

The Legal and Political Status of International Parliamentary Institutions

Background Paper #4

Published by

Committee for a Democratic U.N.

Berlin, Germany, January 2011

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Cover based on a design by Jeannette Lee

www.kdun.org

ISBN 978-3-942282-11-6

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COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC U.N.

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Preface

The present background paper of the Committee for a Democratic U.N., authored by Claudia Kissling, is a most welcome publication that goes a long way in providing for the first time a near complete account and analysis of the place and contribution of the International Parliamentary Institutions (the IPIs) to the global evolution of democratic practice and governance. The publication presents the IPIs that are known to exist and then delves in their history of growth, their mandate and competences, including an assessment of their strengths and weaknesses. Finally, it underscores the causes for their proliferation, linked to the insatiable democratic search for a united globally participatory approach to resolving international concerns. The exposé brings to light the value of the IPIs to society and governance, whose usefulness and value are lost to most, due to the lack of information on the work of the IPIs. Also brought to light is the fact that the birth of most IPIs has come long after the other governance structures are in place. Thus, as stated, in most cases the IPIs had to apply tact to increase their competences, be it in the realm of legislation, oversight, political power wielding influence, etc. Regarding the exponential growth of IPIs, the author goes beyond mere numbers in addressing the underlying stimulant to creations. Indeed, the end to growth in numbers is not in sight yet, as there exist in the world a lot more subjects/issues of national, regional, and international concern yet to be addressed.

The IPIs are defined and distinguished by use of a categorization by their legal status. This has been well done, though one need reading and thinking through to grasp the differences. However, the distinction is between the IPIs which are public/government funded and those which are privately funded. At the same time, the last groups transact a governmental agenda while the first ones pursue an agenda akin to non-governmental/civil society pressure groups. For the last three groups, there is inter-connectivity, in the sense that membership requires a decision either by the government per se or the parliament.

The mandates and competences of the IPIs are invariably set by the instruments of creation, funding. The example of the European Parliament is a leader in this aspect. The concise analysis by Claudia Kissling shows how

the EP has been able to gradually expand its original remit. It is a remarkable example, which also indicates the difficulties the IPIs have in seeking to expand or achieve even those powers already scheduled. The difficulty in this case is the more with regard to Parliamentary Assemblies (the PAs) whose members are the members/partners of a regional or international intergovernmental organization, e.g. the Pan African Parliament.

The role and contribution of the IPIs in addressing the democracy deficit is worthy reiterating. The case of the creation of the Pan African Parliament (the PAP), an organ of the African Union (the AU), is an apt example. The predecessor of the AU, created in 1963, lacked, among others, the parliamentary dimension. Its work and activities were carried out by the Executive branch (the politicians and civil servants). However, at the close of the twentieth century, the Summit of the Organization of the African Unity (the OAU) resolved to review its Treaty and overall governance. The review pointed to the growing gap between the people and the OAU, specifically the erosion of its legitimacy, accountability, and transparency. Thus, the Constitutive Act of 2000, establishing the AU, made provision for a parliament, a court, a commission for human rights, amongst others.

The Pan African Parliament was subsequently operationalized in March, 2004, with a wide mandate, including being the voice of and representing the grassroots of the peoples of Africa. Regarding its competences, it continues to exercise an advisory role to the institutions of the African Union until a review of the enabling Protocol is done by the parties. The creation of the Pan African Parliament is a clear move to address the democracy deficit in Africa, as was done in Europe, and now being planned for South America.

The need to address the democracy deficit is compounded by the growing alienation of the governed from the organs of governance. Indeed, it is explicit that the decisions made by such organs and which the governed hardly know or hear about, continue to greatly affect life in virtually all parts of planet earth. Yet, the IPIs have so far proved to be the best placed fora to bridge the gap between the governed and the governance. One therefore sees in the IPIs a compelling rationale for the creation of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA). A UN Parliamentary Assembly would offer a world-wide inclusive forum for input in terms of the oversight and representational dimensions in the world governance structures.

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Summary

This paper contains a worldwide analysis of International Parliamentary Institutions (IPIs) in existence to date. Their number and competences are steadily increasing, although substantive comparative investigations are still lacking. I use a legal status categorization as a distinguishing factor between so-called inter-parliamentary (area-related or issue-related) GRINGOs (Government Run/Inspired NGOs), international or regional parliamentary organizations, international or regional parliamentary specialized agencies, and parliamentary organs of international or regional (governmental) organizations. The most significant result of this categorization is the elucidation of a special legal status that two categories have acquired over time, a so-called international parliamentary status that gives the respective IPIs international personality *sui generis* and makes them subjects of international law. The second important outcome of this study is the conclusion that IPIs are increasingly equipped with competences and functions that help them to fulfill genuine parliamentary oversight functions, although to a limited degree and regionally rather than globally. They can thus contribute to overcoming the existing democracy deficit at both regional and global levels. It is thus remarkable that major international inter-governmental organizations do not yet possess any formal parliamentary organ, not even in an advisory capacity. This underscores that a UN Parliamentary Assembly would contribute significantly to overcoming an ever-growing legitimacy gap at the international level.

1 Introduction¹

Since World War II, International Parliamentary Institutions (IPIs)² have mushroomed. They have, however, mostly been overlooked by the general public and only marginally noticed by governments. In 1939, only the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the Nordic IPU³ and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) existed. Today however, over 100 informal or formal IPIs can be reported, not to mention all their subsidiary organizations. This paper contains an overview of all of them and classifies them according to their legal foundations, membership, organs, functions, and regional scope.⁴ The classification constitutes uncharted territory from the perspective of international law – part of the analysis is about finding a legal, general customary law status in international law of inter-parliamentary organizations and specialized agencies that has developed from treaties and practice.⁵

¹ For helpful comments, I thank Andreas Bummel, Lucio Levi, Joseph E. Schwartzberg and Andrew Strauss, for proofreading Michael Cornish.

² I generally avoid using the terms "association" or "assembly" because these categories cross-cut the categories developed in this article. Yet, Inter-Parliamentary GRINGOs (Government Run/Inspired NGOs) might be termed inter-parliamentary associations, and Parliamentary Organs of International or Regional Organisations can be called assemblies; see below.

³ The Nordic IPU, given the founding of the Nordic Council in 1952, from 1957 onwards abandoned its practice of meetings every two years and decided to meet only when needed. For the past several years, the Nordic members in the IPU have been meeting again informally on the initiative of the Nordic Council to prepare the IPU conferences.

⁴ Basically, it is a summary of an earlier, more extensive study published in German, see Kissling (2006: 319-407). Since a similar study has been published in English, I limit this article to an overview; see De Puig (2008). Yet, De Puig's analysis only relates to 40 "supra-state parliaments", thus omitting more than three-fifths of all IPIs. Moreover, the legal classification presented here is original.

⁵ See p. 13 ff. This is where this analysis differs from the classifications made so far, which are usually based on the similarity of IPIs to national parliaments in shaping and influence capabilities; see French National Assembly/Senate (2001). Others are based on the distinction between a grounding in international or national law; see Klebes (1990). Cutler's ty-

Not included here are domestic (intrastate) or cross-provincial parliamentary institutions whose actions clearly have only national dimensions or international dimensions at the interprovincial level,⁶ the bilateral friendship groups, which have emerged from the IPU, and other bi- or trilateral cooperation below the level of a separate international or regional parliamentary organization,⁷ and party-related bodies. Moreover, I also exclude mixed non-governmental organizations (NGOs)⁸ or networks⁹ and mixed governmental, international organizations and parliamentary assemblies groupings¹⁰ in which parliamentarians are not represented as an organizationally separate main group. Finally, I leave out (non-recurring) events that do not demonstrate a minimum of (separate) institutionalization and structure¹¹ or are or-

pology uses membership, purpose and geographical scope as well as stage of development as structuring elements; see Cutler (2001: 209-215).

⁶ We therefore do not include the Unión de Parlamentarios del MERCOSUR (UPM) or the Conference of European Regional Legislative Assemblies (CALRE), even though this provincial association (UPM) and assembly (CALRE) have intensive links to international organizations (Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) and the EU (Committee of the Regions) respectively).

⁷ Such as the Association interparlementaire France-Canada, the British-Irish Inter-Parliamentary Body (BIIPB), the Commission interparlementaire franco-québécoise, the Forum of Parliamentarians of the Group for Interparliamentary Relations with the Russian Federation of the Seimas of the Lithuanian and of the Kaliningrad Oblast Duma, the Grande commission interparlementaire France-Russie, the Interparliamentary Assembly of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, the Interparliamentary Assembly of The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, the Interparliamentary Assembly of The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and the Senate of the Republic of Poland, the Interparliamentary Assembly of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland, the Interparliamentary Commission on Cooperation between The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, the Interparliamentary Commission on Cooperation between The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the National Assembly of the Republic of Belarus, and similar joint committees and delegations of regional parliamentary assemblies, such as the European Parliament (EP).

⁸ As, *e.g.*, the Asian Parliamentary Policy Analysis Network, the Commission on Global Governance or the Sustainable Use Parliamentarians Union.

⁹ Such as the Canadian-founded Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Program (ACPSP) which works on gender issues.

¹⁰ Such as the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) as the successor of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

¹¹ Such as the occasional Interparliamentary Drug Control Conferences. The Young Parliamentarians Forum (YPF) of the Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC) also seems to have been a one-time event. The Consultative Assembly of the Parliamentarians for the International Criminal Court and the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO that is jointly organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the European Parliament are regular undertakings, but lack separate institutionalization.

ganized mainly by non-parliamentarian NGOs, even if parliaments co-organize them and/or contribute to them financially.¹²

Nevertheless, it can be said that IPIs have been constantly increasing in number as well as in scope of rights. Concurrently, the cooperation of national parliaments with regional inter-parliamentary structures has intensified.¹³ To give the reader an idea, before 1990, 40 IPIs existed, between 1990 and 1999, 51 new ones were founded, and after 1999, 68 newly established IPIs can be counted (sub-institutions and predecessors included).¹⁴ Considering this remarkable development, the lack of scholarly interest in the issue is astonishing. Although there are articles and publications on single IPIs, and sometimes also comparisons of a few of them,¹⁵ synthetic studies¹⁶ or investigations into this phenomenon¹⁷ on a global scale are rare.

¹² Such as the Interparliamentary Conference on Human Rights and Religious Freedom, organized by the Institute on Religion and Public Policy, or the Europe-Asia Conference of Young Parliamentarians, organized under the auspices of the Asia Europe Foundation (ASEF).

¹³ See Inter-Parliamentary Union (2005: 29).

¹⁴ This calculation is based on the tables in the Annex. For a demonstration of the exponential increase of IPIs since the 1980s, see also the chart in Šabič (2008: 261) even though Šabič does not include most of the GRINGOs enumerated here.

¹⁵ See Habegger (2005) or Habegger (2010).

¹⁶ See, for some of those studies, notes 4 and 5. Another enumeration of international parliamentary assemblies and associations and their member states is contained in the Appendix to WEU Assembly (2000: 11-14).

¹⁷ See for some rare examples Šabič (2008: 261) or Stavridis (2006).

2 Inter-Parliamentary GRINGOs

The meta-term 'GRINGOs' (Government Run/Inspired NGOs) is understood to encompass more or less loosely structured entities to associate parliamentarians at the regional, supra-regional or international¹⁸ level. Examples of these types of international parliamentary institutions are Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. They are not Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the original sense, *i.e.*, non-state associations established under private law. The non-state character of these organizations is problematic in that they are composed exclusively of parliamentarians who are a part of national legislative branches even when they act in a private capacity. Sometimes, they are even financed by parliaments. The term 'GRINGOs' reverts to a differentiation in academia distinguishing not only different forms of NGOs, but also borderline cases.¹⁹ Here, privately organized state administrative units are called 'QUANGOs' (Quasi-Non-Governmental Organizations), while legally independent organizations, which are dependent on public funding, are named 'GONGOs' (Government Organized NGOs).²⁰ The so-called 'GRINGOs' describe individual initiatives of elected officers especially in developing countries in order to realize their political and economic interests, which are oriented towards close cooperation with state institutions.²¹ We list IPIs that are not an organ of an international organization or an international parliamentary organization or specialized agency among them since this term best fits these cases. Those organizations are set up under national law and consequently lack international personality.

¹⁸ In the following classification, I use the term 'international' for such bodies that are not essentially regional in nature.

¹⁹ See Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Deutschen Bundestages (2001), or Krut et. al. (1997: 11-14).

²⁰ These two terms appear to be reversed given the organizations assigned to them. Yet, they are indeed used in the way described.

²¹ See Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Deutschen Bundestages (2001: 1).

Issue-related GRINGOs

A sub-category of this group may be named issue-related GRINGOs. A prominent example is the already mentioned PGA. These GRINGOs consist of single parliamentarians of diverse parties who have grouped together in order to lobby governments, society or business regarding specific issues. They do so in a more action-oriented way, basing their actions on research, information and the development of new and progressive approaches to solve particular problems. Most of such global organizations have national, or sometimes even regional, chapters. In respect to form and organization, they definitely use formal structures, though these are simple and unsophisticated. In some ways they resemble committees of a potential global parliament, but without taking binding decisions. In recent years, specialized agencies of the United Nations (UN) system have explicitly – sometimes even financially – supported the establishment of such networks that have a focus on their respective areas of concern.²² For this reason, the financial structures of these networks are mostly mixed (member contributions and support by NGOs, parliaments and international governmental institutions).

Tables 1 and 2 enumerate all existing network-GRINGOs, including founding date, membership, related governmental organization, if any, as well as regional and issue-related scope where it is not general. Given their sheer number (19 GRINGOs and 33 issue-related GRINGOs) and their lack of an international legal status, a (legal) evaluation and comparison is beyond the scope of this analysis.

²² For the UN itself, see also the proposals of the Cardoso report, United Nations (2004).

3

International or Regional Parliamentary Organizations²³

International or regional parliamentary organisations are institutions whose members are official in the sense that national or regional parliaments dispatch delegations to them.²⁴ Parliamentarians cannot join freely except as members of such a delegation. Mostly, these organizations are also more institutionalized than GRINGOs, and they possess full (legal) autonomy. We count 19 parliamentary organizations in this category, including the Inter-Parliamentary Union (*cf.* Table 3). They can be distinguished from international (governmental) organizations²⁵ by the actor who approves the founding act on the part of the state: in case of parliamentary organizations, this is the legislature, not the executive.²⁶

²³ This and the next two chapters are built mainly on an evaluation of legal texts, such as international conventions, rules of procedure, resolutions, etc. In addition, the websites of the assemblies were consulted. Given the broad range of the material analysed, I do not give references to any single article, paragraph, or websites.

²⁴ Associations consisting only of the Speakers of Parliament or a parliamentarian designated by them do not fall under this category because parliament does not delegate them (see, *e.g.*, for the Association of Senates of Europe, p. 55. An exception is the Forum of the Presidents of the Legislative Powers of Central America (FOPREL) which, however, does not only consist of the Speakers of Parliament.

²⁵ For a definition or elements of a definition of an international (governmental) organization, see, *e.g.*, Schermers/Blokker (2003: 26-37).

²⁶ Another difference concerns the founding act. In case of governmental organizations, the founding act is usually an international treaty, which is not necessarily the case for parliamentary organizations. But also governmental organizations in rare cases do not have such a treaty as their basis. Thus, the International Union of Official Travel Organisations (IUOTO), an NGO, was transformed into the World Tourism Organization (WTO), an intergovernmental organization, by a simple decision of its General Assembly.

International personality *sui generis*

The most striking feature of these organizations from a legal point of view is that they possess an international personality *sui generis*. This is also the case for international or regional specialized agencies, which are dealt with in the next chapter. However, it is a novelty in international law. The empirical investigation of international or regional parliamentary organizations that is summarized in the following has yielded a derived and partial international personality *sui generis* of this type of organization. On the one hand, this originates from national parliaments being part of state authority; but, on the other hand, it is the consequence of increasingly merged foreign and domestic policy and a more important role and a greater involvement of national parliaments in foreign policy. However, due to the persistent dichotomy between government and parliament in foreign policy, this international personality remains mostly limited to their own, inter-parliamentary field of action. Nevertheless, even if these parliamentary institutions are not always recognized as international subjects by governments, it can be assumed that national parliaments as part of state authority feel themselves represented or feel that the people is represented internationally or regionally by these organizations, or at least acquiesce to their actions.

From NGOs (GRINGOs), this type of parliamentary institution can be distinguished by a higher institutional (political, legal) range of influence, which corresponds to their international personality *sui generis*. They differ from specialized agencies and organs (see next two chapters) in that parliamentary organizations are not part of any international or regional governmental system. They are so-called stand-alone institutions. Although there might be an intergovernmental organization (IGO) or a governmental cooperation to which they feel related, and although some even have working ties with a governmental organization or cooperation (see below), the parliamentary organization remains completely independent. Compared to pure organs of IGOs, parliamentary organizations – as specialized agencies – have more independence and, as a rule, possess freedom regarding membership selection and authority over their own budget.

Mode of establishment

The manner by which parliamentary organizations are created varies. In some cases, an international governmental treaty forms the basis of their creation, as in the case of the Latin American Parliament (Parlatino). This can be taken as an indication for international personality endorsed by gov-

ernments if the institution is also equipped with organs and the will of the parties to the treaty – *i.e.*, governments – to confer international personality to the parliamentary institution for the achievement of its ends can be identified.²⁷ In some cases, such as Parlatino, the conferment of international personality is even regulated by the international treaty itself.²⁸ In one case, namely, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean (PAM), the Assembly self-confidently assigns international legal personality to itself through its Statutes. Mostly, however, the institution is established by a simple decision of parliaments or an international parliamentary treaty. Examples for this are the Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly (EuroLat), the Forum of the Presidents of the Legislative Powers of Central America (FOPREL), and the South Caucasus Parliamentary Initiative (SCPI). Yet some, such as the Amazonian Parliament,²⁹ strive for the conclusion of an international governmental treaty.

