



Toward Democratic World Federation

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INTERNATIONAL LAW AND NEO-COLONIALISM

Many international lawyers and World Federalists see "international law" -- multinational treaties, the U.N. Charter and U.N. resolutions (at least those by the Security Council) -- as steps towards the rule of law at the global level and as positive achievements since the anarchic world of World War II.

However, if law represents a corpus of norms that are either automatically respected and obeyed or for which there are real enforcement agencies that operate for the safety and welfare of the people and penalties for violators, then it is often difficult to perceive the "law" aspect of "international law."

Reflecting the absence of automatic enforcement, on 27 January at the World Affairs Council of Northern California a retired American diplomat opined that "international law" might better be called "international conventions."

One need not be a skeptic or cynic to note that during the two years of George W. Bush's Administration the status of international law has been eviscerated, as one multilateral treaty after another has been unilaterally broken, set aside, or ignored.

BRRR... THE DOMESTIC COLD WAR AGAINST INTERNATIONAL LAW

After the Great War of 1914-18 U.S. Senator **Styles Bridges** of New Hampshire was the leading protagonist among isolationists in defense of U.S. sovereignty. Such opposition was a leading factor in the failure within less than two decades of the principal institution of international law at that time -- the League of Nations.

After World War II another Senator, **John Bricker** of Ohio, led the charge against the U.S.'s pooling its sovereignty through the United Nations and related agencies. In 1952 he proposed that a treaty would become comparable in effect to internal U.S. law only with the passage of appropriate legislation by *both* houses of Congress; i.e., treaties ratified only by the Senate would not be self-executing. While not formally voted into law, the "Bricker Amendment" has become customary law even though it violates Article VI of the U.S. Constitution, that declares that treaties in which the U.S. is a party are part of the Supreme Law of the Land.

A generation later another Senator, unilateralist Dixiecrat **Jesse Helms** of North Carolina, burst onto the scene. As Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (and at other times Ranking Minority Member) he exercised an effective veto over efforts of the President in much of the realm of U.S. foreign policy. Recall his threat that the International Criminal Court treaty would be approved "over my dead body."

TSAR FOR PROLIFERATION AND INTERNATIONAL INSECURITY

During **John Bolton's** confirmation hearings in 2001, Helms annointed his clone as "the kind of man with whom I would want to stand at Armageddon." Now as Under Secretary of State for Disarmament Affairs and International Security Bolton exercises extraordinary control in the Department of State. During the administration of Bush-I, as Assistant Secretary for International Organizational Affairs Bolton had shown his contempt for the U.N. For over three years he held up the W.F.A.-supported U.S. Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations sponsored by Congressman Jim Leach of Iowa, before it could start operations in 1992. In July 2001, as the new Under Secretary, who is also a member of the National Rifle Association (which is promoting gun proliferation in the international field), Bolton endeavored to derail the U.N. Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons.

PROGENITORS OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

Bolton, formerly on the advisory board of the **Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA)** is only one of the phalanx of hardliners who have secured important policy positions within the Bush Administration and who are promoting a strategy of America ueber Alles. These include JINSAns **Richard Perle** (now Chair of the Defense Policy Board), **Douglas Feith** (Under Secretary for Policy in the Defense Department) and **Michael Ledeen** (Oliver North's Iran/Contra liaison with the Israelis), as well as **Frank Gaffney**, who converted the **Committee on the Present Danger** into the **Center for Security Policy**. JINSA and C.S.P., with the backing of many in the Zionist Organization of America and the military-industrial complex, call for Israeli takeover of all of Palestine and promote "total war" -- not just war with Iraq, but ultimately "regime change" also for the Palestinian Authority, Iran, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. In 1996 Perle, Feith & Co. produced a strategy paper for Likud Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**, and in February 2003 Bolton, meeting with Bibi and Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**, reportedly promised that after war with Iraq, the U.S. would deal with Syria, Iran, and North Korea.

THE WORLD CAN BECOME A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE

So long as hardliners pursue an American imperium which -- in addition to controlling land, sea, and air, -- would also control space, the fate of the United Nations and international law will remain precarious. But should we be satisfied with maintaining the status quo?

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TOWARD DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERATION

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World Federalists in Northern and Central California and Nevada are members of the **World Federalist Association**, an educational membership body, with main office at 420 7th St, SE, Washington, DC 20003 and chapters and regional branches throughout the USA. Founded in 1947 as a merger of many world federalist groups into the **United World Federalists**, WFA is a member organization of the **World Federalist Movement**. Contributions to units of WFA, a Section 501(c)(3) organization, are tax-deductible.

