

Background Paper

## The Federalist Principle in the Catholic Social Doctrine and the Question of a World Parliament

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Dr. Maja Brauer and Andreas Bummel

The creation of a “true political world authority” is a recurring demand expressed in the social teachings of the Catholic Church. In view of existential global challenges, it was put forward most recently by Benedict XVI. and Pope Francis. This paper looks into the world order model included in catholic doctrine and highlights its basic principles. These are, in particular, federalism, subsidiarity, democracy, and separation of powers. Catholic social teaching implies structures of a world state that culminate in a supreme “universal public authority” which is subject to independent and institutionalized democratic oversight. The creation of a parliamentary world legislature that supervises this global administration and that allows for the participation of the world’s citizens in global political affairs is a logical consequence and fully in conformity with papal teaching.

On 18 June 2015, Pope Francis published his second encyclical titled “Laudato si” (Praise be to you). On behalf of christianity, the Pope urged responsibility in dealing with humanity’s “common home”, the Earth (13).<sup>2</sup>

The statement elaborates in detail on critical economic, social, and ecological grievances in the world. In view of these, the Pope calls on all human beings, christians as well as followers of other religions and disbelievers, to “to bring the whole human family together to seek a sustainable and integral development” (13). This is supposed to lead to a more humane world society that not only ensures a dignified existence of all alive today but also of future generations as well as of „Sister Earth“ (53) itself.

In addition to a discussion of ethical norms and possible political measures, the Pope also addresses the underlying conditions of the global political system. With reference to his predecessor Benedict XVI he calls for the creation of a „true political world authority“ that is able to cope with global challenges (175). To explain this more fully, Francis quotes a passage from Benedict XVI’s encyclical „Caritas in veritate“ (Charity in Truth) that was published in 2009:

*„To manage the global economy; to revive economies hit by the crisis; to avoid any deterioration of the present crisis and the greater imbalances that would result; to bring about integral and timely disarmament, food security and peace; to guarantee the protection of the environment and to regulate migration: for all this, there is urgent need of a*

*true world political authority, as my predecessor Blessed John XXIII indicated some years ago*" (67).

Since the Second World War, this perspective of political unification was continuously endorsed and developed in the tradition of papal teaching.<sup>3</sup> It is more than merely a conclusion that the globalized and interdependent hazards of the technological age require common world institutions that ensure peace and implement supra-nationally coordinated actions and strategies.

Rather, this aspiration is deeply rooted in the societal model of Catholic social doctrine itself which is cosmopolitan in principle. In a systematic context it can be used to derive the decisive normative guidelines on which a future political world order would have to be based on from the perspective of the Catholic Church.<sup>4</sup>

In the following, a closer look at this notion of world political order will show that in its general outline it is identical with the model of a *world federation* based on the rule of law and subsidiarity as it has been advocated by the international world federalist movement for a long time.<sup>5</sup>

In this context we will also look into the question of how the goal of democratic global structures – and the possible creation of a world parliament in particular – would have to be judged from the perspective of papal teaching.

## Subsidiarity, federalism, and relative sovereignty

As a vision of a universal peace community, the world order model of catholic social teaching can be traced back up to the beginning of human cultural history.<sup>6</sup> Already in ancient philosophy, the key idea of this vision was that the political order should promote the welfare of all. A government based on reason and justice, located at the various levels of social coexistence, was considered to be a precondition for this. According to the principle of subsidiarity formulated by Aristotle – albeit only in reference to the small

scales of the polis –, the reasonability of government requires that each of its functions are located at the level at which a matter can be best regulated. The scholars of Stoa and Christianity who explored the concept of natural rights framed this idea universally. The model of a graded order climaxed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Dante Alighieri's work "De Monarchia".<sup>7</sup> In this work, Dante referred to the necessity of a supreme government led by a world monarch, but at the same time proclaimed that "humankind" should only be ruled by this supreme sovereign "with regard to such common things which affect all."

