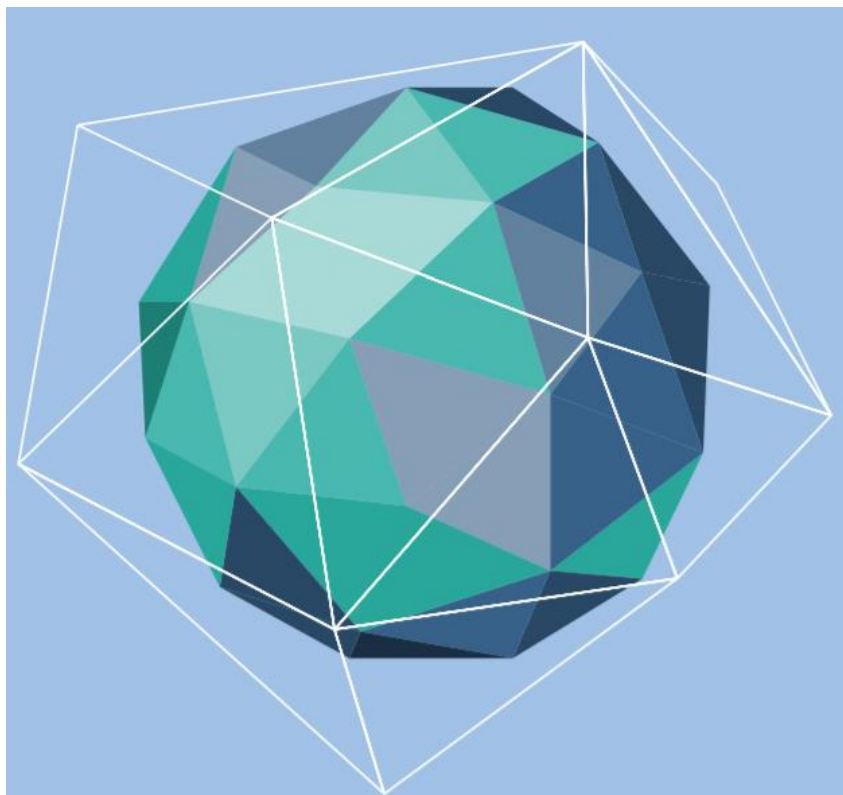


# **The Integral Global Governance System**

**A paper prepared by Rees Barrett for the  
United Nations Association of Australia (WA  
Division) as an entry in the  
Global Challenges Prize 2017: A New Shape!**



# Acknowledgements

At its 11 May 2017 meeting, the UNAAWA Executive endorsed a proposal and process for participating in a 'global conversation' about new shapes for global governance and, if possible, preparing an entry for the New Shape Prize 2017, being conducted by the Global Challenges Foundation based in Stockholm, Sweden.

An Executive Steering Committee (Fadzi Whande, Joseph Caruso, Kay Hallahan, Manita Beskow, Neesha Seth, Sandy Chong and Steve Lennon) oversaw implementation of the process.

An open invitation to participate in the process was extended to all UNAAWA members, who were also encouraged to invite members of their networks. Eight people attended a briefing session held on Friday 26 May 2017 (Anne Barrett, Harvey Davies, Kim Flintoff, Rees Barrett, Steve Lennon, Samya Fraxe, Sarah Glenister and her daughter). Participants recommended a six-stage process (outlined below). Participants also formed an Ideas Group that received and provided feedback on papers distributed by email. During the process, ten others joined the Ideas Group (Caroline Marsh, David Gibson, David Hollands, Drewfus Gates, Ingrid Horeb, John Goldsmith, June Maxton, Laura Boykin, Natalie Connor, Tapiwa Keith Makuni, Walter Horeb, Yannick Simkovics).

**Stage 1:** start with what works well in UN governance. A paper: *70 Ways UN Makes a Difference* (drawn from the UN website) was distributed 10 June 2017.

**Stage 2:** use crowdsourcing platforms to generate ideas on new forms of global governance. *Avaaz* and *Get Up* were approached by email. The latter provided a platform for ideas generation. A Community Run Petition was established but drew no response.

**Stage 3:** draft a stimulus paper to converge ideas on limitations reducing UN effectiveness. A paper: *Limits on UN Effectiveness* was distributed 15 June 2017.

**Stage 4:** brainstorm divergent solutions to agreed problems. Ideas generated at the briefing session and by email were summarised in the paper: *UN Limits and Possible Solutions* distributed 28 June 2017.

**Stage 5:** seek the voices of young people. We endeavoured to achieve this through a meeting with Australia's Youth Ambassador to the UN and UN Youth planned for 19 July 2017; however, this was cancelled through ill health of the Youth Ambassador. *Earth is About to be Attacked by Intergalactic Forces*, a stimulus scenario, was prepared and distributed (28 June) to students and teachers participating in the *UNAAWA Student Parliament* on 31 July 2017. Several students presented responses in their report to the 'parliament'.

**Stage 6:** convene workshop with draft paper and focus questions for critical analysis. A draft abstract was prepared and distributed to the Steering Committee on 11 September 2017. It was briefly considered at the 14 September UNAAWA Executive meeting, with positive feedback. Manita Beskow hosted a discussion group at Hovea Ashram (also attended by Anne Barrett, David, John Goldsmith, Kay Hallahan, Lorna Dick and Rees Barrett) on 17 September.

The entry was submitted on Monday 25 September 2017, with further editing and resubmission completed the following day. The writer acknowledges the contributions of all involved and has endeavoured to represent faithfully the ideas and opinions expressed during the process. However, final responsibility for the views expressed is those of the writer alone. One of the competition conditions was for writers to ensure removal of any references that would enable judges to identify the source.

This process could not have been completed without the ongoing understanding, love and support of my wife Anne.

Rees Barrett  
9 October 2017

**Submitted entry received [6.35pm WST 25 September 2017]**

**Thank you for participating in the New Shape Prize 2017!  
The submission platform is now closed.**

We would like to thank you for all the time and energy you invested to form teams, refine your ideas and submit your entry to the New Shape Prize. Now begins the process of reviewing the ideas, and eventually, deciding the winning submissions. You can read more about the process [here](#). We will be sure to keep you updated on the assessment process and other competition developments via email, the website, and social media - [Twitter](#) and [Facebook](#).

Best of luck, The New Shape Prize team (automated email 1 Oct 2017)

## 1. Abstract

The abstract must summarize the design of the model, including the institutions, regulations, decision-making paths and control mechanisms it involves, as well as how key individuals and other decision-making bodies are to be appointed. (1000 words)

The proposed new model for global governance seeks to reform the UN through a worldwide, grassroots democratic movement empowering global civil society.

Creating a new system for global governance outside the UN is a high-risk strategy that fails to recognise its many significant achievements.

Notwithstanding its significant achievements, there are growing calls to reform the UN to renew its legitimacy and empower effective global governance. Successive Secretaries General, numerous member states in the General Assembly, organisations and members of civil society have all proposed reform. However, significant reform from within has not proved possible.

Therefore, the most effective way of strengthening global governance through UN reform is by legitimate, direct engagement of global civil society (individual citizens and not-for-profit organisations in the third sector of society, separate from government and business) - for whom the UN Charter exists yet for whom there is no voice.

This strategy avoids reform blockages within the UN and builds international momentum for achieving effective global governance by:

- \* involving global citizens and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) in governance through a participatory democracy based on digital technology and building consensus for UN reform;
- \* unifying energies and ideas of numerous and diverse NGOs already engaged in addressing global challenges;
- \* lobbying to reform the UN;
- \* providing civil society with the reliable information and means to make their member states accountable for enacting international agreements and legal instruments signed.

The first reform phase involves implementation of *The World Citizens System*. Its legitimacy comes from the UN Charter Preamble: 'We the peoples'. It sits parallel with but independent from *The UN System*. It has three components representing the *deliberative* (standard-setting), *executive* (implementing standards) and *judicial* (resolving disputes over implementation of the standards) functions of effective governance: *World Citizen Assembly*, *World Citizen Council* and *World Observatory*. (**Attachment One**)

The *World Citizen Assembly* functions as the peak body of nine *Regional Citizen Networks* based on a combination of geographic, economic and cultural realms:

- \* North America
- \* Latin America
- \* Africa
- \* Europe
- \* Russian Commonwealth
- \* East Asia
- \* South-East Asia/Australasia
- \* South Asia
- \* South-west Asia

Distributed Ledger Technology provides the secure digital platform for global citizens (defined by verifiable self-identification) to enrol and participate online in discussions, opinion polling and elections conducted by *Regional Citizen Networks*. Individual citizens and NGOs (independently accredited) in each Network appoint representatives to the *World Citizen Assembly*. The number of representatives selected by each Network reflects relative population size. Consensus decision-making is the norm. This system integrates participatory and representative democracy.

The *World Citizen Council* is the executive body responsible for implementing World Citizen Assembly decisions. Eighteen Council members are elected from the Assembly by registered global citizens, with a minimum of one from each region.

The *World Observatory* resolves disputes within, and monitors the performance of, *The World Citizen System*. It prepares research reports for electronic publication. 'Scorecards' for each nation's performance against agreed indicators (embodied in international agreements such as the Paris Agreement and the UN Sustainable Development Goals) are published. The Observatory includes an *International Centre for Trans National Company (TNC) Monitoring* that publishes reports on corporations' implementation of environmental and social responsibilities.