The Campaign for UN Reform, at the same address as WFA, is an advocacy organization.

Formed in Montreux, Switzerland, also in 1947, as the **World Movement for World Federal Government**, the WFM has member organizations throughout the world and an International Secretariat at 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

Members of WFA may participate in local, regional, national, and global events. Members in Northern and Central California and Nevada receive both the national quarterly, *World Federalist*, and *TDWF*.

World Federalists envision a **democratic world federation** to deal with those problems facing the world community that nation-states cannot solve by themselves. Positive goals that WFA seeks to promote are global systems to end wars and crimes against humanity and to provide peace and security, international justice, human development with sustainable economies, and environmental health. We seek to democratize the United Nations and assure funding to sustain it.

Serving 800-plus members in Northern and Central California and Nevada and with contacts throughout the world, WFA/NCA supports projects of WFM and WFA to restructure the UN to deal with contemporary international problems. It also serves as a hot-house for exploring and advocating different approaches launched or fostered by members in the region and outside toward achieving our long-range goal - including promoting regional federations and calling for a world constitutional convention.

World Federalist Association



The authors of articles in *TDWF* are World Federalists unless otherwise noted. They write as concerned American Citizens, not officially on behalf of any World Federalist bodies. Readers' comments, especially offering equitable solutions to world problems, are welcome.

\$3 per issue; \$10 subscription for 1 year.

The deadline for submissions for the Spring 2003 *TDWF* is April 15.

MARK YOUR CALENDAR

WFA of Northern California

13 April: Year 2003 Annual Luncheon and Assembly

See insert for details.

Local Units & Community Advocates

1st Saturday of each month: National Action Program Conference Calls with a legislator or prominent activist who comments on the topic or "Action Alert" of the month. Most groups have the following schedule: 9:45 a.m., meet; 10, phone 703-871-3720 and "listen in"; 11-12 noon, write letters or plan actions.

Sacramento Chapter: Hart Senior Center, 915 27th St., Sacramento (Marc Christensen, 916-227-4548)

San Francisco Chapter: (Jim Adams, 415-831-1187)

Members elsewhere in Northern & Central California and Nevada desiring to participate as Community Advocates, please call 415-227-4880 several days in advance.

World Federalist Movement

24-26 October: Annual Meeting of Council, Copenhagen. For more information, e-mail anna@una.dk.

Other Activities

24-28 March: Sixth Provisional World Parliament, Puk-Tian Resort Hotel, Thailand. For more information, fax request to 540-831-5919.

30 March: Panel discussion on "UNESCO, the United States and Afghanistan" at Boalt Hall School of Law, University of California at Berkeley, 2-5 pm. For more information, call UN Association, East Bay, 510-849-1752.

Election of Regional Council Officers and Members

(* - incumbent)

The Nominating Committee will present the following nominees for election at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the WFA/NCA General Assembly on 13 April:

President - Dr. John O. Sutter,* Political Scientist/ Historian

Vice-President - Fred Duperrault,* Political Activist

Secretary - Mary E. Harris,* Art Teacher

Treasurer - (whoever can balance a checkbook may apply)

Council Chair - Dr. Roger Kotila,* Psychologist

Council Members (by County)

Alameda - Phil Allen,* Dr. Felicia Bock,* Jorge Valle*

Contra Costa - Dr. Lucile Green*

Mendocino - Susan Zipp

Merced- Michael McGuire*

Monterey/Santa Cruz - Charles Turk

Sacramento/Yolo - Esther Franklin,* Phil Jaynes*

San Francisco - Dr. James Adams*

Santa Clara - Jian-Liang (Surpass) Chen*, Nancy Couperus

Nevada - Open

Present officers would be willing to step down if qualified members were available. Anyone interested in serving as an officer or member should inform the Regional Office.

The Council, of up to 21 members, coordinates activities of World Federalists throughout Northern and Central California and Nevada. Besides the officers, up to 14 councillors may be elected by the General Assembly at its Annual Meeting, during which any member who is seconded may make a nomination on the floor.

The new Council may co-opt additional Councillors.

THE VITAL ROLE OF THE U.N. IN PRESERVING PLANET EARTH

Dr. Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, Chancellor Emeritus of the University for Peace in Costa Rica, and former Vice President of the World Federalist Movement, was the principal speaker before a crowd of 300 at a reception on 5 February at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco.

