



Trans-European democracy. For social justice, environmental sustainability and a liveable future

Manifesto

We create the CosmoPolitical Party. A political party standing for **social justice**, for **environmental sustainability** and for **trans-national democracy** at the scale of the **European Union**, in the public institutions and in our internal operations.

What are our political goals? Why do we create this political party? How do we operate? Each of these questions is answered in greater detail below.

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Executive Summary

We stand for **social justice**, for **environmental sustainability** and for **trans-national democracy** at the scale of the **European Union**. In our views, achieving these goals **jointly** is the **only** means to overcome the **global challenges of the 21st century**. We pursue these goals in a long-term plan, our "**30-40-50 Roadmap**". We are a political party, aiming at exercising government responsibilities. We operate at the scale of the EU. Our processes and tools deliver first-in-class internal democracy.

The CosmoPolitical Party stands for social justice, for environmental sustainability and for trans-national democracy at the scale of the European Union

We identify six global challenges of the 21st century: (1) **climate change**, and more generally the consumption of resources beyond the regenerating capacities of our environment, (2) **demographics** and the explosion in the number of elderly and chronically-ill people, (3) the social **inequalities** brought by digital technologies, (4) the **concentration of power** in the hands of **multi-national corporations**, (5) the rise in **poverty** and **precariousness** for large fractions of the population, and, as a consequence of the above, (6) a rising wave of **mass migrations** and of **xenophobic nationalism**. Confronted with these challenges, feeling grows that the world is governed by a global, selfish oligarchy, on its way towards a global collapse made of ecological disaster, social chaos, political fragmentation and nationalistic wars.

We propose the **positive alternative** to this scenario.

We aim at a society where everyone enjoys his/her fundamental human, social and economic rights, lives from his/her work, in decent living conditions compatible with the finite resources of our planet, and is confident in his/her future and in that of his/her children, for the generations of today and those of the future. A society where every citizen participates in a democratic policy- and decision-making at the scale large enough to have an impact: that of the European Union.

Our three goals of social justice, of environmental sustainability and of trans-national democracy at the scale of the EU are intimately **inter-linked**, and must be pursued **jointly**. Environmental sustainability is the condition for human civilisation to exist, and thus for justice and democracy to have a meaning. Social justice is the prerequisite for the deep political agreements, long-term vision and frugality that sustainability requires. Only a strongly united and deeply democratic European Union has the political power and legitimacy to implement on time these deep transformations of our society.

Our 30-40-50 Roadmap

We implement our political goals in a **long-term roadmap**, with three concrete milestones:

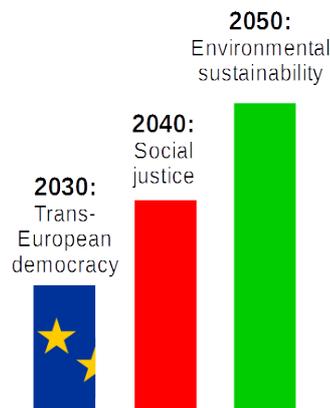
- in **2030: trans-national democracy in the EU**. All citizens, whatever their national, cultural or social origin, participate in policy- and decision-making at EU level. The European Union is a powerful political player, able to impose its democratic decisions to



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multi-national corporations and to the richest 1%.

- in **2040: social justice**. Every citizen is assured to live in dignity from his / her work, for life. Economic inequalities in income and in inherited wealth have been drastically reduced. All citizens are confident about their future, and are ready to engage in the changes brought by the transition to sustainability.
- in **2050: environmental sustainability**. The EU is on track and on time to limit global warming below 2°C (net-zero emissions). It has stopped deteriorating its natural capital (soil, freshwater reserves, biodiversity).



Our 30-40-50 Roadmap

The CosmoPolitical Party is a deeply democratic political party operating at the scale of the European Union

We are a political party. Our ambition is to transform the world for the better, by exerting responsibilities in parliaments and governments. We propose radical reforms and credible alternatives to the current world order, in an approach based on identifying issues and designing solutions.

We operate at the scale of the European Union. We define ourselves primarily as citizens of the European Union. What unites us, the perception of the global challenges outlined above, and the belief that only a joint action on social justice, environmental sustainability and trans-national democracy can overcome them, is stronger than what may divide us. We operate directly at the scale of the European Union, with no intermediate structure.

We take trans-national internal democracy seriously. Rigorous procedures and first-in-class on-line democracy software ensure that all members, wherever they are located, and whatever their social condition, have an equal right to participate in decision-making: (1) in the initiative, amendment and ranking in priority order of strategic decisions (political programme, selection of candidates in official elections, internal governance bodies); (2) in the control of elected officials.

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The CosmoPolitical Party designs and implements policies for social justice, for environmental sustainability and for trans-national democracy at the scale of the European Union

We, as member of the CosmoPolitical Party, share the following **political objectives** and **guiding rules** for our action.

Our political objectives stand on three pillars: social justice, environmental sustainability and trans-national democracy at the scale of the EU

We stand for **social justice**, for **environmental sustainability** and for **trans-national democracy** at the scale of the **European Union**. We understand these concepts as follows:

- **Social justice** is a situation where every citizen is assured to live in dignity from his / her work, for life, is confident in his/her future and in that of his/her children, and where economic inequalities in income and in inherited wealth have been drastically reduced.
- **Environmental sustainability** is a production and consumption model where: (1) the climate is maintained in a stable state (well below 2°C warming, and striving at 1.5°C), compatible with the long-term preservation of the agricultural systems that feed humankind; (2) every renewable resource is used at or below the rate at which it can regenerate itself; (3) every non-renewable resource is used at or below the rate at which a renewable substitute can be developed; and (4) every pollution stream is emitted at or below the rate at which it can be absorbed or made harmless.
- **Trans-national democracy** is a democracy uniting citizens, and taking action, beyond national, linguistic and cultural boundaries. We believe it to be possible because what unites humans, and the common issues that they face, are greater than what separates them. The **European Union**, despite all its weaknesses that we acknowledge, is the first existing trans-national democratic institution.

In our views, social justice, environmental sustainability and trans-national democracy at the scale of the European Union are intimately **inter-related**. They cannot be separated from one another.

- Neither social justice nor democracy are possible in environmentally unsustainable societies. In the short term, the first victims of environmental destruction are the poor, who are forced to live in the polluted, noisy, isolated and unhealthy places created by the unsustainable individual and collective consumption patterns of the rich and of the middle class. In the longer term, the shortages of food, fuel or other material goods brought by unsustainable life-styles destroy the livelihood of the whole population. At the end, such societies collapse in the dreadful chaos of a fight for bare survival¹.
- Reciprocally, no environmental sustainability agenda can be implemented in socially unjust societies. This is because inequalities and precariousness generate (1) social and political

¹ Such disastrous scenarios of civilisational collapse have already taken place in the past, as demonstrated in Diamond, J. "[Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed](#)", Penguin books, 2011.



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conflicts, (2) short-termism and (3) ostentatious consumption, the exact opposite of what is needed for a transition to sustainability. Our detailed argument is the following. First, the transition to an environmentally sustainable society is a fundamental transformation. It changes the way we produce and consume, it impacts our cultures and our even our dreams for the future. It demands to agree on the sharing of immense costs, benefits and risks, among all of us, all around the globe, in a very short time. Achieving this level of political agreement among good-willed people is a huge challenge in itself. It becomes impossible when anger, frustration and fear, created by inequalities and precariousness, put the very legitimacy of democratic institutions (whose purpose is to solve conflicts peacefully) in question. Second, for people living in precariousness, the future is very limited, sometimes for them it's even about finding food from one day to the next. Sustainability policies on the other hand develop over much longer time – often decades. Third, in unequal societies, many consume wastefully, and ostentatiously². This is rational: it is an attempt to show to others that the person belongs to the rich and the powerful, in a society where only them (or those that make believe they are) are safe and secure, while the poor and the weak are being trampled upon. This ostentation is the opposite of the frugal consumption that we need for our societies to be environmentally sustainable.

- These two deep social and economic transformations, towards social justice and towards environmental sustainability will (1) severely impact the concentrated wealth and power of multi-national corporations and of the rich and very rich global elite (the "1%"), and (2) require political compromises at large scale between very divergent and yet legitimate interests, which will be difficult even among good-willing partners. Overcoming the resistance of the global oligarchy is impossible with weak, fragmented political powers such as the European States separately. Only a strong, democratically legitimate and unitary European Union bears enough power to impose its decisions to multinational corporations and to the richest 1%. Only a truly trans-national democracy, of which the European Union is a prototype, can legitimate the political agreements at large scale necessary to successfully address the global challenges of the 21st century.

For all these reasons, we pursue social justice, environmental sustainability and trans-national democracy at the scale of the European Union **in parallel**, inseparably from one another.

In greater detail, our **political objectives** are the following for our societies, for the European Union and for the world:

1. **Social cohesiveness, inclusiveness and equality.** We state the right for all to feel and be **safe** and confident about his/her future, specifically to have a **stable employment**, under conditions enabling to live decently from one's work.
2. **Human rights**, as described in the Universal Declaration of the United Nations³, which are **equally accessible to all humans** without discrimination (Art. 1 and 2), and include **formal rights**, such as protection of life and of personal integrity (Art. 3, 4, 5), of privacy (Art. 12),

² e.g. by visibly displaying the luxury brands of their goods

³ Downloadable in more than 500 languages at: <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>



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the protection of law (Art.6 to 11) and of a nationality (Art. 13 and 15), freedom of movement within a State and right to asylum (Art. 13 and 14), right to marriage (Art. 16), to property (Art. 17) freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Art. 18), of opinion (Art. 19), of association (Art. 20), right to democracy (Art. 21), and **social and economic rights**, such as social security (Art. 22), right to work, for a decent pay, and to join a trade union (Art. 23), to limitation in working hours and to periodic holidays with pay (Art. 24), to a decent standard of living (Art. 25), to education (Art. 26), to culture and science (Art. 27).

3. **Rule of law.** Law is the only tool available to the weak and to the poor to uphold their rights against the rich and the powerful. It must apply and be accessible equally to all. It must provide redress opportunities, legal security and the predictability of legal decisions, equally for all parties.
4. **Democracy.** Democracy has a **value** in itself. It is the political system that embodies human **dignity** and **equality** in the political decision-making process governing our collective future. It is because all humans are equal in their rights that they are equally legitimate to participate in taking collective decisions. Every person must be able to participate in the initiative of public policy proposals, in their amendment and in their ranking in priority order. The digital on-line platform and the organisational model used by the CosmoPolitical Party are in themselves an attempt to embody internal democracy in software code⁴ and in human-based procedures.
5. **Sustainable development**, which we understand as follows. It is our duty to ensure every inhabitant of the planet **decent living conditions**, compatible with the **finite** nature of all biological, physical and geological **resources** necessary to a human civilisation, without compromising the ability of future generations to do the same. We understand "development" as the steady **improvement** in the **efficiency** in the usage of all resources (energy, raw materials, soil, water, human work, human capabilities) and in living conditions. This improvement is based on the accumulation and the maintenance of all forms of productive capital (natural regeneration capacities; human competencies; infrastructures, machinery and networks; scientific, technical and institutional knowledge; coordination capability; institutions, laws, regulation and standards), while operating with **decreasing** flows of matter and energy. In the medium term (2030), we take seriously the 17 Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations⁵, to be provided to all humans: (1) end poverty; (2) end hunger; (3) ensure healthy lives; (4) ensure education; (5) achieve gender equality; (6) ensure sustainable water supply and sanitation; (7) ensure access to sustainable energy; (8) promote sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work; (9) build infrastructure, promote industrialisation and innovation; (10) reduce inequalities within and among countries; (11) make cities inclusive, safe and sustainable; (12) Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; (13) prevent climate change;

4 By using the Free, *Libre* and Open Source deliberative democracy software called KuneAgi: <http://www.kuneagi.org/english/fonctionscharacteristiquesen/69-democratieinterneen> and LiquidFeedback <http://www.liquidfeedback.org> and the organisational model outlined at: <https://www.cosmopoliticalparty.org/OrgaModel>

5 Downloadable at: <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>



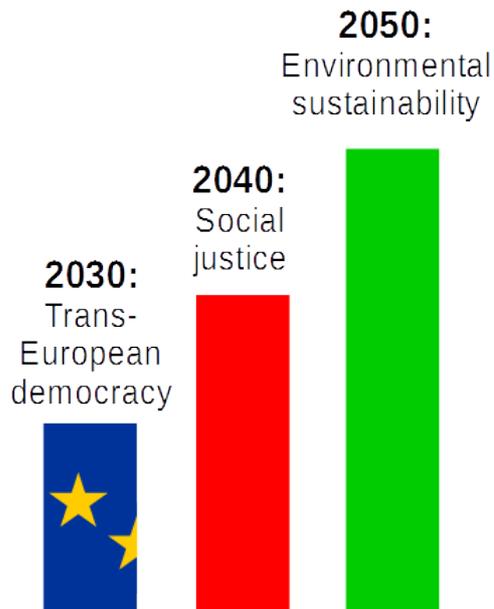
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(14) conserve the seas; (15) protect terrestrial eco-systems; (16) build peaceful and inclusive societies, just legal systems and accountable institutions; (17) implement.