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century – when the medieval idea of a world monarch was no longer viable –, the Roman Catholic philosopher and theologian Francisco de Vitoria developed the conception of the equality and sovereignty of international legal subjects.<sup>8</sup> This idea of the world as a community of independent states which reached a breakthrough at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and determines the international system to this day, however, was only one element of Vitoria's design. The key idea was that of a "totus orbis" according to which humanity must be understood as a non-divisible unity and wholeness, "in a way which initially desists from dividing the people into states because the orbis stands above them and includes them all."<sup>9</sup>

Vitoria called this entity "res publica totius orbis" and assigned it with organizational and legislative powers to which the states are subordinate.<sup>10</sup>

In close proximity to this thought, Pope Pius XII repeatedly spoke out against an understanding of sovereignty as a concept that makes states absolutely independent and omnipotent. According to him, the state was merely entitled to possess "relative sovereignty". The Pope was in favor of the creation of

*"a body set up through a joint decision and vested with supreme and unlimited power whose tasks would include to crush at the very beginning each and any threat emanating from an individual or collective attack."*<sup>11</sup>

The principle of subsidiarity was clearly anchored in papal teaching in 1931 through the social encyclical "Quadragesima anno" by Pope Pius XI

(79f) and was reiterated with regard to the global order in 1963 in the encyclical “Pacem in terris” by Pope John XXIII:

*“The same principle of subsidiarity which governs the relations between public authorities and individuals, families and intermediate societies in a single State must also apply to the relations between the public authority of the world community and the public authorities of each political community.”* (140).

He goes on to point out, however, that it is not the duty of the universal authority “to limit the sphere of action of the public authority of individual States”. Rather it is supposed to create conditions under which public authorities and citizens “can carry out their tasks, fulfill their duties and claim their rights with greater security.”

The importance of the federalist principle was stressed by his predecessor Pius XII on 6 April 1951 in an address to a delegation of the World Federalist Movement, an organization that was established in 1947 and met in Rome for its IV<sup>th</sup> World Congress.<sup>12</sup> In this statement, the Pope expressed his agreement with the world order model advocated by the international world federalist movement:

*„Your movement, honorable gentlemen, has set itself the goal to create an effective political organization of the world. Nothing is more in accordance with the traditional teachings of the Church, nothing is more in concurrence with its proclamation on just and unjust war, particularly under today’s circumstances. ... You are of the opinion that the political world organization needs to take a federal shape in order to be effective. If you mean by this that it needs to be released from mechanical leveling down then you thereby are as well in accordance with the principles of social and political life as they are established and advocated by the Church.”* (3995).

The classical principle of subsidiarity is a frequent reference in world federalism. It is considered as an indispensable element of a future world order that is able to reconcile political unity with societal and cultural diversity. In a key document of the World Federalist Movement that was adopted in 1987, federalists stressed the necessity to establish global institutions

*„in accordance with the basic federalist principle of subsidiarity, which is the division of political authority and jurisdiction between different levels of government and the solving of problems at the level at which they occur, in general at the most local level possible. For this is the essence of world federalism: to seek to invest legal and political authority in world institutions to deal with problems which can only be treated adequately at the global level, while affirming the sovereignty of the nation-state in matters which are essentially internal.”*<sup>13</sup>

## Human dignity, common welfare, and world state authority

The social encyclical “Pacem in terris” by John XXIII goes beyond the principle of subsidiarity and includes a comprehensive and systematic conceptualization of a federal world order. For the first time in the history of the Catholic Church, the writing does not only address all Christians but also “all men of good will.” This is already an expression of a later decision of the Second Vatican Council to abandon the claim that catholic principles have absolute validity in the public sphere and in state affairs and to strengthen the dialogue with disbelievers and those of other faith. The writing combines theological reasoning with arguments drawn from natural law. In this way, principles shall be shown on which “all men of good will” are able to agree and which at the same time include special duties for Christians based on their faith.

According to Pope John XXIII, well-ordered human coexistence needs to be based on the human dignity of every individual and has to observe universally valid human rights and duties. Thus, for the first time, “reconciliation with human rights as principles to order societal and political life” prevailed in the pontificate.<sup>14</sup>

In the tradition of his predecessor, John XXIII then justifies state authority from the need that it asserts these basic rights and the common good. In core aspects, this definition of state authority is in accordance with modern doctrine of freedom. According to this doctrine, the state fulfills a double task. On the one hand, the state order secures an inviolable sphere of freedom of

every human being and, on the other hand, it guarantees that the use of freedom by every individual is balanced with one another according to general principles. From this argumentation, it is now possible, as Johann B. Sartorius has shown in 1837, following Immanuel Kant,<sup>15</sup> to derive the universal and timelessly valid requirement that the coexistence of all human beings anywhere on Earth is regulated in this way. This understanding of common welfare implies that the common good of the entirety of humanity per se can only be guaranteed by a global state authority.