The evening opened with **Susan Zipp**, World Federalist from Mendocino and active in the Global People's Assembly, speaking on the **Earth Charter**, which she felt was one of the most important documents in modern international affairs along with the U.N. Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For more information, see www.earthcharter.org.

Douglas Gillies, author of Muller's biography, *Prophet -- The Hatmaker's Son*, described some of his colorful contacts with Dr. Muller.

In an inspiring speech, Dr. Muller recalled his upbringing in Alsace-Lorraine, where his house over a period of seven decades ended up in another hostile country five times. This gave him the appreciation of the need for a democratic global organization. He recounted his experience working in the United Nations, where he started as a young man. In recent years he has produced 5,000 ideas for a better world. He ended by playing Ode to Joy and another song on his harmonica.

"International Law" continued from page 1

Isn't it time that Texans, Californians, New Yorkers, and other forward-thinking American citizens of the world get rid of the latter-day unilateralists and neo-colonialists? Isn't it time to emulate the Virginian statesmen of the 1780's (**Washington, Madison, and Jefferson**), who worked not for a Virginian Superstate but to join with neighboring states in a federal union, which could make real laws for the benefit of all their people? Isn't it time that all forward-looking citizens of the world join together and promote a democratic, federal United Nations able to provide peace with justice through enforceable world law? --*JOS*

For more details, see:

"A Dangerous Appointment: Profile of Douglas Feith, Undersecretary of Defense under Bush" by James J. Zogby in *Middle-East-Online*, 18 April 2001;

"An NRA foreign policy?" by Dennis Jett in *Christian Science Monitor*, 18 July 2001;

"The Men from JINSA and CSP" by Jason Vest in *The Nation*, 2 Sept. 2002;

"John Bolton in Jerusalem: The New Age of Disarmament Wars" by Ian Williams in *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 20 Feb. 2003.

"Engineer" of World Peace Will Be Missed

On February 10, 2003, **Allan "Mac" Chambliss** passed away at the age of 92 in Santa Rosa.

As a pioneer of the movement, he was a key World Federalist activist in the years after WW-II when the organization, then the United World Federalists, took shape and flourished. Chambliss was a longtime resident of the Bay Area and was especially instrumental in promoting the cause here -- especially as he served on the National Executive Committee and during his two terms as the President of the U.W.F. California branch. During his decades of work with the World Federalists, some



other notable achievements occurred. In 1955, he appeared before a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter, and in 1965, he chaired the Organizing Committee for the World Congress of World Federalists (held during the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the drafting of the U.N. Charter in San Francisco).

Allan graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy and went on to earn a Master of Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a Civil Engineer's license. These were put to good use in his careers with the Navy and Standard Oil of California. He raised 4 children with his wife, Doris. More recently, much of his energies were committed to environmental work with the Sonoma Land Trust.

SAN FRANCISCO CHAPTER The Phoenix Emerges

We are happy to announce that the San Francisco Chapter is in business again, after a hiatus of about eight years. After initial planning meetings, **Dr. James Adams** and **Mary Harris** have agreed to share the Leadership Chair, and **Eric Schultz** is the Membership Chair. Since then, **David Romano** and **Marvin Horton** attended second meeting.

WFA-SF, as they are known, is already planning more gatherings in which current issues, views of World Federalism, and other interesting topics can be discussed. Additionally, the chapter seeks to promote the World Federalist cause by lobbying San Francisco's representatives in Congress and participating in WFA's Partners National Action Program.

If you live or work in San Francisco, and you would like to find out more about how you can participate, please call Dr. James Adams at 415-831-1187.

BOOK NOTE

The Others at Monticello

Ten years of research and writing by former WFA/National Board Member **Esther Franklin** of Sacramento have culminated in the publication of a historical novel. She started to write about how **Thomas Jefferson** founded a national library, the **Library of Congress**. However, while researching in Charlottesville, Virginia for three years, she learned much about the Hemings family, who were slaves.

The book is available from Xlibris/Bookstores at 1-888-795-4274, or from major internet bookdealers and local bookstores. Her experience has led Ms. Franklin to give a number of presentations on such topics as "Thomas Jefferson: Politician or Literary Man?" and "Thomas Jefferson: Property Owner."