*The World Citizens System's* strategic priority is to build consensus on UN reforms required for effective global governance whilst maintaining the sovereignty of nation-states. This process begins with evaluation of the agenda for UN structural reform proposed through the work of numerous civil society organisations over the past three decades.

Structural change alone is insufficient to achieve effective global governance. Cultural transformation and development of individuals' world-centric consciousness are essential and achievable in the digital age. Effective global governance seeks to integrate worldviews, not privilege a dominant perspective; promotes 'interior' development as well as 'exterior'; and respects that the majority of the world's population are currently at ethnocentric stages of interior development.

In the second reform phase, citizen empowerment is the catalyst for a *Global Governance Convention* at which representatives of nation-states, civil society and business negotiate a *Global Constitution*. It articulates rules for *The Integral Global Governance System (Attachment Two)*, within the following broad parameters:

- \* *Deliberative* function enacted through assemblies of representatives of nation-states, global citizens and business (independently accredited). They locate and operate separately as global issues networks: e.g. the existing UN General Assembly and International Chamber of Commerce, together with the proposed World Citizen Assembly. The three bodies elect equal numbers of representatives to the tripartite *Joint Global Assembly*. Standards are enacted, ideally through consensus; however, 3/4 majority is need if voting is required.
- \* *Executive* function enacted through a *Global Council* with six representatives from each Assembly, each responsible for one of 18 portfolios (based on the 17 Sustainable Development Goals plus Standards and Accountability). This body appoints the Secretary-General.
- \* *Judicial* function enacted through the *Global Court of Justice*, based on the existing International Court of Justice with the addition of TNC Monitoring Centre, Crime and Corruption Commission, Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The *Global Constitution* restructures existing UN organs and bodies to reflect the 18 portfolios, each supported by an *Expert Advisory Panel* and overseeing *Integrated Field Operations Teams*.

The reformed UN gains financial independence through powers to collect:

- \* a levy on arms sales to pay for the peace and security function (including a standing Peacekeepers Force), and enacting UN Charter Article 26, requiring a plan for minimisation of the proportion of earth resources diverted to arms production;
- \* a small levy on international flows of finance, people and goods under the effective regulation of foreign exchange, civil aviation, navigation and trade;
- \* taxes from TNCs, a proportion to be retained for *The Integral Global Governance System* and the remainder distributed to nation-states based on the amount of TNC income generated in each;
- \* donations from individuals, business organisations and nation-states for specific-purpose development projects and disaster management.

The *Global Constitution* specifies powers of *The Integral Global Governance System* to enforce international law balancing national sovereignty and citizens' rights. These include the principles of Subsidiarity, Responsibility to Protect, Economic and Political Sanctions.

## 2. Description of the Model

The document must be divided into subsections with clear and descriptive headings. The Participant must clearly define the functions of the various components, their areas of responsibility and the extent of their decision-making mandate. Also, describe how the model is meant to manage both current and emerging challenges and risks. (5500)

### REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS

The proposed model for global governance seeks to reform the UN through a worldwide, grassroots democratic movement empowering global civil society.

Global governance is defined as "the sum of many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest."<sup>1</sup>

Creating a new system for global governance outside the UN is a high-risk strategy that fails to recognise its many significant achievements. The UN has demonstrated its effectiveness in preventing a third world war and promoting international economic and social development through *multilateralism*. It is most effective when member-states demonstrate unity of purpose e.g. WHO eradication of smallpox, system of global governance of aviation.

Notwithstanding its significant achievements, there are growing calls for UN reform to make it 'fit for purpose' in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, to renew its credibility and empower it to address global challenges effectively. Successive Secretaries General, numerous member-states in the General Assembly, organisations and members of civil society have all proposed reform. However, significant reform from within has not proved possible.

Therefore, the most effective way of strengthening global governance is through UN reform 'bottom-up' by civil society representing 'We the peoples' - for whom the UN Charter exists yet for whom there is no direct voice.

Civil society is a third sector, separate from government and business. "Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based movements, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, and coalition and advocacy groups."<sup>2</sup> Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are "groups of people engaging in collective action which is non-commercial, non-violent and not on behalf of a government"<sup>3</sup>. Civil society forms a vital element in democracy, facilitating engagement and empowerment of individuals who can then hold governments more accountable.

### EMPOWERING GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Empowering civil society to act globally avoids blockages to reform within the UN and builds international momentum for more effective global governance by:

- \* unifying energies and ideas of numerous and diverse individuals and NGOs already engaged in addressing global challenges;
- \* involving global citizens and NGOs through a democratically elected *World Citizen System* using digital technology and *Global Issues Networks* to build consensus;
- \* lobbying to reform the UN so that it can effectively address global challenges;
- \* providing civil society with reliable information and means to make member-states accountable for international agreements signed.

The Preamble of the UN Charter legitimises direct involvement of individuals and groups comprising civil society in global decision-making. It begins: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined..."<sup>4</sup> UN member-states, regardless of their diverse governance systems, exist 'for the people'. Failure to empower civil society risks global governance by self-serving elites with limited accountability.

To its credit, the UN has significantly increased involvement of NGOs through an accreditation process that grants consultative status<sup>5</sup> (increasing from four NGOs in 1946 to nearly 7000 in 2015). However, providing input to the decisions of others is not sufficient.

The right to hold an organisation or individual to account belongs to 'any group or individuals who can affect or is affected by...an organisation'<sup>6</sup>. 'We the Peoples' are stakeholders in global governance and should participate in decisions that affect their lives. Participation in global governance is a pre-requisite for citizens holding nation-states accountable. Non-participation risks manipulation by powerful national leaders exploiting ethnocentric fears to convince their citizens that *multilateralism* is the problem.

The corollary of empowering civil society is formal engagement of business in global governance (that is, make open and transparent their current informal, unaccountable engagement). This requires a major repositioning of the role of business. Cosmopolitan society is a 'stakeholder' in modern Trans-National Corporations that "have massive influence in global politics—on distribution of wealth, on issues of democracy, justice and freedom. Therefore all people affected by business actions globally are 'stakeholders' and have a right to have their interests respected—not just the shareholders of the company."<sup>7</sup>

## PHASE ONE: THE WORLD CITIZENS SYSTEM

The first reform phase involves implementation of *The World Citizens System (Attachment One)*. It sits parallel with but independent from *The UN System*. It has three components representing the *deliberative* (standard setting), *executive* (implementing standards) and *judicial* (resolving disputes over implementation of the standards) functions of effective governance: the *World Citizen Assembly*, *World Citizen Council* and *World Observatory*.

### *World Citizen Assembly*

The Assembly functions as the peak body of nine *Regional Citizen Networks* based on a combination of geographic, economic and cultural zones:

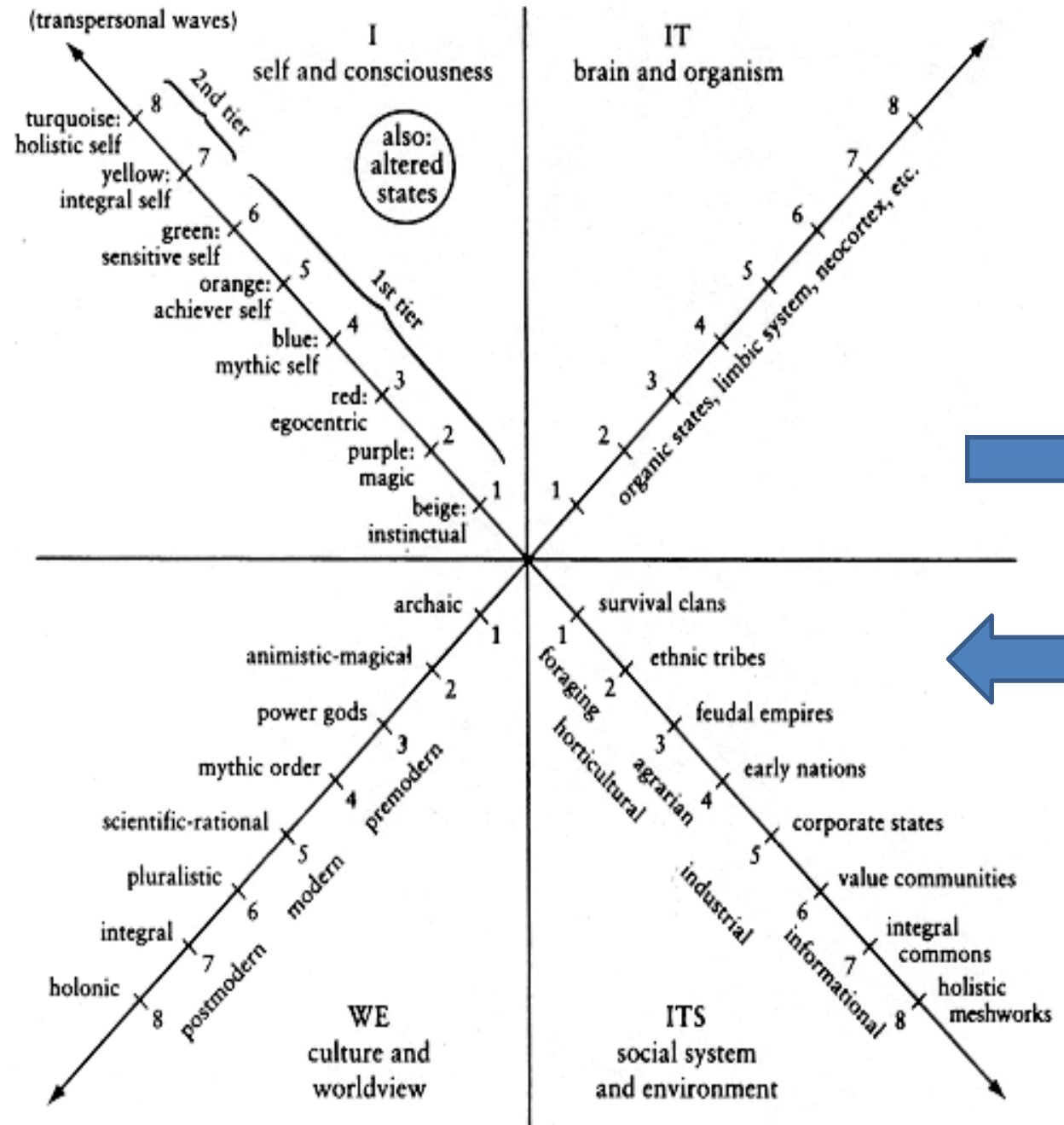
	POPULATION <sup>8</sup>	REPRESENTATIVES <sup>9</sup>
* North America (North American Free Trade Association)	490m.	22
* Latin America (Latin American Free Trade Association)	513m.	23
* Africa (African Union)	1339m.	36
* Europe (European Union)	517m.	23
* Russian Commonwealth (Commonwealth of Independent States)	309m.	18
* East Asia	1616m.	40
* South-East Asia/Australasia (ASEAN)	688m.	26
* South Asia (Sub-Continent Economic Cooperation)	1752m.	42
* South-west Asia (includes Middle East)	246m.	16
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7470m.</b>	<b>246</b>