In connection with the deduction of a subsidiary world state from moral philosophy, Pope John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terris" pointed to the increased mutual dependence of states caused by the advancement of science and technology. John XXIII considered the current structures of state organization as ill-suited to promote the common welfare of all human beings. State authority, the Pope said, needs to be adequate and effective in order to secure the public good, and he concluded, in the face of mutual global dependence of all peoples:

*"Today the universal common good presents us with problems which are world-wide in their dimensions; problems, therefore, which cannot be solved except by a public authority with power, organization and means co-extensive with these problems, and with a world-wide sphere of activity. Consequently, the moral order itself demands the establishment of such general form of public authority."* (137)

In this sense, the Second Vatican Council expressed itself in the pastoral constitution "Gaudium et spes" of 7 December 1965. The Council demanded, in order to

*"completely outlaw war", "the establishment of some universal public authority acknowledged as such by all and endowed with the power to safeguard, on the behalf of all, security, regard for justice, and respect for rights."* (81)

In his encyclical "Populorum progressio" of 1967 Paul VI focussed on the „common development of the human race“ and stressed the necessity to come „to the establishment of a world authority capable of taking effective action on the juridical and political planes“ (78).

## Managing globalization in a federal and holistic way

While Pope John Paul II only made rather general references to this tradition during his pontificate<sup>16</sup>, the encyclical "Caritas in veritate" by Pope Benedict XVI updated and reiterated the catholic social doctrine in view of globalization and the global economic crisis of 2009. Pope Benedict XVI stresses that although globalization may be regarded as a socio-economic process, this is not its only dimension. Underneath, "humanity itself is becoming increasingly interconnected," he states. Instead of viewing this process in fatalistic terms, man should take advantage of the many opportunities and shape globalization accordingly. The "fundamental ethical criterion" is the unity of the human family, the Pope says, and "its development towards what is good". (42)

Driven by the new economic-commercial and financial situation, state sovereignty is narrowed, the Pope argues. Public authority can only cope with the challenges of today's world if the modalities of the execution of state authority in the world system are changed:

*"The integral development of peoples and international cooperation require the establishment of a greater degree of international ordering, marked by subsidiarity, for the management of globalization."* (67)

This demand implies world state structures and an overcoming of the Westphalian concept of 1648 through a gradation of public authority up to the global level through the establishment of a "true world political authority" (67).

A reform of the United Nations Organization and of economic institutions and international finance is "strongly felt," according to Benedict XVI. A global authority to manage globalization should "be regulated by law", vested with effective power (67), seek to establish the common good, "observe consistently the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity" and be polyarchically organized (57). As Pius XII before him, Benedict XVI stresses that a global super state is not what is meant. In the tradition of Pope John XXIII, he

argues that a subsidiary distribution of political authority over different levels, from the local up to the global, does not weaken the state; quite on the contrary, he concludes that a strengthening of the state would ensue. This way the state could regain “many of its competences”:

*“The articulation of political authority at the local, national and international levels is one of the best ways of giving direction to the process of economic globalization.” (41)*

Drawing on the explanations of Benedict XVI, Pope Francis emphatically calls for a holistic perspective that takes into account the connectedness of every living thing, the complex interdependence of modern civilization and all of the different aspects of the worldwide crisis. As a normative framework of a global inclusive society he outlines the pattern of an „holistic ecology“ which clearly includes the human and social dimension (137). The Pope is convinced that the rights of future generations need to be guaranteed as well. According to Francis, the term of the common good also includes future generations (159). Following a perspective that was already taken by de Vitoria, the frame of reference for the notion of the common good in papal doctrine is the entire world (*bonum commune orbis*).