W.F.M. RESOLUTION ON ISRAEL - PALESTINE

During the World Congress of the World Federalist Movement in London in July of 2002, Commission Three (whose title is a mouthful: "Peace, Human Security and Conflict Resolution and Transformation") endorsed a resolution on **Invoking the Rule of Law to Resolve the Arab-Israeli Conflict**. Largely drafted by W.F.A. member **Gil Jonas** of New York City, it was readily approved by the W.F.M. Congress at its plenary on the 15th chaired by Vice Chair **Lucy Webster** also of New York City.

The text, as recorded in the W.F.M., appears below. In addition there were two friendly amendments. Lucio Levi of Italy recommended that the two sister states become part of a democratic Middle Eastern federation. World Citizen Troy Davis emphasized not only that the goal should be two democratic states, but also that the peace process should be open, transparent and broadly participatory. (A "fine-tuned" version of the W.F.M. resolution was later submitted to the W.F.A.)

“Noting World Federalist interest in promoting world peace through world law with justice; in promoting democratization throughout the world; in the responsibility of the world community through the United Nations to protect peoples at risk from crimes against humanity; and in empowering the United Nations as the central representative of the world community;

Whereas the application of the rule of law to conflict resolution is a World Federalist imperative; and,

Whereas, the world community has established a substantial body of international law in respect to Palestine since 1919; and,

Whereas this body of law includes the League of Nations Covenant, the Palestine Mandate, the United Nations Charter and its Trusteeship Council obligations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1949 Geneva Conventions, as well as the 1949 Palestine Partition Plan and numerous Security Council resolutions, notably 242; and,

Whereas these and other assertions of international law in sum represent a commitment to the non-Jewish people of Palestine to achieve self-determination; and,

Whereas for eight decades the world community, as represented by the League of Nations and later by the UN Organization, has failed to fulfil that commitment during which the Palestinian people have gravely suffered physical harm, material deprivation and widespread humiliation; and,

Whereas the remaining lands promised to the Palestinians have been occupied by Israel for thirty- five years, resulting in chronic conflict which has been capable of igniting a regional war; and,

Whereas the Israeli Government in recent years has pursued a confiscatory settlement policy in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention; and,

Committed to maintaining the security and survival of the State of Israel, and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state;

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved That the World Federalist Movement strongly urges the United Nations Security Council to assert its authority over the unresolved question of self-determination of the Palestinian people by

(a) Organizing an impartial, multilateral UN peacekeeping force to end the violence between the State of Israel and the people of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem and to interpose

such forces as may be deemed necessary to prevent further conflict, including the prevention of terrorist acts upon civilians;

(b) Establishing a United Nations Transitional Authority to prepare the Palestinian territories for self-determination, including free elections, facilitation of a viable economic structure, and organization of the basic services required to run a modern state; and,

(c) Upon successful implementation of a general cease-fire and truce between the Palestinian and Israeli forces, the Security Council is called upon to direct the complete withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Palestinian territories; and,

(d) Providing emergency aid for persons displaced by or injured in the recent conflict and funds for restoring the economic infrastructure in the West Bank and Gaza; and,

Be It Further Resolved, that the new independent Palestinian state and the Government of Israel be directed to negotiate under UN mediation the final adjustments to their borders as close to those in effect before 1967 as may be practicable, while simultaneously resolving the remaining issues between the two parties, such as the removal of settlements from Palestinian territory, the determination of fair compensation to those Palestinians who fled from their homes between 1948 and 1967, and the general access by persons of any religious affiliation to the Holy sites of Jerusalem; Bethlehem, Hebron; etc. and,

Be It Further Resolved that the UN Security Council recommend that all UN Members make material contributions commensurate with their capabilities to the social, political and economic development of the new Palestinian state and its people, including to those refugees outside the territories of the forthcoming state; and,

Finally, once it is satisfied that it no longer faces serious threats to its existence or its security, Israel is called upon to fulfil its negotiated commitments in respect to borders, settlements, and refugee compensation, while the new Palestinian state is called upon to agree to permanent peace with its Israeli neighbor, and to exercise its utmost vigilance in interdicting any individuals or groups seeking to resume violent behavior towards Israel."

THE I.C.C. LOOPHOLE

Several loopholes were written into the Rome Treaty which make it difficult for the world community to be assured that perpetrators of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide will ever be seen in the International Criminal Court. Perhaps the largest is the exemption of crimes occurring ex post facto before mid-2002, when the Court went into effect.