Identification of personality

Parliamentary organizations acquire a completely novel status over time through the following features, which they possess as a rule: the adoption of statutes and rules of procedure, the setting up of organs, the delegation of representatives by national parliaments or by officially set-up member groups within national or regional parliaments,³⁰ and a budget.³¹ Many of them also have the right to conclude international treaties (Parliamentary Confederation of the Americas (COPA), FOPREL), even though the distinction between the right to conclude international treaties and the right to conclude private law contracts (*e.g.*, the Association of Pacific Island Legisla-

²⁷ See International Court of Justice (1949: 178).

²⁸ See its Institutionalizing Treaty of 1987 and the Headquarters Agreement with Panama of 2007 which both confer international personality to Parlatino.

²⁹ The Amazonian Parliament since 1996 has started a process of institutionalization that is meant to lead to an international treaty, the „Tratado de Institucionalización del Parlamento Amazónico“. Besides institutionalization and international personality, this process is to set up the Amazonian Parliament as an advisory organ of the Amazonian Cooperation Treaty.

³⁰ Here, FOPREL is an exception since the Presidents of national parliaments are *ex officio* members, whereas delegates to the Consultative Council are nominated by the Presidents, and the members of the FOPREL commissions by the commissions in national parliaments, in case no commission exists, by the Presidents themselves; see the Annex, note 23.

³¹ EuroLat seems not to have a separate budget; costs are as a rule paid by members themselves.

tures (APIL), African Parliamentary Union (APU), PAM, SCPI) is not always easy to draw.³² The requirement that an agreement has to be ratified by the organization (COPA,³³ FOPREL³⁴) or the lack of a private law status attributed by the statutes are indications for a right to conclude international treaties and, thereby, also for a conferment of international personality. Some also have the right to conclude both sorts of treaties.³⁵ Headquarters (APU,³⁶ IPU,³⁷ Parlatino³⁸) or mission (IPU³⁹) agreements with states *per se* point to a new international legal status since usually those agreements are only concluded between international organizations and states. In the case of NGOs, a simple legal registration in a state is usually sufficient. NGOs also do not have the right to set up diplomatic missions to international organizations. Moreover, the content of the headquarters or mission agreement can also indicate such a new legal status, *e.g.*, when including diplomatic privileges and immunities, which are typical for IGOs, their members and staff (IPU, Parlatino). Of course, these privileges and immunities can also be conferred by other treaties (Parlatino⁴⁰). In some cases, the privileges and immunities are even conferred by the parliamentary organization itself (APU,⁴¹ PAM,⁴² Parliamentary Union of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference Member

³² An indication for private law status is the referral of conclusion rights to the Secretariat or the Presidium. Thus, the agreements of SCPI have only to be authorized by the Presidium. APU's agreements with National Groups to organize APU Conferences are concluded by the General Secretariat.

³³ The General Assembly ratifies agreements or conventions concluded between COPA and other organizations.

³⁴ The Forum, as the main organ, constituted by the Presidents of national parliaments, decides about cooperation agreements, about treaties with parliaments from outside the region and with financial institutions.

³⁵ Parlatino can conclude headquarters agreements with states (international treaties) and inter-institutional and inter-parliamentary treaties, which are only made by the President or the Secretary-General, while informing the Junta Directiva, which has a right to object and take the final decision.

³⁶ In 1983, Côte d'Ivoire concluded a headquarters agreement with the then Union of African Parliaments.

³⁷ See note 51.

³⁸ See note 28.

³⁹ See note 51.

⁴⁰ Art. 6 of the Institutionalizing Treaty of 1987 also confers these rights.

⁴¹ Members of the General Secretariat of the APU are international civil servants.

⁴² According to the PAM Statutes and the Rules of the Secretariat, Members and staff enjoy privileges and immunities while discharging their duties in the territories of PAM Members. The staff is also granted tax exemption. Moreover, the Statutes require that "[t]he Member Parliament hosting meetings and/or activities of the Assembly shall guarantee access to its territory for all the representatives of Member and Associate Member Parliaments"; see Art. 10 of the Statutes. Such a duty cannot be guaranteed without the express agreement of the respective government.

States (PUIC)⁴³), whereas governmental recognition remains unclear. This is different when only parliamentary immunity and/or indemnity is conferred, albeit this is important for strengthening parliamentary legal and political rights at the regional or international level. However, none of the organizations under this category enjoy parliamentary immunity or indemnity. What is decisive in the end regarding international personality is the will of the partners, *i.e.*, of the parliaments as part of state authority (constitutive recognition).

What kind of status?

When several signs so indicate and when several of the above-mentioned rights exist, it can be assumed that the institution has acquired a so-called ‘international parliamentary status’, which is still difficult to integrate into the existing international legal system and which up to now is mostly opposed by governments, despite intense discussion about the elimination of the international democracy deficit. This status encompasses the derived international personality of the respective institution and a range of action that goes far beyond that of an NGO. Such action is generally not limited with regard to the subject with which it is able to deal, but is often restricted in regard to oversight and legitimation. It is still open in respect to whom this international personality is applicable. ‘Law-making’ can be addressed either to international organizations whose control they seek or to the respective states of the member delegations. However, in most cases ‘law-making’ only contains non-binding resolutions, which, at best, can develop into soft law. It is unclear whether this international personality is also applicable to an IGO that dismisses an oversight role of the respective parliamentary organization or to a state whose parliament is participating and is in favour of such a control, but whose government is against. Probably, in such cases, contrary to IGOs, opposability can only be assumed towards those international law subjects (IGOs and states) whose behaviour at least implies recognition. This means that parliaments at the moment would have the capacity to express an international legal will; but this would not entail the capacity to speak for their state as such, let alone to create international law opposable to other states.

⁴³ The PUIC Secretary-General enjoys diplomatic immunity according to the PUIC Statutes.

Relationship with IGOs

Despite their special international parliamentary status, the parliamentary organizations mentioned here do not legally belong to an IGO. They are stand-alone institutions, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, for them to develop any legislative or oversight functions with regard to governmental institutions at the international level. Nevertheless, some of them have quasi-official ties with intergovernmental organizations while they otherwise have remained completely independent. There are those which are founded by an intergovernmental treaty (Parlatino), or aspire to be recognized by an international treaty (Amazonian Parliament), which grants recognition by governments and ties with them *per se*. The Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AI-PU) and the IPU have cooperation agreements with the League of Arab States and the United Nations Organization (UNO) respectively. Moreover, the APU, the IPU, and PUIC possess observer status at the African Union (AU), the UN General Assembly (and the World Trade Organization (WTO)) and at the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC)⁴⁴ respectively. The ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA) is even an 'Associated Entity' of ASEAN. EuroLat is recognized by governmental resolutions, which also invite EU-LAC (European Union-Latin American Countries) institutions to collaborate closely with the Assembly. The AIPA and EuroLat also have mutual attendance rights with their governmental counterparts. Moreover, the AIPA's Secretariat is located in Jakarta, which is ASEAN's headquarters. Additionally, regular cooperation is not unusual (e.g., the AIPA with ASEAN or EuroLat with the EU-LAC institutions, or the Forum of Portuguese Speaking Parliaments (FPLP) with the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP)). With regard to some Asian organizations, which, at first glance, look like inter-parliamentary GRINGOs, but are in fact independent parliamentary organizations, sponsorship by governmental organizations is not uncommon. Accordingly, the Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD), for example, is sponsored by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), governments and national development agencies; the Asia Pacific Parliamentarians for Education (FASPPED) are

⁴⁴ The OIC usually grants observer status only to intergovernmental organizations. Nevertheless, a mere guest status was considered insufficient for PUIC by the OIC. Therefore, exceptionally full observer status plus support by the Secretary General was granted to PUIC; see OIC, *Report of the Secretary General on the Request by the Parliamentary Union of OIC Member States to Be Granted Observer Status at the OIC*, and OIC, Granting the „Observer“ Status to the Parliamentary Union of the OIC Member States, Resolution Nr. 68/27-P. This can be taken as a sign that parliamentary organizations of that sort belong to a special group of international actors that enjoy limited international personality.

financed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); and SCPI is sponsored by European governments.

Facilitation of regional integration

Apart from ties at the working level, some of the parliamentary organizations of this category have similar subject-related integrative aims as intergovernmental cooperation. Thus, AIPA, COPA and Parlatino have the aim to advance regional, economic, political, and cultural integration. With this general view in mind, these organizations mostly try to do preliminary work for the related intergovernmental organizations or to be catalysts for bringing intergovernmental cooperation into being. Thus, AIPA aims *inter alia* at facilitating the achievement of the goals of ASEAN and at offering parliamentary contributions to ASEAN integration. In this context, its General Assembly can propose legislative initiatives to ASEAN governments. COPA mainly was founded to foster hemispheric integration, especially regarding the planned Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). In this connection, it aspires to represent the populations of the hemisphere. Parlatino since 1991 has been working for the creation of a Latin American Community of Nations (CLAN) at governmental level and a common citizenship.⁴⁵ Meetings with governments regarding this issue took place until the mid-1990s, but they did not achieve concrete results in respect to a Latin American community.

Other rights and tasks

Yet, all these rights at the working level and subject-related cooperation do not entail any genuine legislative or oversight right by these organizations vis-à-vis IGOs. Therefore, some parliamentary organizations adopt an alternative strategy, relying on national legislation. Their objective is to harmonize national legislation and achieve legal integration (AIPU, Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA)), sometimes through framework conventions (FOPREL). This objective is remarkable, given the requirements of such an approach, namely, action independent from governments' action at the national or regional levels.⁴⁶ Of course, implementing regulations into national

⁴⁵ See Fernández Flórez (2001a).

⁴⁶ In the case of FOPREL, this is especially noteworthy since FOPREL was founded as an explicit counterpart to Parlacen, which was founded by governments.

legislation usually requires not only the cooperation of national parliaments, but, in one way or the other, also of national governments.

Some other rights and actions by these sorts of organizations are surprising, considering their individuality. For example, EuroLat's powers expressly include the tasks of controlling and reviewing EU-LAC questions, and EuroLat is also able to act at the request of EU-LAC institutions and may formally address oral and written questions to those institutions.⁴⁷ Moreover, some conduct election observation missions (APU, COPA,⁴⁸ EuroLat, PAM). At Parlatino, each citizen or organization has the right to petition to the Junta Directiva. And PUIC's Council resolutions (on administrative matters) can be taken by simple majority and are binding to countries whose parliamentary delegates voted in approval. However, cross-border political party groups that can be seen as a sign for some common identity not defined by national origin do not exist within parliamentary organizations.⁴⁹ It should finally be mentioned that a new regional parliamentary organization is planned at the European level. In the context of the EU's recently established Eastern Partnership with Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine, an EU-Neighbourhood-East (EURO-NEST) Parliamentary Assembly is planned with the support of governments.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union

The prototype of an international parliamentary organization, and the only organization of this type at the international level, is the **Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)**. Therefore, it makes sense to provide a brief overview of the working and status of the IPU in the current global situation.

The IPU, founded in 1889 as the first international political organization by national parliamentarians, has meanwhile developed from an NGO to an organization of national parliaments. The recent change of membership from national groups in parliaments (in most cases *de facto* the whole parliament) to parliaments *per se* in 2001 was one of the means used by the IPU to finally get recognition of its international personality by governments. Even though several of its features point to such a status, there are still voices of

⁴⁷ EuroLat is somehow an exception here since it is included in the category of parliamentary organizations only because the related governmental partnership does not qualify as an intergovernmental organization. It thus already features first rights that are typical for specialized agencies, which are part of an intergovernmental organization's system.

⁴⁸ COPA also conducts good-offices missions.

⁴⁹ They are built into EuroLat's Rules of Procedure, but are not put into practice.

doubt.⁵⁰ However, it has concluded a headquarters agreement with Switzerland, possesses the right to set up a diplomatic mission in New York (since 1998),⁵¹ and has concluded international treaties⁵² with the UN,⁵³ with several UN Programmes, Trust Funds, Specialized Agencies, and Departments,⁵⁴ and with the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE).⁵⁵ Moreover, the treaties to be concluded with host parliaments for the yearly conferences are a further indication of its international personality,⁵⁶ so, too, are its active legations' rights, its intervention rights in cases of human rights

⁵⁰ See, for some older voices, *e.g.*, UN doc. Supplement No. 40 (A/33/40), 1978, and Hübner (1970). See also Klein/Lauff (1995) and also Bauer (1998: 204). Yet, Bauer acknowledges that the IPU is not an NGO in the conventional sense. Seidl-Hohenveldern and Loibl (2000: 4) speak of a formally non-state international organization in which states work together.

⁵¹ See the Accord entre le Conseil fédéral suisse et l'Union interparlementaire pour régler le statut juridique de cette organisation en Suisse of 28 September 1971 regarding the seat of the Union in Geneva, and the Executive Order signed by US President Bill Clinton on 7 August 1998 relating to the IPU office in New York. These treaties confer privileges and immunities to the Union which are typical for international organizations and name it as an international institution and public international organization respectively. The annual report of the Swiss Federal Council explicitly mentions the inter-state character of the IPU. The negotiations with the neighbouring state, namely, France, regarding tax exemptions and other privileges for IPU staff living in France are, however, complicated.

⁵² The IPU Executive Committee was closely involved in negotiations of the IPU Secretariat with the respective organizations. The results had to be ratified by the Executive Committee and then by the IPU (Governing) Council. The treaties can thus be classified as international treaties.

⁵³ Cooperation Agreement between the United Nations and the Inter-Parliamentary Union of 24 July 1996.

⁵⁴ With the UNESCO on 26 June 1997, with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) on 12 August 1997, with the International Labour Organization (ILO) on 27 May 1999, a Memorandum of Understanding on Co-operation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on 2 July 1999, a Programme of Cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on 27 October 1998, an Agreement with the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) on 19 February 2004, a Partnership Agreement with the UN Democracy Fund on 17 October 2006, a Memorandum of Understanding with the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs on the Global Centre for Information and Communication Technologies in 2006, an Agreement with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), the National Democratic Institute (NDI), UNDP, and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) on the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics (iKNOW Politics) in 2006, a Programme of Cooperation with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in 2007, and a Memorandum of Understanding with UNDP on 21 November 2007.

⁵⁵ Memorandum on Cooperation between the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the Inter-Parliamentary Union of 11 May 1993.

⁵⁶ It is assumed that these treaties cannot be concluded without the agreement of the respective state since they contain financial and other, *e.g.*, visa obligations.

violations of parliamentarians, and the jurisdiction of the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organization in cases of disputes between the IPU and IPU staff members since 1975.

Therefore, a legal opinion of two international law professors was sought by the IPU in 1999 in order to clarify that the IPU enjoys a special status in international law. The opinion concluded that the IPU "is an international organization *sui generis*, that is, it is an international parliamentary, political and representative organisation" and that it "enjoys a significant measure of international personality".⁵⁷ Even though "the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations" according to Art. 38 (1) (d) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice are only "subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law" in international law, it can be assumed that the IPU at least *de facto* has acquired a special inter-parliamentary status, which partly is recognized *de jure*. One signal confirming this view is the constantly high number of governments (more than 100 throughout the last ten years) sponsoring the UN General Assembly resolutions on 'Cooperation between the United Nations and the Inter-Parliamentary Union'. The International Labour Organization (ILO),⁵⁸ the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)⁵⁹ and the UN recently expressly acknowledged this special inter-parliamentary status by accrediting the IPU to ILO, ECOSOC and international UN conferences⁶⁰ as an intergovernmental organization. Also academia seems to be slowly recognising such a special IPU status.⁶¹

Through advancing and intensifying its cooperation with the UN, a process that is officially phrased as 'providing the parliamentary dimension to the United Nations' (and the WTO), the IPU also aspires to greater acknowledgment of its special status. Accordingly, following the Cooperation Agreement with the UN of 1996, the IPU was granted observer status in the UN General Assembly in 2002, which included the right to circulate its official documents at the General Assembly. Moreover, for many years it has

⁵⁷ See Brownlie/Goodwin-Gill (1999: 3-4).

⁵⁸ The Cooperation Agreement between the ILO and the IPU of 1999 explicitly states that "[t]he IPU shall be invited to participate in meetings of the International Labour Conference with the status of an official international organization."

⁵⁹ ECOSOC had been accrediting the IPU as NGO of Category A (now General) since 1946. For the past several years, however, it has not listed it as an NGO in consultative status any more, but rather as an intergovernmental organization.

⁶⁰ Starting with the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) X Conference in Bangkok in February 2000, the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries in Brussels in May 2001, the International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey in March 2002, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in August/September 2002.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Yearbook of International Organizations (2001: 1236).

been organizing parliamentary conferences parallel to UN meetings and conferences. Since 2000, it has been holding World Conferences of Speakers of Parliament every five years, the third of which took place in July 2010 in Geneva. Furthermore, the IPU organizes an annual parliamentary hearing at the UN General Assembly, and since 2007 has done so jointly with the UN. If cooperation becomes even closer, the IPU at some point could become a specialized agency within the UN system. However, the Cooperation Agreement does not foresee this, and up to this point the political will of neither the IPU nor the UN seems to be heading in this direction.⁶² Thus, the IPU Committee on United Nations Affairs, set up in 2007, whose mandate points, *inter alia*, to typical parliamentary control mechanisms,⁶³ focuses on recommendations to national parliaments rather than on advice to governments and their international organizations. Regarding the WTO, the IPU – together with the European Parliament – set up an annual Parliamentary Conference on the WTO in 2003. The Union received observer status with the WTO in 2001.