6. **Education.** We consider education as being the essential tool for humans to emancipate themselves from ignorance, from prejudice, from social and ethnic determinisms, and from oppression. Education provides the capabilities and knowledge for humans to evolve and adapt, individually and collectively – which will be of utmost importance in a century of massive, structural change. Education is also one's only truly unalienable asset.
7. **Peace,** between nations, between members of society and within ourselves. Peace can only last if justice and truth prevail.

Our 30-40-50 Roadmap

We implement our political goals in a **long-term roadmap**, with three concrete milestones.



Our 30-40-50 Roadmap



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Milestone	Political objective	Concrete achievements
2030: trans-national democracy in the European Union	All citizens, whatever their national, cultural or social origin, participate in policy- and decision-making at EU level. The European Union is a powerful political player, able to impose its democratic decisions to multinational corporations and to the richest 1%.	All Members of the European Parliament are elected in trans-national lists. The veto right of Member States in the Council is removed on all matters. All debates and votes in the Council are public. The European Council gathering the heads of State and of government is dissolved. The "universality principle" has replaced subsidiarity
2040: social justice	Every citizen is assured to live in dignity from his / her work, for life. Economic inequalities in income and in inherited wealth have been drastically reduced. All citizens are confident about their future, and are ready to engage in the changes brought by the transition to sustainability.	Unemployment rate is below 2% (frictional rate). Long-term unemployment rate is 0%. All incomes are within a 1 to 3 ratio after social and fiscal contributions and benefits. All inherited wealth lies within a 1 to 5 ratio after fiscal contributions.
2050: environmental sustainability	The European Union is on track and on time to limit global warming below 2°C (net-zero emissions). It has stopped deteriorating its natural capital (soil, freshwater reserves, biodiversity).	Emissions of greenhouse effect gases related to EU consumption have reached a net zero level. Net-zero consumption of soil and of freshwater reserves. Biodiversity loss has reverted to pre-industrial rates.

These political objectives constitute the minimal agreement required among the members of the party. They build the ideological framework within which we place our reflection and our action. Each Public Policy Proposal produced by the CosmoPolitical Party is expected to comply with them. This level of compliance is an element that members are being requested to assess when ranking policy proposals in priority order. We recognise that these political objectives may conflict with each other, and that the purpose of political choice is that of choosing between equally legitimate, but contradictory, requirements.



We work at the scale of the European Union on public policies that deeply transform society

The **guiding rules** governing our **action** in the political sphere are the following:

1. We work on **issues** and propose **public policies**. In our views, politics is not a matter of general declarations, resolutions or motions. Its purpose is to act, and to transform the world and society. Democratically elected public authorities have a range of essentially **three tools** at their disposal: **regulation**, **taxation** and **public spending**. They are powerful, if appropriately used, at the right scale. Societies are faced with issues of various magnitude, scope and time durations. Our duty in the CosmoPolitical Party is (1) to identify the issues that we consider deserve being treated in priority, and (2) to democratically define and to implement the public policies compliant with our political objectives, and best suited to solve these issues, in a problem – solution approach.
2. We support **radical reforms** to the current social, economic and political order. The only realistic and honest means to eradicate the old order is to define the new one with which to replace it. We build **credible alternatives**, which are both **technically valid** (the outcome is indeed what was sought, and the social benefit is maximised) and **politically legitimate** (the interests and values of all have been taken into account). We concentrate our political action where its transformative power is the greatest.
3. We aim at exerting **government responsibilities**. We consider our social role as a political party as follows: (1) to define and publicise our **political programme** (i.e. the list of public policies that we support, ranked in priority order), and to defend it in the public sphere; (2) to participate in political **elections**, with the aim of being elected to positions of responsibility; and (3) to **implement** this political programme once elected – thereby bearing full political responsibility for our choices and proposals. Our primary targets are those elections and positions of responsibility taking decisions at the scale of the whole European Union, and where we leverage our fully trans-national structure: the European Parliament, where we aim at creating a political group⁶. We also aim at participating in national, regional or local governments, because they face common issues, which deserve being solved using common solutions defined at large scale, and implemented in a coordinated way. In addition, Member States in the European Union govern the major fraction of public spending⁷, and some essential tools of social justice, such as the social security systems⁸. Political action at national scale and below is thus necessary for us to implement our political objectives. Finally, the national governments build the Council of the European Union, the upper chamber representing the Member States, on a par in the ordinary legislative procedure with the Parliament representing directly the people.

6 The conditions for this is to group at least 25 Members of the European Parliament (in a total of 751, i.e. 3% of the ballots), from at least one-quarter of Member States, i.e. from 7 Member States in the configuration of the Union of 2017.

7 The budget of the European Union in the period 2013 – 2020 is less than 1% of its total GDP, whereas the public spending of Member States ranges from 20 to 45% of their national GDP.

8 Art. 21 and 153 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) accessible in all official languages of the EU at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=en>



Implementing our political programme at the scale of the EU thus requires to be present in the Council as well as in the Parliament.

The global issues of the 21st century require political agreements at large scale, beyond that of the nation-state

Humankind realises since the turn of the 21st century that it faces common, global issues. These issues can be ranked as follows, from the most complex to act upon, because they depend upon the laws of physics and biology and upon geological constraints, to those that could be (but are not) easier to address, because they imply social conventions only: (1) the excessive and unsustainable pressure that humankind exerts on the natural environment that supports human civilisation; (2) population ageing; (3) the technical efficiency and economic inequalities created by fixed-cost integrated systems (specifically: by digital technologies); (4) the concentration of power in increasingly footloose multi-national corporations, and, conversely, (5) the global rise in poverty and precariousness. These global issues go beyond the geographical scale of any individual nation-state, while their time scale is that of one to several decades. Solving these problems requires political agreements at large scale, beyond that of the nation-state.

The "Western" life-style exerts an unsustainable pressure on the natural environment that supports human civilisation

Humankind depends on natural resources for its livelihood, for its basic, biological life, and for all elements of a human civilisation, in the strong meanings of “human” and of “civilisation”.

All humans need **food** to sustain their biological life. Food is produced by agriculture, in volumes that depend upon available arable surface, and upon yields, i.e. the production per unit of surface.

Arable surface is depleted by erosion⁹, by urban sprawl, by desertification, and by the rise in sea levels brought by global warming¹⁰, that flood the rich agricultural delta regions where the population concentrates (Bangladesh, the Netherlands, Vietnam, the Nile delta in Egypt...). The only recent gains in arable land were essentially obtained to the detriment of primary tropical forests, specifically in Brazil and Indonesia, to grow soybean and oil palm trees, respectively.

The arable land available for human food is additionally constrained by the competition for the use of arable surface between (1) direct food for humans (e.g. cereals, legumes, fruits, vegetables), (2) animal feed (e.g. soya)¹¹, which feeds the animals (e.g. cows, chicken, pigs) whose products will be eaten by humans (with a significant transformation loss – specifically in the case of beef), (3) fibre used in textile and clothing (e.g. cotton, wool), and (4) fuel (e.g. wood, liquid agro-fuels

9 Food & Agriculture Organisation (FAO): "Status of the World's Soil Resources. Main report", 2015, downloadable at: <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i5199e.pdf>, of which the main findings are accessible at: <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/357059/icode/>

10 Wong, P.P.et. al.: "Chapter 5: Coastal systems and low-lying areas." In: "Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Part A: Global and Sectoral Aspects", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA, pp. 361-409 Downloadable at: https://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/wg2/WGIIAR5-Chap5_FINAL.pdf

11 Manceron, S. et al. "Feeding proteins to livestock: Global land use and food vs. feed competition". OCL 2014, 21 (4) D408, downloadable at: <https://www.ocl-journal.org/fr/articles/ocl/abs/2014/04/ocl140020/ocl140020.html>



used in internal combustion engines).

In addition to these losses in arable surface, **agricultural yields** are anticipated to **deteriorate** badly if the global warming continues¹², despite massive investment in agricultural bio-technology, and massive input of non-renewable fertilisers (based on the extraction of potassium and of phosphates, and on the combustion of natural gas to capture the nitrogen of the atmosphere). As a striking illustration, in a “business as usual” scenario (where global warming reaches 3.5°C), a recent study anticipates **heat waves** in **France**, one of the agricultural breadbaskets of Europe to reach ca. **55°C**, i.e. a temperature close to the current heat records of the world-known Death Valley in Southern California (United States of America), over several weeks. Under such extreme temperature conditions, it is doubtful that any of the plants and trees currently present in France will survive, not to mention agricultural crops.

A further reason for agricultural yields to deteriorate is because soils lose organic nutrients and biodiversity¹³.

If nothing is done, **food available for human consumption** will thus **decrease** over the next decades, frontally colliding with the increasing needs of a growing population (see below) and of a growing per capita consumption, due to an evolution towards meat- and dairy-based diets.

This threat on our future food supply is only the most visible illustration of the fact our current industrial civilisation consumes more renewable natural resources than what the Earth can sustainably regenerate. To be more accurate, our current consumption levels are above 3 of the 9 “planetary boundaries” that ensure the stability of Earth as a set of bio-physical systems: climate change, biodiversity loss and nitrogen depletion¹⁴. Said differently, **we “use” 1.6 planets**¹⁵, and only have one available – now and in any realistically foreseeable future.

In addition to this over-consumption of renewable natural resources, humankind also uses vast quantities of materials and energy to provide all the amenities of material life: construction materials (e.g. limestone for cement, gravel for concrete) to build homes and transport infrastructure, metals, glass and plastics to produce the full range of industrial products that we are surrounded with as consumers and as users of technical infrastructure (water, sewage, electricity, telecommunications, hospitals) – and energy to produce and operate them all. Only a small fraction

12 Porter, J.R. et. al. “Food security and food production systems”. In: “Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Part A. Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)”, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA, 2014, pp. 485-533.
Downloadable at: https://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/wg2/WGIIAR5-Chap7_FINAL.pdf Scientific research converges towards a deterioration of yields after 2030, with worse deterioration in developing countries (see Figure 7-5).

13 Food & Agriculture Organisation (FAO): “Status of the World's Soil Resources. Main report”, 2015

14 Rockström, Johan et al. “A safe operating space for humanity”, Nature 461, 472-475, 2009, accessible at: <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v461/n7263/full/461472a.html>

15 Based on the “Ecological footprint” concept, available at: <http://www.footprintnetwork.org/our-work/ecological-footprint/>



thereof comes from recycled sources of materials¹⁶, or from renewable energy sources¹⁷.

The fundamental reason for this **unsustainable** situation is the **"Western" lifestyle and consumption pattern**, based on individual suburban housing, automobile-based mobility, air travel and meat consumption. It is also due to our current extract – produce – consume – throw away industrial model, also known as the "linear" or "cradle to grave" model, where the external costs of using non-renewable resources is ignored – and quietly passed on to future generations that will find the mines empty – and the landfills full of our waste.

The **unsustainable** nature of our societies is even more apparent when we realise that this happens at a time when only a **minority** of 1 billion humans (essentially in Europe, North America, Australia and Japan) reach these excessive consumption levels¹⁸. They can in no way be generalised to the remaining 6 billion humans that aspire to be part of the new global middle class, and to reach the benchmark of the "Western" lifestyle against which, in the absence of any desirable alternative, they evaluate their wealth, well-being and social achievement.

Our production and consumption patterns are not sustainable, resources are finite, and global warming is caused by humans. All this we know. We must be aware however that these are not theoretical, abstract, long-term considerations. All civilisations **collapse**¹⁹ when they exert a pressure on their available natural resources beyond what these natural resources can regenerate. Our industrial civilisation is no exception, despite the immense and unprecedented resources that we mobilise. Civilisational collapse is the most terrifying prospect possible: the Rwanda genocide of 1994, or the civil war in Syria since 2011, only give a pale image of what a global civilisational collapse would look like. When the biological survival is at stake, for lack of food, any violence becomes legitimate, and war, whether civil war or foreign war, becomes a merciless, total exercise of mass destruction. No form of humanity, nor of civilisation, survive. The current "terrorist" developments in areas plagued by persistent and recent drought related to climate change, such as North-East Syria and Northern Iraq, or the region around Lake Chad, respectively home to Daesh (aka "Islamic State") and to Boko Haram, testify the close relationship between man-made poverty and extreme, nihilistic, violence²⁰. Preserving our environment is thus synonymous, in the long term, to preserving the biological and physical substrate of human civilisation.