At a luncheon on 24 October 2002 during the W.F.A. National Assembly in Denver, Ambassador David Scheffer, the former lead U.S. negotiator at Rome, was guest speaker. In response to *T.D.W.F.'s* question about which delegation(s) were responsible for promoting that exemption, Scheffer laughed and said that virtually all were. It was okay for war criminals, et al. -- including successors to current heads of government -- to be tried for future crimes, but not the current incumbents or their predecessors for past crimes!

If, instead of opposing the I.C.C. ever since Rome (along with China, Iraq, Israel, et al.), the U.S. had led a drive to keep the ex post facto provision out of the treaty, Saddam could have been tried by the I.C.C. Now, any international trial -- as recommended by W.F.A.'s resolution -- must be a special ad hoc tribunal.

W.F.A. RESOLUTION ON IRAQ

While the Bush Administration calls for "regime change" and pursues a policy of virtually declaring war on Iraq, but without a formal Declaration of War by the U.S. Congress, W.F.A. at its Fall Assembly in Denver on 29 October 2002 approved the following resolution on Iraq, largely drafted by **Joe Schwartzberg** of Minnesota. It endeavors to deal with the Saddam dictatorship through a special international tribunal and to assure that any military action be approved by, and under the auspices of, the United Nations.

Also, considering that colonialism should be a thing of the past and contrary to the aspirations of some hardliners in the United States, any transitional government for the people of Iraq should be overseen by an institution that represents the world community. In the continued absence of a democratic federal global government this means the United Nations.

Observing that the United States and Iraq are members of the United Nations and are therefore bound to observe the provisions of the United Nations Charter; and

Noting that the goals of the World Federalist Association include the abolition of war and the promotion of a just world community through the development of enforceable world law; that among global problems to be addressed is weapons proliferation; and that recommended solutions to global problems include transitional authorities to oversee the recovery and democratization of failed political units whose people have been unable to govern themselves; and

Condemning the egregiously oppressive dictatorship and historical record of Saddam Hussein, who has usurped the authority and powers of the people of Iraq, to the point of mass

killings, has invaded and threatened Iraq's neighbors, and has flagrantly violated numerous resolutions of the United Nations Security Council; and

Recalling evidence that United Nations inspectors had not been allowed to finish their work to assure that weapons of mass destruction and the means of their manufacture were totally destroyed;

Therefore Be It Resolved, By the National Council, That the World Federalist Association

Concurs in the requirement that Iraq readmit United Nations weapons inspectors without conditions;

Calls on the United States Government to refrain from military action against Iraq unless there is proof of Iraq's continuing efforts to thwart real inspections and to take only that action authorized by the United Nations Security Council;

Calls for the establishment as soon as possible by the United Nations of a special tribunal, similar to those formed for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, to indict and try Saddam Hussein and other Iraqis alleged to have committed war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, and the crime of aggression;

Urges the United Nations to empower special U.N. security forces to apprehend those so indicted and bring them to trial when and in whatever way that can be effected avoiding unnecessarily endangering the lives of innocent civilians; and

Recommends that the United Nations establish a transitional authority to work with democratically-inclined Iraq nationals, restore security, administer the Government of Iraq, hold free and fair elections, and ultimately facilitate the transition of Iraq into a democratic state with a government representing and restoring power to the people."

WORLD FEDERALIST COOPERATION --

NORWAY -- UGANDA

The first international Federal Debate on Constitutionalism and Good Governance in Uganda took place in a seminar in Kampala on 30 August 2002. The Seminar, whose theme was "Federalism and Decentralisation: Experiences in Africa and Europe", was sponsored by the European Union's Human Rights and Good Governance Program in Uganda.

Prime Minister of Uganda **Prof. Dr. Apolo Nsibambi** officially opened the Seminar and emphasized promoting federalism, as Ugandans needed to focus their attention on global issues as they reviewed their own 1995 Constitution.

Dr. Knut Berdal, the guest speaker from En Verden, the World Federalist organization in Norway, spoke on "Glocalization [sic] as a Trend in the 21st Century," citing the European Union. He noted that federalism is not limited to two levels, but could recognize both the local and global side by side with the nation-state. He observed that by federalization sales in Europe from U.S.-owned multi-national corporations located in Europe are 3 to 5 times larger than their exports from the U.S. to Europe. This was also true in reverse.