⁶² See also the results of the third World Conference of Speakers of Parliament of 21 July 2010; see CEUNPA News of 29 July 2010, <http://en.unpacampaign.org/news/521.php>.

⁶³ Its Advisory Group has the right to conduct investigations, including through field missions, on the implementation of the principles recommended by the Report on System-wide Coherence, on UN peacebuilding operations, on the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other major international commitments. Among issues within its purview are also the nature, sources and use of the UN budget; financing for development; related UN reforms, and human rights (ratification of human rights treaties and functioning of the Human Rights Council); see Art. 2 of the Modalities for the Functioning of the Advisory Group of the IPU Committee on United Nations Affairs, <http://www.ipu.org/cnl-e/182-advgr.htm>.

4

International or Regional Parliamentary Specialized Agencies

International or regional specialized agencies, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA) and the Central American Parliament (Parlacen), resemble international or regional parliamentary organizations except for the fact that they are somehow integrated into an international governmental organization's system: they are 'official' IPIs founded by parliaments, their members are parliaments and they are more institutionalized than inter-parliamentary GRINGOs. There are currently 13 parliamentary specialized agencies worldwide (*cf.* Table 4). The empirical analysis suggests that this type of organization also has a derived and partial international personality *sui generis* and the political leverage going along with it. Therefore, the explanations in this regard in the previous chapter are also valid for international or regional specialized agencies.

Forms of IGO recognition

What distinguishes these organizations from international or regional parliamentary organizations is that they act within an international or regional governmental system. However, the conclusion of an international treaty for institutional cooperation between the agency and the related international organization is rather rare, (the sole exception being the Baltic Assembly (BA)⁶⁴), even though it is typical for governmental specialized agencies of the UN system. Mostly, cooperation is based on a recognition by the governmental organization in one form or another, mostly through a simple decision (*e.g.*, SADC (Southern African Development Community) Parliamen-

⁶⁴ See the Protocol on Co-operation between the Baltic Assembly and the Baltic Council of Ministers of 1996, as amended in 2004. Paradoxically, treaties for mutual – even though looser – cooperation can be found in the context of international parliamentary organizations, *e.g.*, the AIPU or the IPU, rather than in respect of parliamentary specialized agencies.

tary Forum (SADC PF)⁶⁵) or regular mention in governmental resolutions (Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly (EMPA)⁶⁶) and in the Statute (Parliamentary Cooperation in South-Eastern Europe (SEE)),⁶⁷ through the attribution of a certain status,⁶⁸ but sometimes also through anchoring in an international treaty of the related IGO (BA,⁶⁹ Benelux Parliament,⁷⁰ Assembly of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians (ACCP),⁷¹ Francophone Parliamentary Assembly (APF),⁷² and Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC)⁷³). For some organs, this was also the starting point for their cooperation with an intergovernmental organization before they became organs of the organization, since which

⁶⁵ See note 75.

⁶⁶ Governments even encouraged the founding process; see the Barcelona Declaration of 1995. OP 25 of the Presidency Conclusions of the Mid-Term Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Foreign Affairs Ministers of 26 and 27 May 2003 endorsed the consultative capacity of the newly set up EMPA within the Barcelona process. OP 17 of the Joint Declaration of the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean of 13 July 2008 considered EMPA to be the legitimate parliamentary expression of the Barcelona Process.

⁶⁷ The Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE is mentioned in resolutions and the Statute of the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) as priority area for cooperation in the framework of the RCC and here as an overarching theme.

⁶⁸ Designation as institution of the governmental system (Assembly of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians (ACCP), Francophone Parliamentary Assembly (APF), Benelux Parliament, SADC PF), as oversight body (Central American Parliament (Parlacen)), related (Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC)) or cooperating body (BA, North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA), Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE), as strategic partner (Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference (BSPC)), observer (Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region (CPAR), SADC PF), or simply as consultative organization.

⁶⁹ See the Agreement on Baltic Parliamentary and Governmental Cooperation of 1994, as amended in 2003, setting up the parliamentary as well as the governmental body. See also note 64.

⁷⁰ See Art. 15, 23 and 24 of the Benelux Treaty.

⁷¹ See Art. 21 of the Revised Treaty Establishing the Caribbean Community of 2001, which accepts the ACCP as an Institution of CARICOM. This was already mentioned in a Protocol to the original Treaty of 1997 (under the name "Association of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians").

⁷² After the Summit of the Francophonie of 1989 had noted its character as an interparliamentary organisation and the Summit of 1993 had stated that it constituted the democratic link between governments of the Francophonie and its people and that recognized it as the consultative Assembly of the Francophonie, the Assembly was mentioned as an institution of the Francophonie and as its consultative Assembly in the Charter of the Francophonie of 1997, revised in 2005; see Art. 2 (4.).

⁷³ See Art. 20 of the Charter of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation of 1998. In conjunction with Art. 19 of the Charter, PABSEC qualifies as a BSEC related body, but not as a BSEC organ. It has its own budget and has consultative and cooperating functions regarding BSEC.

they no longer required any special status such as observer status. The Parlacen is an exception here, since cooperation with the intergovernmental system, the Central American Integration System (SICA), founded at the same time, is foreseen in its own intergovernmental Constitutive Treaty. Similarly, the Parliamentary Cooperation in South-Eastern Europe (SEE) provides for close operational contacts with the governmental Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) and other South-East European Cooperation Process (SEEC) bodies in its inter-parliamentary Memorandum of Understanding on Interparliamentary Cooperation in South East Europe as well as in its Terms of Reference. For the NATO PA, recognition can be said to be customary.⁷⁴ However, contrary to parliamentary organs of international (governmental) organizations, parliamentary specialized agencies have kept a certain independence vis-à-vis the governmental system. Thus, for example, they generally have full authority over their own budget. They can also freely select their members⁷⁵ and usually have developed independently from the intergovernmental organization.^{76, 77}

⁷⁴ Starting from the recommendation of the North Atlantic Council of 1967 to set up informal relations with the North Atlantic Assembly, the following responses of the Secretary General of NATO to Assembly recommendations and resolutions, and the special legal status accorded to the PA by the Belgian Parliament in 1974. In 1974, a declaration of the Allied governments also endorsed the Assembly's work without naming it directly. Since 1997, NATO PA Presidents participate in NATO Summits of Heads of State and Government. Moreover, also in 1997, the Assembly was entrusted with monitoring the implementation of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and the NATO-Ukraine Charter on a Distinctive Partnership.

⁷⁵ Exceptions are the ACCP, the BA, the Benelux Parliament, PABSEC, the SADC PF, and apparently also the IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU-IGAD). ACCP membership is bound to CARICOM member status; see the Agreement for the Establishment of an ACCP. Yet, it has not organ status, but is accepted as an Institution of CARICOM; see Art. 21 of the Revised Treaty Establishing the Caribbean Community. The BA membership only is open for the three Baltic states; see Art. 1 (1) of its Statutes and Art. 3 of the Agreement on Baltic Parliamentary and Governmental Cooperation. The Benelux Parliament's membership is limited to the Benelux states; see Art. 1(2) of the Convention establishing a Benelux Consultative Inter-parliamentary Council. PABSEC's membership is bound to membership in BSEC; see its Rules of Procedure. However, it has not acquired organ status yet since it remains independent and is only related to BSEC. The SADC PF is similarly bound to membership in SADC; see its Constitution. Yet, it was only approved as an autonomous institution of SADC – not an organ –, in accordance with Art. 9 (2) of the SADC Treaty, by the SADC Summit in 1997. The IPU-IGAD's membership seems to be bound to IGAD member status.

⁷⁶ Exceptions here are the ACCP, the Benelux Parliament, and Parlacen, perhaps also the IPU-IGAD. The Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE has also developed parallel to the transfer of the Stability Pact activities to regional governments; see also below.

⁷⁷ For further delimitation of specialized agencies from mere organs, see also pp. 36 f.

Mode of establishment

Specialized agencies, as parliamentary organizations, are in some cases founded by an international governmental treaty (ACCP, Benelux Parliament, Parlacen), which is a first sign of international personality. However, most are simply created by a decision or resolution of officially involved parliamentarians (*e.g.*, SADC PF) or a declaration of speakers of parliaments (PABSEC). Some, however, are created through an international parliamentary treaty (Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE). International personality as such can also be directly assigned by other treaties or can even be self-allocated by the organization itself through its statutes or rules of procedure (BA, Parlacen, SADC PF⁷⁸).

Other rights affecting legal status

All of the organizations mentioned here have statutes and/or rules of procedure, organs, a budget⁷⁹ as well as parliamentary delegations per state (provinces, communities) or region, either delegated by national or regional parliaments or by member groups in national or regional parliaments, or directly elected (Parlacen). Some also have the right to conclude international treaties (APF, Parlacen), though also in this case the distinction between public and private international treaties is difficult to discern. If an agreement has to be ratified by the organization (APF) or if the statutes do not attribute private law status, this can be taken as a right to conclude international treaties. Some have been conferred diplomatic privileges and immunities for the specialized agency's Secretariat, and for the organization and/or its members

⁷⁸ The SADC PF's Constitution provides in its Art. 4 (1) that it "shall be an international organization". The "legal personality" and "legal capacity" mentioned thereafter however seem to refer to private law status in member countries, including the right to enter into contracts.

⁷⁹ Exceptions here are CPAR and apparently also EMPA and the Regional Secretariat for Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE, which do not have a common budget. For CPAR, host parliaments pay for the biennial conferences and the meetings of the Standing Committee, apart from travel costs and accommodation, as well as for the Secretariat in a rotating manner. EMPA costs are, as a rule, paid by members themselves. The Regional Secretariat for Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE is hosted by Bulgaria, whereas the financial structure of the different forms of parliamentary cooperation in SEE (Conference of Speakers, Western Balkans COSAP, Cetinje Parliamentary Forum) is unclear. We nevertheless count them among the institutionalized specialized agencies since all the other criteria are met.

(PABSEC,⁸⁰ Parlacen,⁸¹ SADC PF⁸²). Additional diplomatic rights include, for example, the issuing of a diplomatic passport (SADC PF). All these indicate a new legal status, namely, international personality *sui generis*. Headquarters (Parlacen, SADC PF) agreements of specialized agencies with states do the same. However, also in the case of parliamentary specialized agencies, the will of parliaments is crucial to such a status. However, 'law-making' as a rule only encompasses non-binding resolutions that possibly lead to soft law.⁸³ One exception seems to be the COSAP whose resolutions are binding if all member parliaments agree, which obviously goes beyond a soft-law character. In the case of specialized agencies, soft law or binding law might, however, be opposable not only to the parliaments involved, but also to the intergovernmental system concerned and the states involved that have recognized the parliamentary specialized agency.

Decision-making vis-à-vis IGOs

Rights not affecting legal status include parliamentary immunity and/or indemnity (Benelux Parliament,⁸⁴ PABSEC,⁸⁵ Parlacen,⁸⁶ SADC PF⁸⁷). How-

⁸⁰ Here, a Host Country Agreement was concluded between Turkey and BSEC concerning the PABSEC Secretariat, with a Protocol between the BSEC and PABSEC Secretariats following. The Agreement accords diplomatic privileges and immunities to the PABSEC Secretariat and leading PABSEC Secretariat figures. Moreover, a BSEC Protocol accords privileges and immunities to the organization, to PABSEC representatives and to the PABSEC Secretariat.

⁸¹ According to the Constitutive Treaty and the Headquarters Agreement.

⁸² The SADC PF, which is recognized as an autonomous institution of SADC, enjoys, in accordance with Art. 31 of the SADC Treaty in conjunction with the Protocol on Immunities and Privileges, the same diplomatic privileges and immunities as SADC itself for its Secretariat, staff and representatives. In accordance with its Headquarters Agreement with Namibia, the organization and its officials enjoy the same privileges.

⁸³ If this is not excluded, as in the case of the NATO PA. Art. 30 of its Rules of Procedure says that "[m]embers shall vote as individuals". Art. 29 provides that "[d]elegates shall speak and act on their own responsibility, and their statements shall not be binding on their governments or parliaments". This means that the non-binding resolutions also do not in themselves confer soft-law effects.

⁸⁴ According to a Protocol Additional to the Brussels Convention establishing a Benelux Consultative Interparliamentary Council.

⁸⁵ According to a BSEC Protocol; see note 80.

⁸⁶ According to the Constitutive Treaty, parliamentarians enjoy, in the state in which they were elected, those immunities and privileges as their national counterparts.

⁸⁷ According to Art. 31 of the SADC Treaty in conjunction with the Protocol on Immunities and Privileges as well as according to its Headquarters Agreement. See also Art. 4 (2) of its Constitution.

ever, those rights are significant with regard to oversight and law-making rights of an organization within a governmental system. Compared to parliamentary organizations, specialized agencies are the first category that, due to their inter-system status, might have the chance to acquire legislative and oversight powers. This is especially interesting when the related organization is a supranational organization with the corresponding independent competences delegated by national governments, including various forms of law-making. At least SADC⁸⁸ and SICA⁸⁹ seem to have already developed some supranational features and/or have taken political decisions to restructure the organization as a supranational organization. It is also pertinent when foreign and security policy, defence or legislation are express features of cooperation (see the Baltic cooperation).

Some of the parliamentary specialized agencies have over time made their way from an independent parliamentary organization to a specialized agency as part of an intergovernmental system (APF, NATO PA). This has given them the first sign of recognition and relevance in the eyes of governments. Some of them (APF, BA, Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region (CPAR)) have preceded, and requested and facilitated governmental cooperation, which subsequently also gave them a natural place in the intergovernmental system. Yet their role, as a rule, is consultative and cooperative.

None of the specialized agencies has already acquired full (quasi-) legislative powers or co-decision rights with governmental organs⁹⁰ and they mostly do not have the right to (quasi-)legislative or, at least, political-legislative initiative for rules to be adopted for the whole system. They can only adopt resolutions, recommendations, proposals, declarations, opinions, decisions, appeals, or memoranda addressed to governments or governmental organs. Some of these, however, are adopted in response to formal requests of governmental organs or of international organizations, such as the opinions of APF, the NATO PA and of PABSEC, or some recommendations of the ACCP or the SADC PF, or some actions of EMPA. Laws, regulations or directives are not part of the repertoire of these IPIs. Yet, given the opposa-

⁸⁸ Ruppel and Bangamwabo (2008) consider the SADC Tribunal as a supranational body. But SADC also has taken the political decision to restructure the Community as a supranational organization back in 2001.

⁸⁹ With SICA, Central America, for the first time on the American continent, expanded integration from the economic to the political sphere and set up the first regional supranational features, which encompassed peace, liberty, democracy and development; see Pappageorgiou (2002: 8, 10, 13-14).

⁹⁰ The planned transformation of the SADC PF might result in some sort of co-decision rights; see the Annex, note 26.

bility of the resolutions adopted by them, their effect goes beyond those of parliamentary organizations.⁹¹ For example, recommendations by Parlacen can also expressly contain draft treaties and agreements, which amounts to a right of legislative initiative. The SADC PF can make recommendations on (draft) treaties referred to it by SADC. The Benelux Parliament can adopt opinions, especially in the form of recommendations, to the Committee of Ministers regarding cooperation in foreign policy and the unification of law. It can also be consulted by governments on draft conventions between the latter and on other problems. The resolutions mentioned here are mostly decided by majority vote.⁹²

Objectives

Harmonization of law, the strengthening of integration, and foreign policy constitute part of the self-attributed objectives of parliamentary specialized agencies, even though this is less remarkable for specialized agencies as opposed to the separate position of parliamentary organizations. Legal harmonization and integration are not only an objective of the Benelux Parliament, but also of the ACCP, of Parlacen, of the Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE (here the harmonization of legislation with EU standards), and of SADC PF. The ACCP also aims at enhanced opportunities for the coordination of foreign policies and at the adoption by governments of common policies. Both, however, already are integrative goals of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM).

The implementation of decisions taken by governmental bodies or the monitoring of those bodies is the objective of several parliamentary specialized agencies, such as the ACCP, APF, the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference (BSPC), or the SADC PF. PABSEC urges national parliaments of the member states to enact legislation needed for implementation of the decisions by the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. It undertakes appropriate steps aimed at the realisation of legislation necessary to put in action relevant resolutions and decisions of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). Some specialized agencies organize themselves

⁹¹ See also above.

⁹² Only the main parliamentary bodies of the BA, the BSPC, of EMPA, and of the SADC PF decide by consensus. APF displays an interesting connection with governmental representation by stipulating that, in cases of opinions and recommendations to bodies of the Francophonie, only those sections whose states or governments are represented at the Summit can vote.

in political groups.⁹³ This shows a tendency towards or aspiration of supranationalism or at least the development of cross-border identities.