For the establishment of such a holistic and sustainable world society Francis believes, similar to his predecessors, that an overarching legal order and authority is indispensable. He also describes it as an essential step that would allow human civilization to free itself from developments that drive it into a different – and dangerous – direction:

*„The establishment of a legal framework which can set clear boundaries and ensure the protection of ecosystems has become indispensable; otherwise, the new power structures based on the technological paradigm may overwhelm not only our politics but also freedom and justice“ (53).*

## World authority and democracy

The universal context of the fundamental elements of the catholic theory of society already suggests that the democratic principle that is generally applied to the state also needs to be valid with regard to the global „*res publica*.“

The principle of democracy was determined by the Second Vatican Council in the pastoral constitution “*Gaudium et spes*“:

*“It is in full conformity with human nature that there should be juridico-political structures providing all citizens in an ever better fashion and without any discrimination the practical possibility of freely and actively taking part in the establishment of the juridical foundations of the political community and in the direction of public affairs, in fixing the terms of reference of the various public bodies and in the election of political leaders.” (75)*

Democracy was of huge importance to Pope John Paul II. In particular, he openly supported the anti-communist labor union *Solidarność* in his home country Poland.<sup>17</sup> Michail Gorbatchev, former President of the Soviet Union, wrote in his memoirs that the transformation in Eastern Europe would not have been possible without John Paul II.<sup>18</sup> In the encyclical “*Centesimus annus*” of 1 May 1991, John Paul II formulated a comprehensive criticism of totalitarianism and wrote in support of democracy:

*“The Church values the democratic system inasmuch as it ensures the participation of citizens in making political choices, guarantees to the governed the possibility both of electing and holding accountable those who govern them, and of replacing them through peaceful means when appropriate.” (46)*

In the encyclical “*Caritas in veritate*“, Benedict XVI substantiates the need for a subsidiary dispersion of political authority up to the supranational level *inter alia* by pointing out that this “is also the way to ensure that [economic globalization] does not actually undermine the foundations of democracy” (41). In fact, the Pope implies that forms of democratic participation should also be part of subsidiary dispersion:

*“Once the role of public authorities has been more clearly defined, one could foresee an increase in the new forms of political participation, nationally and internationally, that have come about through the activity of organizations operating in civil society; in this way it is to be hoped that the citizens’ interest and participation in the res publica will become more deeply rooted.” (24)*

The aspect mentioned here signifies that the individual citizens shall be directly related to the political world authority. The community of the human family in the sense of the catholic social doctrine is more than an accumulation of states. The solidary development of peoples, which is supposed to be a main task of the political world authority, coincides, according to Benedict XVI, with “the inclusion of all individuals and peoples within the one community of the human family” (54). The establishment of peace, the Pope also explains, is more than diplomatic relations and treaties among governments. The efforts should “be based on values rooted in the truth of human life”: That is,

*“the voice of the peoples affected must be heard and their situation must be taken into consideration, if their expectations are to be correctly interpreted.” (72)*

Already in his address to the delegates of the World Federalist Movement in 1951, Pope Pius XII clarified without ambiguity that in his opinion a political world authority needs to be based on the participation of all human beings:

*“[The future political world organization] will only exercise effective authority to the degree in which it preserves and fosters the independent existence of a healthy human community whose members jointly participate in advancing the welfare of the whole of humanity.” (4001)*

The Pope also does not object to the specific suggestion to realize the political organization of Earth “in a world parliament” insofar as the principle of federalism is taken into account (4000).

According to papal doctrine, the process of political unification should be based on democratic principles and on the consent of the citizens. As John XXIII stresses in “Pacem in terris”, the

*“general authority equipped with world-wide power and adequate means for achieving the universal common good cannot be imposed by force. It must be set up with the consent of all nations.” (138)*

Finally, Pope Francis also looked into the issue of an improved and more just participation in the UN system. In his speech at the United Nations on 25 September 2015 he declared that “reform and adaptation to the times is always necessary in the pursuit of the ultimate goal of granting all countries, without exception, a share in, and a genuine and equitable influence on, decision-making processes.” According to the Pope, this is especially true with regard to “those bodies with effective executive capability, such as the Security Council, the Financial Agencies and the groups or mechanisms specifically created to deal with economic crises.”<sup>19</sup>

## Separation of powers and a world parliament

In the political movement of world federalism which had a golden age in the years succeeding the Second World War<sup>20</sup>, it is a firmly established principle that any global authority needs to have a democratic character. Pragmatic models as well as maximalist visions of a world government all included parliamentary components.<sup>21</sup> At a congress 1953 in Copenhagen, for instance, proposals for a revision of the UN Charter were passed which also included the creation of a world legislature. According to the resolution, the latter should consist of two chambers:

*“One chamber, the Council of States, shall be composed of Senators which are appointed by member states. The other chamber, the Council of Peoples, shall be composed of elected Representatives whereby there shall be a correlation to the population size of the member states.”<sup>22</sup>*