Dr. Berdal declared that federalism promotes glocalization because the most important element is that power belongs to the



human individual, not to the state. The participation of each individual in society and the political process is the central idea of federalism.

He noted that the European Union was intended to insure the harmonious development of the people of Europe by reducing the differences between the various regions and the backwardness of the less-developed regions. He concluded with an appeal to promote regional intergration in Africa.

Member of Parliament **Prof. Dr. Frank Nabwiso** and **Dr. Aaron Mukubya** of Makerere University agreed that federalism could be reintroduced in Uganda to work efficiently with decentralization. Participants included Members of Parliament, civil society, African World Federalists, and the Chairman of the Constitutional Review process, **Prof. Dr. F. Sempebwa**.

Participants agreed that the new **African Union** must be democratic in order to have a vision similar to the E.U.'s. **Prince Joseph Simbwa**, President of the African Federalist Association, assured the participants that A.F.A. would promote a democratic African Union in order to maintain peace and democracy in Africa. -- *Prince Joseph Simbwa*

groups in terrorist tactics to use be used against the Soviets.

After the Soviets finally pulled out of Afghanistan, America stood by as the country deteriorated into a devastatingly poor wasteland ruled by one of the most repressive regimes in history.

When the area proved to be a safe-haven for anti-American terrorists, the U.S. launched a conventional war against the entire country in order to root out a small fraction of its people. In doing so, it allied itself with local warlord groups and Pakistan. In Pakistan's case, the U.S. leadership made it clear that it considered its poor human rights record, military dictatorship, support of other terrorist organizations, and nuclear weapons as non-factors, as long as it cooperated with our military aims.

Seeming to have learned nothing from the experience, the United States has once again largely withdrawn from Afghanistan, leaving others to attempt to piece the nation back together. Following a policy that practically ensures that the region would once again become a hotbed for anti-American sentiment and military instability, the current U.S. administration has ignored pleas from the fledgling government in Kabul to discontinue arming and supporting regional warlords.

While it should be disturbing, analysis of this type is not necessarily groundbreaking. The real merit of Zunes's book lies in the way it provides, in a readily accessible fashion, documentation of the actions taken and thorough explanation of the corresponding consequences.

Zunes does, however, make some arguments that are more thought-provoking. For instance, he defies conventional wisdom by arguing that American foreign policy seeks to weaken not only our rivals but our "allies" as well. To support this argument, he uses the example of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict. He contends that our massive aid program and lack of good faith in negotiations for a peace settlement have worked to endanger Israel's security and well-being. If it were not for American intervention in the form of military aid and protection from UN sanctions, Israel would not be able to pursue its colonization of the Occupied Territories. America's support for Israel's right-wing governments and their policies regarding the Palestinian lands, he argues, provokes violence against Israeli citizens and diverts attention and money from important domestic issues.

Zunes contends that most of the leadership of America is aware of this, but chooses to continue down the current path for two main reasons: 1) Israel buys, with our aid, vast quantities of American military hardware, and 2) the instability caused by this situation provides a continuing invitation for a strong American military and diplomatic presence in the region. He writes, "It has long been in the interest of the U.S. government to maintain a militarily powerful belligerent Israel dependent on the United States. Real peace could undermine such a relationship."(p.165)

In viewing America's overall policy in the area, this news should not necessarily come as a surprise. Its foreign policy is not much different from that of other great world powers throughout history. Exploitation of foreigners for the sake of one's own citizens is nothing new. The exploited have never liked it but, in the face of the exploiter's overwhelming military forces, there has never been much they could do about it.

The fact that America's policy is consistent with a historical model, though, should be a cause for great concern, for it fails to recognize a new and profound change in the playing field, the

change brought about by the tactics of terrorism and the technological availability of weapons of mass destruction. These factors give the exploited newfound power that must be respected.

It appears that the terrorist acts of September 11th did not impress this fact into in the minds of America's leaders. In finding out why, a variety of explanations arise. Zunes explores likely suspects ranging from political control stemming from industries and special interest groups with entrenched interest in the status quo to racism.

In the end, Zunes sees the main stumbling block as being lack of understanding on the part of U.S. citizens. He correctly feels that only when they finally get turned on to the folly of their foreign policy and mobilize to exert political pressure for change, will the leadership of America forge a new path. He wrote *Tinderbox* with the express purpose of helping to bring this about.