Digital democracy is feasible on a regional and global scale. Distributed Ledger Technology (blockchain) provides a secure digital platform for global citizens (defined by verifiable self-identification) to enrol and participate online in discussions, opinion polling and elections conducted by *Regional Citizen Networks*. Each regional network has a hub, however, participants do not necessarily meet face-to-face.

# ONGOING CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

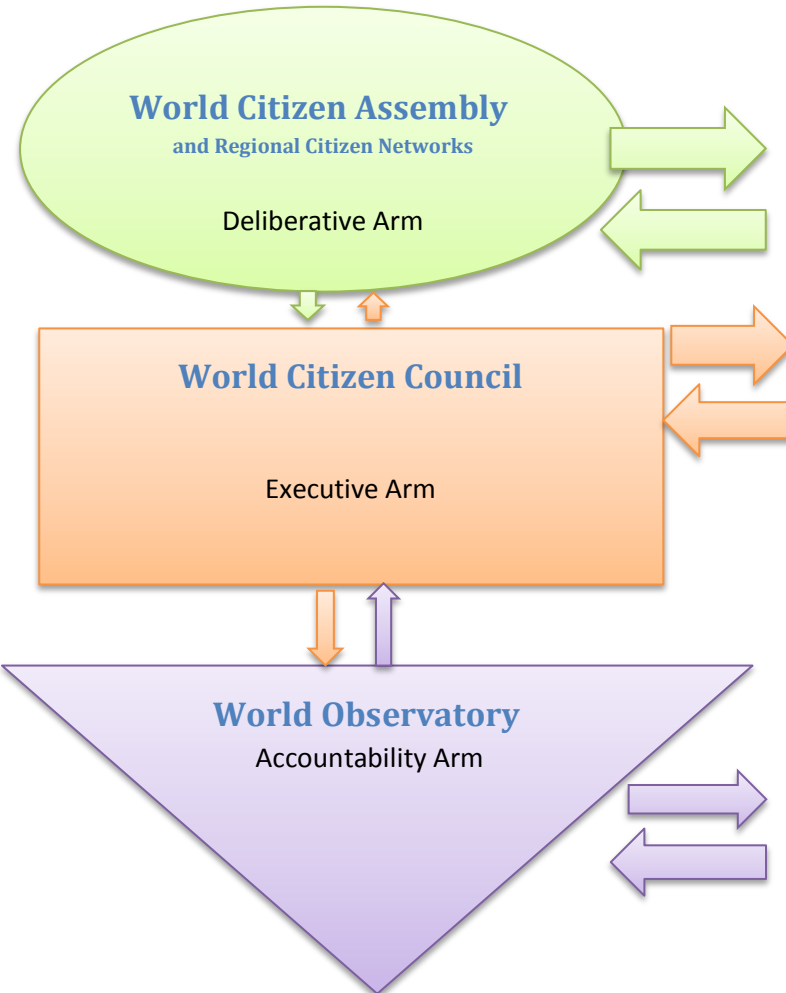
Adapted from Wilber p 43

<p><b>I</b> Interior-Individual Intentional Subjective <b>Upper Left</b></p>	<p><b>IT</b> Exterior-Individual Behavioral Objective <b>Upper Right</b></p>
<p><b>WE</b> Interior-Collective Cultural Intersubjective <b>Lower Left</b></p>	<p><b>ITS</b> Exterior-Collective Social Interobjective <b>Lower Right</b></p>

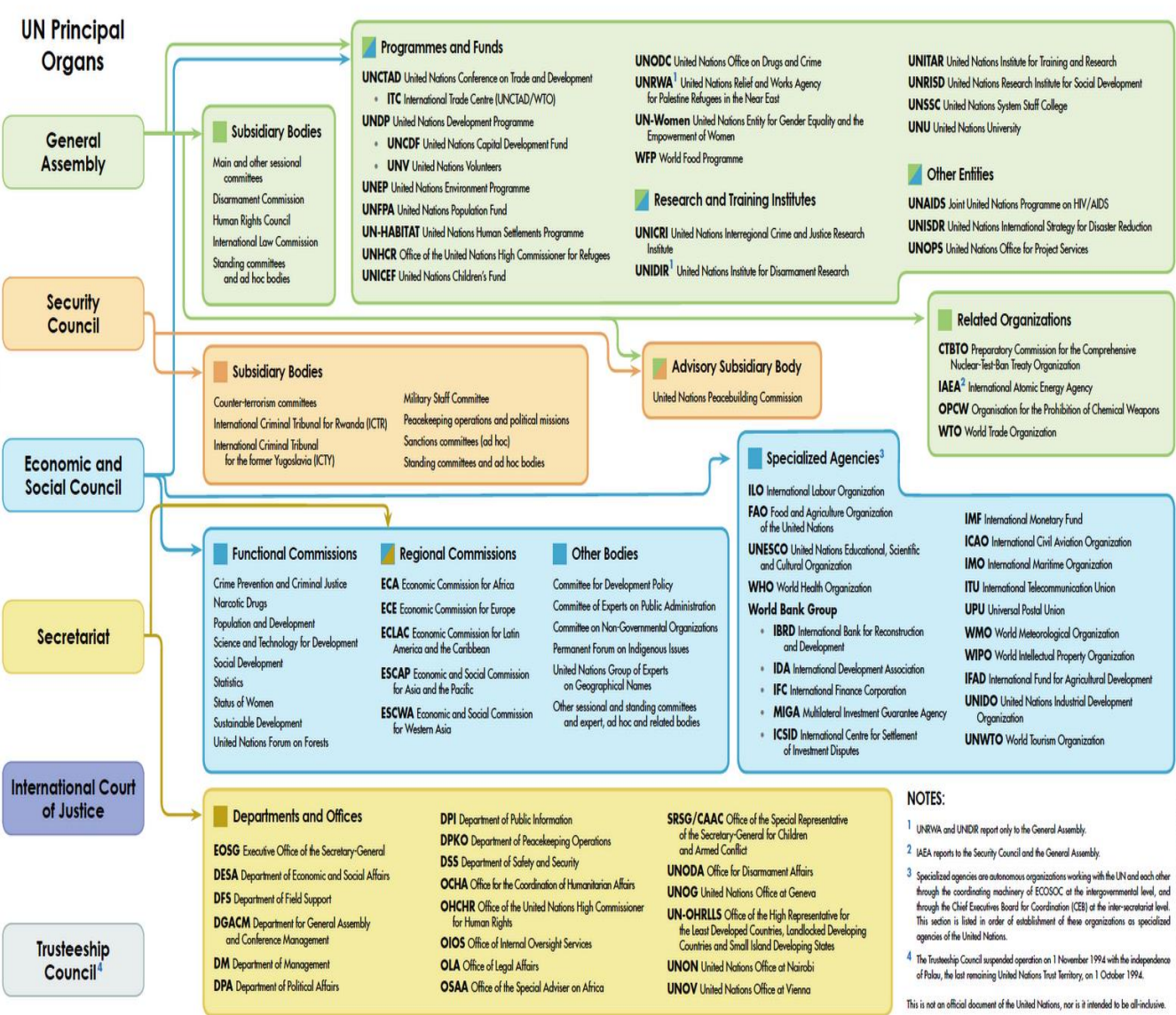




**The World Citizens System**  
"We the Peoples of the United Nations..."



**The United Nations System**





Individual citizens and NGOs in each Network (independently accredited) select representatives to the *World Citizen Assembly*. It 'meets' digitally as required and several times a year face-to-face. The number of representatives approved by each *Regional Citizen Network* (with specified representation for women and youth) reflects relative regional population size. Ideally, all decisions are made by consensus. This system integrates participatory and representative democracy.