Other powers and formal role vis-à-vis IGOs

If decision-making rights are few and have to be partly set off by self-proclaimed objectives, parliamentary specialized agencies, given their recognition by their governmental counterpart, still have institutionalized contacts with governments that go beyond those of parliamentary organizations. Some have observer status, which amounts to a special participatory status at the intergovernmental bodies (CPAR, SADC PF). On the other hand, a special status is sometimes also attributed to the intergovernmental body at parliamentary meetings (the intergovernmental Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) has observer status at the BSPC; the NATO PA can assign a consultative status for international governmental organizations in general). If there is no special participatory status, there are mostly the rights to (mutual) attendance (ACCP, APF, Benelux Parliament, EMPA, NATO PA, PABSEC, Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE, SADC PF) and to make statements (ACCP, BA, Benelux Parliament, EMPA, PABSEC, SADC PF), sometimes even separate meetings of representatives of both bodies (BA,⁹⁴ BSPC, NATO PA⁹⁵) or joint activities (PABSEC). Furthermore, there is the obligation of the governmental part to report to its parliamentary body (ACCP, BA, Benelux Parliament, BSPC, NATO PA, PABSEC, Parlacen), also in response to recommendations of the parliamentary body (BA, NATO PA), and/or the obligation to (mutual) information (ACCP, PABSEC, Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE), and sometimes even the right of the parliamentary body to ask oral and/or written questions to the governmental body (ACCP, APF, BA, Benelux Parliament) and/or to conduct hearings (APF, Benelux Parliament). Special rights in this context include the SADC PF's Plenary

⁹³ Parlacen has six parliamentary groups, the Benelux Parliament three, and the BA also three.

⁹⁴ The BA and the Baltic Council of Ministers (BCM) cooperate through annual joint sessions, called "Baltic Council". Here, they have separate meetings of the BA and the Cooperation Council of the BCM, and joint sessions of the Presidium of the BA and the Cooperation Council of the BCM). Decisions are taken by consensus in the Baltic Council. Besides these meetings, there are joint committee and Secretariat meetings.

⁹⁵ The Assembly's Standing Committee meets annually with both the Secretary General and the Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Council at NATO headquarters to exchange views on the state of the Alliance and to provide the perspectives of legislators.

Assembly's power to send for persons, documents and records in the custody of any SADC official or SADC institution.

Further rights include, for example, Parlacen's right to elect or nominate or remove the highest officer of bodies of SICA. Moreover, election monitoring can be carried out by APF (participating in electoral missions of the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie (OIF)) and by delegations of the NATO PA. The APF also organizes or participates in information or good offices missions. The NATO PA's sub-committees can also conduct fact-finding missions, and the ACCP's Committees may undertake missions with the approval of the Business Committee. Only Parlacen has the right to accept petitions of natural or legal persons. Since 1987, the President of the Benelux Parliament has been tasked with an Ombudsman function, which can be delegated to another Bureau member. Allowances for parliamentarians are not a practice for parliamentary specialized agencies. But some give their committees or other sub-bodies the right to take up an issue on their own initiative (ACCP, APF, BA,⁹⁶ and the Benelux Parliament⁹⁷). The commissions of the Benelux Parliament can also organize public hearings. Some features with a view to the public include a consultative status for non-governmental organisations (NATO PA) and the objective of ACCP to be a forum for people. The increasing role of IPIs is reflected in APF's objective to make known and to promote the international role of parliamentarians.

Independence from governments and budgetary control

Regarding Benelux cooperation, a government, in addition to sections of Parliament itself, can propose an emergency debate to the Benelux Parliament. Although this right does not give rise to concerns about the independence of the parliamentary body, other entanglements do. Thus, IGAD helped to set up the IPU-IGAD and the IGAD Secretariat first functioned as IPU-IGAD Secretariat, drafted its structure and budget, its terms of reference for the post of Secretary General, and finally coordinated the convening of the first IPU-IGAD Executive Council. With regard to ACCP, the Clerk of the Parliament of the host country, who also functions as Clerk of the Assembly, is aided by the Secretariat of the Caribbean Community. The BSPC's Secre-

⁹⁶ The Presidium, committees, party groups, national delegations, and individual members of the BA have a right of initiative.

⁹⁷ Beside the right of initiative of commissions, five individual members of the Benelux Parliament can propose a recommendation to governments.

tariat is located in the Secretariat of the Nordic Council in Copenhagen. With regard to the Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE, its Secretariat prepares the Annual SEE Parliamentary Programme in consultation and close cooperation with not only the SEECPCiO (Chairmanship in Office) and SEECPC Parliamentary Troika, but also the Secretariat of the governmental RCC. The Programme is then adopted at a Regular Supervisory Meeting and endorsed by the Speakers at their Annual Conference. Between the Annual Conferences, 'operational guidance and supervision' of the SEE Parliamentary cooperation is provided by Regular Supervisory Meetings. Participants in these meetings include the SEECPC Parliamentary Troika at the level of Speakers of Parliament or their representatives, the Regional Secretariat for Parliamentary Cooperation, the Secretary General of the governmental RCC, the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA) and other selected partners and donors. The Regular Supervisory Meetings are held twice a year and are co-chaired by the SEECPCiO and the Secretary General of the governmental RCC. Here, the influence of governments as well as outside bodies is substantial. Furthermore, the BA binds its activities to the validity of the Agreement on Baltic Parliamentary and Governmental Co-operation. Thus, its activities would cease when the Agreement's validity is terminated. How much influence is exerted on the parliamentary body in these cases is debatable. Though, none of the specialized agencies noted in this chapter is represented as a member in a governmental body. However, there is one positive counter-example where a parliamentary body tried to legally avoid influence by separating governmental and parliamentary tasks and functions: in PABSEC, members of the national parliamentary delegations cannot be members of the national government.

Another relevant factor can be the mode and sources of financing. Many of the specialized agencies mentioned here are partly or completely funded by government contributions, even though the adoption of the budget is an agency's own business. Parlacen's budget is wholly financed by states, but Parlacen decides on it. The NATO PA is funded by contributions from the parliaments or governments of member countries. NATO provides a subsidy. Special contributions – e.g., support for the Assembly's Rose-Roth programme – have been made by Norway, NATO and other countries. Another sponsor is the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces. National delegations are in charge of funding the participation of their members in NATO PA activities. The SADC PF's budget is comprised of contributions by member parliaments, grants or donations from governments, SADC, and other international organizations and charitable institutions, including international parliamentary groupings. The IPU-IGAD's budget is

completely paid by member states. EMPA is probably paid mainly by the European Parliament, assuming there is a separate budget. The BA, whose budget is funded by contributions of parliaments, seems to be an exception here. Strict sanctions in case of a failure to pay contributions and the suspension of voting rights are implemented at APF (up to loss of right to participate and loss of membership) and PABSEC, which at least urges parliaments to pay their contributions. Whilst independence regarding their own finances might not be completely guaranteed, most of the institutions analyzed here have even less, if any, influence or control rights regarding the budget of the intergovernmental organization itself. Only the SADC PF can adopt recommendations on the SADC budget to SADC.

Political influence

Parliamentary specialized agencies can, over time, acquire creative influence once they are established, or even earlier as some sort of promise for the achievement of a certain goal, such as regional peace. Some interesting examples follow.

In 1990, when the NATO PA had not yet been expressly given a special status within the governmental system, it began to accept parliaments of Middle and East European (MEE) states as associate members. NATO itself was not as quick. With its Rose-Roth Seminars for parliamentarians and parliamentary staff – organized twice a year since 1990 – the NATO PA supported the democratization and restructuring of MEE states, which was also honoured by governments. It also began to conduct a parliamentary dialogue on the Mediterranean, which was subsequently taken up by the Mediterranean and Middle East Special Group. Given its strong commitment in these regions, the NATO PA in 1997 was charged by NATO with monitoring the implementation of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and the NATO-Ukraine Charter on a Distinctive Partnership. After the NATO-Russia Council was set up in 2002, the Assembly established the NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee together with Russia. The Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council and the Georgia-NATO Interparliamentary Council were also set up.

Another interesting example is the Central American Parliament (Parlacen). It was already contemplated as part of the peace process in Central America in the mid-1980s and was therefore included in the 1986 Declaration Esquipulas I and in the 1987 Peace Agreement Esquipulas II as a precursor of national democratic elections. When it was actually set up in 1991, it

was given far-reaching rights, even though not all ideas discussed beforehand found acceptance by the governments involved.⁹⁸ Meanwhile, it is a well-established regional Parliament, which from time to time flexes its muscles in order to improve and accelerate regional integration and democratization as well as to increase its own powers.

Parlacen's vision has long been to strive for a Central-American and Dominican Union. In 1998, in a way similar to the European Parliament (EP) in the 1980s, it stimulated the regional integration process by presenting a draft text of a constitutional Treaty of Union. At the same time, it also elaborated a draft protocol requesting a substantial increase of its powers, such as the right to vote on the SICA budget, to control its implementation and to be consulted on all treaties and agreements relating to regional integration signed by member states as well as the right to elect the leadership of the regional authorities.⁹⁹ In 2001, it was openly aiming at a legal effect for its decisions.¹⁰⁰ This is a powerful example of how parliamentary bodies can affect intergovernmental decision-making processes, even if it proved to be only partially successful.

Other claims at constitutional changes have been proposed, for example, by the Benelux Parliament.¹⁰¹ Finally, a laudable initiative by APF promoted the Francophone Parliament of Young People and supports national Parliaments of Young People, such as those in Burkina Faso, Gabon, Mali, and Niger.

⁹⁸ During the debates on its establishment, the attribution of real decision-making powers to it was seriously envisaged; see Papageorgiou (2002: 11).

⁹⁹ See Papageorgiou (2002: 16-17, 19). The last request was approved; see above.

¹⁰⁰ See Fernández Flórez (2001b: 1).

¹⁰¹ The Benelux Parliament has proposed a revision of its Convention establishing a Benelux Consultative Interparliamentary Council to adapt it to the new Benelux Treaty (not yet in force) and to its Rules of Procedure.

5

Parliamentary Organs of International or Regional Organisations

We here consider a group of 26 IPIs (*cf.* Table 5) that serve as organs of international, regional or supranational organizations. Examples are the EP, PACE or the Pan-African-Parliament (PAP). The capacity to act as an organ in some cases has customarily developed over time, following decisions or treaties of the participating parliaments, or declarations of the assembly itself and acknowledged at some point by the governmental organization. However, in most cases these assemblies and their organ capacity were set up or confirmed by an international treaty¹⁰² and/or embedded in an international treaty for the governmental organization as a whole.¹⁰³

The organs can be main or subsidiary, but in either case, the institution is subordinated to a superior system of an international or regional organization. The transition to specialized agencies, as described in the previous chapter, is admittedly gradual. As organs, these institutions generally have their own statutes, their own subdivisions (organs) and their own budget, even though mostly lacking (exclusive) decision-making power in respect to

¹⁰² African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) Consultative Assembly, Andean Parliament, CEMAC Community Parliament, Committee of Members of Parliament of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) States Party to the European Economic Area (EEA) (MPS), Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (IPA CIS).

¹⁰³ ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly (ACP-EU JPA), Andean Parliament, Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) Consultative Council, Assembly of the Western European Union (WEU), CEMAC Community Parliament, Conference of Community and European Affairs Committees of Parliaments of the European Union (COSAC), East African Legislative Assembly of the East African Community (EALA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Community Parliament, EP, European Economic Area (EEA) Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC), Interparliamentary Assembly of the Eurasian Economic Community (IPA EurAsEC), Interparliamentary Committee on the Dutch Language Union, MERCOSUR Parliament (Parlasur), Network of Parliamentarians of the Economic Community of Central African States (REPAC), Nordic Council, PACE, Pan-African Parliament (PAP), Parliamentary Assembly of the Belarus-Russia Union State.

their budget. To some extent, they can display distinct characteristics of an international law subject, such as diplomatic privileges and immunities for the assembly's secretariat,¹⁰⁴ and/or for the assembly and/or for its members,¹⁰⁵ or the capacity to conclude international treaties.¹⁰⁶ Beyond this, they participate in the personality of the organization as a whole.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, many parliamentary institutions of this type maintain some degree of independence, even though they function as organs of international or regional organizations.

Criteria that distinguish specialized agencies in the strict sense from parliamentary organs are the free selection of members, which is typical for specialized agencies. Membership of organs of governmental organizations, on the contrary, generally corresponds to that of the parent organizations. Moreover, specialized agencies have usually had a historically independent development.

Main powers

Given their inclusion within an intergovernmental system, the organs of international or regional organizations dealt with in this chapter seem to be in a better position than the IPIs mentioned in previous chapters, including parliamentary specialized agencies, in regard to rule-making, control and legitimation power vis-à-vis their related international organizations. However, they only possess these powers to the extent granted by the parent organization. The scope of this power indeed varies. Most organs can only adopt recommendations addressed to governmental organs, although these can develop a soft law character over time.¹⁰⁸ Decisions are taken either by majority vote or by consensus (the latter mostly in Asia, sometimes in Africa).¹⁰⁹ In

¹⁰⁴ Andean Parliament, Parlasur, OSCE PA, West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) Interparliamentary Committee.

¹⁰⁵ Andean Parliament, Assembly of WEU, CEMAC Community Parliament, EP, IPA CIS, PACE, PAP, Parlasur, UEMOA Interparliamentary Committee.

¹⁰⁶ Andean Parliament (which has, for example, concluded a Headquarters Agreement with Colombia) and IPA CIS.

¹⁰⁷ The Constitutive Treaty of the Andean Parliament of 1979 explicitly mentions that the Andean Parliament has international legal personality and the capacity to exercise it – certainly a carry-over from its times as a specialized agency.

¹⁰⁸ An exception here is the OSCE PA, whose recommendations are only politically and not legally binding, as is true of all OSCE decisions. Yet, contrary to other OSCE organs, the OSCE PA takes decisions by majority.

¹⁰⁹ One exception is the Central European Initiative (CEI) Parliamentary Dimension, which takes decisions by the Standing Committee (Bureau) according to the typical OSCE prin-

several cases, mutual reporting,¹¹⁰ attendance,¹¹¹ or addresses¹¹² of parliamentary and governmental organs are required or can be requested; or the assemblies have the right to address oral and/or written questions to governmental organs¹¹³ or can hear them.¹¹⁴ As a rule, the budget of the parliamentary assembly is not decided by the assembly if that body is financed through governments. This is only different when the financial sources of the assembly's budget stem from the national parliaments themselves.¹¹⁵

However, parliamentary power at the regional/international level up to now mostly does not reach the level of power commonly attributed to national parliaments in a democratic state guided by the rule of law, *i.e.*, **full legislative and oversight functions**, including the **authority to decide about the budget of the organization as a whole or at least of that of the assembly**. This is especially striking given the fact that many of the related international organizations explicitly have been given supranational powers¹¹⁶ or have at least the goal of legal harmonization.¹¹⁷ However, in many places discussion of the elimination of this 'international democracy deficit' is underway. In this context, slowly but surely a process of strengthening democratic oversight bodies of international organizations is evident.

ciple of consensus-minus-one, likewise decisions by the Assembly on amendments to the Rules of Procedure. The OSCE PA, however, always takes majority decisions.

¹¹⁰ ACP-EU JPA, Andean Parliament, Assembly of WEU, CEMAC Community Parliament, EALA, ECOWAS Community Parliament, EP, Nordic Council, OSCE PA, PACE, PAP, Parlasur, Parliamentary Assembly of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (PA CPLP), UEMOA Interparliamentary Committee.

¹¹¹ ACP-EU JPA, Andean Parliament, Assembly of WEU, CEI Parliamentary Dimension, EP, MPS, PACE, PAP.

¹¹² ACP-EU JPA, Assembly of WEU, ECOWAS Community Parliament, EP, PACE, PAP.

¹¹³ ACP-EU JPA, Assembly of WEU, CEMAC Community Parliament, EALA, EEA JPC, EP, MPS, Nordic Council, OSCE PA, PACE, PAP.

¹¹⁴ Andean Parliament, Assembly of WEU, CEMAC Community Parliament, EEA JPC, EP, MPS, Parlasur, UEMOA Interparliamentary Committee.

¹¹⁵ ECOWAS Community Parliament, OSCE PA, REPAC. The new CEMAC Community Parliament is financially autonomous.

¹¹⁶ Such as the Andean Community, the EU, MERCOSUR, the Russia-Belarus Union State, or the planned Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), and many African communities founded in the context of the African integration process, such as the AU, CEMAC, the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), ECOWAS, UEMOA, or the without any parliamentary body functioning Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA).

¹¹⁷ Such as the AMU, the CIS, the Council of Europe, the EurAsEC, the GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova), the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty (OCST), or the without any parliamentary body functioning Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD).

Legislative and oversight functions

The **East African Legislative Assembly of the East African Community (EALA)** is the forerunner as the first – and so far the only – regional assembly that has full legislative powers – in addition to oversight and representative functions – as the legislative organ of the East African Community. Its powers are only limited by the assent of national Presidents to the Acts of the Community. Yet, in reality, its influence is curtailed by planning in the member states.¹¹⁸ The **EP**, often referred to as the model Parliamentary Assembly (PA) with the greatest legislative competence, has, in comparison, only co-decision rights with the Council of Ministers,¹¹⁹ even though these have been enlarged to new policy areas and made the privileged (ordinary) legislative procedure by the Treaty of Lisbon.¹²⁰ The new CEMAC Community Parliament has partial legislative powers since it legislates through directives and can to some extent also adopt binding opinions. In other cases, there are plans to set up parliaments or to endow existing ones with full¹²¹ legislative powers or co-decision rights.¹²² In yet other cases, the assembly has the right of legislative¹²³ or at least political-legislative¹²⁴ initiative. Some parliamentary assemblies' have an explicit goal of harmonizing national legislation through model legislation and/or recommendations on national laws¹²⁵ or the consideration of draft international (framework) conventions

¹¹⁸ See Šabič (2008: 262).