There is only one way to prevent this dreadful scenario of civilisational collapse from becoming

16 Recycled content for metals varies between 1% for lithium (used in batteries) or Erbium (used in the laser amplifiers of optical fibre telecommunication networks) and 40% for iron: United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), "Recycling Rates of Metals. A Status Report", 2011, downloadable at:

http://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/8702/-Recycling_rates_of_metals:_A_status_report-2011Recycling_Rates.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

17 The global share of renewable energy (hydroelectric power, wind turbines, solar photovoltaic and thermal panels, geothermal) in the total energy mix – not only that of electric production – is 13.2%. Source: International Energy Agency: <https://www.iea.org/about/faqs/renewableenergy/>

18 e.g. United States: 8.6 global ha/person, to be compared to the figure for Mali: 1.3 global ha / person and the world average: 2.87 global ha / person (2013), cf. <http://data.footprintnetwork.org/countryTrends.html?cn=5001&type=cdPC>

19 Diamond, Jared. "Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed", Viking Press, New York, 2005, with a summary available at: http://www.jareddiamond.org/Jared_Diamond/Collapse.html

20 Nett, Katharina and Lukas Rüttinger: "Insurgency, Terrorism and Organised Crime in a Warming Climate. Analysing the Links Between Climate Change and Non-State Armed Groups". Adelphi, Berlin, 2016
<https://www.adelphi.de/en/publication/insurgency-terrorism-and-organised-crime-warming-climate>



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reality: to **change our production and consumption patterns**, so as to align our consumption of resources with what natural phenomena can sustainably regenerate – as those civilisations that escaped collapse in past human history testify²¹. This is the very purpose of the COP 21 Paris agreement on climate of 2015, and of commitments to achieve **net-zero emissions by 2050**, and of all efforts to engage towards a Circular Economy²².

This is a massive change. It will require both enormous **investment** (in transport networks and systems, in urban planning, in the thermal insulation of buildings, in electricity production facilities, in the design of long-lasting products and of maintenance services, in "Circular Economy" business models), beyond the means of most countries and continents, and **revolutions in life-styles** (towards frugality, and away from the most wasteful features of the "Western" model), even for the poorer members of industrialised nations. The scale of the investment needs (estimated at USD 6,000 bn / year for infrastructure alone²³) means that massive **international transfers** will be required, way beyond the current (unfulfilled) pledge of a USD 100 bn. / year grant for climate change mitigation and adaptation foreseen in the COP 21 Paris agreement²⁴. It also means that the global financial system will need to be strongly oriented towards these investments, rather than towards ever-increasing liquidity and volatility. The depth of **renouncement** to be made in terms of life-style (and in terms of aspiration to it), e.g. bearing on air travel, on automotive mobility and on diets based on animal products, demands that they be **shared fairly** between nations, social classes and generations – with no way for parts of the population to free-ride on the efforts made by others. In these matters, any injustice will be paid by conflicts and by loss of time in the transition.

Considering the pace at which climate deteriorates, and at which natural resources are being depleted, the change will need to be fast, within a few decades – much faster than most civilisational revolutions of the past (which typically extended across a few generations). The clock is ticking, and there is no way to negotiate delays with laws of physics or of biology.

As a conclusion, the fast and thorough **transition** of our civilisation towards **environmental sustainability** will induce massive costs, benefits and risks. **Sharing** these costs, benefits and risks **fairly**, at a global scale and between generations, is the only way for these changes to happen, and to happen on time.

21 Examples of which are given in Diamond, Jared. "Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed", Viking Press, New York, 2005, chapter 9: the Melanesian island of Tikopia – which renounced breeding pigs at the end of the 18th century, despite them being the ultimate display of power and wealth in their society –, Japan under the rule of the Tokugawa shoguns – who managed their forests with utmost administrative detail to prevent disastrous deforestation, soil erosion and floods on a rainy island with steep, forested slopes.

22 "In a circular economy the value of products and materials is maintained for as long as possible; waste and resource use are minimised, and resources are kept within the economy when a product has reached the end of its life, to be used again and again to create further value." in European Commission, "Closing the loop - An EU action plan for the Circular Economy", 2015, downloadable at: http://ec.europa.eu/priorities/jobs-growth-investment/circular-economy/docs/communication-action-plan-for-circular-economy_en.pdf

23 New Climate Economy: "The sustainable infrastructure imperative", 2016, downloadable at: http://newclimateeconomy.report/2016/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2014/08/NCE_2016Report.pdf

24 cf. http://unfccc.int/cooperation_and_support/financial_mechanism/items/2807.php



The population of elderly and chronically-ill people needing care will explode throughout the 21st century

Life expectancy at birth of humans has **increased** remarkably over the last centuries, first in Europe (e.g. in France, from 25 years in 1750 to more than 80 years in 2016²⁵), then globally (from an average of 46 years in 1950-1955²⁶ to 70.5 years in 2010-2015²⁷). This is good news: longer life expectancies at birth is the translation into a single statistical indicator that health care and life conditions improve over the whole life-span of the population.

Simultaneously, a **demographic transition** took place, with **fertility rates falling** globally, from a world average of 5.02 in 1960-1965 to 2.51 in 2010-2015²⁸. The fertility rate of 2.1 that renews generations and stabilises the population has been reached in 2017 by all continents except Africa. The main issue for the future is the date at which this stabilising fertility rate is reached by Africa: if it is reached early (2050), then the number of humans on Earth will peak around 9 billion in 2050 (among which 2 billion in Africa), before it decreases²⁹, if it is reached late (2070), then the number of humans on Earth would stabilise after 2100 only, and above 11.2 billions³⁰ (among which 4.4 billion in Africa).

At the same time, the proportion of **older members** of the population will **increase**. People over 70 years of age are financially supported by those able to work (be it through formal pension systems, or via informal family solidarity), and increasingly require (health and life support) care services as they get older. This population requiring financial support and care services will represent 1.130 bn. people (i.e. 11.4% of the world population) in 2050 and 1.650 bn. people (i.e. 15.2% of the world population) in 2080, compared to 400 M (i.e. 5.3% of the world population) in 2015, a four-fold increase in absolute numbers and a three-fold increase in relative proportion in the 65 years between 2015 and 2080³¹. This means that the number of people in activity (aged 20 to 69) having to support one elderly person deserving care (above 70 years of age), aka the "support ratio", will be reduced from 11.5 in 2015 to 4.8 in 2050 and 4 in 2080 globally, and from

25 INED (French national demographics institute), 2017: <http://www.ined.fr/fr/tout-savoir-population/graphiques-cartes/graphiques-interpretes/esperance-vie-france/>

26 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2004), "World Population to 2300", Table A.4, p.185), downloadable at: <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/trends/WorldPop2300final.pdf>

27 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). "World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision, Key Findings and Advance Tables". ESA/P/WP.241, table S.12 p.45), downloadable at: https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Publications/Files/Key_Findings_WPP_2015.pdf

28 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). "World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision, DVD Edition", downloadable at: [https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/DVD/Files/1_Indicators%20\(Standard\)/EXCEL_FILES/2_Fertility/WPP2015_FERT_F04_TOTAL_FERTILITY.XLS](https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/DVD/Files/1_Indicators%20(Standard)/EXCEL_FILES/2_Fertility/WPP2015_FERT_F04_TOTAL_FERTILITY.XLS)

29 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2004), "World Population to 2300"

30 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). "World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision - Special Aggregates, DVD Edition", downloadable at: [https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/DVD/Files/2_Indicators%20\(Probabilistic%20Projections\)/UN_PPP2015_Output_PopTot.xls](https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/DVD/Files/2_Indicators%20(Probabilistic%20Projections)/UN_PPP2015_Output_PopTot.xls)

31 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). "World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision - Special Aggregates, DVD Edition", downloadable at: [https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/DVD/Files/3_Indicators%20\(Special%20Aggregates\)/EXCEL_FILES/4_Ecological/Population/WPP2015_SA4_POP_F09_1_PERCENTAGE_OF_TOTAL_POPULATION_BY_BROAD_AGE_GROUP_BOTH_SEXES.XLSX](https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/DVD/Files/3_Indicators%20(Special%20Aggregates)/EXCEL_FILES/4_Ecological/Population/WPP2015_SA4_POP_F09_1_PERCENTAGE_OF_TOTAL_POPULATION_BY_BROAD_AGE_GROUP_BOTH_SEXES.XLSX)



5.4 in 2015, to 2.7 in 2050 and 2.5 in 2080 in Europe³².

This challenge is compound by the fact that the "Western" life-style is not sustainable either at the individual level. The attached sedentariness and over-consumption of energy- and fat-intensive food lead to a range of lifestyle-related (and thus fully avoidable) **chronic diseases** (i.e. which cannot be cured, and for which the only hope is to delay deterioration): obesity, diabetes, hypertension, colon and breast cancers. These diseases have become the first cause of deaths globally, even in developing countries, above the traditional plagues of infectious diseases: they kill 40 million people each year, equivalent to 70% of all deaths globally³³. Before causing death, lifestyle-related diseases produce avoidable handicaps, at massive scale, transforming productive workers into people needing external support – and increasing further the burden to the care and pension systems.

Traditional societies also had a large proportion of people deserving care and support (specifically: education): the children and teenagers. Children and teenagers increase their autonomy and capabilities over time, and can be expected to provide a form of "return on investment" by becoming productive in the future (either at the small scale of the family or at that of the whole social protection system). Education efforts can be considered as investments, and even as highly profitable ones, specifically for infant care and early education³⁴.

The current, and future, situation will be anthropologically different. The situation of elderly and of chronically ill people can only get worse, and providing more or better care does not improve the economic prospects of those providing it: it is a pure cost. The traditional respect and gratitude towards the elderly was self-evident when they were the very few that had survived, and that had experience. It is less so when they are many, and drawing substantial resources (directly or in the form of pension contributions) from those that produce them, and when the older generations cumulate wealth and leisure with security of income and of shelter, while the younger remain stuck in poverty, precariousness and over-work.

Conflicts between generations on how to share the **costs of care**, and between allocating resources to the education of the young or to the care for the elderly, within countries and regions, and between countries in the same region, and between regions with young (such as Africa) or old populations (such as the European Union), are thus bound to surge, alongside the fraction of the elderly and of the chronically ill in the population.

32 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). Graphs accessible at: <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Graphs/Probabilistic/PSR/20-69/70plus/>

33 World Health Organisation, Noncommunicable diseases Fact sheet (Updated April 2017), accessible at: <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs355/en/>

34 Cleveland, G.; Krashinsky, M.: "The Benefits and Costs of Good Child Care: The Economic Rationale for Public Investment in Young Children. A Policy Study. Monograph No. 1", Toronto Univ. (Ontario). Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1998, downloadable at: <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED435452.pdf>
Cleveland, G.; Krashinsky, M.: "Investing in Early Childhood Education and Care: The Economic Case", International Encyclopedia of Education (Third Edition), 2010, Pages 63–68, available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B9780080448947011714>



Fixed-cost (e.g. digital) integrated systems create fantastic improvements in technical efficiency, but generate massive social inequalities

Once they are set up, technical and institutional **systems** and **infrastructure** (e.g. transport, energy or telecommunication networks, software platforms, standards, regulations) are remarkably **efficient** in their use of resources (raw materials, energy, human work). They epitomise the benefits of **productive investment**. Resources are **spent once** (to develop the product or software, to agree on the regulation, to build the infrastructure), the equipment or institution is installed and commissioned, and it delivers its **benefits** to society **indefinitely**, at very low additional cost in resources – provided of course that it is properly maintained.

This situation is known in industrial economics as that of "**fixed-cost**" (or "zero marginal cost") economics. Our technical and institutional systems evolve in this direction, in a process of **accumulation of** (technical, intellectual, institutional) **capital**. In one sense, this is good news. The existence of this accumulated capital, and the technical efficiency that it brings (together with vast quantities of available energy) to human work, is what differentiates industrial societies from their predecessors. These highly efficient systems are able to provide remarkably complex and reliable product-service bundles, with a very efficient usage of those resources that have an economic cost, to the short-term benefit of all consumers. Whether some resources are used without being paid for (e.g. environmental resources), whether the quality and reliability of products are subordinated to the immediate turnover of "throw away" business models, and whether the quantity and economic value of products being delivered to customers is a measure of their satisfaction, is another debate.