#### *World Citizen Council*

The Assembly elects eighteen of its members, with a minimum of one from each region, to the *World Citizen Council* – the executive body responsible for implementing *World Citizen Assembly* decisions. ("Approval Voting (often used in scientific societies) in which voters select the candidates they would be happy to be represented by, would reduce the combative nature of voting and increase the likelihood that delegates are elected for their skill and credibility, rather than on the basis of the unpopularity of an opposing candidate."<sup>10</sup>)

#### *World Observatory*

The *World Observatory* resolves disputes within, and monitors the performance of, *The World Citizen System* and the performance of nation-states on the UN. It prepares research reports for electronic publication. 'Scorecards' for each nation's performance against agreed indicators (embodied in international agreements such as the Paris Agreement and the UN SDGs) are published. The Observatory includes:

- \* an *International Centre for Trans-National Corporation (TNC) Monitoring* that publishes reports on TNC implementation of environmental and social responsibilities.
- \* partnering with established Tribunals defending the rights of humans and nature, such as the *International Rights of Nature Tribunal*.

### **Functions**

The overall functions of *The World Citizens System* include:

- \* mobilising individual global citizens and NGOs to keep their national governments accountable for upholding UN obligations (using a global ranking system);
- \* welding global citizens and disparate NGOs into a cohesive people's reform movement;
- \* advocating cultural transformation and action to advance achievement of the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) - the product of a comprehensive consultation process involving business and civil society and accepted by all member-nations in 2015;
- \* empowering global citizens to articulate the case for significant reform of the structure and operations of *The UN System*;
- \* empowering global citizens to collaborate for actions addressing global concerns related to disarmament, development, environment, climate change, human rights, data management and artificial intelligence, humanitarian disasters, prevention of armed conflicts, and prevention of the threat of nuclear war;
- \* complementing and stimulating (not replacing) activities of the world's non-governmental movements in these fields;
- \* researching trends and issues related to global development, social and environmental justice;
- \* establishing a highly credible, balanced digital forum providing reliable information for global citizens to use in demanding accountability from nation-states;
- \* promoting citizen, business and government philanthropic efforts through recognition (*Global Citizens' Awards*).

*The World Citizens System's* strategic priority is to build consensus on UN reforms required for effective global governance whilst maintaining sovereignty of nation-states. This process begins with evaluation of the agenda for global governance reform proposed through the numerous civil society organisations over several decades. Illustrative examples:

\* *SIMPOL*<sup>11</sup>: a global citizens' campaign strategy used within nation-states to build politicians' support for Simultaneous Policy implementation by all or sufficient nations to transform global governance.

\* *Global Alliance for the Rights of Nature*<sup>12</sup>: a worldwide movement of individuals and organizations creating human communities that respect and defend the rights of Nature.

\* *Forum for New World Governance*: proposals on global issues such as international regulation of transnational corporations<sup>13</sup>, particularly in relation to their social and environmental responsibilities.

\* *Independent Commission on Multilateralism*<sup>14</sup>: proposals for UN cultural and organisational reforms

### **Decision-making Mandate**

The authority of *The World Citizens System* to act on behalf of global civil society derives from and continues through transparency of democratic process and the individual mandates of NGOs that join. The system acknowledges that "human beings exist not only as citizens of sovereign nation-states and as members of other separate groupings, but also as individuals who are globally united by common human values and by membership of the species that dominates, and hence has a responsibility for, Planet Earth"<sup>15</sup>.

The current structure of the UN fails to represent all aspects of human unity as it principally operates from competing national perspectives and represents the world's peoples only as citizens of member-states. The reform mandate is to create a system driven by the common interests of humanity.

All candidates for membership of any of the institutions comprising *The World Citizen System* acknowledge that in their responsibilities they will be guided only by their humankind identity, and therefore by global, not national, considerations. Nevertheless, the system promotes a nested hierarchy of citizenship. That is, citizenship at local community, national, regional and global levels are overlapping and complementary, not mutually exclusive.

### **Funding**

Financial resources to build *The World Citizen System* are raised through philanthropic support of world business leaders, crowd-funding and NGO contributions.

### **Cultural Transformation**

Structural change alone is insufficient to achieve effective global governance. Cultural transformation and development of individuals' world-centric consciousness are essential and achievable in the digital age. *The World Citizens System* will be a catalyst accelerating this transformation. It reinforces the UN Global Citizenship Education strategy as part of the 2030 SDGs to achieve 'bottom-up' cultural transformation.

This "transformation will require the awakening of a new social actor: a vast movement of global citizens expressing a supranational identity and building new institutions for a planetary age. ... Giving life to this critical actor, now missing from the world stage, stands as the next phase in the evolution of civil society activism. Rooted in principles elaborated in the UN Declaration of Human Rights, Agenda 21, the Earth Charter, the Great Transition, and scores of other documents" ... it will "promote a culture of peace and non-violence, nurturing ascendant values of human solidarity, ecological resilience, and quality of life."<sup>16</sup>

Integral theory and spiral dynamics<sup>17</sup> present philosophical frameworks for the progressive development of mental and physical manifestations of human spirit. Wilber represents this 'kosmos' in four quadrants intended as a tool for understanding the different domains and levels of individual, cultural and social development<sup>18</sup> (**Attachment One**):

- \* Upper-Left (**I**): Interior-Individual, intentional/subjective, Self and consciousness
- \* Lower-Left (**WE**): Interior-Collective, cultural/intersubjective, Culture and worldview
- \* Upper-Right (**IT**): Exterior-Individual, behavioural/objective, Brain and organism
- \* Lower-Right (**ITS**): Exterior-Collective, social/interobjective, Social system and environment

Wilber contends that the seventh wave of development in each quadrant awaits – integral self, culture and governance systems. However, the "prime directive asks us to honour and appreciate the necessary, vital and unique contribution provided by each and every wave of consciousness unfolding, and thus act to protect and promote the health of the entire spiral, and not any one privileged domain".<sup>19</sup> All 'waves' perform an important function and are subsumed in subsequent 'waves'. None can be bypassed or demeaned without serious consequences for self and society.

An estimated 30% of world population is in the integral 'wave'. They will lead the transformation. Integral leaders respect those at earlier 'waves' and patiently communicate the possibilities of worldcentric perspectives. Integral governance brings together conservative (e.g. individual choice drives inequality) and progressive (e.g. systemic/structural bias drives inequality) perspectives.

Traditionally, 'development' had a singular focus on the lower-right quadrant. However, integral development "must address all four of these quadrants in an integrative fashion if it is to maintain a sustainable direction"<sup>20</sup>. Integral leaders implement the 2030 SDGs as a "dynamic process of developing sustainability involving personal, collective and systemic transformation" ensuring "that people's interiority (feelings, beliefs, worldviews) influence and inform development interventions"<sup>21</sup>.

## Integral Governance

Integral global governance embraces diverse nation-state systems and ensures the health of the entire spiral of development. It goes beyond tolerance and celebration of diversity to make conspicuous the unity in diversity of world civilization. This new system of governance will not replace or dominate nation-states, but enable their mutual facilitation by situating them "in global meshworks that facilitate mutual unfolding and enhancement – an integral and holonic politics."<sup>22</sup>

A *Global Constitution* is needed – embracing people of all beliefs and waves of consciousness, expressing unity in their diversity. Wilber calls this a 'gentle pacer of transformation'. The Constitution of the United States of America is one such document. "The brilliance of this document is that it found a way to institutionalize the world-centric, post-conventional stance and let it act as a governance system for people who were not, for the most part, at that higher level."<sup>23</sup> What the world needs now is an equivalent 'gentle pacer of transformation' that will establish integral global governance that in its structures and processes nurtures the spiral of interior and exterior quadrants at all levels of development ('all-quadrant, all-level').

