16 June 2003**

“Without significant democratization at the global level, globalization will never overcome its current crisis of legitimacy and lack of popular acceptance. It is evident that a global democratic deficit exists at present and that a global peoples' parliament could help greatly to overcome it.”

**Professor Richard Falk, 2001**

“The main problem any reform agenda has to address is that, as of this point of time, almost all of the existing transnational regulatory structures that make up our global government are completely undemocratic.”

**Duncan Kerr in his Book: “Elect the ambassador! - building democracy in a globalised world”, 2001**

“The Forum urges the United Nations ... to consider the creation of a UN parliamentary body related to the UN General Assembly.”

**From the declaration adopted by the "We the Peoples Millennium Forum" of civil society on 26 May 2000**

## 1990 IES

---

“Over time, an empowered Global Peoples Assembly would have the potential to directly authorize an international infrastructure to enforce international law directly ... With the growth of a more law-abiding world, it is to be hoped that standing armies will become a much less prominent feature of the global architecture.”

**Professor Andrew Strauss, 1999**

“Democracy has only emancipatory meaning with regard to the realization of fundamental human rights, if it is seen in its international dimension. [...] Domestic emancipation is self-deception if the citizens ultimately remain at the mercy of the existing international power structure [and aren't democratically represented therein].”

**Professor Hans Köchler, 1998**

“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.”

**Václav Havel President of the Czech Republic (1993-2003) at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations, New York, September 2000**

“The world needs at some point in the future to establish an effective World Parliament - and elections to it based on population - which will represent the people, not their governments.”

**Humanist Manifesto 2000 by Professor Paul Kurtz, 2000**

“We need a world-wide campaign to get our governments to establish, alongside the General Assembly of executive branches, a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly elected by the peoples.”

**Erskine Childers, then Secretary-General of the World Federation of UN Associations, March 1996**

“The establishment of an independent assembly of democratic peoples, directly elected by them and accountable to them, is an unavoidable institutional requirement [for cosmopolitan democracy]”

**Professor David Held in the book "Democracy and the Global Order", 1995**

“It has also been suggested that [an assembly of parliamentarians, consisting of representatives elected by existing national legislatures] could function as a constituent assembly for the development of a directly elected assembly of people. We encourage further debate about these proposals. When the time comes, we believe that starting with an assembly of parliamentarians as a constituent assembly for a more popular body is the right approach.”

**Report of the Commission on Global Governance, co-chaired by Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and former Foreign Minister of Guyana, Shridath Ramphal, 1995**

“It is neither ridiculous nor utopian to envisage today the direct representation of peoples on the level of a world organization. It is perfectly conceivable that member states would commit themselves to organizing free elections for this purpose.”

**Maurice Bertrand, longtime UN official and in 1986 a member of the high-level expert group on the restructuring of the UN, 1995**

“It is inconceivable that world affairs should remain the monopoly of the executive branch of national governments. This major flaw in democracy and remnant from the past must be corrected. At least to begin with, a UN Consultative Parliamentary Assembly should be created.”

**Former UN Assistant Secretary General and founder of UN University of Peace, Robert Muller, January 1995**

“Since NGOs cannot, in their nature, fully and adequately represent We, the peoples of the United Nations, it is time to advance on [the idea of] a UN Parliamentary Assembly. [...] The fundamental means for choosing peoples’ representatives in such an assembly must be democratic and by universal adult franchise [...]”

**Erskine Childers and Brian Urquhart in the brochure “Renewing the United Nations System”, 1994**

“The feasibility of a parliamentary chamber or assembly complementing the present intergovernmental structure should be seriously explored, as it might enhance the political legitimacy of the organisations and strengthen accountability of organisations and governments.”

**Expert Group of the InterAction Council, chaired by Andries van Agt, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands, May 1994**

“[The European Parliament] 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.”

**Resolution of the European Parliament, 8 February 1994**

“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 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. ”

**Report of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade, House of Commons, Canada, 1993**

“Democracy is more about one person, one vote, and that points to a world parliament ... This would be an articulation channel additional to the UN General Assembly ... The two assemblies could work out a timetable for transfer of more power from the UN General Assembly to the UN People's Assembly, making governments responsible to people rather than vice versa.”

**Professor Johan Galtung, 1993**

## 1950-1990

---

“A World Parliamentary Assembly would enable national parliaments to become better acquainted with the work of the United Nations ... The establishment of a second body in which the major nations would have an added weight would bring the United Nations closer to the one man, one vote ideal.”

**Twentieth Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, New York, November 1969**

“In place of the present General Assembly a World Legislature shall be established. The World Legislature shall consist of two Chambers. One Chamber, to be called the Council of States, shall consist of Senators, appointed by member states. The other Chamber, to be called the Council of Peoples, shall consist of Deputies, bearing relation to the populations of the member states.”

**From proposals for UN Charter Revision adopted by the Third World Parliamentary Conference on World Government hosted by the Parliament of Denmark, August 1953**

## BEFORE 1950

---

“Selection [of UN delegates] by governments cannot give the peoples of the world the feeling of being fairly and proportionately represented.

The moral authority of the UN would be considerably enhanced if the delegates were elected directly by the people. Were they responsible to an electorate, they would have much more freedom to follow their consciences.”

**Albert Einstein, October 1947**

“The legislative assembly of the UN would consist of [elected] representatives. ... [They] would not be like delegates of governments who are obliged to operate under rigid instructions; rather, they would be free men who would vote ... according to their convictions.”

**Albert Einstein, December 1946**

“The only way out [of international dictatorship] is to place international law above governments, which means [...] that there must be a parliament for making it, and that parliament must be constituted by means of worldwide elections in which all nations will take part.”

**Albert Camus, November 1946**

“There should be a study of a house directly elected by the people of the world to whom the nations are accountable”

**Ernest Bevin, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1945-1951), Speech in the House of Commons, November 1945**

“The world's ideal of enduring peace ... will remain a utopia just so long as the counsel of the people or of their direct representatives is excluded from matters of foreign relations.”

**Richard Bartholdt, U.S. Representative from 1893 to 1915, in 1930**

“We all yearn for a United States of Europe. Today's League of Nations! What's that? Nothing. We yearn for a real European Parliament, for a World Parliament. We need a genuine Union of the Peoples.”

**Gerhart Hauptmann, Nobel Prize in Literature, in September 1923**

“An international Parliament elected by the Peoples should replace the assembly of delegates proposed in the Paris text [of the Statutes of the League of Nations]. This Parliament should have full prerogatives and legislative powers.”

**International Conference of League of Nations Societies, Berne, March 1919**

“When the peoples of all the nations are capable of governing themselves through an International Parliament ... - then and not till then, will war cease to burden man and universal peace become a thing accomplished.”

**U.S. Congressman and Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs William Sulzer, 1912**

“Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm, / With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder-storm;/ Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd / In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world

**From "Locksley Hall", a poem written by Alfred Tennyson in 1835 and published in his 1842 volume of Poems**

“Representative democracy is the right form of government [for a world state] and the only one which will allow humanity to achieve perfection. [...] The representing bodies need to be appointed and empowered by elections. [...] In such a world state, all nations, through their citizens, establish one collective community.”

**Johann Baptist Sartorius, Germany lawyer, 1837**

“A constitution that isn't good for all, isn't worth anything to anybody. It is thus a natural consequence of human rights that a representative chamber needs to be established which embraces everybody in the world.”

**Anacharsis Cloots, Member of the French National Convention, in 1793**