The bad news however, is that fixed-cost economics, in which value is produced by integrated technical and institutional systems, **puts our economic and social distribution system upside down**. Classical economics is based on the model of agriculture, where the most fertile land is cultivated first, and the least fertile last, with the assumption that an infinite reserve of even less fertile land is always available. Thereby, each additional unit being produced costs more resources (in human work and others), because it is grown on less fertile land. This situation is known as that of "increasing marginal costs" in economics. Additionally, in this model, production can be easily attached to the work performed: on each square metre of land, the harvest is related to the number of hours worked by the farmer on that square metre. That work is independent from the work performed by other farmers, and of the work performed by that farmer elsewhere on his/her farm. Therefore, the productivity of the work performed on that square metre can be computed easily: it is the harvest divided by the time worked. Under these circumstances, the market mechanism leads to a form of optimum, and determines the price of goods (equal to the cost of the last, least efficiently produced, unit, i.e. the "marginal" unit) and the salary of work (equal to the productivity of the last, least efficient, "marginal" hour of work). This system has been at the root of the social distribution model of the early industrial age, where unit costs remained high enough for the approximation to hold.

None of these assumptions remain valid in the contemporary capital-intensive industrial world of fixed costs and of integrated systems. In this world, (1) marginal costs decrease, instead of



increasing, because the fixed cost is divided among a larger number of users; (2) the productivity of work cannot be computed, because the system is not finished until the last element is added to it, so that the value of each element of work can both be considered as being zero (because it is not sufficient to make the system work), and equal to the value of the whole system (because it is also absolutely necessary for the whole system to work – as was epitomised with the small O-shaped ring which caused the space shuttle "Challenger" to blow up upon take off in 1986³⁵) – with no means to solve the contradiction. This means that **neither prices, nor salary levels, can be defined by standard market mechanisms.**

Fixed-costs economics also lead to **concentration of power and wealth**, because the largest player on any market has a cost advantage over its competitors, so that the situation evolves naturally towards a **monopoly**.

These evolutions, which were present since the first Industrial Revolution, have accelerated dramatically with the **digitalisation** of economy and of productive systems. Software is the ultimate fixed-cost good (producing one additional copy costs zero), and the ultimate integrated system (it does not work until the last line of code is written). The owners of digital monopolies (software companies such as Microsoft, telecommunications operators such as America Móvil, on-line platforms such as Google, Facebook, Apple or Amazon) become obscenely rich³⁶, while workers are reduced to a global precariat, lured into obedience by the hope of winning in the lottery economics of "app" development.

Digital technologies, in addition of being vectors of concentration of wealth and power, are also, like all previous drivers of industrial revolutions, a factor of enormous **labour productivity gains**. Digital technologies (robotics, artificial intelligence) perform tasks (including intellectual tasks) much better than humans, and will increasingly be doing so in the future. Even management consulting firms predict that an enormous **45% of human tasks could be performed by existing, demonstrated digital technologies**³⁷. If even institutions with such close corporate relationships as business consultancies make gloomy predictions, when their political interest would rather be to hold an assuaging discourse, then reality is probably even worse.

In previous industrial revolutions, the improvement in productivity has systematically been compensated, and above, by increases in production volumes. Instead of producing equal quantities with less hours being worked, the tendency has been to produce more by keeping the number of hours worked constant – thereby creating an addiction to growth of our productive systems. With this digital industrial revolution (the 3rd or 4th, according to interpretations), this flight forward becomes impossible, not because of the digital technologies themselves, but because any increase in quantities being produced bumps into the physical, biological, climatic and geological limits outlined above. The digital industrial revolution, contrary to the previous ones, is thus set to **massively reduce the number of hours being worked by humans.**

35 NASA - "Report of the Presidential Commission on the Space Shuttle Challenger Accident", 1986, accessible at: <https://history.nasa.gov/rogersrep/genindex.htm>, Chapter V: The Contributing Cause of The Accident"

36 With fortunes ranging in the tens of billions of USD each, cf. Forbes list of billionaires: <https://www.forbes.com/billionaires/list/>

37 Chui M. et al. "Where machines could replace humans—and where they can't (yet)", McKinsey Quarterly 2016 n°3, pp.58-69, downloadable at: <http://www.mckinsey.com/quarterly/digital-newsstand/2016-issue-3-mckinsey-quarterly>



The accumulated capital of integrated systems, networks and institutions, with features of fixed-cost economics, and the prospects of massive reductions in the number of hours being worked because of digitalisation, have caused, and will continue to cause if nothing is done, **enormous unemployment** and **massive inequalities** of income, of wealth and of personal safety, reverting 150 years back to Victorian levels. This has dramatic and negative consequences on violence, political radicalisation, physical and mental health, and learning capacities³⁸. The issue becomes that of the **sharing** among humans of the fantastic **value**, **labour productivity**, and **technical efficiency** being created by the (digital and others) integrated systems, with no simple mechanism, such as that of the market, to guide us. It is thus a fully political problem, in which we must agree on what "fairness" means, for all of us.

Multinational corporations concentrate power, to the detriment of workers, suppliers and governments, and evade their (tax and other) obligations

Multinational corporations have grown into the major loci of power of the contemporary world.

By leveraging the technical efficiencies of scale brought by fixed-cost economics, and by accumulating immense productive capital of all sorts (equipment, scientific & technical knowledge, processes, software, trademarks), they have out-competed their smaller competitors in terms of cost, quality and ability to access customers and to extract high prices from them. They have also set up entire eco-systems of smaller, dependent suppliers, so that their real power over societies goes way beyond their visible workforce and activities. As an illustration, **50 major multinational corporations** (Wal-Mart, Procter & Gamble, General Electric, Coca-Cola, Nestlé...) manage **60% of global trade**, but employ directly only 6% of the 117 M people that actually work for them, while the remaining 94% are located in the deep and opaque layers of successive sub-contractors, mainly in the global South, making some of these multi-national corporations among the **largest employers world-wide**, with up to **10 M workers** depending on a single company (Wal-Mart)³⁹.

These international value chains present **deep power inequalities**. Some companies, located at the nodes in the value chain where the processes display most of the fixed-cost features identified above, build monopsony (or monopoly) positions, and extract from their suppliers (resp. from their customers) a **rent** based on their position of power in bargaining for **price** and for legal terms & conditions in the contract. When bargaining with multiple, fragmented suppliers (resp. customers), the multinational corporation can threaten to choose one or the other, at no cost, while the supplier (resp. the customer) has no other choice than to conclude a contract with the corporation – or none at all. Building coalitions of suppliers (resp. of customers), in an attempt to counterbalance the bargaining power of the multinational corporation, is currently forbidden by competition law that prohibits cartels.

These **unequal power relationships** between suppliers and customers epitomise when relating to the most fragmented of all suppliers: the **worker** providing his/her labour. The traditional answer to

38 Wilkinson, R. and Pickett, K. "[The spirit level. Why equality is better for everyone](https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/spirit-level)", Penguin books, 2010, the main messages of which are accessible at: <https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/spirit-level>

39 International Trade Union Confederation – ITUC: "Scandal. Inside the global supply chains of 50 top companies", Frontlines Report, 2016, downloadable at: http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/pdffrontlines_scandal_en-2.pdf



this unequal power relationship on the labour market, between concentrated employers and dispersed workers, has been **collective bargaining**, whereby workers built stable and legally recognised coalitions – the **trade unions** – to bargain salaries and working conditions collectively, in an explicit (and hard-won) exception to competition law. These collective bargaining institutions, where they exist, are being fiercely combated by corporate interests, by legal lobbying in favour of de-regulation, and too often also by borderline "trade union busting" methods. An essential **weakness** however of the trade union movement is that its collective bargaining is performed at **national level** at best (and often only at the scale of the company, or even of the establishment) – whereas multinational corporations operate trans-nationally, and can play workers against each other across borders. European and international trade union (con)federations exist, but their role is essentially that of coordinating national actions, with no capacity to take and to enforce decisions (e.g. on trans-national collective bargaining).

Multinational corporations not only play suppliers or workers against each other. They do the same with **governments**, and have the law changed, rather than obey the law themselves.

In their investment decisions (or in their decisions to close / wind down a location), they create (or destroy) jobs and economic activity, so that nation-states, regions and cities compete against each other to convince them to settle in their constituency (or to "restructure" somewhere else). In this international beauty contest, some nations, regions or cities engage into constructive strategies of building up competencies, infrastructure and a market with demanding, forward-looking legal, social and environmental requirements. Too many however, engage in a downward and suicidal spiral of tax exemptions, subsidies, and dismantling of social and environmental regulation – the "**race to the bottom**". They do so under the constant pressure of corporations that threaten them to destroy jobs (and corporate tax base), if these governments do not follow their calls for lowering corporations' immediate costs, taxes and regulatory obligations – whatever the long-term consequences may be for the environment, public health, social cohesiveness or the education level of the population.

The most visible aspect of this destructive behaviour of corporations (and of the very rich and obscenely rich) is that of **tax avoidance** and of **tax evasion**⁴⁰. While the former is formally legal, and the other is illegal, the fact that gigantic cash-generating machines such as the US-based Internet giants Google or Apple pay taxes at a rates orders of magnitudes below those that even the lowest paid cleaning person does⁴¹, has caused widespread, and legitimate, outrage.

Multinational corporations incur widespread, and deserved, criticism also because of their disproportionate capacity to influence law-making by **lobbying**. Whereas it is legitimate that they, like any stakeholder, have the opportunity to express their wishes and constraints to a legislator that may be unaware of them, it is far less legitimate that they dominate the technical (and political)

40 Shaxson, N. "Treasure Islands. Tax havens and the men who stole the world", 2010, Vintage, described at: <http://treasureislands.org/the-book/>

41 Apple paid an effective corporate tax rate of 0.005% in 2014 in its Irish operations covering its whole European business, which had generated over USD 22 billions in profit. cf. European Commission, Decision on State Aid implemented by Ireland to Apple, C(2016) 5606, full text downloadable at: http://ec.europa.eu/competition/state_aid/cases/253200/253200_1851004_674_2.pdf, press release available at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-2923_en.htm



debates on all subjects where their interests are at stake. Figures of this corporate dominance exist where it is most visible, and made public by welcome (but still very imperfect) transparency institutions⁴², in the centres of political power such as Brussels, and show that corporate interest representatives outnumber those of other interests in society combined by a factor of 3⁴³. The dominance of corporate lobbyists is not only quantitative. It is also technical and intellectual. Because of a lack of qualified civil servants (itself fuelled by an anti-State and anti-tax rhetoric that reduces public budgets to the bone), corporate lobbyists become the players that have the greatest technical knowledge of the policy field to regulate, and end up being in the insane situation of regulating themselves, situation epitomised in the regulation of the financial system⁴⁴.

By playing politics against each other at all scales (from municipalities to full nation-states), by their hold on regulatory and taxation policymaking, multinational corporations have evolved towards a situation where they can **privately appropriate the value added** by society (e.g. by public investment in science and technology⁴⁵), **mutualise their losses** and **evade their duties and obligations**.

This hollows out public budgets. It is a **negation of democracy**, of the **rule of law**, and of the principle of **equality in rights**. It generates, among all other members of society, a legitimate, and dangerous, feeling of helplessness and of dispossession of one's individual and collective future.

Ordinary citizens and workers are thrown into poverty and precariousness, and thus deprived of concrete means to participate in political decision-making

Symmetrically to the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of multinational corporations, recent **austerity** policies world-wide, and specifically in the European Union, led to a massive surge in **poverty** and **precariousness**. Whereas these policies can sometimes work when implemented in isolation by a single nation-state⁴⁶, they lead to a disastrous **race to the bottom** when every nation-state attempts to out-compete its neighbour in its attempts to bribe multinational corporations to locate its activities locally.

42 e.g. the Transparency Register of the European Commission and Parliament:

<http://ec.europa.eu/transparencyregister/public/homePage.do>

43 Indicator: number of meetings with the European Commission in Brussels in 2015. Cf. Transparency International : "7,000 and counting Lobby meetings of the European Commission", (2015), downloadable at:

<http://transparency.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Lobby-Meetings-European-Commission-1.pdf>

44 Finance Watch: "Representation of the public interest in banking" (2016), downloadable at: <http://www.finance-watch.org/iframe/Representation%20of%20the%20Public%20Interest%20in%20Banking%20-%20A%20Finance%20Watch%20Report%20-%202016.pdf>

45 Mazzucato, Mariana: "The Entrepreneurial State: debunking public vs. private sector myths", Anthem (2013), a summary of which is accessible at: <https://marianamazzucato.com/entrepreneurial-state/>

46 Germany since 2005 is often cited as the positive example of the success of austerity policies in a single country: low unemployment, massive trade balance surpluses and even budget surplus, seem to testify for the soundness of the Hartz reforms of the early 2000s. Even this is debatable, for the following reasons: (1) the export successes of German industry are concentrated on machinery (and thus on the investment boom in China) and on luxury automobile brands (and thus on global inequalities) and have little to do with cost reductions; (2) the accumulation in physical debt (the accumulated deterioration of infrastructure for lack of maintenance) is not part of financial accounts; and (3) the rifts between the well-protected elite of workers in finance, industry, and public service and those surviving with "Mini-Jobs" may be a root cause of the recent surge in far-right populism in a country reputed for its political stability.