This *Global Constitution* provides a collective vision of what the world will be like with integral global governance. It bridges global governance and the inescapable realities of globalisation. Globalisation in the digital age has essentially compressed time and space meaning we have no choice but to learn to live together. "We are moving into a world of interconnections that basically bring people together that were not together before, bring ideas together, breed conflicts."<sup>24</sup>

The lack of integral development thus far poses existential threats. "One of the greatest problems and constant dangers faced by humanity is simply this: The Right-Hand quadrants are material, and once a material entity has been produced, it can be used by individuals who are at virtually any level of interior development ... technological growth in the right-hand quadrants has always run ahead of Left-Hand growth in wisdom, care and compassionate use of technology.... From atomic holocaust to ecological suicide [and Artificial Intelligence] humanity [is] facing on a massive scale its single most fundamental problem: lack of integral development.... There are two ways to control this technology: external legal enforcement (e.g. banning certain types of research), or internal moral constraint (e.g. an interior growth in collective wisdom that seeks and implements wise use of technology)." Ultimately you have to go where the law can't get you ... "the interior quadrants and the growth of the soul, the growth of wisdom, the growth of consciousness, an interior growth" that will keep pace with the growth in technologies.<sup>25</sup>

Effective global governance integrates worldviews without privileging any and promotes 'interior' development as well as 'exterior'. It respects that the majority of the world's population are currently at ethnocentric stages of interior development. As Wilber concludes, "we are awaiting the new global founding Fathers and Mothers who will frame an integral system of governance that will call us to our more encompassing future, that will act as a gentle pacer of transformation for the entire spiral of human development, honouring each and every wave as it unfolds, yet kindly inviting each and all to even greater depth."<sup>26</sup>

## PHASE TWO: THE INTEGRAL GLOBAL GOVERNANCE SYSTEM

In the second reform phase, citizen empowerment is the catalyst for a *Global Governance Convention* at which representatives of nation-states, civil society and business negotiate the *Global Constitution*. It articulates rules for *The Integral Global Governance System (Attachment Two)*, based on the following bodies and areas of responsibility:

\* *Deliberative* function enacted through separate assemblies of representatives of nation-states, global citizens and business. They locate and operate separately as global networks: e.g. the

existing UN General Assembly becomes the *Assembly of Nations* and the International Chamber of Commerce could become the *Business Assembly* (with independent accreditation of members). They join the *World Citizen Assembly* created in Phase One. The three bodies approve equal numbers of representatives to the tripartite *Global Assembly*. Equal representation of business, government and citizenry effectively changes the dynamic for international norm-setting. It addresses the legitimacy-deficit and democratic-deficit that has increasingly plagued global governance. Ideally consensus decision-making prevails; however, if voting is necessary, a 75% majority is required (thereby preventing two assemblies to vote *en bloc*).

\* *Executive* function enacted through a tripartite *Global Council* of 18 members elected from the Assembly - ensuring equal representation of government, business and civil society; and equal gender representation. Each member is responsible for one of 18 portfolios (based on the 17 SDGs plus the overarching function of Standards and Accountability). This body appoints the Secretary-General who chairs the Council and is responsible for the operations of the Secretariat. There are no permanent members. The *Global Constitution* makes provision for circumstances in which the Council assumes additional emergency powers. Council members are responsible to the *Global Assembly*, and the Secretary-General is responsible to the Council, for carrying out their responsibilities.

\* *Judicial* function enacted through the *Global Court of Justice*, based on the existing International Court of Justice with addition of a *TNC Monitoring Centre*, *Crime and Corruption Commission* and *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Negotiations during the writing of the *Global Constitution* determine whether separate bodies, such as the *International Rights of Nature Tribunal*, may be integrated within the *Global Court of Justice*.

The *Global Constitution* restructures existing UN organs, specialized agencies and Secretariat to reflect the 18 portfolios, each supported by an *Expert Advisory Panel* and overseeing *Integrated Field Operations Teams*.

### **Decision-making Mandate**

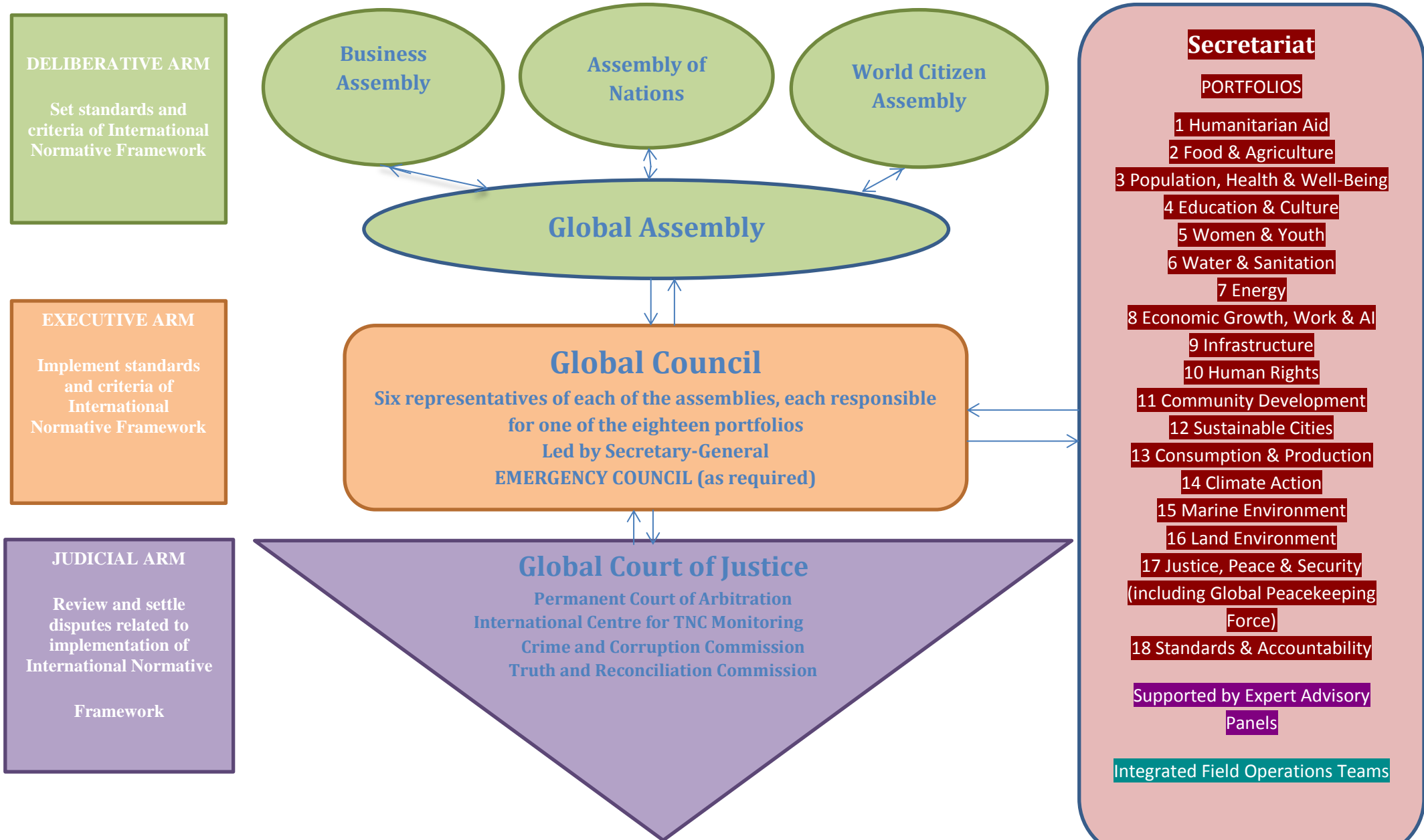
The decision-making mandate of *The Integral Governance System* is to set and regulate the standards that achieve social and environmental justice. This includes the regulation of Trans-National Corporations.

A key factor in the decline of the UN's legitimacy and that of its member-states has been the rise of Trans-National Corporations. Various estimates enumerate the increase of businesses operating across the borders of nation-states from several hundred sixty years ago to several hundred thousand today. The number of businesses in the world's top 100 economic entities jumped to 69 in 2015 (from 63 in 2014). Furthermore, 153 of the top 200 entities were corporations, meaning that they were larger entities than 146 UN member-nations.<sup>27</sup>

This megatrend has effectively eroded the decision-making mandate of national governments as well as the 'soft-power' of the UN. It has led to the demise of global governance based on the 'Westphalian order'. Even in democratic nation-states, the lobbying power of largely unregulated Trans-National Corporations poses the risk to elected governments "of devolving into a pseudo-democratic charade of leaders who find it tremendously difficult to have any impact whatsoever upon our biggest and most pressing global concerns, even when they want to."<sup>28</sup>

"In *normative terms*, there is broad agreement that currently the functioning of international institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) or the UN does not meet democratic standards. Acknowledged democratic deficits include the lack of identifiable decision-makers who are directly accountable for wrong decisions made at the international level, as well as the inscrutability of international decision-making processes and thus the advantage the executive decision-makers have over others in terms of information. Furthermore, particularly the prime actors in international politics, such as multinational business and the superpowers, are at best only accountable to a fraction of the people affected by their activities."<sup>29</sup>

# Attachment Two: *The Integral Global Governance System*





The UN Secretariat has recognised this reality and engages increasingly with business and civil society in an advisory capacity. "The United Nations once dealt only with Governments. By now, we know that peace and prosperity cannot be achieved without partnerships involving Governments, international organisations, the business community and civil society. In today's world, we depend on each other"<sup>30</sup>. For example, the UN Global Compact (launched in 1999) encourages businesses worldwide to adopt ten principles encompassing human rights, labour, environment and anticorruption. It is an example of the limited mandate of the UN to use 'soft power' (that is, influence and hope for the best).

However, the power of business and civil society is clearly unequal. Because of their mobility across national borders, Trans-National Corporations wield enormous power over national politicians who are expected to maintain employment opportunities and 'national competitiveness' through policies that attract and retain capital. This mobility also serves to limit accountability of the corporation to the state. There is also "a 'double voice' problem in which multinational corporations exert undue influence by lobbying both their national governments and directly at the international level"<sup>31</sup>.

The unregulated and low-visibility power of Trans-National Corporations over civil society is set to rapidly increase through the impact of Artificial Intelligence(AI) in the workplace. Development of standards for responsible implementation of AI is imperative if global society is to manage the risks of reduced opportunities for decent work, rising inequalities and reduced social cohesion. The standards need to be global and set in conjunction with regulation of Trans-National Corporations. The most effective way to achieve this is through the tripartite approach.