¹¹⁹ Including a veto right of the EP at the end of the decision-making process.

¹²⁰ The so-called special legislative procedure, *i.e.*, the adoption of a legal act by the EP with the participation of the Council or vice-versa, only applies in a few remaining areas. In another few cases, the so-called consultation procedure applies, *i.e.*, the EP has to give an advisory opinion before a decision is taken by the Council of Ministers. Yet, the Council of Ministers is not bound by the EP's position.

¹²¹ See, for the PAP, the Annex, note 44, and, for the planned West African Parliament of ECOWAS, the Annex, note 45.

¹²² See the planned UEMOA Parliament; see the Annex, note 40. Negotiations regarding the Andean Parliament include also co-decision rights of the Parliament and a right of the Parliament to adopt the budget and to select the Secretary General of the Andean Community.

¹²³ The Andean Parliament can participate in the law-making process by suggesting to the bodies of the System draft rules and regulations on subjects of common interest for incorporation to the Andean Community Law. The Parlasur can propose draft MERCOSUR norms to the MERCOSUR Council. The Parliamentary Assembly (PA) of the Russia-Belarus Union State can put forward proposals with regard to the development of the Union's legal base for consideration by the Supreme Council of the Union.

¹²⁴ The EP can ask the EU Commission to present legislative proposals for laws to the EU Council. The PA of the Russia-Belarus Union State can submit legal proposals to the bodies of the Union State exercising the right to legislative initiative.

¹²⁵ *E.g.*, the Andean Parliament, the GUAM PA, the IPA CIS/PA OCST, the IPA EurAsEC, the PA of the Russia-Belarus Union State, the Parlasur.

among member states.¹²⁶ Others have the role of explicitly exercising control and oversight functions on the related international organization.¹²⁷ Often part of this oversight function is the consideration, by the parliamentary assembly, of international treaties to be concluded on behalf of the international organization.¹²⁸

The **Andean Parliament (Parlandino)** can suggest actions or decisions necessary for modifications, adjustments or new guidelines in relation to program objectives and the institutional structure of the Andean Integration System (SAI) (a constituent function). Its control function over the integration process includes not only reports and hearings, but also, in case of a failure of a body of the Andean Integration System, to submit a report by a wrongful act or omission, the lodging of a complaint with the Andean Presidential Council, or diplomatic actions and/or another legal action it deems appropriate. In case of an insufficient explanation, it can vote on a motion of political censure of the responsible representative and, if this is adopted, notify the Andean Presidential Council, the Andean Council of Foreign Affairs and the other bodies and institutions of the SAI that the Parlandino disagrees with the continuity of the respective representative as director of the agency or institution of the SAI. It can also exceptionally examine the conduct of senior officials of the bodies and institutions of the Andean Community regarding their political responsibilities in the running of the integration process or in the performance of their duties.

In other cases, parliamentary control is encouraged by national or international parliamentary representation in governmental organs of the international organization¹²⁹ or by close cooperation between governmental and parliamentary organs.¹³⁰ However, in some cases governmental representa-

¹²⁶ See the Nordic Council and PACE.

¹²⁷ *E.g.*, the Andean Parliament, the Assembly of WEU, the CEMAC Community Parliament, the EP, the Nordic Council, PACE, the PA of the Russia-Belarus Union State, the PAP, and the UEMOA Interparliamentary Committee.

¹²⁸ See the EP, the Nordic Council, PACE, and the PA of the Russia-Belarus Union State.

¹²⁹ In the case of the Russia-Belarus Union State, the Speakers of both chambers of national parliament of Russia and Belarus are represented in the Supreme State Council, the leading body of the Union State. Regarding the Community of Portuguese Language Countries, the President of the PA CPLC sits in the CPLP Conference of Heads of State and Government.

¹³⁰ Thus, PACE cooperates with the Committee of Ministers through an enlarged Joint Committee made up of one representative per member government and a corresponding number of PACE parliamentarians, including the President. Moreover, the Bureau of the Assembly and the Committee of Ministers can set up a mixed working party for the discussion of a particular item. The Nordic Council closely cooperates with its national counterparts. In the case of the CEI, Ministers of Foreign Affairs Meetings are used to organize joint sessions of the enlarged CEI Troika at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and

tives are also part of parliamentary structures, a situation that does not give full independence to parliament.¹³¹ Moreover, some assemblies do not have the usual parliamentary right to take up an issue on their own initiative.¹³²

Budgetary authority

Regarding budgetary control, **EALA** is also the first – and so far the only – regional PA that has full budgetary authority: it debates and approves the budget of the East African Community (EAC). Yet, this power evaporates when there is a severe shortage of money as happened in recent years when the EAC had to rely on external funding.¹³³ Since the changes made by the Lisbon Treaty, the **EP** has the right to co-decide on the EU budget as submitted by the EU Commission in its entirety together with the EU Council. The **Nordic Council** nearly has budgetary authority: it considers the draft joint budget of the Council of Ministers and the Council itself, the latter being drafted by its Presidium. Unless there are extreme causes not to do so, the Council of Ministers has to comply with the recommendations of the Council regarding the budget. The **Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) Parliament (Parlasur)** elaborates and approves its own budget, and informs the Council about its execution, though it is entirely paid by state contributions. Budgetary authority is especially important for maintaining independence where parliaments are part of governmental systems, since contributions will often be transferred from governmental sources. In the case of the MERCOSUR Secretariat budget, Parlasur receives a report on its execution.

The **PAP** can discuss the AU's budget and make recommendations prior to its approval by the AU Assembly. Its own budget is an integral part of the AU budget and is drawn up by the PAP and will be approved by the AU Assembly until such time as the PAP starts to exercise legislative powers. This has already caused some trouble when some AU member states did not

the enlarged Troika of the CEI Parliamentary Committee in order to discuss the strategic goals and challenges of the CEI and the contributions of the PD to them.

¹³¹ The UEMOA Interparliamentary Committee outside sessions can only set up working groups by its Bureau with the consent of the UEMOA Commission. The President of the Commission, the Director of the Central Bank of the West African States and the President of the West African Development Bank assist consultatively in the work of the Committee. And the Nordic Council's Secretariat is partly jointly administered with the Secretariat of the Nordic Council of Ministers.

¹³² The Arab Transitional Parliament can only give its opinion on questions that are addressed to Parliament by the Council of the Arab League.

¹³³ See Šabič (2008: 266-267).

pay their membership fees in recent years¹³⁴ – an example of how much budgetary authority, at least over the parliamentary budget, is necessary to maintain independence. The **Parlandino** can formulate recommendations regarding the annual budget estimates of the bodies and institutions of the system that are financed through direct contributions of the member countries. Over the budget of its Central Office, paid by member states, it has complete control. **PACE** prepares its own budget, which is part of the Council of Europe budget paid by member states, and is consulted on the Council of Europe budget as a whole. The **Parliamentary Assembly of the Russia-Belarus Union State** is allowed to consider the draft budget of the Union. And the CEMAC Community Parliament is financially autonomous.

The **Assembly of the Western European Union (WEU)**¹³⁵ expresses its views in the form of an opinion or recommendation on the annual budget of the Western European Union, even though this is now limited. The partial budget concerning the Assembly itself is drawn up by the Assembly, but ultimately has to be adopted by the Council. The **OSCE PA** has a Special Representative on the OSCE budget. The Bureau of the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) Interparliamentary Commission makes suggestions about the indemnities as well as transport and accommodation costs of the Commission members as to be included in its budget, which is fixed by the CEMAC Council of Ministers. Similarly, the President of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) Interparliamentary Committee is heard in respect to the amount of indemnities for the Committee members, which are fixed by the UEMOA Council on the recommendation of the Commission.

Other rights and functions

Apart from these main parliamentary powers, the parliamentarians of many regional parliamentary assemblies also enjoy parliamentary immunity and/or indemnity.¹³⁶ Some also receive emoluments or an allowance,¹³⁷ which con-

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

¹³⁵ The WEU as an organization is dormant and will be closed by June 2011 since its tasks have been taken over by the EU as per the Lisbon Treaty. This includes the abolition of the Assembly of WEU.

¹³⁶ See the Assembly of WEU, the CEMAC Community Parliament, EALA, the ECOWAS Community Parliament, the EP, PACE, the PAP, the Parlasur, REPAC, the UEMOA Interparliamentary Committee. In the Andean Parliament, the Andean parliamentarians enjoy, in their own state, the parliamentary privileges and immunities attributed to their national colleagues.

tributes to their independence. Political (party) groups, however, are still uncommon.¹³⁸ On the other hand, assemblies often have the right to conduct election observations and/or fact-finding missions.¹³⁹ Some can also conclude cooperation agreements with other parliamentary assemblies and/or non-member parliaments.¹⁴⁰ Others can ask the relevant court of the inter-governmental system to deliver an advisory opinion.¹⁴¹ The EP can even ask the European Court of Justice to annul an EU act or can take the EU Commission of the Council to court for failure to fulfil its obligations. The Parliament can bring to the Court of Justice of the Andean Community issues that create doubt in the application of the Andean Community's legal order.

PACE elects the members of the European Court of Human Rights and of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture as well as the Commissioner for Human Rights. It also appoints, on the recommendation of the Committee of Ministers, the Secretary General and Deputy Secretary General as well as the Secretary General of the Parliamentary Assembly having the rank of Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe. The EP has to give its assent to the appointment of the members of the Executive Board of the European Central Bank. More importantly, it approves or rejects the appointment of the EU Commission's President by the Council and, as a whole, the appointment of the College of Commissioners by the member states. In several cases, citizens and/or natural or legal persons residing or having their registered office in a member state have the right to address petitions to the relevant PA.¹⁴² The EP even has an Ombudsman responsible for maladministration. The CEMAC Community Parliament can set up inquiry commissions.

Moreover, the Nordic Council is an example of initiation of governmental cooperation. It existed almost twenty years before and initiated the Nordic

¹³⁷ See the EP, the PAP, REPAC, or the UEMOA Interparliamentary Committee. In the Andean Parliament, parliamentarians receive allowances and other benefits as provided for in the budgets and regulations of their country.

¹³⁸ Political groups exist in the Assembly of WEU (3), the EP (7), in the Nordic Council (4), and in PACE (5).

¹³⁹ The ACP-EU JPA, the Andean Parliament, the Assembly of WEU, the EP, IPA CIS (since 1994), the OSCE PA (since 1993), PACE, and the PA CPLP.

¹⁴⁰ The PA of the Russia-Belarus Union State. The Andean Parliament can even conclude agreements with third countries, international bodies, national or subregional integration parliaments, etc. The Parlasur can conclude cooperation and technical assistance treaties with national or international public and private organisations.

¹⁴¹ The ECOWAS Community Parliament may request the Community Court of Justice to express a legal opinion on any legal text of the Community. The Parlasur can ask for an advisory opinion of the MERCOSUR Permanent Revision Tribunal.

¹⁴² Valid for the Andean Parliament, the Assembly of WEU, the ECOWAS Community Parliament, EALA, the EP, the Parlasur, PACE, and the PAP.

Cooperation. Finally, it should be mentioned that the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), whose Constitutive Treaty of 2008 is not yet in force, foresees a South American Parliament, to be set up by an additional protocol drafted by national and regional Members of Parliament. The South American Parliament will have the task of leading the development and implementation, in coordination with the Bank of the South, of the new single currency for the region.

The European Parliament

Specifics relating to some PAs are also worth noting. Above all, the **EP** is often cited as the most advanced PA in the world. Even though this is not always the case, as we have indicated, it surely is the regional assembly with the most long-standing tradition of progressive acquisition of parliamentary rights and with a strong claim on these rights leading to political visibility of the Parliament. Today, it does not yet possess all rights that national democratic parliaments enjoy in principle,¹⁴³ but its parliamentary rights of legislation and control are at least extensive. Thus, beside the above-mentioned co-decision rights, including those with regard to the EU budget, and its appointment rights, it has the right to control and grant discharge to the EU Commission (and other institutions) in respect to the implementation of the EU budget and can censure the Commission and force it to resign as a whole. It hence possesses some serious political means to sanction EU institutions, especially the Commission. In two instances, namely, in 1984, and in 1998 for the budgetary year 1996, the EP refused to give discharge to the Commission. In 1998, it did so for mismanagement and inadequate transparency leading to the resignation of the Santer Commission.¹⁴⁴ In 2009, it refused to grant discharge to the Council for the budgetary year 2007.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the EP can set up inquiry committees. This was, for example, done in the context of the mad cow disease, which eventually led to the foundation of a European veterinary agency.

Besides the influence of the European Parliament based on its legal rights, the EP has also significantly shaped the European agenda in a political way.

¹⁴³ For example, it does not have – similarly to the EU as a whole – the so-called competence-competence, *i.e.*, the authority to confer legislative competences to itself. Consequently, it also does not have the competence to impose taxes. Moreover, it does not even have the right of legislative initiative.

¹⁴⁴ See European Parliament (2009: 10).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17 and EP res. P6_TA-PROV(2009)0273.

In some instances, it was even a catalyst for significant change. Thus, in the middle of the so-called 'eurosclerosis' in 1984, the EP courageously presented a draft constitution for a federal EU with a genuine parliament, which brought the EU out of its paralysis, revived the reform process,¹⁴⁶ and concurrently also led to an increase in its own powers.¹⁴⁷ Having pioneered regional parliamentarianism in a supranational organizational context, the EU is also a good example for learning and adapting its structure and working methods in respect to otherwise overlooked challenges. With the direct election of the EP in 1979, the link to national parliaments in the structure of the EU was lost. On the one hand, national parliaments became active by setting up the Conference of Community and European Affairs Committees of Parliaments of the European Union (COSAC) in 1989. This action was explicitly meant to strengthen the democratic dimension and control of the European process by involving national parliaments. On the other hand, the EU learnt, little by little, from that experience and responded to complaints of a democratic deficit¹⁴⁸ by strengthening the role of national parliaments,¹⁴⁹ by institutionalizing COSAC¹⁵⁰ and by including national parliaments in the Convention that drafted the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the Constitutional Treaty.

Finally, it should be noted that under the Lisbon treaty, the EU needs the EP's consent to conclude international agreements. In one of the first cases under the new arrangement, the EP refused in February 2010 to rubber-stamp the interim SWIFT agreement between the EU and the US on the transfer of citizens' financial data to prevent terrorist attacks, dealing a blow to both EU governments and US authorities. The EP has thus acquired a considerably strengthened position with regard to some international questions in which the EU is involved, for example in world trade or climate policy.

¹⁴⁶ See Bummel (2010: 35-36).

¹⁴⁷ See Šabič (2008: 262).

¹⁴⁸ See, e.g., Bundesverfassungsgericht (1993).

¹⁴⁹ Starting with the 13th Declaration annexed to the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, a Protocol on the Role of National Parliaments in the European Union annexed to the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 fixed consultation and information rights of national parliaments; see for the Protocol in the Lisbon version <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:115:0201:0328:EN:PDF>, Art. 1-9. See also the Protocol on the Application of the Principles of Subsidiarity and Proportionality; *ibid.* for the Lisbon version.

¹⁵⁰ See the Protocol on the Role of National Parliaments in the European Union; see Art. 10 of the Lisbon version, *ibid.*

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

PACE is the first parliamentary assembly that was set up as an organ of an international organization. It has a *de facto* legal right of co-decision in the accession of new members to the Council of Europe, which was especially significant during the accession time of the East European countries in the 1990s.¹⁵¹ It also has a longstanding tradition of working with NGOs and enables them to acquire a consultative status that entitles them to hand in memoranda to the committees, which can, in turn, also consult NGOs. Moreover, an agreement of PACE with national parliaments of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member states that are not members of the Council of Europe, was approved by the OECD Council and has opened the scrutiny of PACE parliamentarians to the OECD realm. Every year, the Secretary General of OECD presents a report for a PACE OECD debate and answers questions of parliamentarians. This debate takes place during a PACE meeting enlarged by OECD parliamentarians from countries that are not members of the Council of Europe.

PACE regularly publishes reports and launches investigations that attract international public attention. Two prominent examples are its investigations into secret detentions and illegal transfers of detainees involving Council of Europe member states by the Central Intelligence Agency conducted in 2007 and into the handling of the H1N1 pandemic by the World Health Organization conducted in 2010.

¹⁵¹ More precisely, according to Art. 41 (d) of the Statute of the Council of Europe, an amendment to Art. 26 of the Statute, which lists the number of representatives per country in PACE, has to be approved by it. Moreover, the Committee of Ministers had decided to consult PACE in every membership question.

6 Conclusion

The different international parliamentary institutions analyzed in this article, different though they are with regard to their legal powers and their effectiveness, have one feature in common: they all introduce a democratic element into regional and global governance. Mostly, they are no longer just restricted to a mutual exchange on national internal practices, but are also concerned with the foreign policy of their states and with issues of a global scope that are – or should be in their view – on the agenda of regional or international governmental decision-making.

Exponential growth of IPIs

The exponential growth of IPIs in recent years is remarkable, as is their increasing institutionalization and transformation from looser forms of cooperation to more influential, effective and genuine parliamentary bodies with a legal status in international law. This dynamic evolution could be observed especially during the last 20 years, whereas the escalation of newly founded GRINGOs and networks (at least 38 since the year 2000) has still not come to an end. There is no clear trend towards one or the other category, even though the increase in organs – the category that embraces those with the most genuine parliamentary functions – from 13 in 1999 to 26 in 2010 is truly remarkable.