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These austerity policies shared one or several of the following features. Under the fallacies of “attracting foreign investment” (using the cheap and easy arguments of lower costs at any price, instead of those, more difficult and longer to achieve, of a well-trained and motivated work-force and of quality infrastructure), of “restoring public finances” (by unilaterally reducing expenditure, and not increasing taxation), of “flexibilising the labour market to facilitate recruitment” (whereas the greatest obstacle to recruitment is the lack of demand), governments in the European Union and beyond have engaged since the 1980s in a programme of systematic **dismantlement** of the **social infrastructure** that made our societies cohesive. **Public services** and networks (hospitals, schools, railways, telecommunications) have been abandoned or transformed into highly lucrative private oligopolies skimming the market for the highest-value customers, and leaving the others without proper service. **Social security** systems are being dismantled: **healthcare** payments are restricted and risk being conditioned by patients able to prove (via digital monitoring systems) “healthy” behaviours that are *de facto* inaccessible to the poor; **pension** payments are increasingly devolved to private insurance companies that select low-risk, high-yield customers and leave the others to be taken care of by what remains of public budgets; beneficiaries of **unemployment** payments are subject to a permanent suspicion of fraud and of insufficiently active job-seeking, which elicits frequent and arbitrary payment interruptions by the administration. The rights of **trade unions** have been systematically undermined: the right to **strike** has been restricted, the **collective bargaining** institutions that enable a fair discussion between employers and employees regarding the sharing of the economic value added have been reduced in scale, from sector to company or even establishment level, thereby reducing the bargaining power of trade unions (and creating the destructive competition on wages between firms in the same sector that sector-wide collective bargaining was designed to avoid). The relation between worker and company using this work is increasingly reverting to the early 19th century model of a purely commercial contract, thereby destroying the accumulated experience of 200 years of **labour law**: bogus self-employment, crowd- and platform work, “zero-hours contracts”, temporary agency work, involuntary part-time work are on a sharp rise, whereas the stable employment contract is massively branded by businesses as a relic of the past.

This infrastructure of public services, social security, trade unions and labour law in the European Union constituted the “capital of those who haven’t any”, the foundations assuring decent living conditions to all citizens, decent wages and working conditions to all workers. They enabled even those with the least education, or with the least family or social support, to have their basic needs fulfilled, and to consider their future, and that of their children, with a form of confidence. They were the basis of the European social and economic model. Their systematic destruction, to the benefit of large corporations, has led to the creation of a large social class of people which are both **poor** and alternating between **precarious jobs** and **unemployment** – the global “precariat” as a contemporary avatar of the 19th century proletariat.

Under these conditions, people focus 100% of their attention and energy on short-term, small-scale issues of immediate concern to them: finding food to feed them and their children for the next day, finding work, avoiding being thrown out of their home. They are in a permanent state of stress.

This worsening of the condition of the most vulnerable class in the population has further increased



economic and social inequalities, from the bottom of the social scale (whereas the concentration of wealth and power in multinational corporations described above widens it from the top).

This deterioration in the economic and social condition of vast populations also has negative consequences on **participation in democratic processes**.

As the Athenians of the 5th century BC already identified, constructive participation in democratic political or social processes requires a capacity to **broaden** one's perspective from the individual to the collective, from the immediate to the long-term calendar of public policies. It requires also some **free time** to gather information, to engage in a thorough discussion with others, to convince and to be convinced.

These requirements are in exact opposition to the situation of poverty and precariousness that recent policies, based upon free-market ideology, made to large fractions of the population, in the European Union and more broadly in the world. Poor and precarious populations are thus not only deprived of economic and social welfare, they are *de facto* **deprived** of their **civic rights**, and of their capacity to participate in political decision-making. This results in massive **abstention** rates in political elections, and, more dangerously, in a deep **erosion** of the legitimacy of **democracy** itself.

One important consequence of these phenomena is that international and intra-national migrations have become a major policy challenge

All the challenges described above generate **conflicts** and **poverty**. Conflicts easily take the form of extreme violence, since their protagonists are in the desperate situation of having “no future”. Poverty threatens life itself, when the agricultural capacity of whole regions is destroyed by extreme climate events (droughts, floods, hurricanes, rise in sea levels). Violent conflicts and life-threatening poverty cause people to flee, by the thousands, and – increasingly – by the millions.

As a result, the world counts as of 2016, **22.5 million refugees**⁴⁷, i.e. people seeking protection in another country against explicit **violence** against them (due to persecution, political, ethnic or religious conflicts, or war), an increase of 3.4 million (i.e. 17 %) compared to the previous year. Additionally, **40.3 million** people are **Internally Displaced People**, i.e. they have fled violence or persecution by being displaced within their own country, an increase of 6.9 million (i.e. 20%) in one year⁴⁸. In addition, **21.8 million people** have been forcibly displaced by sudden-onset extreme weather disasters (floods, storms, drought) every year from 2008 to 2016, and can be described as **climate-displaced persons**⁴⁹. In 2015, the world counts a stock of **244 million international migrants**, i.e. people residing in a country different from their country of birth, of which 85.3 million migrated from the global South to the North, but 90.2 million from one country of the global South to another⁵⁰. In addition, a stock of **50 million irregular international migrants** is estimated to exist globally.

47 Among which 17.2 million protected by the United Nations High Commissariat for Refugees (UNHCR) and 5.3 million Palestinians registered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA).

48 UNHCR "Global trends. Forced displacement in 2016", downloadable at: <http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/5943e8a34/global-trends-forced-displacement-2016.html>

49 Oxfam: "Uprooted by climate change", 2017, downloadable at: <https://oxf.am/2zzGJvs>

50 International Organisation for Migration (IOM): Global Migration Trends Factsheet, 2015, downloadable at: <http://gmdac.iom.int/global-migration-trends-factsheet>



Whatever its cause (political violence and persecution, climate-related disasters or poverty), an influx of population from abroad stresses the available resources of the host country (water, food, energy, homes), but also increases its available labour force, and hence its production capacity, specifically when the well-educated migrate, in a "brain drain" phenomenon increasing the polarisation of development between countries and regions. As a result, **migrations** have risen to a **major policy challenge**, for the rich countries of the European Union, but even more so for the immediate neighbours of conflicts⁵¹ or of climate disasters.

The global issues of the 21st century are political problems, and can only be solved by political agreements at large scale

All the issues described above are **global**, because they are built on **global inter-dependencies**: (1) the communications and transport networks connecting people and places with information, energy, material and population flows, (2) the industrial value chains connecting suppliers and customers that need each other, and (3) the scientific knowledge of physical, biological and geological inter-relations between phenomena (regarding the climate, water, mineral or biological resources) distant in time or location. These global inter-dependencies have connected and unified geographic areas and peoples that were previously separated. As a result, **all humans** are **inter-connected** and **inter-dependent**. No place, not even the most remote island, can pretend to remain isolated from them.

We contend that these global issues are essentially **political** problems:

- the adjustment of our production and consumption patterns to the regeneration capabilities of our environment, and the transition towards a sustainable, frugal and circular model is a matter of agreeing on the sharing of the costs, of the benefits and of the risks;
- the set-up of social redistribution models that are fair to all generations, even when the elderly and chronically ill represent a substantial proportion of the total population;
- the sharing of the productivity and efficiency gains brought by fixed-cost integrated technical systems, and specifically by digital technologies;
- the transfer of political and economic power away from the multinational corporations where it is concentrated, and towards the dispersed majority of the weaker members of society
- the fair management of migrations, of their root causes and of their consequences.

They are political problems in the sense that the only, but immense, difficulty is to find an **agreement** between stakeholders subject to enormous inequalities in terms of income, wealth, education, access to resources and to communication networks, and political empowerment, across national, linguistic and cultural boundaries, and even across time, between us and future generations.

Despite all its promises, and despite all the bewilderment that it generates, **technology** will solve **none** of the issues described above. The most clever "clean" technology can only take off and

⁵¹ One inhabitant in 6 in Lebanon is a refugee, the highest proportion world-wide.



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substitute a "dirtier" one if the regulatory and economic conditions (1) give a price to environmental externalities, and enable it thereby to gain economic advantage over its competitors by saving natural resources, and (2) protect it from misleading "green-washing" claims by its competitors. The "smartest" automobile traffic management system in a city is powerless against the fact that the engine of a car consumes ca. 100 kW of power, while that of a bicycle only ca. 0.1 kW (100 W), i.e. one thousand times less! The most advanced home care robot will not solve the issue that its design, construction and operation draws resources for an old or chronically ill person that could have been used to educate a child or a teenager. Technology becomes part of the problem, when the rules that govern its benefits (specifically those regarding Intellectual Property Rights on patents, software, trademarks, models, access to data...) lead to concentration of wealth and power, and not to its distribution.

An **agreement** means that the rights, obligations and prohibitions that it contains are considered as **legitimate** by all parties, and that an institution exists to **enforce** this agreement once it is officially adopted (e.g. signed).

Reaching agreement has been **the essential problem** of human societies⁵², starting with the small groups of hunters-gatherers we all originate from. It happens whenever sovereign entities (individuals, tribes, Greek polities, feudal principalities, modern nation-states) gather to solve common problems or issues. On the one hand, every entity wants to remain free from any obligation and of any prohibition, and wants to maintain its rights, liberties and honour intact. On the other hand, generalising this behaviour to all entities means that they exert unrestricted **violence** against each other. Peace is a fragile state, permanently threatened by the smallest provocation, and only painfully restored after exhausting and bloody cycles of vendettas and revenges⁵³. Generally after painful and protracted conflicts, entities of smaller size have relinquished part of their sovereignty to entities of larger size, where their rights, obligations and prohibitions are protected and enforced by the **rule of law**, and not by the brutality of what classical European philosophers called the "state of nature". The penultimate occasion when this happened in Europe was at the end of the Thirty Years war (1618 – 1648), which had costed 5 million lives in Germany alone. The resulting peace treaties, known as the Westphalian Treaties, established the order of sovereign nation-states, theorised by Thomas Hobbes in his "Leviathan" (1651, revised 1668), and under which we continue to live – with some evolution towards supra-national order since the bloodbaths of the two world wars 1914 – 1945 (the weaker United Nations, and the much more integrated European Union, the analysis of which will be developed below).

The task that humankind is confronted with is to reach the many political agreements required by the global and high-stake issues of the 21st century, in a **legitimate**, i.e. **democratic**, process, at the **unprecedented scale** of the **whole world**.

In order to achieve this, we need to set up a **trans-national democracy**, i.e. a democracy transcending national boundaries. This is the mission and purpose of the CosmoPolitical Party.

52 Boltanski, L.; Thévenot, L. "On Justification: Economies of Worth", Princeton University Press, 2006

53 Diamond, J.: "The World Until Yesterday: What Can We Learn from Traditional Societies?", Viking books, New York, 2012 - http://www.jareddiamond.org/Jared_Diamond/The_World_Until_Yesterday.html



We create the CosmoPolitical Party to support the transition to a democracy transcending national boundaries

Nation-states, inherited from the 17th century, act at a scale too small to be effective

The political institutions with which we collectively operate have remained essentially **unchanged** since the Westphalian Treaties of 1648. The basic entity is that of the **sovereign nation-state**. The very few notable exceptions are the European Union, which we will discuss later, and the much weaker international legal system of the United Nations.

In this system, each nation-state has an exclusive authority over its own people and territory, and organises its decision-making processes internally, sometimes democratically, too often not. The nation-state was the privileged framework and scale to establish the well-functioning political and social democracies of the 1950s and 1960s. It was the scale at which the (strong) regulation of economic players, as well as the (massive) solidarity, redistribution and economic transfers between regions and social classes, were established.

Unfortunately, as we have seen above, the **scale of the issues** valid for the 21st century has **irreversibly** risen far **above that of the nation-state**, because of the **global inter-dependencies** based on technological and scientific developments taking place since the 1960s, and described above.

It is a general rule that, for **political action** (i.e. regulation, taxation or public spending) to be **effective** at managing a collective issue, it must act at the **geographical scale** at which the underlying **phenomena** operate, e.g. at the scale of an urban area to manage its sewage system, of a regional labour market to manage its vocational education curricula, of a linguistic area to support literature, theatre and cinema, of a monetary union to manage interest rates and macro-economic balances, of the whole world to manage global public goods such as the climate, financial stability, the Internet and peace.