He is right about the need for citizen awareness and action. However, the concept needs to be taken one step further. What the people of America need is not so much to break down the current policy, but, instead, to replace it with a better one. Leaders need to be pointing to the real benefits of changing our current economic system to one more sustainable and just for the world. They should be extolling the ways that converting our war machine to a system of world law would lift an enormous financial and moral weight off our shoulders. And most importantly, new leaders need to emerge and explain to Americans that their country, as the sole superpower, one that is highly educated with large amounts of capital, and a rich tradition of ingenuity under pressure, is in the prime position to lead these changes and thus derive the most benefit from them. Such a policy could awaken the American economy and, more importantly, awaken the spirit of American citizens from their fatalism and apathy.

Sadly, to date no such leaders have emerged. Be it a symptom of political inertia or lack of inspiration, our current politicians sit and wait in fear, desperately clinging to the notion that an ever tightening grip and a manic micro-management of the Middle East will somehow prevent the inevitable from occurring. However, when we make it clear to terrorists that we will not develop a more enlightened policy towards their homelands unless they force us to, what can we really expect?

-- Eric Schultz

OPINION

MILITARY RECESSION BEGINS by Peter Baily of Ottawa, Canada

"A recession may be the least of the problems ahead. The huge long-term structural budgetary deficit that Bush is willfully -- and incredibly -- building into the economy, added to the long-standing external trade and current account deficits, is a sure recipe for an eventual economic crisis, however long delayed. The U.S. can ride the external deficit for an indefinite period because the U.S. dollar is the world's hard currency of choice, a proxy for world currency like the British pound a century ago. But nothing is forever. Political and economic circumstances change. Everything is cyclical. You've heard of international debt crises, economic stabilization programs, draconian austerity measures -- stuff like that? The gods of international finance are not mocked."

CONVERSATIONS FOR A CENTURY

by Jane Shevtsov of Los Angeles

"It is now the year 2102. What are your favorite things about the world right now?" I ask this question at the beginning of the Future History Project workshop **Tad Daley** and I are conducting at WFA's October 2002 National Assembly in Denver. The thirty or forty people attending spend the next five minutes writing about a time when the troubled years of the early 21st Century are safely in the history books.

Why are we indulging in these flights of fancy when there are so many pressing issues right here and now? When the president seems hell-bent on bombing an already suffering nation, when the global climate is changing unpredictably and the rate of extinction is higher than at any point in the past 65 million years, when tens of thousands of children die every day from fully preventable causes, what is the use of speculation about a better world a century hence?

The very existence of these problems makes it important to dream of a future world without them. Once we envision a world in which problems like these no longer exist, we can understand why they do exist today. And the Future History Project goes more deeply into this than most other visioning processes because Future History participants develop the history of that happy world of 2102. They draw a road map from here to utopia.

Such grandiose plans can be difficult to get into. So right after brainstorming, I ask participants a simple question. I ask them what their community is like.

My co-facilitator corrects me immediately. What do I mean by community?

It is a good question, since even now, virtual communities are

important and growing exponentially. So I define community as both physical neighborhood and any virtual communities to which you belong.

After a few questions, the discussion takes on a life of its own. Occasionally Tad and I remind people of the ground rules -- if it's desirable and doesn't break the laws of physics, then it's possible; no miracles or aliens; "now" is 2102 -- but mostly we're just along for the ride, keeping order and taking notes but letting ideas flow.

People speak of social contracts and sustainable architecture, of food and livelihood. This being WFA, government, particularly global government, gets much attention. (At a Future History Project, sometimes a person who has no idea world federalists even exist will be the first to bring up global government.) We discuss schools, families and values -- especially values. People seem eager to discuss a shift to more inclusive, communitarian values.

After about 45 minutes, we shift gears. It is time for the hard part -- inventing the history of 2102. A timeline hangs on the wall and we try to fill it in, going backwards from 2102 to 2002. As co-facilitator, I try to get people to think in terms of logical steps -- A had to happen before B could occur -- but mostly people just want to fill in that blank sheet.

And fill it in they do. We go to Mars in 2012. In 2032, a reformed UN General Assembly becomes a world government. By 2042, everyone uses renewable energy. And so on.

It's over too soon. Ten minutes of written and shared reflection and we go our separate ways. But people leave inspired. Utopia is not impossible -- it's just very, very improbable. And the improbable happens.

Jane Shevtsov, creator of the Future History Project, is an Ecology, Behavior and Evolution major at the University of California at Los Angeles. She can be reached at jaia@ucla.edu.