Ethnocentrism prevails in an unregulated environment. Citizens are receptive to national leaders who promote the misconception that 'globalisation is the problem'. An integral, worldcentric perspective is presented as a threat.

Furthermore, the conglomerate and global nature of Trans-National Corporations significantly reduces the revenue available to nation-states required to maintain services for citizens. The digital revolution combined with creative accounting makes it possible to use foreign subsidiaries to shift income away from higher to lower taxing nations and shift expenses in the reverse direction.

Remaining competitive in an uncertain world is the key driver for Trans-National Corporations as well as nation-states. Even ethical corporations concerned about social and environmental justice cannot afford to lose competitiveness by implementing a different, less profitable, set of rules. "For corporations, acting ethically or refraining from taking advantage of countries with lower regulations and taxes would by and large mean losing out to their less scrupulous competitors, so it's not difficult to see why they often fail to behave as we'd like."<sup>32</sup> Industry self-regulation is not possible in this environment.

This driver must change to achieve effective global governance. Global regulation and taxation of Trans-National Corporations must be central to the decision-making mandate of *The Integral Global Governance System*. It will benefit nation-states by enabling accurate recording of transactions and fair calculation of revenues generated and tax obligations. It will benefit global citizens by regulating for social and environmental justice<sup>33</sup>. It will benefit Trans-National Corporations by creating a more certain political environment.

Standards defining social and environmental justice will also be set and regulated by *The Integral Global Governance System*. As implementers of the standards, business will have input through membership of the tripartite system. Clearly, appropriate balance between the common good (the rights of nature and humans) and private returns for enterprise and risk-taking must be negotiated democratically in order to maintain global capital investment.

Predictably, some businesses will lead resistance and lobby vigorously against changes. However, there is also remarkable philanthropic goodwill and altruism among many successful business leaders. The *World Citizen Assembly* will play a pivotal role in working with Trans-National Corporations and nation-states to listen to business concerns, promote the positive contributions of business and appeal to the collective goodwill.

The goal is to build a coalition of Trans-National Corporations of sufficient size to form a critical mass supporting the change. Alqadahfi cites the work of philosophers David Hume, John Rawls and Ned McClennen in arguing that "there are significant self-interested and moral motives that prompt individuals to seek cooperation on fair terms *if others are also willing to do so*"<sup>34</sup>. Adam Smith himself (the father of capitalism) explained in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* "how humanity's natural inclination towards self-interest must be tempered by society".<sup>35</sup>

#### *Tripartite Global Assembly*

Clearly, big business has a key role to play in future sustainable development and global governance. However, its significant influence on global decision-making has to be transparent and accountable, even though this will be uncomfortable and sometimes turbulent. Only in this way will we restore legitimacy and efficacy of the decision-making mandate of national and global governance structures.

Therefore, the mandate of the tripartite *Global Assembly* is to be responsible for deliberating, negotiating and setting the standards for the 'global normative framework' that underpins international rule of law. This includes, in addition to the current mandate of the UN, responsibility for:

- \* regulation of Trans-National Corporations
- \* a global tax system for Trans-National Corporations
- \* earth-centred law, overturning treatment of the earth as an object and as a 'free good' in order to "protect and restore the integrity of Earth's ecological systems, with special concern for biological diversity and the natural processes that sustain life".<sup>36</sup>

#### *Financial Independence*

In addition, there will be revenue collection measures for the financial independence of the global governance body including consideration of

- \* a levy on arms sales to pay for the peace and security function (including a standing Peacekeepers Force), and enacting UN Charter Article 26, requiring a plan for minimisation of the proportion of earth resources diverted to arms production;
- \* a small levy on international flows of finance<sup>37</sup>, people and goods under the current UN regulation of foreign exchange, civil aviation, navigation and trade;
- \* taxes from Trans-National Corporations, a proportion to be retained for *The Integral Global Governance System* and the remainder distributed to nation-states based on the amount of TNC income generated in each; and systems for international recognition of donations from individuals, business organisations and nation-states for specific-purpose development projects and disaster management.

#### *Tripartite Global Council*

The decision-making mandate of the tripartite *Global Council* is to implement the standards set in the *Joint Global Assembly*. It also has the mandate to invoke Emergency Committee powers (similar to the role of the current Security Council).

Bureaucratic UN reform is long overdue. Thoroughly researched papers and recommendations published by the *Independent Commission on Multilateralism* (2016-17) provide a comprehensive reform agenda. One way of 'bridging silos', empowering women and youth and putting prevention

into practice is to use the SDGs as the blueprint for Secretariat structural reform. This does not necessarily mean a total revamp. It means explicitly aligning successful UN bodies, such as the World Health Organisation, with Goal 3 and one Expert Advisory Panel responsible for all research and evaluation. In the field, it means joining all goals and services in *Integrated Field Operations Teams* that attend to individual and cultural development as well as material and structural change.

Financial independence fosters sustainable and predictable financing and long-term strategic planning. In turn, this enables proactive, preventive approaches.

Although it cannot guarantee success, this integrated and proactive approach fosters a positive and solution-focused environment. In turn, this enhances international cooperation and multilateral approaches, isolating aggressive competition and unilateralism.

Accountability is strengthened through a department dedicated to this function. It is responsible for holistic oversight focused on effectiveness of structures and actions to implement all of the SDGs. Combining this with integrated field operations, is an effective check on specialised agencies, each responsible for progress towards achieving the targets and indicators of a single goal.

The *Global Court of Justice* has powers and structures similar to the International Court of Justice with the additional responsibility to rule in international disputes between nations, business and civil society and thereby interpret the new standards set by the *Global Assembly* and enacted by the *Global Council*. This arm of government includes:

- \* *International Centre for TNC Monitoring* established in Phase One

- \* strengthened powers in adjudicating in international corruption cases (*Crime and Corruption Commission*)

- \* mediation role through a *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, using the effective South African model to contribute to resolution of intractable issues such as the Middle East Crisis, North Korean weapons testing program, Syrian Civil War and international terrorism.

### **Powers to Enforce**

The *Global Constitution* will specify powers of *Global Council* to enforce international law balancing national sovereignty and citizens' rights. These include the principles of:

- \* *Subsidiarity* – those closest to issues are best placed to address them and higher levels of government intervention intervene only when truly necessary.

- \* *Responsibility to Protect (R2P)* – strengthened capacity to prevent and halt genocide, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity as determined through the Emergency Council and enabled through a standing *Global Peacekeeper Force* funded through financial independence measures.

- \* *Economic and Political Sanctions* – targeted sanctions may be applied by the Emergency Council, ideally determined by consensus or, if that is not achievable, by two-thirds majority vote. This will be more effective in addressing emergencies than the current situation where the Power of Veto is used by one nation to block action.

- \* *Social and Environmental Justice* – as enacted through the regulation of TNCs.

### **Managing Current and Emerging Challenges**

*The Integral Global Governance System* makes deep reforms significantly changing stakeholder relations, enabling effective management of global challenges and accelerating cultural transformation.

- \* *Empowering Global Citizens* through digital democracy, enabling participation in regional networks and direct representation in governance.
- \* *Empowering business* through direct representation in governance.
- \* *Regulating Trans-National Corporations*
- \* *Restoring the power of nation-states* by making transparent the 'hidden power' of Trans-National Corporations, enabling governance for the common good without fear of losing competitive advantage and restoring rightful revenue.
- \* *Reinforcing primacy of cosmopolitan humanity* over competing interests of nation-states and Trans-National Corporations.
- \* *Clarifying lines of accountability* and ending domination by P5 nations.
- \* *Restoring UN Charter's original vision*, growing from the experience of world wars, by enacting Article 26 for long-term control of arms, the *Military Staff Committee* and a *Standing Global Peacekeeper Force* as intended in Chapter 7.
- \* *Restructuring the Secretariat* and associated entities to renew collective focus on commonly agreed SDGs and minimise the fragmentation of resources and effort.
- \* *Implementing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission* to mediate intractable disputes.
- \* *Implementing Earth Jurisprudence* recognising earth rights and planetary boundaries.

The power dynamic of the new system addresses current and emerging challenges and risks.

### ***Climate Change and Large-scale Environmental Damage***

- \* Global citizens have increased access to verifiable data and 'scorecards' on the quality and achievement of 'intended nationally determined contributions'.
- \* Imposition of economic and political sanctions on nations not complying with the international rule of law.
- \* Earth jurisprudence and the creation of bioregional governance jurisdictions.
- \* Regulation of Trans-National Corporations including publication of 'scorecards' on contribution to social and environmental justice.

### ***Violent Conflict (including nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction)***

- \* Negotiation of a global arms reduction plan (Article 26 UN Charter).
- \* Negotiation of an international armaments trade tax.
- \* Imposition of economic and political sanctions on nations not complying with the international rule of law.
- \* Standing Global Peacekeeper Force and Military Staff Committee (Chapter 7 UN Charter)
- \* *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* mediating in intractable disputes, including international terrorism.
- \* Implementation of the Responsibility to Protect principle.