If the geographic scale of political action is smaller than that of the issue, no political entity can act on it effectively. The private players that the political entities attempt to regulate or to tax separately play these political entities against each other, in a race to the bottom. Political entities play free-riding tactics against each other when public spending is needed or common obligations must be fulfilled, each of them expecting the others to make the effort, the result being that none is made, or too little, too late.

As a result of this general rule, **nation-states** have become **ineffective** in their attempts to act on the phenomena that happen at a scale greater than their constituencies, a few of which were described above (the unsustainable "Western" life-style, population ageing, inequalities brought by integrated technical systems, the power of multinational corporations). This **mismatch** between the current geographic scale of political action and of democracy (the nation-state), and that at which the underlying phenomena happen (at continental or global scale) has led to a general (and often justified) feeling of **democratic dis-empowerment**. People feel that they have **lost the control** of the decisions that determine their **collective future**.



This feeling is reinforced by the fact that the stop-gap solution that nation-states have used to tackle these large-scale issues, while attempting to keep their national sovereignty intact, namely that of inter-governmental negotiations, is the negation of democracy.

Sovereign nation-states bargaining in secret inter-governmental negotiations are the negation of democracy

As we have seen above, issues beyond the scale of the nation-state are managed (if at all) by **inter-governmental negotiations**, i.e. by the secret inter-action of official representatives of these nation-states (e.g. in the framework of the United Nations). In these inter-governmental negotiations, no party bears a global responsibility for the collective good. All have the narrow mandate to bargain for their constituency, and for it only. Because national sovereignty is considered as an absolute, decision-making is plagued by **unanimity** rules, and enforcement of decisions is essentially based on the **pressure of peers** and of public opinion (with the assumption that this public opinion is free from political oppression and from corporate manipulation). This results in **opacity, powerlessness and lack of accountability**. If "democracy" means "the power of the people", then **inter-governmental negotiation** is the **negation of democracy**: it has no power, and the little power it has is beyond the control of the people. This could be acceptable at times when the issues to be discussed were the dynastic disputes between members of royal families. It isn't any more when the geographic scale of almost all issues has risen beyond the boundaries of nation-states, and where decisions being taken that have the greatest impact are precisely those taken in these secret inter-governmental negotiations.

Within the nation-state, democracy can exist, despite the predictions of many conservative political theorists of the 19th century that it only could operate at the scale at which it had previously been experimented, namely that of the Greek polity in the 5th century BC. The fact that each individual nation-state engaged in an inter-governmental negotiation is democratically elected does not mean, however, that the inter-governmental negotiation itself is democratic. The flaws of opacity, powerlessness and lack of accountability remain – as the discussions of the European Council, gathering the heads of State and of Government of the EU to define “general political directions” but with no legislative powers⁵⁴, and of the less-publicised Council of the European Union, gathering ministers at technical level to take decisions on policies in dialogue with the European Parliament, painfully remind us every quarter.

Democracy at a crossroads: trans-national democracy or nationalistic dictatorship

We can summarise the current situation in a 2x2 matrix.

⁵⁴ Treaty on the European Union, accessible at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:12012M/TXT&from=EN> , Art. 15.1



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Locus of power / Scale of action	Concentrated power: oligarchy	Distributed power: democracy
Larger than nation-state	2 - Global oligarchy: unaccountable inter-governmental negotiations + multinational corporations + the very rich	4 - Trans-national democracy
Nation-state and below	3 - Nationalistic dictatorship	1 - National democracy of the 1960s



The last 50 years brought us from square 1, the **national democracy of the 1960s**, with a strong regulation and generous redistribution at national scale, of which many keep the nostalgia, increasingly towards square 2, the **global oligarchy**, where a small group of people and players act above the law, evade their responsibilities and duties, and take decisions outside of any accountability, public scrutiny, or democratic control: State representatives in inter-governmental negotiations, Board members in multinational corporations, members of some "technical" bodies whose decisions have a huge influence on the economic and financial system (e.g. the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision⁵⁵, the International Accounting Standards Board⁵⁶), the very rich (the notorious "1%") and the obscenely rich (the billionaires).

Our societies seem to have progressively become aware of this evolution, often referred to as "globalisation".

They seem now to hesitate between two possibilities⁵⁷.

One potential evolution is towards square 3, the **nationalistic dictatorship**, in a desperate attempt to **revert to the national sovereignty of the 1960s**, under the authoritarian rule of a phallogocratic leader, at the price of any democratic freedom. This attempt is a disastrous **political and moral regression**. It is also a blatant **lie**: the multinational corporations that currently shape the political decisions act even more easily than before when all the democratic institutions that control governmental action have been dismantled. One dictator and his/her clique is easier to corrupt behind closed doors than a whole democratic political system open to public scrutiny. The immense fortune of all dictators is a testimony that any discourse on being "clean" by sheer personal virtue is a lie, when not strongly supported by democratic institutions, and by the rule of law. Nationalistic dictatorship is also technically **doomed to fail** in its claim to recover sovereignty: the global inter-dependencies outlined above will not disappear by the force of human will, and the underlying flows can be cut at places, but not eradicated. Finally, nationalistic dictatorships promise prosperity for the people. They end up in **destructive wars**, under which the first to suffer is the very people that they claim to protect – as humankind bitterly experienced in the dark 20th century.

The other possible evolution is to create a democracy at a scale larger than that of the nation-state,

55 <https://www.bis.org/bcbs/>

56 <https://www.iasplus.com/en/resources/ifrsf/iasb-ifs-ic/iasb>

57 This analysis is coherent with the concept of the "Trilemma of world economics" by Harvard economist Dani Rodrick, according to which it is impossible to have simultaneously economic integration, democracy and national sovereignty: http://rodrik.typepad.com/dani_rodriks_weblog/2007/06/the-inescapable.html



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the **trans-national democracy** of square 4. A trans-national democracy **unites citizens**, and takes action, **beyond national, linguistic and cultural boundaries**. Its institutions are **democratic**, and built at a **supra-national scale**. Elected officials have the mandate to act in the interest of the whole community of citizens being administered, independently from their nationality, language or culture. Democratic debates oppose different political views, not cultural or national differences. They result in political agreements and decisions at a scale large enough for public policies to be effective. The decisions taken are **legitimate**, and **enforced** by the power of **law**. Trans-national democracy thus overcomes the weaknesses, inefficiencies and illegitimacy of inter-governmental negotiations outlined above. The [institutions of the European Union](#), and specifically the [European Commission](#) and the [European Parliament](#), despite all their weaknesses, are to date the most advanced and developed prototypes of a trans-national democracy, at the scale of a single continent (see below for a more complete justification of this statement).

In our views, a **trans-national democracy** is the only way for collective decisions to be taken at the scale made necessary by the evolutions of scientific knowledge regarding our planet, and of technical networks connecting humans. It is the only way for institutions to ensure that justice be given to the legitimate claims of all. It is the only way to reach the legitimate political agreements necessary to overcome the global challenges of the 21st century. **It is the only way forward.**

The CosmoPolitical Party is the first political party designed to support the transition to a trans-national democracy

Many self-proclaimed experts deny that democracy be possible beyond national boundaries – in the same way that conservatives of the 19th century denied it would be possible beyond that of a city-state.

We are convinced that they are wrong – and will prove them wrong. Just like national democracies of the 19th and 20th centuries relied on the printed press, on the telegraph and telephone, and on physical meetings of people travelling by rail or road, our **trans-national democracy of 21st century** relies on **Internet-based** information dissemination, discussion and decision-making. Whereas nation-states were built by adding a national communication language on top of local or regional dialects, we rely on **international communication languages** (be they or not designed for that purpose), on top of national or regional languages.

We are not a weak federation of national political parties, as many "Internationals" are. In these "Internationals", the ultimate source of legitimacy lies in the national parties, and the global position is the awkward compromise between decisions taken independently by these national parties. These processes mimic inter-governmental negotiations, and bear the same democratic deficiencies: powerlessness, lack of accountability and of direct popular control.

The CosmoPolitical Party is designed from inception to **act at trans-national scale**. We are **one organisation**, discussing collectively at global scale. We design and adopt **one political programme**, valid for all (even if we allow of course for the adaptation to national, regional or local realities). There is only **one level of legitimate decision-making**, and **one source of democratic legitimacy**, that of the **whole organisation**. We will present candidates in elections. When the



institutions are designed for a trans-national democracy, such as in the European Parliament, we will naturally build a common political group. When not, the fact of us being elected along the same political programme will enable an unprecedented level of international coordination and agreement – and a determinant advantage in inter-governmental negotiations such as those taking place in the European Council of the Heads of State and Government of the European Union, and in the policy-making Council of the European Union gathering ministers at technical level.

We are therefore the first political party that explicitly supports the **transition towards a trans-national democracy**, and that is geared and organised to do so.

The CosmoPolitical Party operates at the scale of the only existing trans-national democratic institution, the European Union

As of 2017, only one trans-national democratic institution exists, with a capacity to take and enforce decisions taken collectively by nation-states: the **European Union**. It is the only locus where trans-national democracy has started to emerge.

This institution has many weaknesses, and is far from being perfect. In our views, its much criticised lack of transparency and accountability is mainly located in one of its law-making institutions, and one only: the **Council** of the European Union, i.e. the inter-governmental gathering of Member States at ministerial level. This institution reproduces and perpetuates the undemocratic flaws of inter-governmental negotiations seen above⁵⁸. The fact that most of its decisions (those under the “ordinary” legislative procedure where the Council acts on a par with the Parliament) are taken by qualified majority overcomes the traditional weakness of inter-governmental negotiation, namely the need for unanimity, and the resulting veto right by any participating nation-state. However, unanimous approval remains necessary for some essential decisions: social policy (collective bargaining between trade unions and employers, social security, social protection⁵⁹), taxation (environmental taxation⁶⁰, indirect taxation⁶¹, the resources feeding the budget of the Union⁶²), trade (in services, Intellectual Property, Foreign Direct Investment, cultural and audiovisual goods, social education and health services⁶³). Similarly, some essential elements of harmonisation between Member States are explicitly excluded from the Treaties: *“fiscal provisions, [...] those relating to the free movement of persons [and] those relating to the rights and interests of employed persons⁶⁴”*.

58 As highlighted by Transparency International <https://transparency.eu/space-egg/> “*The Council remains the least transparent of EU institutions. [...] We know little of who says what on behalf of which government. [...] The Council is a black hole in EU decision-making and lags way behind the other institutions on transparency, accountability and openness. Until the final vote, when all deals are done, you cannot see which governments are promoting or blocking which issues. There are few public meetings and no voting records.*” and by the enquiry launched in March 2017 by the official European Ombudsman on “transparency of Council legislative work”:

<https://www.ombudsman.europa.eu/en/cases/caseopened.faces/en/75850/html.bookmark>

59 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, accessible at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN> Art. 21.3, and 153.2

60 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 192.2 and 194.3

61 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 113

62 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 311

63 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 207.4

64 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 114.2



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The much-publicised European Council, gathering the heads of State and of government in regular “European summits”, and having the role of defining “*general political directions and priorities*” of the development of the Union, with institutional but no legislative powers⁶⁵, shares the same features of opacity and weakness caused by veto right by any Member State. This veto is either explicit, when unanimity is required by the Treaties, or implicit, because its decisions are taken by “*consensus*”⁶⁶, with no clear rule for overcoming opposition by one or a few Member States.

Despite these weaknesses, the institutions of the European Union bear remarkable features of **trans-national democracy**: (1) they implement the essential elements of bicameral parliamentary democracy, and (2) this democracy is in many respects trans-national.

The European Union operates in a fashion very similar to a bicameral parliamentary democracy. Its vocabulary however may be confusing, and deserves being clarified in the following table that gives the equivalents of institutions of the European Union in national parliamentary democracies.