JOIN THE WORLD FEDERALISTS: I/We want to [] join, [] rejoin, [] renew membership,

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RECOMMENDED READING: I/We want to buy:

____ copies of Stephen Zunes's *Tinderbox: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism*, 2003 @ \$20.00 = \$ _____

____ copies of Benjamin Ferencz & Ken Keyes, Jr.'s *PlanetHood*, 1991 @ \$2.50 = \$ _____

____ copies of Lucile Green's *Journey to a Governed World: Thru 50 years in the Peace Movement*, 1992 @ \$8.00 = \$ _____

____ copies of Gil Jonas's *One Shining Moment, A Short History of the American Student Federalist Movement 1942-1953*, 2001 @ \$22.00 = \$ _____

____ copies of Emery Reves' *The Anatomy of Peace, 1945/46* (1995 reprint) "After WW-II, Einstein, Fulbright, the van Dorens et al. urged everyone to read this book calling on overcoming national chauvinism and striving for a federal constitution of the world, noting that where there is no law and no government, human conflicts are certain." @ \$8 = \$ _____

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STEPHEN ZUNES EXAMINES THE HEART OF TERRORISM IN HIS NEW BOOK, *TINDERBOX*

"Why do they hate us?" in the aftermath of 9/11 is a question most Americans ask with the presumption that "they" are misinformed - that "they" don't understand what America is really about. After reading Stephen Zunes's book on the subject, there are few that could not seriously question whether it very well might be the other way around. Perhaps it is the American public who is out of touch with the reality of what America has come to be.

In *Tinderbox: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism*, Zunes does a remarkable job of coherently filling in the gaps of what in most American cases is a very incomplete picture of U.S. actions in the Middle East in the years from the Cold War to the present day (more precisely late 2002).

That resulting picture is disturbing. It portrays the United States as consistently inflicting its will upon the region in a brutal game of *realpolitik*. In general, it has done whatever it took to back big players in the region who will cooperate with American petroleum interests and military ambitions and gotten rid of those who would not. It has intentionally destabilized the region so as to have a prolonged excuse for its meddling. Finally, it has consistently ignored the interests of countries that have little to offer in geopolitical power.

In this pursuit of control over the region, the United States has created conditions that are a remarkably perfect breeding ground for the creation of dangerous terrorists. Zunes goes into extensive detail on four basic ways the U.S. has done this.

The United States' **economic exploitation** of the region has included everything from profit extraction by foreign oil companies, to toleration of rampant corruption, to economic sanctions. These actions understandably frustrate the people of the Middle East because they see foreigners getting rich with their resources while they, at the same time, are denied a respectable quality of life.

The **militarization** of the region is another dangerous trend carried out by forcing weapons into the region in the name of "aid," supporting wars and revolutions, and arming dangerous sub-national groups for short-term goals. By militarizing the region, the U.S. is essentially arming volatile and angry people -- teaching them that battle is the preferred modus operandi for getting their will heard.

The U.S. has also promoted brutally oppressive dictators, monarchies and military regimes. In doing so, it denied many people of the Middle East a free political voice. In places where a opposition group has managed to gain a political voice, the U.S. has often failed to negotiate with or even recognize them. Nothing can do more to provoke a terrorist response than closing the outlets for self-determination among a frustrated populace.

By doing all this, while publicly extolling the virtues of democracy, freedom, and peace (even at times, demanding that foreign governments submit to these maxims), America acts with blatant **hypocrisy**.

The United States also acts in very poor faith in regard to international organizations (such as the United Nations) and treaties, using them at times when they benefit us and completely ignoring them when they do not. If people in the region ever had respect for the principles of the United States as the leader of the "civilized" world, these actions would convince them that such notions were nothing more than propaganda.

Tinderbox shines in the way it picks out areas and foreign policy interests, and precisely explains how these themes are expressed. One example that shows the staggering extent of our folly is Afghanistan.

Afghanistan was a country that the U.S. had only one interest in -- its potential to offer trouble to the Soviet Union. In response, the U.S. armed and trained unstable Afghan fighting

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Toward Democratic World Federation

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*"Instead of imposing the will of the stronger on the weaker by war between peoples as is done today in the international field, we propose that . . . the will of the majority of the world be imposed on every recalcitrant individual with the help of an international policeman."
-- Max Habicht, host, Montreux Congress, 1947.*