### ***Extreme Poverty and Continuing Rapid Population Growth***

- \* Formal application of business culture to SDG implementation - ambitious targets, bold innovations, impact measurement, data-driven evaluation.
- \* Changing status of women and girls through education and empowerment.
- \* Extend the power of the information revolution to community development.
- \* Implementing integral approaches to individual, cultural, spiritual as well as material development.

### ***Social Costs of Artificial Intelligence (AI)***

- \* Assembly sets standards optimising benefits whilst minimising costs.
- \* Negotiate international ban on AI arms production.
- \* Set and enforce AI standards through regulation of Trans-National Corporations

## C. Argumentation demonstrating how the model meets the assessment criteria

For each of the criteria listed in "Criteria", the participant must provide convincing arguments as to how the proposed model meets the criterion. (<2750 words)

### 1. CORE VALUES

The *Integral Global Governance System* enacts the core value of respect for the equal value of all human beings by providing for:

- \* civil society participating directly through *Regional Citizen Networks* that approve representatives to a *World Citizen Assembly* using a fair system of proportional representation;
- \* equal representation of business, government and citizens on the *Global Assembly* responsible for setting the standards of the international normative framework;
- \* voting requirements, if consensus cannot be achieved, that guard against two of the three Assemblies voting en bloc to disempower the third;
- \* equal representation of citizens, nation-states and business on the *Global Council*;
- \* removing the current privilege of the Permanent Five (P5) using the power of veto to block action, even in emergency situations that clearly harm some groups of human beings, thereby reinforcing the primacy of human welfare over national interests;
- \* regulation and increased transparency of Trans-National Corporations dominating world economy, governance and environment.

The extent to which decisions within *The Integral Global Governance System* are guided by the good of all humankind significantly increases under these provisions. The decision-making dynamic of the current UN system changes in ways that:

- \* promote the personal and cultural transformation required for the world's peoples to feel included in the deliberations and decisions made, regardless of their cultural background or worldview;
- \* promote inclusion of women and youth in global decision-making;
- \* enhance prospects of achieving the ambitious targets and full potential of the 2030 SDGs;
- \* consider the needs of the younger generations and future generations yet to be born.

The new global governance system privileges human rights and individual differences whilst balancing:

- \* celebrating diversity and promoting the unity and harmony that exists in that diversity (cosmopolitanism);
- \* rewarding individual enterprise and achieving global justice (for the common good);
- \* respecting national sovereignty and implementing the R2P principle;
- \* rights and responsibilities that accompany them;
- \* economic development and rights of host ecosystems;
- \* universal human rights and rights of the earth that sustains them.

### 2. DECISION-MAKING CAPACITY

*The Integral Global Governance System* enhances decision-making capacity without crippling delays through removal of the power of veto currently exercised by P5 nations. This change

poses the biggest challenge to acceptance of proposed reforms by those nations and their allies. There is no simple remedy; however, the case for global governance reform is overwhelming, as highlighted recently in wide condemnation of egocentric leaders abusing the UN forum to trade threats and insults.

The most compelling reason sustaining P5 engagement is best summarised by Alqadhafi: "It is rational for even the major powers in the international system, who dominate in terms of institutional power, to take cooperative steps toward more just and democratic global institutions, given the real cost of uncooperative behaviour in terms of lost alliances, reputation, partnerships and overall soft power—not to mention the real costs of unilateral action in a complex world where actions can have many unintended consequences, as those of the US invasion of Iraq, which arguably increased the very threat of terror and risk of use of weapons of mass destruction that it was designed to prevent."<sup>38</sup>

Other features of the new system will enhance timely decision-making:

- \* capacity for rapid awareness raising, discussion and opinion polling through digital democracy;
- \* capacity to implement strategies to manage difficulties in achieving overlapping consensus through a hierarchy of networks and decision-making bodies;
- \* capacity to build an institutional culture of setting ambitious targets, implementing bold innovations to achieve them and gathering data to measure impact;
- \* capacity to make evidence-based reforms based on the above approach;
- \* increased confidence in the views and evidence gathered upon which to base decision-making;
- \* increased ownership of the decisions made because of the broader and deeper involvement in the process;
- \* financial independence that fosters long-term planning and strategic decision-making.

Above all, the system recognises the limited capacity of nation-states to deliver decisions made because of the 'hidden' lobbying of privileged groups. There is little point in implementing a system with efficient processes of making decisions that few own or can deliver. By empowering citizens through increased transparency, *The Integral Global Governance System* enables them to implement the SIMPOL strategy. This recognises that nation-states currently do not implement rational policies for the common good in fear that they may become uncompetitive. That is, citizens are enabled to demand nation-states implement rational and widely agreed policies, if all, or sufficient numbers of other nations implement them.

### **3. EFFECTIVENESS**

The two phases of transition to integral global governance magnify the potential of tripartite collaboration in implementing the UN 2030 SDGs. Rapidly changing digital technology supports effective management of global challenges and risks. Data gathering and reporting informs distinct *Global Issues Networks* for each challenge. Knowing in timely fashion what works best in different contexts drives creative and collaborative problem-solving. Success breeds success and attracts new energy and investment.

#### ***Climate Change and Large-scale Environmental Damage***

##### ***\* Tripartite Partnerships***

The Paris accord has already driven momentous change in some parts of the world, despite well-funded resistance of the fossil fuel lobby. For example, the outcome of government leadership creating policy certainty has resulted in renewable energy investment in Latin



America at "nearly double the global rate, according to a 2016 report by the International Renewable Energy Agency, an intergovernmental organization."<sup>39</sup>

Conversely, when political leadership falters business, lower levels of government and civil society fill the void. President Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris accord resulted in "30 mayors, three governors, more than 80 university presidents and more than 100 businesses" ...lodging a 'parallel pledge' indicating "that leadership in the fight against climate change in the United States had shifted from the federal government to lower levels of government, academia and industry."<sup>40</sup>

\* *Earth Jurisprudence*

Priority will be given to redesigning governance systems (from global to local) "so that we firstly, understand, protect and nurture the health of the Earth community and secondly, design human activities so that they 'fit within' ecological health at all scales – from our local ecosystems, to wider bioregions, and our Planetary Boundaries."<sup>41</sup> Priority is given to this cultural/legal and psychological transformation throughout the transition to integral global governance. In particular, the regulation of Trans-National Corporations to balance profit with social and environmental justice changes the dynamic. Changes are already occurring in diverse locations, however, integral governance galvanises disparate reforms into a cohesive movement.

***Violent Conflict (including nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction)***

\* *Arms Reduction Plan*

"The current level of armed conflict worldwide costs the global economy approximately \$50 trillion per year."<sup>42</sup> World leadership of arms production and trade by the P5, confirms the inadequacy of current UN structures and culture. Reform is imperative for this reason alone. It explains why little progress was made over seven decades in implementing *UN Charter* Article 26 requiring a plan for minimising earth resources diverted to arms production. Preparation of this plan has priority in *The Integral Global Governance System*.

\* *Standing Global Peacekeeper Force*

Implementation of the standing *Global Peacekeeper Force* and revival of the Military Committee (as intended in Chapter 7 of the *UN Charter*), funded through an international arms trading levy, will contribute to reduction of violent conflict.

\* *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*

The process used in South Africa provides a model for enabling open communication of different perspectives in intractable conflicts. It enables global citizens to understand the drivers of these conflicts. This provides an opportunity to negotiate a way forward that benefits from a tripartite approach and addresses the risks of overreliance on competing nation-states to define the problem and the solution.

***Extreme Poverty***

Tripartite approaches to implementing the SDGs are already bearing fruit. Philanthropist business leaders such as Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and Bloomberg Global Business Forum have injected 'can-do' business culture into tackling extreme poverty. Data-driven approaches unlocking capital flows and investing in human capital are becoming the norm. Bill Gates observes that "the SDGs serve as a framework that can help leaders identify the problems that need solving, help funders and practitioners share best practices, and help the global community work together on solutions...[and] helped an industry that was traditionally about relationships shift its focus toward measuring humanitarian impact."<sup>43</sup>

*The Integral Global Governance System* amplifies this initiative through its tripartite approach and reforms that regulate Trans-National Corporations and fight corruption.

### ***Expected Continuing Rapid Population Growth***

Nations that have experienced an economic development trajectory in the life of the UN, such as South Korea, demonstrate the impact that rising standards of living have on reducing birth rates. Improvements in food production, health, water and sanitation reduce infant mortality rates and birth rates.

Changing the status of women and girls, particularly through education, is also significant. Data-driven approaches are essential. "The *Equal Measures* partnership was launched in response to a growing realization that women and girls are routinely left out of global and national data collected on vital issues such as health, education, and political participation... Equal Measures 2030 aims to overcome that problem by compiling, analyzing, and communicating existing data on gender issues; and exploring key gaps where collaborations on data collection could help."<sup>44</sup>

### ***Social Impact of Artificial Intelligence (AI)***

*The Integral Global Governance System* will accelerate economic development and data-driven approaches by formalising the partnership of business, government and civil society in decision-making. This partnership is vital in negotiating ways AI should be developed and implemented.

AI already affects individual and societal development in many ways, some positive and others negative. Experts predict accelerating implementation, with many jobs lost and some new jobs created. Historian/philosophers even predict a long-term cultural revolution replacing 'humanism' with 'dataism'<sup>45</sup>.