The catholic social doctrine does not go into such details. According to a general understanding expressed by Pope John Paul II, the Church respects “the legitimate autonomy of the democratic order” and “is not entitled to express preferences

for this or that institutional or constitutional solution.” (47)

However, in addition to the principles already examined above, the principle of separation of powers is also included in catholic teaching. The encyclical “*Rerum novarum*” of 15 May 1891 contains remarks by Pope Leo XIII which describe the ideal political organization of society and stress the necessity of a separation of legislative, executive and judiciary powers. Pope John Paul II confirmed these deliberations in “*Centesimus annus*” (44) and underlined the principle of the rule of law:

*“Such an ordering reflects a realistic vision of man’s social nature, which calls for legislation capable of protecting the freedom of all. To that end, it is preferable that each power be balanced by other powers and by other spheres of responsibility which keep it within proper bounds. This is the principle of the »rule of law«, in which the law is sovereign, and not the arbitrary will of individuals.”* (44)

The principle of subsidiarity shall guarantee, according to the encyclical “*Caritas in veritate*” of Benedict XVI, that the world political authority does not become “a dangerous universal power of a tyrannical nature.” (57) The principles of democracy, rule of law and separation of powers as examined above imply that the world authority shall be subject to independent, institutional democratic oversight. Not at last this would have the purpose of ensuring that such an authority actually abides to the limits of its competences. It is a logical conclusion that from the view of catholic social teaching the “future political world organization” should be equipped with a democratic world legislature.

## Final remarks

As the preceding reflections show, modern catholic teaching implies that the political world authority that it calls for would have to be designed according to the principles of the rule of law, subsidiarity, and democracy. The creation of a parliamentary world legislature that supervises a global executive branch and that allows for the

participation of the world’s citizens in global political affairs is a logical consequence and fully in conformity with papal teaching.

In the political movement of world federalism, the gradual establishment of a world parliament is regarded as a key to set a world federalist transformation of the international order into motion. The establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) is considered as a first useful step. By now, the Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly which was launched in 2007 has become the international platform for practical efforts into this direction.<sup>23</sup> Supporters of the campaign include about 1,500 current and former members of parliament from around the world as well as former heads of state, government ministers, former UN officials, leading scholars and representatives of numerous non-governmental organizations. The efforts to set up such an assembly are also motivated by the expectation that it would become a political catalyst for further development of the international system and of international law and could help to achieve a breakthrough in the efforts to reform the UN.

As the proponents of a world parliament point out, the assembly “would not simply be a new institution”, but a “manifestation and vehicle of a changed consciousness and understanding of international politics.”<sup>24</sup> One of the symbolic accomplishments of the establishment of a UNPA would be that this body, for the first time in human history, would embody a direct relation between each and every human being and the planet. In the present Westphalian system, this relationship is disconnected because it only works through the mediation of the state. By contrast to the government representatives in today’s international governmental organizations, representatives in a world parliament would be subject to their personal conscience and not to the instructions of governments which per se embody national special interests. For this reason, the representatives in a world parliament would be free to put moral and ethical aspects and the interest of humanity into the center of their considerations.

As limited as the competences of a world parliament initially might be – it would be a permanent and powerful symbol of the notion that humanity as a collective of all human beings possesses the inalienable right to take over common responsibility for the planetary community and to implement the necessary political strategies.

According to the tradition of papal teaching, a future world societal order would have to be based on human rights and on a common global administration and legal system and would have to be designed according to the principles of the rule

of law, democracy, subsidiarity and ecological sustainability.

With this societal model which is based on classical political theory, catholic social teaching not only makes an important contribution to the ongoing reform debate with regard to the global political order, it also illustrates the vision of a positive future on Earth. This vision has the potential to connect human beings across national borders and different worldviews in joint efforts for our endangered, common home, the Earth.

Dr. Maja Brauer is a board member of the Committee for a Democratic U.N. Andreas Bummel is chairman of the Committee and director of the Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly.

The Committee for a Democratic U.N. based in Berlin was established in 2003 and supports efforts to democratize the United Nations and the system of global governance through parliamentary representation of the world's citizens.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> This background paper was originally published in August 2009 with the title „World Federalism in the Catholic Social Doctrine.“

<sup>2</sup> In the following, the papal encyclicals will be quoted according to paragraphs. They are available at [w2.vatican.va](http://w2.vatican.va).