65 Treaty on the European Union, accessible at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:12012M/TXT&from=EN> Art. 15.1

66 Treaty on the European Union, Art. 15.4



Nature of the institution	Examples in national parliamentary democracies	Name given in the institutions of the European Union
Head of State	President, Monarch	The European Council, gathering the national Heads of State or of Government
Head of Government	Prime Minister, Chancellor	President of the European Commission
Government, managing the executive power	Government	European Commission
Parliamentary Lower House, representing directly the people	National Assembly, <i>Bundestag</i> , Chamber of Deputies	European Parliament
Parliamentary Upper House, representing the territories constituting the full polity	Senate, <i>Bundesrat</i>	Council of the European Union, gathering the national Ministers
Legislation	Laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulations (directly applicable to all Member States) • Directives (which must be transposed into national law by Member States)

Bearing this vocabulary in mind, the European Union operates, very much like a **bicameral parliamentary democracy**:

- The Head of Government (the President of the European Commission) is proposed by the Head of State (the European Council), following the result of the elections to the Lower House of Parliament (the European Parliament), and must be then approved by this recently elected Lower House of Parliament⁶⁷. The recent practice, inaugurated by the Juncker Commission elected in 2014, has deepened this democratic logic: the President of the Commission nominated by the European Council was the candidate supported by the largest political group in the Parliament following the election, under a system known in Germany as *Spitzenkandidat*⁶⁸.
- The Head of the Government (the President of the Commission) then builds his/her team, the full Government (European Commission)⁶⁹. The full Government must then obtain a vote of confidence by the Lower House of the Parliament (the European Parliament)⁷⁰.

67 Treaty on the European Union, Art. 14

68 This happened because the European Parliament (including the other political groups than the one having won the largest number of seats) made it very clear to the European Council that it would accept no other candidate to the position of President of the European Commission than the *Spitzenkandidat* of the winning political group.

69 Under strong – and unfortunate – constraints regarding the nationality of the Members of the Commission (Treaty on the European Union, Art. 17.5 and Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 244).

70 Treaty on the European Union, Art. 17.7



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- The Lower House of Parliament (the European Parliament) controls the Government (the Commission), and can demote it via a motion of censure⁷¹.
- The Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament (resp. the Council and the European Parliament) define and control the budget⁷².
- Most laws (Regulations and Directives) are adopted by agreement between the Upper and Lower House of Parliament (resp. the Council working at qualified majority and the European Parliament)⁷³.

This bicameral parliamentary democracy operates in many respects **trans-nationally**:

- the European Commission is mandated to act for the **common good of the whole Union** (its "*general interest*")⁷⁴. Commissioners are explicitly prohibited from seeking or taking instructions from their national government⁷⁵.
- the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are grouped, and vote⁷⁶, according to their **political preferences and interests**⁷⁷, and not to their nationality⁷⁸.
- **Member States** are subject to the **rule of law**, and to the judiciary power of the European Court of Justice⁷⁹, like any legal or physical person. They are not the absolute, independent sovereigns that they would be in the international system of nation-states inherited from the 17th century Westphalian treaties.

For all these reasons, the European Union, as the first and most developed example of trans-national democracy, is the most supportive institutional framework to create a political party operating at trans-national scale.

This is the reason why we start the operations of the CosmoPolitical Party in the European Union.

We do not, however, claim to be the only possible party supporting trans-national democracy. We pursue specific, strong political objectives, described below, which many may not share. We are

71 Treaty on the European Union, Art. 17.8

72 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 311 to 319.

73 Under the "ordinary legislative procedure", described in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 294. The other laws, in the limited but important fields described earlier, are adopted under a "special legislative procedure" where the Council decides alone, by unanimity.

74 Treaty on the European Union, Art. 17.1

75 Treaty on the European Union, Art. 17.3

76 D.Frantescu "Values topple nationality in the European Parliament", *European View*, June 2015, Volume 14, Issue 1, pp 101–110, accessible at: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12290-015-0349-3/fulltext.html>

77 Rules of procedure of the European Parliament, Art. 32.2, accessible at:

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+RULES-EP+20170116+RULE-032+DOC+XML+V0//EN&navigationBar=YES>

78 This development is not complete, though. Because elections in the European Parliament are performed at a national scale, and because, until the foundation of the CosmoPolitical Party, no political party existed at the scale of the whole European Union, MEPs are elected as members of their national political party. As a result, the political groups in the Parliament so far are coalitions of national parties rather than the expression of a single, EU-wide political party. One of the ambitions of the CosmoPolitical Party is precisely to build a political group in the European Parliament, with unprecedented cohesiveness stemming from its unity of decision-making at EU scale.

79 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 258 to 260



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comfortable with this. Discussion between dissenting views is an essential component of democracy. Our concept of a trans-national democracy is also available for other political views.

We do not claim either that political parties operating at trans-national scale cannot exist in locations other than the European Union, and would welcome the creation of similar parties in other geographical regions of the world in the process of trans-national democratic integration. We would even be happy to witness the creation of other Cosmopolitical Parties, sharing the same political objectives as ours, in other regions: the ultimate, long-term prospect would then be to **merge** with these brother Cosmopolitical Parties, into a single, global organisation, so as to preserve the unity of decision and of political legitimacy which is at the root of a truly trans-national political party.

We start from scratch. We are ambitious – not for ourselves, but regarding the transformations that we intend to achieve, at the scale of the massive challenges that human civilisation will face in the 21st century. In our views, the only unrealistic option is to believe that "business as usual" politics and institutions will do the job.

The CosmoPolitical Party operates in full democracy, fully on-line

Democracy is a value and a process

Democracy must be embodied in processes – specifically in a political party

Democracy is a value, the translation in political life of the equal dignity and rights of all human beings.

Democracy is a political value embodied in **processes**. What determines whether a decision is democratic or not is not the outcome (which can be right or wrong – even disastrous, as canonically illustrated since the 4th century BC by the Athenians' catastrophic decision to invade Sicily during the Peloponnesian war), but the process itself. This process must ensure that the opinion and perspective of every citizen has been taken into account – and yet that a meaningful decision is taken and implemented at the end.

In our views, any claim by a political party for supporting democratic principles in society must be supported by an equivalent, or higher, level of **internal democracy**. This is a basic issue of coherence between words and deeds.

The CosmoPolitical Party is serious in its claim for democracy, and embodies it in its operating principles.

Democracy overcomes divergences peacefully, through deliberation on actions to be undertaken

Democracy does not however mean unanimity. The CosmoPolitical Party acknowledges that **disagreements** in economic interests, social positions, cultures and values exist. We consider them as **normal**, and as an essential element of life in society – specifically when reasoning at supra-national or global scale. In our views, democracy is meant to provide the tools to overcome these disagreements **peacefully**, with **just and fair rules and procedures**.



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The CosmoPolitical Party privileges one means to overcome political disagreements. We seek agreement on **public policies** (regulation, taxation, public spending), on **actions** to be undertaken by public authorities, rather than on the underlying motivations. We accept very well that people converge on the same political programme, on the same list of public policies, for very different reasons, and based on very different political or philosophical assumptions (just like the Communists and the Catholics agreed of Western Europe in the early 20th century on securing Sundays as a weekly day for rest – even if they disagreed on the existence of God).

The CosmoPolitical Party operates through earnest, thorough and balanced **discussion** and **deliberation** between all citizens concerned.

In our views, deliberation and discussion have three virtues:

- from a **technical** point of view, deliberation and discussion between people having different sources of information and competencies (e.g. from their professional or academic background) help ensuring – within the limits of human knowledge – that the action will have the intended effects, that its main unintended effects have been registered and included in the reflection (specifically when handling complex issues), and that its benefits and costs, and their distribution among stakeholders, have been calculated;
- from a **political** point of view, deliberation and discussion between people having or representing different values and interests ensure that these values and interests are taken into account;
- from an **ethical** point of view, deliberation and discussion embody our belief that humans, and their political positions, are not fixed for ever by social, economic or cultural determinisms, and that they can be alive, change and evolve.

The technical and political arguments above explain why we **refuse** to rely on (often self-proclaimed) "**experts**" to design our public policy proposals. No "expert", whatever his/her background, can include the wealth of diversified experience, knowledge and competence of a group. More important still, no single "expert" can decide in the place of others how important their respective values and interests may be, and how to conclude satisfactory compromises.

Expanding our ethical argument, we believe that every human has the capacity to **convince**, and to **be convinced**, following a mutually respectful exchange of **arguments**, based on **explicit reasoning, verifiable facts** and **open sources of information**. We expect all our members to be open to this possibility, and to honestly engage in the debate.

This is why our internal rules and procedures include a space for **deliberation**, discussion and exchange of arguments. Thereby, every member can shape (and potentially change) his/her opinion and that of others, by listening to all arguments, and by providing his/her own. Our rules and procedures ultimately include votes based on the principle "one person, one vote", but they provide beforehand the deliberative space to overcome what without would be the mere quantitative assessment of power relationships between entrenched positions.



The rise in education levels justifies the broad participation in policy-making of people with all professional or academic backgrounds

The CosmoPolitical Party acknowledges the fantastic **surge in education levels** experienced world-wide since the 1960s. Whereas tertiary education was accessible to a few percent of an age cohort in the early 1960s, even in Western Europe⁸⁰, this share has risen to 42% (OECD average) in 2015, and continues to rise⁸¹. This means that the number of people that have the cognitive resources necessary to engage in debates regarding public policies, to **make proposals** and to **evaluate** them, has also exploded. Whereas representative democracy founded in the 18th century could be grounded on the fact that only a small educated minority received a permanent delegation to decide from those who knew less, this justification does not hold any more in the 21st. We believe that contemporary calls for **participatory democracy** are, in a large extent, rooted in this feeling among citizens that they are professionally and cognitively at least as competent as, and even more competent than, many political decision-makers. We believe also that every citizen has, in his/her professional life, in his/her studies or in his/her volunteer activities, accumulated a large capital of experience and observations, and also of theoretical insights. In these fields of experience and knowledge, the citizen is able to provide a valuable contribution to the technical content of public policy debates. S/he is thereby in the intermediate and highly valuable position of a "professional", between those of the ignorant "man / woman in the street" and of the (often self-appointed and self-serving) "expert". This technical contribution is of course in addition to the participation in a political discussion that any person is fully legitimate to take, because s/he feels that this discussion is important to his/her values or interests.

The CosmoPolitical Party uses fair, efficient and transparent international communication tools

The CosmoPolitical Party privileges written means of communication

Writing is an efficient, honest and egalitarian means of communication.

Writing is **efficient**. First, for the sake of **speed**. The number of words that can be read per unit of time lies in the 250 to 400 words/minute, whereas the figure for speaking lies at 120 to 150 words/minute. A two- to three-fold improvement. Second, for the sake of **reliability**. A written word can be checked over and again by the sender, before being finalised. It can also be read over and again by the reader, upon reception. These repeated checks and verifications are not possible in oral communication. Writing is thus faster and more reliable.

Writing is **honest** when deliberating. Deliberating and debating are a matter of exchanging arguments, in order for the protagonists, and for the spectators, to convince, and to be convinced. When arguments are conveyed on a technical means where the emitter has control over the speed

80 3.3% of Italians, 6.6% of French, 11.2% of Finns born in 1927 – 1936 have completed a tertiary education: OECD (2017), Population with tertiary education (indicator). doi: 10.1787/0b8f90e9-en (Accessed at <https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/population-with-tertiary-education.htm> on 16 May 2017)

81 25.5% of Italians, 44.7% of French, 40.5% of Finns, and 69% of Koreans born in 1981 – 1990 have completed a tertiary education: OECD (2017), Population with tertiary education (indicator). doi: 10.1787/0b8f90e9-en (Accessed at <https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/population-with-tertiary-education.htm> on 16 May 2017)



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of reception, in oral communication such as the telephone, audio or video streaming, s/he increases his/her capacity to manipulate his/her audience. "The show must go on", and the pace of discourse cannot be easily slowed, stopped or repeated. Fallacies and tweaked logical statements are difficult to detect in clever oral discourses. On the opposite, a written argument can be read at the speed that the receiver controls. The reader can also come back critically to obscure segments of the argument, and detect fallacies or misleading logical reasoning. Writing supports a higher level of honesty in deliberation.

Writing is more **egalitarian** when using a **foreign language**. The CosmoPolitical Party will use only two international communication languages (see below). These languages will be foreign languages for the vast majority of our members – and this is normal. When using a foreign language, writing gives the time necessary to look for the adequate expression in a dictionary, even to translate from one's mother tongue, using all the linguistic resources available on-line. There is no penalty in the communication performance for being slow in writing, nor does one's accent play a role – whereas speaking too slowly or with too heavy a foreign accent challenges the patience of even the most caring listener. Reciprocally, reading a foreign language can be performed by taking all the time necessary, including to consult a dictionary or a grammar, with no penalty for reading slowly – whereas understanding speech slowly leads to missing most of the message. Writing compensates, at least partially, the differences in mastery of foreign languages, which is inevitable in a party transcending linguistic barriers.

Writing is more **egalitarian** regarding the **time availability of people**. Writing is an asynchronous communication means. The reading of a text does not need to follow immediately its writing. Thereby, each person can choose the time best suited to his/her life and work constraints to reply in a discussion. Writing relieves the inequalities that arise because some people have more time available than others, and because different categories of people can have free time at different moments of the day, or of the week, or live in different time zones. Written communication respects better every person's life style.

