
Tuesday and Wednesday, June 13–14, 2017

World Government or Else?

An event within the EURIAS Fellowship of Attila Tanyi
at Collegium Helveticum – in cooperation with Zukunftskolleg Konstanz



Some think that there is only one adequate answer to these challenges: to create a world state that governs the entire globe. Others think that creating a world state is not a good idea for different reasons: it is unrealistic (given as the world it is now dominated by territorial nation states); it is undesirable (it could lead to global tyranny and/or force upon humanity a homogeneity that we don't want); it is ineffective (there are other solutions to these problems, such as stronger nation states, supra-national organizations, stronger regional cooperation). This two-day workshop (June 13, 2017-June 14, 2017) will examine the question whether we need a world government (and in what form), both from theoretical and from empirical angles.

The world is encountering several global challenges: climate change, global injustice, and war particularly stand out.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: The workshop will last for two days. The first day (June 13) will be spent at the Collegium Helveticum, Zurich (Switzerland), the second day (June 14) in the Zukunftskolleg, Konstanz (Germany). A shuttle bus service will be provided between Zurich and Konstanz on the morning and evening of June 14.

Tuesday, June 13, 2017

Workshop, Day 1:
Collegium Helveticum,
Meridian-Saal, Zurich

09:00–10:00

Henning Hahn

Global Transitional Justice
– A Cosmopolitan Approach
to Political Reconciliation
Chair: Joachim Wündisch

10:00–10:30

Break

10:30–11:30

Joachim Wündisch
Territorial Rights and World
Government
Chair: Torbjörn Tänssjö

11:30–12:00

Break

12:00–13:00

Eva Erman
A Function-Sensitive
Approach to the Political
Legitimacy of Global
Governance
Chair: Marco Cellini

13:00–15:00

Lunch Break

15:30–16:00

Timothy Sinclair
Governance without Gov-
ernment Redux: Reasons
to be Phlegmatic about
World Government
Chair: Raffaele Marchetti

16:30–17:30

Alice Pinheiro Walla
Realism and Idealism in
Kant's Theory of Global
Governance
Chair: András Miklós

Tuesday, June 14, 2017

Workshop, Day 2:
University of Konstanz, Building
V (Room V1001, Senatsaal),
Konstanz

10:00–11:00

Torbjörn Tänssjö
Global Democracy – Global
Government
Chair: Henning Hahn

11:00–11:30

Break

11:30–12:30

Marco Cellini (paper with
Daniele Archibugi)
The Internal and External
Levers to achieve Global
Democracy
Chair: Timothy Sinclair

12:30–14:30

Lunch Break

14:30–15:30

Raffaele Marchetti
What is a Democratic
Foreign Policy? Principles,
Models and Dilemmas
Chair: Eva Erman

15:30–16:00

Break

16:00–17:00

András Miklós (paper with
Attila Tanyi)
Institutional Consequen-
tialism and World Govern-
ment
Chair: Alice Pinheiro Walla

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Henning Hahn

Global Transitional Justice – A Cosmopolitan Approach to Political Reconciliation

In this paper, I will apply the idea of political reconciliation – and with it the conceptions of restorative and transitional justice – to debates on cosmopolitan governance. My underlying thesis is that the idea of reconciliation fits better to the nonideal circumstances of global injustices, better than ideals of global democracy and republicanism or principles of global corrective and distributive justice. Originally, political reconciliation defines a transitional process from a state of severe injustice to a state of renewed social unity and cooperation. What does this transitional perspective mean for a broader understanding of global governance?

Joachim Wündisch

Territorial Rights and World Government

Anthropogenic climate change has begun and will continue to inflict serious loss and damage on a global scale by way of droughts, floods, storms and other severe weather events. Therefore, considerations of compensatory justice are in urgent need of being addressed. One of the most important and complex challenges of compensating for loss and damage associated with climate change stems from the unique problem of lost territory. Total territorial loss requires, at least in part, territorial compensation because territory is a prerequisite for making use of the collective right to politi-

cal self-determination. To facilitate compensation a supranational authority in the form a climate fund is needed.

Eva Erman

A Function-Sensitive Approach to the Political Legitimacy of Global Governance

Today it is generally agreed that political legitimacy is a desirable quality of global governance arrangements and the goal of strengthening political legitimacy in the exercise of global public power has become a key concern among international agents, civil society organizations, national governments, and concerned citizens alike. Despite this broad consensus, however, there is still little agreement on what are the most suitable principles of legitimacy of global governance. The overall aim of this paper is to draw attention to one aspect that thus far have escaped systematic scrutiny in this theoretical literature, namely, functions. It does so by exploring the idea that the content and justification of a principle of political legitimacy for global governance may be dependent on the function that the entity is supposed to perform (e.g. decision-making, implementation, monitoring). More specifically, two arguments are made: one meta-theoretical and one substantive. The meta-theoretical argument consists in demonstrating the fruitfulness of adopting what I call a 'function-sensitive approach' to political legitimacy. The substantive argument consists in developing the contours of an account of political legitimacy by applying this systemic approach. By 'contours' I mean it is not a full-fledged theory. Rather, it comprises five principles that I consider to be central for the political legitimacy of global governance. In the concluding section, I sketch the institutional implications of applying this account, such as whether it would demand a world state.