Economic benefits must be weighed against social costs, with strategies negotiated to optimise the former and mitigate the latter. Currently, these strategies involve setting standards for influencing researchers, governments and businesses to make ethical decisions. (For example, *Asilomar AI Principle 18: An arms race in lethal autonomous weapons should be avoided*<sup>46</sup>). Tripartite decision-making offers more hope of negotiating and enforcing appropriate and sustainable decisions, rather than leaving it to chance or leaving civil society out of the process altogether.

## **4. RESOURCES AND FINANCING**

Human and financial resources for establishing *The World Citizens System* (first phase) will come from the NGOs keen to join, supplemented by crowd-funding and philanthropic donations. Detailed planning and implementation of a credible system of digital democracy will require significant resources. Wide disillusionment with the UN system should generate considerable support in funding, volunteers and expertise. Maintenance of the system will require a similar resource quantum annually.

Financial independence of *The Integral Global Governance System* is critical to its success. This will avoid the dependency issues of the UN system. Broad public support will be gained, particularly among younger generations who feel excluded from current decision-making systems. The new system will generate revenue through:

- \* levies on flows of people, goods and money (aviation, maritime, trade, financial transactions) where a small quantum could generate significant income (for example, IATA reports 3.5 billion international airline passenger segments in 2015; a \$10 levy would raise \$35 billion);
- \* special purpose taxes (e.g. international armaments trade tax to fund peacekeeping activities);
- \* fees paid by NGOs and businesses seeking accreditation will be set to cover costs;

\* special purpose donations from nation-states, businesses and individuals for humanitarian relief, emergency and disaster relief.

Businesses are more likely to invest in funding development projects if they are involved in decision-making and have access to data for evaluation of impact. This is a positive trend of current UN partnership initiatives.

## 5. TRUST AND INSIGHT

Division of power between legislative, executive and judicial arms of governance in *The Integral Global Governance System* demands transparency through responsible reporting. Members of the *Global Council* are responsible to the *Global Assembly*. Business, government and civil society Assembly members are responsible to their respective assemblies.

Blockchain digital technology relies on perfect trust in the transparency and reliability of all transactions and records. Blockchain is an "unchangeable system of recordkeeping ... [that can] reject any non-valid transactions. On a public blockchain, the data that is stored can be seen and verified by all parties, and because they know the data is unchangeable and verified by the system, they can transact directly and securely with a trusted system, replacing third-party intermediaries." <sup>47</sup>

The World Economic Forum describes blockchain as a 'megatrend' set to impact international development through financial services, remittances, peer-to-peer energy trading, supply chains, land registry, identity and fund tracking. All rely on trust built through transparency. Business investment in global governance and international development relies on trusted data. <sup>48</sup>

Trustful relationships also depend on open resolution of past and present issues. Post-colonial baggage and a continuing sense of domination of the West have negatively impacted relationships in the UN. The *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* provides opportunities to lay grievances 'on the table' and openly confront issues from all perspectives.

Simplification of the Secretariat structure integrating specialised and holistic approaches to the SDGs will demand transparency for collaboration.

Insight into institutional structures and power relationships must form part of the ongoing global citizenship education required to build and maintain civil society faith in the new system.

## 6. FLEXIBILITY

The *Global Constitution* articulates the mechanisms for revisions and improvements to the new governance structure. The mechanisms included in the UN Charter (Articles 108 and 109) are adapted to require a 3/4 majority of the *Global Assembly*. The P5 power of veto currently used to block changes is removed.

Implementation of earth jurisprudence will require flexibility in the development of new standards and institutions (for example, the development of jurisdictions based on natural systems). A Thai farmer living in the Mekong Valley will require a flexible concept of citizenship. It will adapt to cross national boundaries and assimilate participation in the *SE Asia/Australasian Regional Citizen Network* and *Mekong Valley Eco-Governance Network*.

## 7. PROTECTION AGAINST THE ABUSE OF POWER

The new system includes a number of checks and balances protecting against abuse of power. It:

- \* removes the P5 veto which has been abused to prevent rational and popular change;
- \* requires Secretary-General reporting to the Council and Council member reporting to the Assembly;
- \* includes provision for the *Global Court* to rule in cases of undue interference in internal affairs of nation-states;
- \* makes transparent business positions on issues, replacing unclear and undue influence through lobbying – a hidden abuse of power that subverts the democratic process
- \* through civil society empowerment encourages use of 'scorecard diplomacy' through the work of NGOs monitoring corruption indicators (for example, factionalised elites – *Fund for Peace*, Corruption Perceptions Index – *Transparency International*).<sup>49</sup>

## 8. ACCOUNTABILITY

*The Integrated Global Governance System* addresses all dimensions of the Global Accountability Project Framework – transparency, participation, evaluation and complaints mechanism)<sup>50</sup>. Compared with the current system, accountability increases through:

- \* identifiable decision-makers and clear lines of responsibility between components (resulting from changes to power-relations between General Assembly and Security Council);
- \* 'dual' approach to Secretariat restructuring that integrates specialised responsibility through portfolios with holistic overview through *Field Operations Teams*;
- \* requirement for businesses and NGOs participating in the Assemblies and regional networks to be accredited through an independent agency;
- \* oversight and evaluation through the Standards and Accountability portfolio;
- \* regulation of Trans-National Corporations.

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- <sup>3</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), <http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/about/> (NGO Participation, accessed 20 September 2017)
- <sup>4</sup> United Nations Charter, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/preamble/index.html> (Accessed 20 September 2017.)
- <sup>5</sup> Antti Pentikäinen, 2000. *Creating Global Governance: The Role of Non-Governmental Organisations in the United Nations*, paper prepared for the Finnish UN Association, Helsinki, p42. Also: UN, NGO Branch, <http://esango.un.org/civilsociety/displayConsultativeStatusSearch.do?method=search&sessionCheck=false> (Accessed 20 September 2017.)
- <sup>6</sup> R. Freeman, 1984. *Strategic Management—A Stakeholder Approach*, Boston: Pitman.
- <sup>7</sup> Alqadhafi, op.cit. p19.
- <sup>8</sup> Figures provided for population in millions based on UN data for world nations, 1 July 2017.
- <sup>9</sup> Numbers of representatives are provided as an illustrative example. They are calculated using the square root method, recommended in a *Proposal for a UN Second Assembly*, supported by representatives of over 100 NGOs (October 1989) reported at <http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/index.php/campaign-for-a-more-democratic-united-nations> (Accessed 21 May 2017.)
- <sup>10</sup> Alqadhafi, op.cit. p193.
- <sup>11</sup> International Simultaneous Policy Organization, <http://www.simpol.org/> (accessed 31 August 2017). Also 'The Political Prisoner's Dilemma', John Bunzl at TEDx Berlin, November 2012, YouTube <http://www.tedxberlin.de/tedxberlin-2012-crossing-borders-john-bunzl-the-political-prisoners-dilemma>
- <sup>12</sup> Global Alliance for the Rights of Nature, <http://therightsofnature.org/> (Accessed 31 August 2017.)
- <sup>13</sup> Yann Queinnec and William Bourdon, 2010. *Regulating Transnational Companies: 46 Proposals*, Forum for a New World Governance, <http://world-governance.org/en> (Accessed 14 August 2017.)
- <sup>14</sup> Independent Commission on Multilateralism, 2016. *Pulling Together: The Multilateral System and its Future*, <https://www.icm2016.org/> (Accessed 5 August 2017.)
- <sup>15</sup> *Proposal for a United Nations Second Assembly*, 1989. <http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/index.php/campaign-for-a-more-democratic-united-nations> (Accessed 5 August 2017.)
- <sup>16</sup> Paul Raskin, 2012. *Imagine All the Peoples: Advancing a Global Citizens Movement*, World Democratic Forum, <http://world-governance.org/en/imagine-all-the-people-advancing-a-global-citizens-movement> (Accessed 12 September 2017.)
- <sup>17</sup> Don Beck and Christopher Cowan, 1996. *Spiral Dynamics: Mastering values, leadership, and change*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- <sup>18</sup> Ken Wilber, 2001. *A Theory of Everything: An Integral Vision for Business, Politics, Science and Spirituality*, Dublin: Gateway, p43.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid, p102.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid, p100. Wilber citing iSchaik Development Associates, *The Process of Integral Development*, prepared for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)

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- <sup>21</sup> Gail Hochachka, 2005. *Developing sustainability, developing the self: An integral approach to international and community development*, University of Victoria, British Columbia: POLIS Project on Ecological Governance. Available at: <http://www.drishti.ca/resources.htm>
- <sup>22</sup> Wilber, op.cit. p90.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> José Casanova, *Religion and Globalization*, Massive Open Online Course, University of Groningen, 2014.
- <sup>25</sup> Ken Wilber, op.cit. pp103-106.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid, p90.
- <sup>27</sup> Global Justice Now, cited in 'Study: Big Corporations Dominate List of World's Top Economic Entities' in *The Guardian*, 12 September 2016.
- <sup>28</sup> John Bunzl and Ken Wilber, *Building a Global Democracy*, 15 September 2012, <https://integrallife.com/building-global-democracy/> (Accessed 9 September 2017.)
- <sup>29</sup> Michael Zürn, 2005. 'Global Governance and Legitimacy Problems' in *Global Governance and Public Accountability*, eds. David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, Oxford: Blackwell, p136.
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