Steady increase of rights and competences

Almost no IPI, however, – with EALA as a single exception – as yet has full legislative and control rights vis-à-vis its corresponding governmental organization. Nevertheless, a steady increase in rights and competences can very often be observed once an IPI has been set up. The upgrade and extension of rights throughout the years of the European Parliament is one example.

Sometimes, the deepening of parliamentary rights is initiated by the parliament itself; the EP and Parlacen are powerful examples.

Awareness of difference between oversight and representation

There is a growing awareness of the difference between a parliamentary oversight organ within a regional or international governmental system and the representation of national parliaments within the system. There are more and more regions in which both types of organizations coexist, *e.g.*, in Africa the PAP and the APU, in Europe the EP and COSAC, for Arab states the Arab Transitional Parliament (ATP) and the AIPU, and for Portuguese speaking countries the PA CPLP and the FPLP. These IPIs have different tasks, goals and functions and are both necessary in a democratically organized regional or international system.

Danger of overlaps?

Of course, aside from the foregoing examples, in some cases overlapping mandates provide cause for serious concern. Thus, EMPA and PAM have the same area of operation, even though memberships are different. Furthermore, in recent years, interregional cooperation has started between regional parliamentary institutions. For example, there is a range of Parliamentary Assemblies of the EP/EU member parliaments with other regions.¹⁵² This might give the impression that overall, duplication of work and efforts could become a real problem. Yet, national parliaments seem to be aware of this. Little by little, steps are taken to achieve greater, though still limited, coordination and coherence in inter-parliamentary activities.¹⁵³

¹⁵² ACP-EU JPA, EMPA, EuroLat, and the EURO-NEST PA as soon as it is founded. By the way, they are the only IPIs in which representatives of the North and the South come together on an equal footing for a north-south dialogue. Yet, the Assemblies costs are mainly financed by the European side.

¹⁵³ See Inter-Parliamentary Union (2005: 29).

Inner structures, elections and goals

If one compares the inner structures of IPIs, it is interesting to note that many institutions are building on the example of the IPU with regard to their legal and organic structures, especially in Asia, Africa, and in the Arab world. Apart from that, there are regional similarities in structure and functioning, even though these are diminishing. Moreover, nine IPIs have representation below the national level and five also include former parliamentarians. Four IPIs are directly elected,¹⁵⁴ three of them in Latin America, one (EALA) is indirectly elected, others, mostly on the African continent, are planned to be directly elected in the near future¹⁵⁵ and/or to obtain legislative functions.¹⁵⁶

Many new IPIs are planned, either as new institutions¹⁵⁷ or as a transformation from existing ones to more institutionalized structures,¹⁵⁸ the latter mostly in Africa. If parliamentary structures are part of an inter-governmental institution, the latter, like the former, are often modelled on the European Union and its Parliament, the EP. This was the case for the African Union and the Pan-African Parliament and will also happen for UNASUR and its South American Parliament. Moreover, since more and more governmental organizations aim at acquiring supranational features or at least some degree of regional integration and the harmonization of law, parliamentary structures serve the purpose of facilitating these goals. This may at some point make international treaties obsolete. Often, it is the IPI which takes the initiative to insist on greater integration and to stimulate the integration process.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ EP, Parlacen, Parlandino, and Parlasur (from 2011 onward). Some suggest introducing a separate category for directly elected IPIs. However, the classification of those IPIs according to the system used here does not change through direct elections. They remain organs or specialized agencies, etc. Though, they definitely have more legitimacy and political, eventually also legal weight.

¹⁵⁵ The PAP and some planned parliaments, such as the planned Arab Parliament, one chamber of the planned Union Parliament of the Russia-Belarus Union State, and the planned West African Parliament of ECOWAS. Moreover, the CEMAC Community Parliament and the planned UEMOA Parliament are supposed to be directly elected at a later stage.

¹⁵⁶ The PAP and the planned West African Parliament of ECOWAS, and, apparently, also the planned SADC Parliamentary structure.

¹⁵⁷ EURO-NEST and the South American Parliament.

¹⁵⁸ The Arab Parliament, a Parliament of ECCAS, the SADC Parliamentary structure, the UEMOA Parliament, the Union Parliament of the Russia-Belarus Union State, and the West African Parliament of ECOWAS.

¹⁵⁹ As was the case for the APF, the BA, the CPAR, the Nordic Council, Parlacen, and Parlatino.

Overcoming the international democratic deficit

Globalization definitely has changed the world. Issues increasingly need to be decided at higher levels, many globally, in order to achieve effective solutions or regulations. Regional or subject-related integration is therefore advancing. The increasing number and rights of IPIs testify to this and indicate a need for parliamentary control of these regional and global problems. Or, as de Puig states:

We have entered a new age, the global age, an age of regional cooperation and integration, which requires a certain degree of parliamentary control, a supra-state parliamentary dimension.¹⁶⁰

What is at stake is, in short, the overcoming of the international democratic deficit that is growing more and more as decisions are transferred to other, regional and international levels. Of course, IPIs are not a panacea, even if they are endowed with extensive oversight and legislative powers. They generally lack continuity through their periodical elections and are sometimes hampered in their effectiveness through structures that favour tedious participatory procedures and debate. Public ignorance of their actions and importance is widespread and makes IPIs less relevant than they could be. And the overabundance of information and issues to be addressed overstretches the capacities of IPIs, just as is frequently the case with regard to other governmental, public or private institutions. Nevertheless, IPIs provide moral legitimation for international decision-making by making it more transparent, accountable and participatory. They put public pressure on mighty governments, which is sometimes remarkable and has real political effects, regardless of any entitling legal rights.¹⁶¹ Moreover, as bodies composed of elected representatives that are accountable to their constituents, IPIs in principle make sure that the people are not ignored and that public participation is secured. At last, they bring the world closer to national decision-making, whereas they are, at the same time, better attuned to take decisions in favour of the common good, rather than being based solely on national interests.

¹⁶⁰ See De Puig (2008: 8).

¹⁶¹ Šabič (2008: 264-266), *e.g.*, very well describes the pressure and subsequent results of the Parliamentary Forum on Small Arms and Light Weapons, especially in Spain; the success of, among others, PGA in the promotion of the International Criminal Court; or of the NATO PA through its Rose-Roth seminars for the former socialist parliaments.

A global parliamentary assembly

Considering the growing acceptance and importance of IPIs throughout the world, it is remarkable that major international intergovernmental 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 United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund. Those parliamentary institutions that do exist and relate to the activities of these IGOs, such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO, or the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank, are not willing – and not legally able – to exert any considerable influence on their agenda and decision-making, let alone exert formal oversight. The analysis of already existing IPIs, however, confirms that not every IGO necessarily needs a separate parliamentary body.¹⁶² This is the case for the United Nations and its vast sub-system of programmes, funds, specialized agencies and other related bodies. It would suffice to create one parliamentary body, a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) for international cooperation *per se*.¹⁶³ It could function as a parliamentary umbrella and, as such, even contribute to overcoming the increasing issue-related fragmentation at the global level. In order to remain effective, it could refer to subject matters and their related IGOs at the commission level, where one would also expect the participation of other IPIs, national parliaments and civil society.¹⁶⁴ One could also think of initially establishing such a UNPA with limited competence in one or a few specific subject areas, such as global climate policy¹⁶⁵ or world trade.¹⁶⁶ Its scope could later be extended incrementally. In any case an UNPA would contribute significantly to overcoming an ever-growing legitimacy gap at the international level.

¹⁶² Similarly, see Bummel (2010), p. 19.

¹⁶³ See also the Committee for a Democratic U.N.'s strategy paper on the subject, see Bummel (2010).

¹⁶⁴ This aspect builds on the suggestion of the Cardoso report that “experimental global public policy committees” should be created (United Nations 2004: paras. 106-113).

¹⁶⁵ See Bummel et. al. (2010).

¹⁶⁶ The European Parliament, for example, still endorses the proposal of setting up a WTO PA, see EP 2008, para. 19.

— Annex —

Table 1. Inter-Parliamentary GRINGOs¹

Organization	Founda-tion	Members ²	Related Gov. Organization <i>Role</i>
A. International or supraregional			
Asia-Europe Parliamentary Partner-ship Meeting (ASEP) ³	1996	National parlia-ments of ASEM countries + Europe-an Parliament (EP)	Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) (members of ASEAN and EU) <i>Issue provider; addressee for recommendations</i>
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) ⁴	1911	Branches of P in national, provincial, state and territorial parliaments of countries of the Commonwealth with parliamentary democracy	Commonwealth <i>Reference point for membership</i>
Conference of Parliamentarians of Italian origin	?	P	-

¹ As of March 2010.

² P = parliamentarians; IPI = international parliamentary institutions; G = governmental representatives; CS = civil society representatives.

³ The Meeting is only slightly institutionalized and thus does not qualify for more than GRINGO status. Even if it were to one day, it will probably not qualify as a specialized agency related to or as an organ of ASEM, even if official links were to exist, as long as ASEM is only a loose dialog and not an international organization.

⁴ Even though branches have to be set up officially by parliaments, they remain autonomous and the CPA is a private law charity organisation, a status that, according to Art. 37 (2) (a) of its Constitution, cannot be changed, and does thus not qualify as an international parliamentary organization. Although the Commonwealth Heads of Government endorsed the CPA, it remains a separate entity not directly linked to governmental actions.

Conferences of Presidents of Ibero-American Democratic Parliaments (Conferencia de Presidentes de Parlamentos Democráticos Ibero-americanos) (defunct since 1999?)	1983	Speakers of Iberoamerican parliaments	-
Euro-Mediterranean Speakers Conference (defunct since 2005?)	1999 (1997/1998 ⁵)	Speakers of the national parliaments of the EU member states and the Southern Mediterranean countries Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, the Palestinian territories, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Barcelona Process) ⁶ <i>Reference point for membership and issue provider</i>
G8 Speakers' Conference	2002	Speakers of the national parliaments of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the President of the European Parliament	Group of Eight (G8) <i>Reference point for membership and issue provider</i>
Senates of the World (Sénats du monde) ⁷	2000	Senates of the world	-
State Legislative Leaders Foundation (SLLF)	1972	No membership organization (US Pact as members of Board of Directors)	- (financed by businesses represented on Advisory Council)
World Hellenic Inter-Parliamentary Association (W.H.I.A.)	1996	P of Greek origin in non-Greek speaking countries	-

⁵ With limited participation of parliaments directly concerned by the Barcelona process.

⁶ Meanwhile the Union for the Mediterranean; see p. 72.

⁷ The organization is not institutionalized sufficiently to qualify for more than GRINGO status. See also the Association of Senates of Europe, see p. 55, and the Association of Senates, Shoura and Equivalent Councils in Africa and the Arab world, p. 66.

B. African			
Conference of Speakers of West African Parliaments	1999	Speakers of West African parliaments	ECOWAS <i>Addressee for lobbying in favour of integration and the Community Parliament</i>
C. American			
Indigenous Parliament of America (Parlamento Indígena de América)	1988	National indigenous P from North, Central and South America	Gov. / intl. org. <i>Sponsors, et al.</i>
Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas (Foro Interparlamentario de las Américas, FIPA) ⁸	2001	National parliaments (both chambers) of OAS member states	Organization of American States (OAS) <i>Initiator; sponsor; et al., provider of logistics; addressee for information and inter-parliamentary participation</i> Gov. <i>Sponsors, et al.</i>
D. Asian/Pacific			
Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF) ⁹	1993	National P (delegation of parliaments or individual P) from Asia-Pacific Region, in particular from ASEAN member nations, the APEC group, and the Pacific Islands Forum	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Pacific Islands Forum, Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, (PECC), and The Pacific Basin Economic Council (PBEC) <i>Issue provider</i>

⁸ The Forum is insufficiently institutionalized (*e.g.*, the Secretariat is hosted by the Parliamentary Center, a Canadian NGO) and is therefore qualified as GRINGO.

⁹ APPF's structure is too loose to qualify for more than GRINGO status.

Association of SAARC Speakers and Parliamentarians ¹⁰	1992	Speakers and P of national parliaments of SAARC countries (branches per parliament)	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) <i>Addressee of support</i>
E. European			
Association of Senates of Europe (Association des Sénats d'Europe) ¹¹	2000	Presidents of European Senates or P nominated by them	-
Barents Parliamentary Conferences	1997	National, local, regional, and indigenous P	Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR) <i>Issue provider, reference point for conference organization</i>
Conference of Speakers of the European Union Parliaments	1963	Speakers of the national parliaments of the EU member states and the President of the European Parliament	European Union (EU) <i>Reference point for membership and issue provider</i>
European Conference of Presidents of Parliament	1988	Speakers and Presidents of parliaments of the member states of the Council of Europe and the Presidents of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and the Assembly of the Western European Union	Council of Europe (CoE) <i>Reference point for membership and issue provider</i>

¹⁰ The Association of SAARC Speakers and Parliamentarians was recognized by the governmental counterpart SAARC and since then has been enjoying "distinct status" while remaining an independent body. Yet, it neither was founded by an international treaty nor does it have a parliamentary-funded regular budget (contribution are voluntary and can also be made by institutions, organizations, and individuals). It thus remains an association or GRINGO.

¹¹ The Association is insufficiently institutionalized to qualify for more than GRINGO status. See also the Senates of the World, p. 53.

Inter-Parliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy (IAO)	1993	Parliamentary delegations or groups of members of parliament consisting of orthodox P of certain European countries	-
Interregional Parliamentary Council (Conseil Parlementaire Interrégional, CPI) ¹²	1986	Delegations from province, state and national parliaments of the <i>Grande Région</i>	Executives of the provinces, states, and countries of the <i>Grande Région</i> and their joint organs <i>Addressee of consultative oversight</i>
Parliamentary Association of the South European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) (defunct?)	?	?	South European Cooperative Initiative (SECI)

¹² As membership is mostly on province and state level, the cooperation at the governmental level is less institutionalized and does not qualify for international law personality and as the founding treaty is not an international law treaty, it is classified as GRINGO here.

**Table 2. Issue-Related
Inter-Parliamentary Network GRINGOs¹³**

Organization <i>Purpose</i>	Region and regional/Coun- try-specific Sub-Organiza- tion(s)	Founda- tion	Members ¹⁴	Related Gov. Organization <i>Role</i>
A. General				
E-Parliament (Climate Parliament) <i>Climate change, spread of democracy</i>	Global	2003	Democratically- elected national and regional P	Gov. (originally also World Bank) <i>Sponsors, et al.</i>
Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) <i>Promotion of peace, democracy, the rule of law, human rights, sustainable develop- ment and population issues</i>	Global	1978 / 1979	National and regional elect- ed P	United Nations (UN) <i>Issue provider, partner Intl. org. and gov. Sponsors, et al.</i>
	National (re- gional) Groups			
B. Democracy				
Community of Democ- racies Parliamentary Forum	Global	2010	Current and former P from CoD parlia- ments, EP and other parlia- ments with spirit of democ- racy de- fender	Community of Democracies (CoD) <i>Issue provider, sponsor, part- ner</i>
C. Development, Population and Social Questions				
African Parliamentari- ans' Forum for NEPAD	Europe	2002	P	AU (African Union) NEPAD Program <i>Issue provider</i>
African Parliamentary Poverty Reduction Network (APRN)	Africa (Canadi- an support)	2003	Parliamentary committees	-
3. Association of	Europe (offices	1984	Current and	European

¹³ As of March 2010.

¹⁴ P = parliamentarians; IPI = international parliamentary institutions.

European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA) <i>Eradication of poverty, attainment of MDGs through human rights, democracy and development in Africa; technical assistance</i>	in Europe and Africa)		former national and EP P	Commission, European gov. and UN <i>Main sponsors</i>
Coalition of African Parliamentarians Against HIV and AIDS (CAPAH)	Africa (Canadian support)	2006	P	-
Global Committee of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (GCPPD) <i>Population and development, sexual and reproductive health</i>	Global	1982	P	United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) <i>Issue provider, conference convener, sponsor</i>
	Inter-American Parliamentary Group on Population and Development (IAPG)	1982	P	
	Forum of African and Arab Parliamentarians on Population and Development (FAAPPD)	1994	National parliamentary groups / committees of parliamentarians	
	European Parliamentary Forum on Population and Development (EPF)	2000	Formal / informal groups of national and EP P	
	Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD)	1981	?	
	National chapters	?	?	
Global Parliamentarians on Habitat (Global Group) <i>Human settlements, urban development, housing</i>	Global (regional councils for the African, the American, the Asian, the European, and the Oceanic Continent)	1987	Active and former P (as individuals or groups) + others	United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) <i>Issue provider, supporter and partner</i>
	a) Global Parliamentarians on	1996		

	Habitat from the European Continent			
International Medical Parliamentarians Organization (IMPO) <i>Health and medical care</i>	Global	1994	P (medical professionals), others, e.g., former P	Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD) <i>Administration</i> World Health Organization (WHO), intl. org. <i>Issue provider; sponsor</i>
	IMPO African Region			
	IMPO Eastern Mediterranean Region			
	IMPO European Region			
	IMPO Region for the Americas			
	IMPO Region for the Western Pacific			
	IMPO South-East Asia Region			
Inter-Parliamentarians for Social Services (IPSS) <i>Promotion of Social Services</i>	Global	2003	P	-
D. Discrimination				
Interparliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism (IC-CA)	Global	2009	P	-
	Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Antisemitism (CPCCA)	2009		
Inter-Parliamentary Council against Antisemitism (defunct?) <i>Fight against Antisemitism, inter-confessional cooperation</i>	Global	1985	National P	-
E. Economy and Trade				
EUREKA Inter-Parliamentary Conferences (IPCs) ¹⁵	Europe	1990	1-5 national P from member countries and	EUREKA initiative <i>Issue provider,</i>

¹⁵ EUREKA is not an international organization founded by treaty, but rather an intergovernmental initiative working on a private law basis. Therefore, the IPCs, which customari-

<i>Public awareness of EUREKA (market-oriented, industrial R&D in Europe; support to businesses, research centres and universities); recommendations to ministers</i>			1-5 EP P, mostly from research committees	<i>reference point for conference organization, addressee of consultative oversight</i>
Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC) <i>Good governance and combating corruption</i>	Global	2000	P + former P + elected P who have been denied admission to office	WB <i>Initiator</i> WB, gov. <i>Sponsors, et al.</i>
	African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption (APNAC)	1999		
	Arab Region Parliamentarians Against Corruption (ARPAC)	2004		
	Caribbean Parliamentarians Against Corruption (CaribPAC)	?		
	Central Asian Parliamentarians Against Corruption (CAPAC)	?		
	European Parliamentarians Against Corruption	2005		
	Latin American Parliamentarians Against Corruption (LAPAC)	2002		
	Newly Independent States Parliamentarians Against Corruption (NISPAC)	2003		
	North American Parliamentarians Against Corruption (NAPAC)	?		

ly function as a main body of the initiative, likewise can only be classified as some sort of GRINGO. Even though historically developed independently from the mother initiative, they do also not show enough evidence (*e.g.*, rules of procedure, budget authority, own organs, etc.) for being classified as an independent regional parliamentary organization (or specialized agency).