Finally, writing is more **egalitarian** regarding **digital bandwidth**. The same amount of information is transmitted in one page of written text (3,300 characters, i.e. 3.3 kbytes) as in 4 minutes of speech (which, compressed as an audio file by a GSM mobile phone, uses ca. 2 kbytes/s, i.e. a total of 480 kbytes for 4 minutes; compressed as an MPEG4 video file, it uses ca. 25 kbytes/s, i.e. 6,000 kbytes for 4 minutes). The transmission of the same message needs 150 times more bandwidth when sent as an audio message (and 2,000 more when sent as a video message), as when sent in written form. This means that written communication uses far less network capacity than audio or video. It is much more compatible with the limited network resource that some users may encounter in their country or region. Written communication takes better care of regional / national inequalities regarding network quality and bandwidth.

For all these reasons, the CosmoPolitical Party privileges written communication over audio or video.



The CosmoPolitical Party uses, but not exclusively, technical and quantitative arguments

Science, figures and statistics often appear as being dry and boring. But they can be considered completely differently. They build a **universal language**: a language of concepts, symbols and figures in which the aspects of reality that matter for the discussion are described **concisely, efficiently and transparently**, and where causal relations are made apparent. Every human can have access to them, with no advantage given to any cultural or national background. The administration of proof can be performed along transparent and rational procedures. There is no such thing as the authority argument. Thereby, these means of exposing and explaining phenomena have a **universal, egalitarian and emancipatory** potential, across all language, cultural and economic boundaries. Using these tools contributes further to reducing the inequalities related to the differences in mastering the international communication languages used by the CosmoPolitical Party.

This does not mean that the scientific, rational, quantitative mode of understanding reality exhausts the debate. **Sensitivity, values, beliefs and human feelings** are **fully legitimate** participants in a political debate. In addition, a **critical eye** must be maintained on the nature of the **indicators**, on the methods to collect and to process data. Too many indicators whose relevance was taken for granted have been revealed to incorporate determinant implicit political and moral assumptions: the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a measure of well-being is the most prominent recent example. The discussion on the nature and the usage of quantitative indicators and instruments is a fully legitimate political debate in itself.

More generally, the CosmoPolitical Party is conscious that the boundaries between "technical" and "political" discussions are blurred. Any decision, even in the most technical environment, entails political values and societal choices. Any political intention needs to be translated into technical implementation to be effective, and to have a transformational capacity.

The CosmoPolitical Party seeks fairness in the usage of international communication languages

A common language is the pre-requisite for political deliberation and decision-making to take place across linguistic boundaries.

As of 2017, the English language is one candidate to this status of an international communication language. The CosmoPolitical Party uses **English as one of its official languages**.

We are aware of the **weaknesses** of this option:

- grammar knows few rules, but a large number of specific cases, making the learning of the language a matter of lengthy practice rather than of efficient understanding
- the grammatical function of words depends on the semantic context – but not on their form or their position in the sentence
- the correspondence between the written word and its pronunciation is loose, making spelling and written communication difficult
- words are short and the tonic accent is placed in variable locations, making confusions



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frequent in oral communication

- almost all vowels are diphthongs, a feature shared with very few other languages.

Learning English as a foreign language demands lengthy practice, and is thus **socially** and **geographically unfair**. Native speakers of Germanic and Nordic languages, people whose parents are rich enough to have them spend weeks to practice in total immersion as teen-agers in the highly lucrative business of English courses for foreigners, or to pay them studies in (predominantly private) Anglo-Saxon universities, have an advantage that others just cannot compete with.

The difficulties described are specific to English, make its learning particularly costly, and thus socially unfair – but any other natural language has its own difficulties (conjugation and mute vowels in French, declensions in Finnish and Polish, irregularities and exceptions in all...), and learning remains a challenge for anyone whose native language belongs to another linguistic family. Choosing another natural language than English as an official language of the CosmoPolitical Party would thus not make things easier. Neither would the option of functioning with several national languages in parallel: this would fragment the CosmoPolitical Party into parallel linguistic entities, and would remain unfair to the native speakers of the languages of lesser-populated communities.

The **language level** required for **political debating**, and to be able to convince others, is probably the **highest** one among the potential usages of a foreign language – on a par with commercial or legal negotiations. It is much more demanding than a discussion in a well-specified technical or scientific field, an everyday conversation on material issues, or tourism. This is why the CosmoPolitical Party considers the issue of **linguistic fairness** as an important work to be undertaken, also internally.

This is also why the CosmoPolitical Party considers the planned language **Esperanto**⁸² as its **second official language**. Esperanto was **designed** from inception as an **international communication language**, and is thus **ca. 10 times faster to learn** than any natural language. Forty (40) hours spent at learning Esperanto (i.e. a one-week intensive course, or 30 weekly sessions of 1.5 hours in a leisure environment) are the equivalent of 400 hours learning a natural language, enough to reach the B1 level (independent user) of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages⁸³. Esperanto has a **completely regular grammar** (thereby placing learners in the natural situation of generalising what they know, rather than of being sanctioned for not knowing exceptions) and allows the creation of a large quantity of words by freely combining lexical roots and about forty affixes (thereby using memory with maximal efficiency: remembering one root is the equivalent of remembering ca. 10 words in a natural language). Free, on-line, multi-lingual courses exist for Esperanto⁸⁴. As a matter of comparison, **English** could be considered as the expensive, less efficient equivalent of **proprietary software**, whereas **Esperanto** could be the low-cost, efficient, **Free, Libre and Open Source alternative**.

82 See a short and informative introduction to Esperanto at: <https://lernu.net/en/esperanto>

83 Accessible at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_en.pdf

84 e.g. at: <https://lernu.net/>



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Automated translation tools between English and Esperanto exist⁸⁵, and will be used extensively. Thereby, people unfamiliar with English will have the possibility to join the CosmoPolitical Party fast and easily, and to contribute to the debate, by a fast learning of Esperanto.

The CosmoPolitical Party is built around the only existing deliberative online democracy software, available under a Free, *Libre* and Open-Source licence

The CosmoPolitical Party takes its decisions **fully on-line**. The design of the options between which to decide, or between which to allocate priority, and the decisions on the options or on the allocation of priority are made on-line and asynchronously only, in order to overcome inequalities in geographic location and in time availability.

The CosmoPolitical Party starts its operations with the on-line democracy software called **KuneAgi**⁸⁶. This software embodies all the democratic principles exposed above, and ensures that all members participate in decision-making, at the three key stages of (1) initiative, (2) amendment and (3) ranking in priority order or choice between options. It is the only available on-line democracy software that includes **deliberative** procedures between its members.

The KuneAgi software is a **Free, *Libre* and Open Source (FLOS) software**, available under the very demanding Affero GPL v.3 licence⁸⁷. Thereby, the functions being actually performed by the software infrastructure can be checked by all, by investigating the source code. Not only the software, but also its specification is publicly available on the web site. Any person dissatisfied with the operation of the CosmoPolitical Party can thus freely download the software⁸⁸, and start operating his/her political party, using the same technical tools.

The CosmoPolitical Party protects itself from external economic power

The CosmoPolitical Party operates frugally, to preserve its financial and political independence

Financial institutions, multi-national corporations, the rich and the immensely rich concentrate economic power. They transform this concentrated economic power into concentrated, and thereby un-democratic, political power, by making political institutions **financially dependent**. They bind public States and regional / local authorities with debt, they place the press in the straightjacket of advertising-based business models. They place prodigal political parties under the dependency of contributions in kind or in cash.

The CosmoPolitical Party chooses **financial frugality** as a key means to preserve its financial, and thereby its political, **independence**. Concretely, this means that:

- the Cosmopolitical Party's only financial resources come from the **contributions of its members**, from the **official support to political parties** (where it exists), and from the **sale of goods and services** (specifically: its on-line press) produced by the CosmoPolitical Party itself

85 e.g. from English to Esperanto at: <https://gramtrans.com/languages>

86 Described at: <http://www.kuneagi.org/>

87 Full text of the licence available at: <https://www.gnu.org/licenses/agpl-3.0.en.html>

88 At the following link: <https://github.com/ecreall/nova-ideo>



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- the economic model of the digital infrastructure supporting the CosmoPolitical Party is a **low-priced subscription** (in the order of 0.1% of a median income), so that its operations have the **most broadly distributed financial base** (and depend neither on sponsors, nor on advertisers)
- the CosmoPolitical Party neither owns nor rents offices (or real estate in general) for contracts longer than one week (the maximum duration of a physical gathering of members)
- the CosmoPolitical Party **employs no permanent staff**. The only exception to this rule are the members elected in responsibility positions of the CosmoPolitical Party that commit the CosmoPolitical Party financially or politically (the management team). Administrative (e.g. management of membership) and conceptual tasks (e.g. design of the political programme) are distributed among members and performed remotely with automated assistance using a digital on-line infrastructure. The CosmoPolitical Party may out-source some tasks (e.g. maintenance and upgrade of the digital infrastructure, financial audit) to external contractors.
- **Physical gatherings of members have no decision-making powers**. Their sole purpose is to **stimulate discussion** and to **enhance cohesiveness**. The costs of these physical gatherings are borne by the participants themselves (and not by the CosmoPolitical Party), with solidarity compensation mechanisms organised by the CosmoPolitical Party. Decisions are taken exclusively over telecommunication networks. Thereby, geographic equality among members is respected, and the costs of physical gatherings are minimised for the CosmoPolitical Party.

No member depends financially upon the CosmoPolitical Party

The CosmoPolitical Party gathers **free and independent citizens**, whose opinions and actions should not be influenced by their financial dependency upon anyone – including upon the party itself or its management team. Therefore, no member of the CosmoPolitical Party (including the members of the management team) is allowed to earn more than 50% of his/her income from his/her activity in the CosmoPolitical Party. The only exceptions to this rule are the members that were elected in public positions, and who are therefore remunerated for this from public sources.

The CosmoPolitical Party is financially transparent

The CosmoPolitical Party submits its accounts to **yearly external audit**, and **publishes its accounts on-line** as soon as they are established, and then when they are certified by the external auditors.

The CosmoPolitical Party reduces its dependency to corporate-dominated and to emotional media

Media shape political life. Their format shapes that of political deliberation. Like any private firm, they place the interests of their paying customers and shareholders above those of the general public.



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The dominating media are audio-visual (television or on-line videos) and privilege short written formats (Facebook, Twitter). Their business model is based on **advertising**, where the **paying customers** are the **corporations** purchasing advertising space, and the users are nothing more than the good being sold to these corporations.

Video content is prone to **manipulation**: image conveys much more emotions and judgement than what is made explicit; the streaming nature of video makes stopping the flow, coming back and reflection difficult. Fixed images only bear the first negative feature. Audio content only the second. These media formats are thus intrinsically contrary to deliberation.

In addition, these media are inefficient in conveying information, as mentioned above, making access to audio or video content over limited networks in poor or remote areas *de facto* impossible.

Short written formats aim at capturing **short-term attention** with strong emotions and striking formulas. They encourage the exchange of insults, support the expression of prejudice, and prevent any developed argument.

These features are opposite to the transparent, egalitarian and deliberative mode of democracy embodied in the CosmoPolitical Party.

The CosmoPolitical Party takes the following measures to limit its dependency towards the current, deliberation-suppressing, media:

- **video recordings are forbidden** in physical gatherings and in electoral meetings of the CosmoPolitical Party. The CosmoPolitical Party will engage in legal action against any breaches of this rule, under the right to preserve one's image (where this right exists).
- all members of the CosmoPolitical Party **refuse video interviews**. Written interviews are preferred to audio interviews
- the broadcasting of the content of physical gatherings and of electoral meetings of the CosmoPolitical Party is performed either by a combination of fixed photographs and of audio recordings, or by written reports
- all members of the CosmoPolitical Party privilege interactions with **media** whose business model entails **broadly distributed sources of income**: minimising the fraction of advertising revenue, maximising the revenue based on a subscription or on a pay per use model
- the CosmoPolitical Party will endeavour to create **its own advertising-free, on-line medium**. It will be based on a subscription or on a pay per use business model. It will give access to open, primary, reliable sources of information (official statistics and reports, scientific articles from peer-reviewed journals, reports from sources with identifiable sources of financing), and contain content provided by members, in parallel with content written by professional journalists under open-ended contracts.



Conclusion

We will design and implement social justice and environmental sustainability, in our policies and our behaviour. We are determined to demonstrate that trans-national democracy works, in our internal operations and in the institutions of the European Union, and that it is the right answer for humankind and for human civilisation, in the 21st century and beyond.

YOU can contribute,
with your experience, your values, your aspirations,
to changing the European Union and the world for the better.

[REGISTER NOW](#)

to the CosmoPolitical Party.