<sup>3</sup> Maja Brauer, *Weltföderation. Modell globaler Gesellschaftsordnung*, Frankfurt am Main 1995, p. 159ff.

<sup>4</sup> On Pius XII and John XXIII respectively see Arthur-Fridolin Utz / Joseph-Fulko Groner (ed.), *Aufbau und Entfaltung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens, Die soziale Summe Pius XII.*, Freiburg, Switzerland 1954-1961, para. 3967; 3495; See Arthur-Fridolin Utz, *Die Friedenszyklika Papst Johannes' XXIII., Pacem in terris*, Freiburg 1963, p. 70; furthermore Émile M. Guerry, *The Popes and World Government*, Baltimore 1964.

<sup>5</sup> On the development of world federalism and its model for global order see Joseph P. Baratta, *The Politics of World Federation*, Westport Connecticut 2004. 2 Volumes.

<sup>6</sup> A good overview is provided by Peter Coulmas: *Weltbürger. Geschichte einer Menschheitssehnsucht*, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1990.

<sup>7</sup> Brauer op. cit., pp. 23-26.

<sup>8</sup> Josef Soder, *Die Idee der Völkergemeinschaft. Francisco de Vitoria und die philosophischen Grundlagen des Völkerrechts*, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin 1955, p. 51. Norbert Brieskorn, *Erde ohne Grenzen – Ordnung ohne Hierarchie. Vitorias und Suárez Vorstellungen von Internationalem Recht*; in: Matthias Lutz-Bachmann (2010) et al. (ed.), *Kosmopolitanismus. Zur Geschichte und Zukunft eines umstrittenen Ideals*, Weilerswist 2010, pp. 43-46.

<sup>9</sup> Soder op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55f.

<sup>11</sup> Walter Lipgens (ed.): *Europa-Föderationspläne der Widerstandsbewegungen 1940-1945. Eine Dokumentation*, München 1968, p. 401f.

<sup>12</sup> At that time „World Movement for World Federal Government“; Website: <http://www.wfm-igp.org/>. The speech

of Pius XII is reprinted in Utz/Groner (ed.), op. cit., paras. 3993-4002.

<sup>13</sup> Documentation by Brauer op. cit., p. 343f.

<sup>14</sup> Konrad Breitsching, Menschenrechte, Grundrechte und kirchliche Rechtsordnung, in: id. / Wilhelm Rees (ed.), Tradition – Wegweisung in die Zukunft. FS für Johannes Mühlsteiger, Berlin 2001, para. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Johann B. Sartorius, Organon des vollkommenen Friedens, Zürich 1837.

<sup>16</sup> Manfred Hilling, Friede und Integration. Ein Beitrag der christlichen Sozialwissenschaften zu der Problematik einer integrativen Friedensstruktur und Friedensstrategie dargestellt am Beispiel des Weltstaats, Augsburg 1983, pp. 297-299.

<sup>17</sup> The devout Roman Catholic and chairman of Solidarność from 1980 to 1990, Lech Wałęsa, has repeatedly spoken out for the creation of a world parliament. See e.g. Lech Wałęsa, Unser Sieg ist uns teuer zu stehen gekommen, interview by Konrad Schuller, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 27 August 2005.

<sup>18</sup> See Alexander Schwabe, Revolutionär nach außen, Traditionalist nach innen, in: Spiegel Online, 3 April 2005

(<http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/0,1518,349452,00.html>).

<sup>19</sup> [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco\\_20150925\\_onu-visita.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150925_onu-visita.html).

<sup>20</sup> See in addition to Baratta op. cit. also Jean-Francis Billion, World Federalism, European Federalism and International Democracy, Ventotene/New York 2001, pp. 32ff.

<sup>21</sup> Claudia Kissling, Repräsentativ-parlamentarische Entwürfe globaler Demokratiegestaltung im Laufe der Zeit, in: forum historiae iuris, 14 February 2005 (<http://www.forhisiur.de/zitat/0502kissling.htm>), para.41 with further references.

<sup>22</sup> Joint congress of the “World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government” and the “World Movement for World Federal Government” (today: World Federalist Movement); quoted by Brauer, op. cit., p. 335. Translation from German by the authors..

<sup>23</sup> See [www.unpacampaign.org](http://www.unpacampaign.org).

<sup>24</sup> Appeal for the Establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly at the UN, April 2007.