	North East Asian Parliamentarians Against Corruption (NEAPAC)	2003		
	South Asian Parliamentarians Against Corruption (SAPAC)	?		
	South Caucasus Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (CauPAC)	2009		
	South East Asian Parliamentarians Against Corruption (SEAPAC)	2005		
	South Pacific Parliamentarians Against Corruption (AustralAsia) (inactive)	?		
	National chapters	?		
International Parliamentarians' Association for Agriculture and Fisheries (IPAAF) <i>Liberalization effects on agriculture, forestry and fishery and resulting environmental and food-related problems</i>	Global (P from food importing countries)	2000	National P + national parliaments	World Trade Organization (WTO) <i>Issue provider</i>
International Parliamentary Network (IPN) <i>Against neoliberal effects of globalization</i>	Global	2001	P	World Social Forum (WSF) <i>Initiator of World Parliamentary Fora during WSF</i>
	Regional sections			
Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB) <i>Policy dialogue and exchange of views between legislators and the World Bank; international development</i>	Global	2000	P from WB members states	WB <i>Initiator; host of Secretariat, co-organizer of events</i> UN bodies, IMF, WB, gov. <i>Sponsors, et al.</i>
	PNoWB India Chapter	2001		
	PNoWB East Africa (EA) Chapter	2003		
	PNoWB Japan Chapter	2004		

<i>and poverty eradication</i>	PNoWB Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Chapter (Arab Region)	2004		
	PNoWB West Africa Chapter	2006		
	PNoWB Balkans Chapter	2006		
	PNoWB Southern Africa Chapter	2007		
	PNoWB Donor Country Chapter	2005		
F. Education, Science and Culture				
UNESCO communities <i>Link between national parliaments and National Commissions for UNESCO, Education, science, culture</i>	IPU Network of Parliamentary Focal Points for questions relating to UNESCO Global	2003	P + IPI	UNESCO <i>Issue provider, conference convener</i> IPU <i>Convener of Focal Points</i>
	Inter-Parliamentary Conference of the Latin American and Caribbean Region	2002	National P and P of Latin American Parliament	UNESCO <i>Convener and issue provider</i> Parlatino <i>Convener</i>
	Forum of African Parliamentarians for Education (FAPED)	2002	P	UNESCO <i>Convener and issue provider</i> Intl. org., gov. Sponsors, et al.
	Forum of Arab Parliamentarians for Education (FARPED)	2007	P	UNESCO <i>Convener and issue provider</i> Arab and intl. org. <i>Partners</i>
	Forum of Asia Pacific Parliamentarians for Education (FASPPED)	2008	P	UNESCO <i>Convener and issue provider</i>
International Parliamentarians' Association for Information Technology (IPAIT) <i>Promotion of multilat-</i>	Global	2002	National P	-

<i>eral cooperation in the field of Information and Communication Technologies</i>				
World Scout Parliamentary Union (WSPU) <i>Strengthening of National Scout Organisations and World Scouting as an educational method for the Youth, for peace, environment and health</i>	Global	1991	National P	World Organization of the Scout Movement <i>Partner</i>
	Arab Scout Parliamentary Union	1993		
	National Scout Parliamentary Associations (NSPAs)	?	National, sometimes + regional P	
G. Environment and Energy				
Asia-Pacific Parliamentarians' Conference on Environment and Development (APPCED)	Asia-Pacific	1993	National and state P	-
Global Legislators Organization for a Balanced Environment (GLOBE) <i>Climate and energy security, land use change and ecosystems, economic and population growth</i>	GLOBE International	1989	National P from G8 countries and the + 5 countries of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa	G8 + 5 / International Financial Institutions (IFIs) / intl. environmental org. <i>Issue providers; lobbying addressees</i>)
	GLOBE Europe	1994	P	Environmental org. <i>Issue providers; lobbying addressees</i>
	GLOBE European Union	1992		
	GLOBE Africa	?		
	GLOBE Japan	1990		
GLOBE National Chapters	Various			
Latin-American Inter-Parliamentary Commission on the Environment (Comisión Latinoamericana Interparlamentaria de Medio Ambiente, CLIMA) ¹⁶ <i>Harmonization of legislation for the protection of the environment and of biodi-</i>	Latin America	1996	Parliaments of Latin America and the Caribbean	-

¹⁶ The Commission is insufficiently institutionalised to qualify for more than GRINGO status.

<i>versity and for sustainable development</i>				
Parliamentary Network on the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (PNoUNCCD) <i>Increasing parliamentary involvement and efficiency in the fields of combating desertification, soil erosion and land degradation</i>	Global	2003	P	UNCCD <i>Issue provider; conference convener</i> IPU <i>Supporter</i>
Renewable Energy Organizations <i>Renewable Energy</i>	World Renewable Energy Parliamentary Network (WREPN)	2005	P	World Council for Renewable Energy (WCRE) <i>Convener</i>
	The European Forum for Renewable Energy Sources (EUFORES)	1995	National + regional P	-
H. Peace, Disarmament, Trade in Arms and Aerospace				
AMANI Forum - The Great Lakes Parliamentary Forum on Peace <i>Elimination of armed conflict, promotion of peace and democratic governance</i>	Africa, Great Lakes Region	1998	National P	-
	National chapters	Various		
	EALA chapter	2007		
European Interparliamentary Space Conference (EISC) <i>European and national space activities</i>	Europe	1999	National P	European Space Agency (ESA) <i>Issue provider</i>
	National chapters	Various		
Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation (PAEAC) <i>Promotion of peace in the Middle East; strengthening of political, economic and cultural co-operation between Europe and the Arab world</i>	Europe	1974	National P from members of the Council of Europe and EP P	Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union, European gov., EU <i>Cooperating and exchange partners</i>
Parliamentary Forum on Small Arms and Light Weapons	Latin America, Europe, Africa	1999	P	UN bodies <i>Initiator; sponsors, et al.</i>

<i>Trade in small arms and light weapons, armed violence</i>				Gov. Sponsors, et al.
Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) <i>Prevention of nuclear proliferation and achievement of nuclear disarmament</i>	Global	2001	National, but also state and regional P	-
Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention and Human Security	Global	2008	National, regional current or former P	-
World Women Parliamentarians for Peace (WWPP) (defunct?)	Global	1985	Women P	-
	Organization of Women Parliamentarians from Muslim Countries (OWPMC)	?		

Table 3. International or regional parliamentary organizations¹⁷

Organization	Foundation (of predecessor)	Membership ¹⁸	Related Gov. Organization, foundation (predecessor) <i>Status of PO</i>
A. International or supraregional			
Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AIPU)	1974	D by Arab parliaments	League of Arab States, 1945 <i>Contact through Agreement of Cooperation and Coordination</i>
Association of Senates, Shoora and Equivalent Councils in Africa and the Arab World (ASSECAA) ¹⁹	2002 (2001 Association of Senates and Second Chambers of Africa and the Arabic World)	D by African and Arab senates and second chambers	-
Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly (EuroLat)	2006 (biennial EU-LA Inter-parliamentary Conferences since 1974)	D by the EP, Parlantino, Parlandino, Parlacen, Parlasur, and the Mexico and Chile Joint Parliamentary Committees	Bi-regional European Union-Latin America and Caribbean (EU-LAC) Strategic Partnership, ²⁰ 1999 <i>Cooperation partner</i>
Forum of Portuguese Speaking Parliaments (FPLP)	1998	D by Portuguese speaking parliaments	Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), 1996 <i>Cooperating org.</i>

¹⁷ As of March 2010.

¹⁸ DE = directly elected; IE = indirectly elected; D = delegated by national parliaments.

¹⁹ See also the Senates of the World, p. 53.

²⁰ The EU-LAC Strategic Partnership is not an international organization. Therefore, EuroLat is not classified as a specialized agency or an organ.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)	1889	D	United Nations Organization (UNO), 1945 <i>Observer General Assembly</i>
Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean (PAM) ²¹	2006 (Inter-Parliamentary Conferences on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean (CSCM) in 1992, 1995, 2000, and 2005 under IPU auspices)	D by parliaments of countries of the Mediterranean basin + some others	-
Parliamentary Union of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference Member States (PUIC)	1999	D by parliaments of OIC members states	Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), 1969 <i>Observer</i>
B. African			
African Parliamentary Union (APU)	1999 (1976 Union of African Parliaments)	D by national groups in African parliaments	African Union (AU), 2002 (African Economic Community (AEC), 1991; Organization of African Unity (OAU), 1963) <i>Observer</i>
C. American			
Foro de Presidentes de Poderes Legislativos de Centroamérica (FOPREL) = Forum of the Presidents of the Legislative Powers of Central America ²²	1994	<i>Ex officio</i> Presidents of national parliaments ²³	-
Parliamentary Confederation of the Americas (COPA)	2001 (2000 Parliamentary Conference of the	D by unitary, federal, federated and associated	Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), not yet finalized

²¹ The PAM is in direct competition with the EMPA; see p. 72.

²² FOPREL is in direct competition to Parlacen, see p. 71.

²³ The members of the Consultative Council are nominated by the Presidents of national parliaments; the members of the FOPREL commissions are delegated by the commissions in national parliaments or, in case no commission exists, are nominated by the Presidents of national parliaments.

	Americas)	states, the regional parliaments and the inter-parliamentary organizations of the Americas	
Parlamento Amazónico = Amazonian Parliament	1989	D by parliaments of the Amazonian region	Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO), 1995 (Amazon Cooperation Treaty, 1978) (-)
Parlamento Latinoamericano (Parlatino) = Latin American Parliament	1964	D by democratic national parliaments of Latin America of those states which have ratified Treaty of Institutionalization of 1987 (DE planned)	- (Comunidad Latinoamericana de Naciones (CLAN), aspired by Parlatino since 1991)
D. Asian/Pacific			
ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA)	2007 (1977 ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization (AIPO))	D by national parliaments of the ASEAN member countries	Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), 1967 <i>Associated Entity</i>
Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD)	1981	D by national committees of Parliamentarians on Population and Development or by parliamentary committees dealing with population and development issues	United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 1967 <i>Addressee for sponsoring Gov., nat. development agencies</i> <i>Addressee for sponsoring</i>
Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union	1965 (before 1980)	D by National Groups in	-

	Asian Parliamentarians' Union (APU))	parliaments	
Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA)	2006 (1999 Association of Asian Parliaments for Peace (AAPP))	D by Asian parliaments	-
Association of Pacific Island Legislatures (APIL)	1981	D by (national and sub-national) legislative assemblies of the Pacific region	-
Forum of Asia Pacific Parliamentarians for Education (FASPPED)	2008	D by national parliamentary committees on education	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1945 <i>Addressee for provision of seat and secretariat services</i>
South Caucasus Parliamentary Initiative (SCPI)	2003	D by national parliaments of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia	- European gov. <i>Addressee for sponsoring</i>

Table 4: International or regional specialized agencies²⁴

Organization	Foundation (different names or predecessor)	Membership ²⁵	Related Gov. Organization, foundation (predecessor) <i>Status of SA</i>
A. International or supraregional			
Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie (APF) = Francophone Parliamentary Assembly	1967 (named Association internationale des parlementaires de langue française (AIPLF) until 1989, named Assemblée internationale des parlementaires de langue française until 1998)	D by parliaments of totally or partially French speaking states, provinces, etc., or communities	Organisation internationale de la Francophonie (OIF), 1998 (Agence de coopération culturelle et technique, 1970) <i>Institution of the Francophonie, consultative assembly</i>
NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA)	1955 (named Atlantic Assembly until 1966 and North Atlantic Assembly until 1998)	D by national parliaments of Atlantic Alliance member countries	NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 1949 <i>Cooperating org.; addressee for reports and sponsoring by gov.</i>
Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC)	1993	D by national parliaments of BSEC member countries	Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), 1992 <i>BSEC related body, cooperating and consultative org.</i>
B. African			
IGAD Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU-IGAD)	2007	D by national parliaments of IGAD member states (?)	Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), 1996 (Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Devel-

²⁴ As of March 2010.

²⁵ DE = directly elected; IE = indirectly elected; D = delegated by national parliaments.

			opment (IGADD), 1986) <i>Consultative body (?)</i>
SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF) ²⁶	1993 (1996 officially launched)	D by national parliaments of SADC member countries	Southern African Development Community (SADC), 1993 (Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), 1980) <i>Autonomous institution of SADC, observer at SADC Summits</i>
C. American			
Assembly of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians (ACCP)	1996	D by national parliaments of CARICOM member countries	Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), 1973 (Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA), 1965) <i>Institution of the Community, deliberative and consultative body</i>
Parlamento Centroamericano (Parlacen) = Central American Parliament ²⁷	1991	DE (+ <i>ex officio</i> Presidents + 1 Vice-President per country as elected by parliament)	Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana (SICA) = Central American Integration System, 1991 (Organization of Central American States (ODECA), 1962) <i>Oversight (elects, receives annual reports) and advisory body</i>

²⁶ In accordance with Art. 8 (3 b) of its constitution, the Forum is planned to become a "Parliamentary structure", whereas its Plenary Assembly would "be the legislative body in full consultation with SADC authorities and without infringing on the sovereignty of SADC national Parliaments' legislative functions".

²⁷ See the Annex, note 22.

D. European			
Baltic Assembly (BA)	1991	D by national parliaments from Baltic states	Baltic Council of Ministers (BCM), 1994 <i>Cooperating body</i>
Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference (BSPC)	1991 (named Parliamentary Baltic Sea Conference until 1999)	D by national or regional (= provincial!) parliaments from 11 CBSS members + some other regional parliamentary assemblies	Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS), 1992 <i>Strategic Partner</i>
Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region (CPAR)	1993	D by national parliaments of the Arctic states and the European Parliament; Permanent Participants are representatives of Indigenous peoples	Arctic Council, 1996 <i>Observer</i>
Conseil interparlementaire consultatif de Benelux (Benelux Parliament) = Benelux Consultative Interparliamentary Council	1955 (1946 Benelux IPU, founded within the IPU)	D by national parliaments of Benelux states	Benelux, 1948 (Benelux Customs Union, 1948) (Benelux Economic Union, 1960) <i>Institution</i>
Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly (EMPA) ²⁸	2004 (1998 Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Forum)	D by EU national parliaments, the EP, the European Mediterranean partner countries, the ten founding Mediterranean partners, and Mauritania	Union for the Mediterranean, 2008 ²⁹ (Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Barcelona Process), 1995) <i>Consultative body</i>
Parliamentary Cooperation in South-	2008	?	South-East European Cooperation

²⁸ See also the Annex, note 21.

²⁹ It is controversial whether the new Union for the Mediterranean, now encompassing all EU members states on the European side, really is an international organization since it is not founded by an international treaty. Yet, it has different organs and a budget for the Secretariat, and at least the new Secretariat in Barcelona has separate legal capacity. This capacity seems to comprise international personality since a Headquarters Agreement has been concluded between the Secretariat and the host country, which also includes diplomatic privileges and immunities. We count it here among international organizations.

Eastern Europe (SEE) ³⁰			Process (SEEC), 2008 ³¹
Conference of the Speakers of the Parliaments of the SEEC	1997	D by parliaments of SEE	(Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, 1999)
Western Balkans Conference of the Committees on European Integration/Affairs of the States participating in the Stabilisation and Association Process (COSAP)	2005	D by European affairs committees of national parliaments of SEE	<i>Priority Area for Cooperation, overarching theme</i>
Cetinje (formerly Balkans) Parliamentary Forum	2004	D by parliaments of SEE or the respective parliamentary bodies	
Parliamentary dimension of the Adriatic-Ionian Initiative (AII)	2001	D (Speakers) by AII parliaments	Adriatic-Ionian Initiative (AII), 2000 ³²

³⁰ There is a Regional Secretariat for Parliamentary Cooperation in SEE, which has functional but not legal status thus far.

³¹ It is controversial whether the SEEC qualifies as an international organization since it is not founded by an international treaty. Yet, it has different organs and a budget for the Secretariat, the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC). Its predecessor, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, was not an international organization since it lacked not only a treaty base, but also independent financial resources and implementing structures. Yet, we count the SEEC here among international organizations.