Timothy Sinclair

Governance without Government Redux: Reasons to be Phlegmatic about World Government

This paper argues the route to something like world government is not through representative state institutions, but through non-state organizations. The barriers to the state at the global level are growing in an era of populist unrest about globalization. At the same time, the reality of transnational financial flows, of integrated production systems that span continents, and massive information flows, is increasing interdependence between populations (whether they like it or not). How Britain will retain these links while severing the supranational structures that tie her to the European Union is the riddle of BREXIT. In this world, some institutions matter more than others and many will never matter, whatever they do.

Alice Pinheiro Walla

Realism and Idealism in Kant's Theory of Global Governance

Do we need a world government? It has been a great matter of controversy in Kant scholarship whether Kant endorses the creation of a world state or merely a voluntary federation of states with no coercive power. In this paper, I argue that Kant's main concern is with a global rule of law, which

he regards as a rational requirement given the freedom and equality of individuals. However, Kant recognizes that implementing this rational ideal requires sensitivity to contingent aspects of world politics. I show how Kant's theory of global governance is based on an interplay between ideal rational requirements and the need to realize these ideals in the world. I argue that Kant's discussion of Völkerrecht or international law operates on two levels: at the level of reason, involving strictly rational ideals and requirements, and at the non-ideal, "real world" scenario, which is constrained by empirical factors such as the actual internal development of given polities, the mentality of the people and their willingness to implement what reason requires. Kant's account of Völkerrecht takes this reality into account, and operates with the presupposition that states are externally independent from one another as moral persons.

Torbjörn Tännsjö

Global Democracy – Global Government

I have argued (in my book *Global Democracy. The Case for a World Government*) in defence of global democracy. My argument proceeded in two steps. First of all, we need a world government if we want to be able to handle truly global problems to do with climate change, war and, and injustices. In a second step I have argued that it is both desirable and feasible that the world government takes a (populist) democratic form. In a roadmap to global democracy I have argued that we should democratize the UN in a manner that means that we end up with a global democracy with a global government. Democracy, I have argued, is not only desirable in its own right, it is a means to success in the ambition to establish a world government. In my talk I will discuss whether this roadmap is feasible, whether democracy really is a means to global government and ponder about the possibility that we will have to rest satisfied with a global democracy that is despotic rather than democratic.

Marco Cellini (paper with Daniele Archibugi)

The Internal and External Levers to achieve Global Democracy

The paper explores the methods to introduce democratic devices in global governance. The first part defines democratic global governance and its aims. The second part provides

some benchmarks to identify when international organizations correspond to the values of democracy. The third part presents the internal and the external levers. The internal lever is defined as the ways in which democratization within countries can foster democratic global governance. The external lever is defined as the ways in which international organizations can promote democracy among their members. Both levers do not work effectively if left to inter-governmental bargaining only. The participation of non-governmental actors is needed to make them effective. The paper finally discusses a list of proposals to democratize global governance.

Raffaele Marchetti

What is a Democratic Foreign Policy? Principles, Models and Dilemmas

The debate about democracy at the international level has invariably focussed on how to democratise international institutions. From cosmopolitan democracy, to transnational stakeholder democracy, to global all-inclusive democracy, a number of different proposals have been formulated in recent years. What has been completely left out is the issue of foreign policy, how states should behave in their external relations vis-a-vis one another. In the past, attempts to define criteria of democratic legitimacy in foreign policy has been extremely rare. In contemporary debates, the extent to which a foreign policy qualifies as democratic has not received any scrutiny. This lack of analysis is surprising and worrying, since the issue is of paramount in today's world. With this paper I would like to open a discussion on this topic. I will do importance it by developing an argument through the following steps. First, I will map the terrain of those very few

studies on the topic that have been carried out so far: I will analyse these studied with the intention to understand what motivated them and what are their results and their limits. Second, taking into account the previous studies and their shortcomings, I will elaborate a new argument about the criteria that a foreign policy paradigm needs to have in order to qualify as democratic. I will analyse each component of the foreign policy package: procedures, goals, and the actions.

András Miklós (paper with Attila Tanyi)

Institutional Consequentialism and Global Institutions

In another paper we have responded to the so-called demandingness objection to consequentialism - that consequentialism is excessively demanding and is therefore unacceptable as a moral theory - by introducing the theoretical position we called institutional consequentialism. This is a consequentialist view that, however, requires institutional systems, and not individuals, to follow the consequentialist principle. In the present paper we first introduce the demandingness objection, then explain the theory of institutional consequentialism and how it responds to the objection. In the remainder of the paper, we turn to the global dimension where, it seems, the demands of consequentialism are particularly troubling. In response, following the general idea of institutional consequentialism, we draw up three alternative routes: building on and developing existing national, transnational and supranational institutions; setting up a world government; focusing on regional as opposed to national (let alone international) cooperation (the position that is often called neo-medialism). We consider the pros and cons of each approach to see which fits best our theoretical position.

Venues

Tuesday, June 13, 2017

Collegium Helveticum
Semper-Sternwarte
Schmelzbergstrasse 25
8006 Zürich

Wednesday, June 14, 2017

Zukunftskolleg
University of Konstanz
Building V (Room V1001, Senatsaal)
Universitätsstrasse 10
78464 Konstanz

Registration

Registration to attend is recommended. Please register with Attila Tanyi by emailing to tanyi@collegium.ethz.ch

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