³² Similarly, the AII is not founded by an international treaty, but disposes of different organs. Since its parliamentary dimension is hosted by the Cetinje Parliamentary Forum, it is listed here.

Table 5. Parliamentary organs of international or regional organizations³³

Organ	Quality of organ ³⁴	Foundation (of predecessor)	Membership ³⁵	Related Gov. Organization, foundation (predecessor)
A. Supraregional				
ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly (JPA)	M (institution)	2003 (1985 Joint Assembly of the ACP-EEC (European Economic Community) Convention of Lomé I and II (1976 Joint Committee and Consultative Assembly of the ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé III and IV)	D by ACP parliaments (or IE) and EP	Cotonou Agreement (Partnership Agreement ACP-EC (African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States-European Communities)), ³⁶ 2003 (fourth Lomé Convention 1990-1999) (third Lomé Convention 1985/1986-1990) (second Lomé Convention 1981-1985) (first Lomé Convention 1976-1980) (second Yaoundé Convention 1971-1975) (first Yaoundé Convention 1964-1969)
ACP Consultative Assembly	S (advisory body)	2005 (1992 ACP members of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly)	D by ACP parliaments	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP (Group)), 1975

³³ As of March 2010.

³⁴ M = main organ; S = subsidiary organ

³⁵ DE = directly elected; IE = indirectly elected; D = delegated by national parliaments.

³⁶ Whether this development cooperation fulfils the requirements for an international organization remains controversial. Yet, it consists of states and the Agreement is an international treaty that sets up organs and ACP-EU co-secretariats. Therefore, we treat it as an international organization here. Otherwise, the JPA would be an organ of the EU and the ACP Group.

Arab Transitional Parliament (ATP) ³⁷	S	2005	D	League of Arab States, 1945
GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova) Parliamentary Assembly (GUAM PA)	S	2004	D	GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development, 1997
Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (IPA CIS)	S (inter-state body)	1992	D	Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 1991
Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty (PA OCST)	Part of S	2006 (1999 as IPA CIS in the Collective Security Treaty (CST) format)	D	Organization of the Collective Security Treaty (OCST), 2002
Interparliamentary Assembly of the Eurasian Economic Community (IPA Eur-AsEC)	S (parliamentary cooperation body)	2000 (1996 Interparliamentary Committee)	D	Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC), 2000
OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA)	S (institution)	1991 (since 1973 parliamentary meetings under IPU auspices ³⁸)	D	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 1995 (Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 1973)
Parliamentary Assembly of the Russia-Belarus Union State ³⁹	M (representative body)	1997 (1996 Parliamentary Assembly of the Commonwealth of Russia and Belarus)	D	Union State (of Russia and Belarus), 1996

³⁷ It is planned to set up a directly elected Arab Parliament. Within five years, the ATP is meant to draft the arrangements for the permanent Arab Parliament.

³⁸ See Ghebali (1993/1992).

³⁹ A bicameral Union Parliament, comprising a directly elected House of Representatives and a House of the Union whose members are selected by the respected upper legislative houses is foreseen in the Treaty of the Creation of a Union State of 1999, but has not been put into effect thus far.

Parliamentary Assembly of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (PA CPLP)	S	2007	D	Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), 1996
B. African				
Conseil Consultatif de l'Union du Maghreb Arabe = Consultative Council of the Arab Maghreb Union	M	1989 (1984 Parliamentary Assembly)	D	Union du Maghreb Arabe (UMA) = Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), 1989
Comité Interparlementaire de l'Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine = UEMOA Interparliamentary Committee ⁴⁰	M (control organ)	1998	D	Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) = West African Economic and Monetary Union, 1994 (Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO), 1973) + (Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UMOA), 1963)
CEMAC Parlement Communautaire = CEMAC Community Parliament ⁴¹	S (institution)	2010 (1999 Commission Interparlementaire de la Communauté Economique et Monétaire d'Afrique Centrale = CEMAC Interparliamentary Commission)	D	Communauté Economique et Monétaire d'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC) = Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa, 1999 (Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale (UDEAC), 1964)

⁴⁰ A UEMOA Parliament with full powers of democratic control and with participation in decision-making is planned. The Interparliamentary Committee has already adopted a draft treaty for the creation of a regional parliament, which was accepted by the Heads of State and Government in 2003. In a first step, parliamentarians shall be delegated by national parliaments, later directly elected. It will have information and hearing rights, the right to put questions and must consent in some cases, can set up investigative committees and can reprimand the Commission. Yet, it can be dissolved by the Conference of Heads of State and Government. It will co-decide on the UEMOA budget and its members will have parliamentary and diplomatic immunities. It will be financially autonomous.

⁴¹ The new Community Parliament was installed on 15 April 2010. In a first step, national parliaments have delegated 5 parliamentarians each as members. After five years, members are supposed to be directly elected.

East African Legislative Assembly of the East African Community (EALA)	M	2001 (1967-1977)	IE ⁴²	East African Community (EAC), 2001 (East African Co-operation, 1993-2000) (East African Community, 1967-1977) (East African Common Services Organisation, 1961-1967) (East African High Commission, 1948-1961) (Customs Union, 1917)
Network of Parliamentarians of the Economic Community of Central African States (REPAC) ⁴³	?	2002	D	Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), 1983
Pan-African Parliament (PAP) ⁴⁴	M	2004	D	African Union (AU), 2002 (African Economic Community (AEC), 1991) (Organization of African Unity (OAU), 1963)
Parliament of the Economic Community of West African States (Community Parliament) ⁴⁵	M (institution)	2000	D	Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 1975
C. American				
Parlamento Andino (Parlandino) = Andean Parliament	M (deliberative organ)	1979	DE (gradually)	Comunidad Andino (CAN) = Andean Community, 1996 (Pacto (Grupo) Andino = Andean Pact (Group), 1969)
Parlamento del MERCOSUR (Parlasur) = MERCOSUR Parliament	M	2006 (1992 Comisión Parlamentaria)	DE from 2011, until	Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR), 1991 = Common Market of the South

⁴² By national parliaments, not from among its members (+ nonvoting governmental and EAC officials as *ex officio* members).

⁴³ A Parliament of ECCAS is planned.

⁴⁴ The Pan-African Parliament is meant to develop into a directly elected parliament with full legislative powers.

⁴⁵ A West African Parliament, directly elected for five years and with legislative functions, is planned.

		Conjunta del Mercado Común del Sur (CPC) = Joint Parliamentary Commission of the Common Market of the South)	2011 D	
D. European				
Committee of Members of Parliament of the EFTA Countries (CMP)	S (advisory body)	1977 (1963 informal meetings)	D (by EFTA parliaments)	European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 1960
Committee of Members of Parliament of the EFTA States Party to the EEA (MPS)	S (consultative body)	1994	D (by EFTA parliaments of states party to EEA)	European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 1960
EEA Joint Parliamentary Committee (EEA JPC)	M	1994 (1981 joint meetings of CMP and EP)	D (by EFTA parliaments of states party to EEA and EP)	European Economic Area (EEA), 1994
Conférence des organes spécialisés dans les affaires communautaires et européennes des Parlements de l'Union européenne (COSAC) = Conference of Community and European Affairs Committees of Parliaments of the European Union	S	1989	D ⁴⁶	European Union (EU), 1993 (European Communities (EC), 1967)
European Parliament (EP) (of the European	M	1967 EP (of the EC, since	DE (until	European Union (EU), 1993

⁴⁶ By Community and European Affairs Committee(s) of national parliaments of EU member states and by the EP.

Union)		1993 partly of the EU) ⁴⁷	1979 D)	(European Communities (EC), 1967)
European Security and Defence Assembly / Assembly of WEU	M	1954-2011	D	Western European Union (WEU), 1954, will be closed by June 2011 since its tasks will be taken over by the EU; see Lisbon Treaty
Interparliamentary Committee on the Dutch Language Union	M	1980	D	Dutch Language Union (NTU), 1980
Network of Parliamentary Committees for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union (NCEO) / Conference of Parliamentary Committees for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union Member States and in the European Parliament (CCEO)	S ⁴⁸	1997	D ⁴⁹	European Union (EU), 1993 (European Communities (EC), 1967)
Nordic Council	M	1952	D	Nordic Cooperation, 1971
Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE)	M	1949	D	Council of Europe, 1949
PACE enlarged debate on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	-	1962	-	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 1961

⁴⁷ Predecessors: 1962: European Parliament of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the EEC and of the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom)), 1958: European Parliamentary Assembly of the ECSC, the EEC and of Euratom, 1952: Common Assembly of the ECSC.

⁴⁸ It is doubtful whether the NCEO qualifies as a subsidiary organ of the EU. Yet, it is partly financed through EU funds and thus, in some way, is too closely connected to the EU to qualify as a GRINGO. On the other hand, it is not autonomous enough to qualify as a specialized agency.

⁴⁹ By committees responsible for the policy of equal opportunities of women and of men in national parliaments of EU member states and candidate countries, and in EP.

Parliamentary Dimension of the Central European Initiative	M	1990	D	Central European Initiative (CEI), 1989 ⁵⁰
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⁵⁰ It is controversial whether the Central European Initiative really is an international organization since it is not founded by an international treaty. Yet, it has different organs and has concluded Memoranda of Understanding. We count it here among international organizations.

Abbreviations

AAPP	Association of Asian Parliaments for Peace
ACCP	Assembly of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians
ACP (Group)	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
ACP-EU JPA	ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly
ACPSP	Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Program
ACTO	Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization
AEC	African Economic Community
AFPPD	Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development
AII	Adriatic-Ionian Initiative
AIPA	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly
AIPLF	Association (Assemblée) internationale des parlementaires de langue française
AIPO	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization
AIPU	Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APA	Asian Parliamentary Assembly
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APF	Francophone Parliamentary Assembly (Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie)
APIL	Association of Pacific Island Legislatures
APNAC	African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption
APPCED	Asia-Pacific Parliamentarians' Conference on Environment and Development
APPF	Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum
APPU	Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union
APRN	African Parliamentary Poverty Reduction Network
APU	African Parliamentary Union
APU	Asian Parliamentarians' Union
ARPAC	Arab Region Parliamentarians Against Corruption
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ASEF	Asia Europe Foundation
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
ASEP	Asia-Europe Parliamentary Partnership Meeting
ASSECAA	Association of Senates, Shoora and Equivalent Councils in Africa and the Arab World

ATP	Arab Transitional Parliament
AU	African Union
AWEPA	Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa
BA	Baltic Assembly
BCM	Baltic Council of Ministers
BEAR	Barents Euro-Arctic Region
BIIPB	British-Irish Inter-Parliamentary Body
BSEC	Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation
BSPC	Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference
CALRE	Conference of European Regional Legislative Assemblies
CAN	Andean Community (Comunidad Andino)
CAPAC	Central Asian Parliamentarians Against Corruption
CAPAH	Coalition of African Parliamentarians Against HIV and AIDS
CaribPAC	Caribbean Parliamentarians Against Corruption
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CARIFTA	Caribbean Free Trade Association
CauPAC	South Caucasus Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption
CBSS	Council of the Baltic Sea States
CCEO	Conference of Parliamentary Committees for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union Member States and in the European Parliament
CEAO	Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
CEI	Central European Initiative
CEMAC	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (Communauté Economique et Monétaire d'Afrique Centrale)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CLAN	Comunidad Latinoamericana de Naciones
CLIMA	Latin-American Inter-Parliamentary Commission on the Environment (Comisión Latinoamericana Interparlamentaria de Medio Ambiente)
CMP	Committee of Members of Parliament of the EFTA Countries
CoE	Council of Europe
COPA	Parliamentary Confederation of the Americas
COSAC	Conference of Community and European Affairs Committees of Parliaments of the European Union (Conférence des organes spécialisés dans les affaires communautaires et européennes des Parlements de l'Union européenne)
COSAP	Western Balkans Conference of the Committees on European Integration/Affairs of the States participating in the Stabilisation and Association Process
CPA	Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
CPAR	Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region
CPC	Joint Parliamentary Commission of the Common Market of the South (Comisión Parlamentaria Conjunta del Mercado Común del Sur)

CPCCA	Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Antisemitism
CPI	Interregional Parliamentary Council (Conseil Parlementaire Inter-régional)
CPLP	Community of Portuguese Language Countries
CSCE	Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSCM	Inter-Parliamentary Conferences on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean
CST	Collective Security Treaty
EAC	East African Community
EALA	East African Legislative Assembly of the East African Community
EC	European Communities
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEA JPC	EEA Joint Parliamentary Committee
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EISC	European Interparliamentary Space Conference
EMPA	Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly
EP	European Parliament (of the European Union)
EPF	European Parliamentary Forum on Population and Development
ESA	European Space Agency
EU	European Union
EUFORS	European Forum for Renewable Energy Sources
EU-LAC	European Union-Latin America and Caribbean
EurAsEC	Eurasian Economic Community
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
EuroLat	Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly
EURO-NEST	EU-Neighbourhood-East
FAAPPD	Forum of African and Arab Parliamentarians on Population and Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FAPED	Forum of African Parliamentarians for Education
FARPED	Forum of Arab Parliamentarians for Education
FASPPED	Asia Pacific Parliamentarians for Education
FEALAC	Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation
FIPA	Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas (Foro Interparlamentario de las Américas)
FOPREL	Forum of the Presidents of the Legislative Powers of Central America (Foro de Presidentes de Poderes Legislativos de Centroamérica)
FPLP	Forum of Portuguese Speaking Parliaments

FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
G8 (+ 5)	Group of Eight (+ Five)
GCPPD	Global Committee of Parliamentarians on Population and Development
GLOBE	Global Legislators Organization for a Balanced Environment
GONGOS	Government Organized NGOs
GOPAC	Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption
GRINGOs	Government Run/Inspired NGOs
GUAM PA	GUAM Parliamentary Assembly
GUAM	Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova
IAO	Inter-Parliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy
IAPG	Inter-American Parliamentary Group on Population and Development
ICCA	Interparliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGADD	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
IGO	Inter-governmental organization
iKNOW Politics	International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMPO	International Medical Parliamentarians Organization
IPA CIS	Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States
IPA EurAsEC	Interparliamentary Assembly of the Eurasian Economic Community
IPAAF	International Parliamentarians' Association for Agriculture and Fisheries
IPAIT	International Parliamentarians' Association for Information Technology
IPCs	EUREKA Inter-Parliamentary Conferences
IPIs	International Parliamentary Institutions
IPN	International Parliamentary Network
IPSS	Inter-Parliamentarians for Social Services
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IPU-IGAD	IGAD Inter-Parliamentary Union
IUOTO	International Union of Official Travel Organisations
LAPAC	Latin American Parliamentarians Against Corruption
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEE	Middle and East European
MERCOSUR	Common Market of the South (Mercado Común del Sur)
MPS	Committee of Members of Parliament of the EFTA States Party to the EEA
NAPAC	North American Parliamentarians Against Corruption
NATO PA	NATO Parliamentary Assembly

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCEO	Network of Parliamentary Committees for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEAPAC	North East Asian Parliamentarians Against Corruption
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NISPAC	Newly Independent States Parliamentarians Against Corruption
NSPAs	National Scout Parliamentary Associations
NTU	Dutch Language Union
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCST	Organization of the Collective Security Treaty
ODECA	Organization of Central American States
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	Organisation of the Islamic Conference
OIF	Organisation internationale de la Francophonie
OSCE PA	OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OWPMC	Organization of Women Parliamentarians from Muslim Countries
PA CPLP	Parliamentary Assembly of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries
PA OCST	Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty
PA	Parliamentary Assembly
PABSEC	Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PAEAC	Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation
PAM	Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
Parlacen	Central American Parliament (Parlamento Centroamericano)
Parlandino	Andean Parliament
Parlasur	MERCOSUR Parliament (Parlamento del MERCOSUR)
Parlatino	Latin American Parliament (Parlamento Latinoamericano)
PBEC	Pacific Basin Economic Council
PECC	Pacific Economic Cooperation Council
PGA	Parliamentarians for Global Action
PNND	Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament
PNoUNCCD	Parliamentary Network on the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
PNoWB	Parliamentary Network on the World Bank
PUIC	Parliamentary Union of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference Member States

QUANGOs	Quasi-Non-Governmental Organizations
RCC	Regional Cooperation Council
REPAC	Network of Parliamentarians of the Economic Community of Central African States
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SADC PF	SADC Parliamentary Forum
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAPAC	South Asian Parliamentarians Against Corruption
SCPI	South Caucasus Parliamentary Initiative
SEAPAC	South East Asian Parliamentarians Against Corruption
SECCP	South-East European Cooperation Process
SECI	South European Cooperative Initiative
SEE	South-Eastern Europe
SEECF CiO	SEECF Chairmanship in Office
SICA	Central American Integration System (Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana)
SLLF	State Legislative Leaders Foundation
UDEAC	Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale
UEMOA	West African Economic and Monetary Union (Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine)
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union (Union du Maghreb Arabe)
UMOA	Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine
UN	United Nations
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNPA	United Nations Parliamentary Assembly
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UPM	Unión de Parlamentarios del MERCOSUR
W.H.I.A.	World Hellenic Inter-Parliamentary Association
WB	World Bank
WCRE	World Council for Renewable Energy
WEU	Western European Union
WHO	World Health Organization
WREPN	World Renewable Energy Parliamentary Network
WSF	World Social Forum
WSPU	World Scout Parliamentary Union

WTO	World Tourism Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWPP	World Women Parliamentarians for Peace
YPF	Young Parliamentarians Forum

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