



Toward Democratic World Federation

Publication of the World Federalist Association of Northern California Vol. 12, No. 2/3 Spring/Summer 2003 \$3

ARE WE SAFER NOW THAN BEFORE 9/11?

August News headlines: U.N. Office and Shia mosque in Iraq bombed, as "coalition forces" continue to be attacked! Taliban making a comeback in Central Afghanistan; security still absent outside Kabul! Sharon's political assassinations and a Berlin wall in Palestine vie with Hamas militants and suicide bombings in Israel, while the U.S. - Israel's financier and supplier - looks on! Rebel factions and "government" militants in Liberia continue preying on the people, as U.S. sends a token force of Marines for a week! Limited efforts to end genocide in Congo! American and British public wonder about official disinformation, calling official transparency into question.

As **Professor Zunes** illustrated in his Annual Luncheon talk (page 8), and as commentators note two years after the cataclysmic attacks on September 11, 2001, the foreign policy of Bush II has taken the United States from being one of the most admired countries to one where nationals of many countries hate it, and traditional friends are perplexed and dismayed by what they see as arrogance and bullying behavior. Has this policy, guided by ideologues in the Project for the New American Century, become a tar baby for the U.S.?

Having invaded and occupied Afghanistan, the Bush Administration is faced with a conundrum. At the outset the Administration disclaimed any interest in "nation building." Yet now faced with the political mess still festering in Afghanistan two years after the Taliban were kicked out and al-Qaeda fighters dispersed, the Administration insists that the prostrate Afghans themselves carry out their own internal security (with a local force still far from ready) and that other countries, ideally with United Nations support, undertake most of the work of rebuilding that country. Multilateral aid, preferably coordinated by the United Nations, is what is needed. Let's hope that with NATO taking on some of the responsibility for internal security in Afghanistan, and with peace-making forces contributed from many countries including more from the United States, conditions in that country will improve.

Urged on by its neo-con brain trust in its mission to perpetuate American hegemony over the land, seas, sky, and space, the Administration after 9/11 promoted the invasion of oil-rich Iraq by trying to link it with "international terrorism." Much has occurred since the binational invasion of Iraq by American and British troops in March 2003. Opposing the occupation of Iraq by these two countries (plus some nominal support from a small "Coalition of the Willing"), guerrillas and other are going to desperate lengths, including the sabotage of utilities throughout the country.

Contradictory to their earlier statements, the U.S. Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense belatedly realized a need for

more security forces, preferably from other countries. However, countries from around the world will be more willing to supply their troops if coordinated by the United Nations, even if the top commander of the Blue Beret forces is American. Similarly, any transitional governmental authority in Iraq would receive broader support if supervised by the United Nations.

However, these are only two ongoing wars. The U.N.'s efforts in 1947/48 to promote two roughly equal countries out of the League Mandate of Palestine still has not been resolved peacefully, as the U.S. appears addicted to providing blank checks to one party, which brings into question its posing as an honest broker with a roadmap. Much of Africa seems endemic with failed states and wars, largely domestic. And the people of the world can expect to see more wars every year into the future, so long as the Earth remains in its chaotic, anarchic stage.

In place of the U.S. trying to serve as the world's policeman and proconsul, is there a better way of promoting security not only for Americans but for all the people of the world?

Some 225 or so years ago the People of the bickering newly independent American states learned that if justice, the domestic tranquility, the common defense, and the general welfare were to be achieved, they had to unite into a constitutional federation, one that gradually became more democratic. Over the past half-century the People of warring countries of Europe learned that if domestic security and the opportunity to invest for prosperity were to be achieved, they had to democratize and unite into what is becoming a federation (although some, including the British, shy away from that term), for which a constitution is currently being developed.

Is there a lesson for the People of the world? Of course there is! It is to understand the need, and work for, a democratic, constitutional system of government at local, regional, national, even continental, and ultimately global levels, under which the Citizens of the World are united as one People, where wars and the destruction they bring to humanity, and where tyrants and the grief they cause, are ended.

Despite protestations to the contrary, under the guidance of its current brain trust the U.S. administration is perceived in other countries as aiming to rule the Earth. Nevertheless, neither the United States, nor the United Nations as it is currently constituted, is capable of solving the world's problems. Rather than seeking to control the world, how much better it would be for the U.S. Government to promote converting the United Nations into, or otherwise developing, a democratic federal system of governing the Earth, in which the United States would be at most *primus inter pares*, and homeland security would be superseded by global security.--JOS

TOWARD DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERATION

Vol. 12, No. 2/3 ISSN 1091-8965
Editor - John O. Sutter Associate Editor - Eric Schultz

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REGIONAL COUNCIL OFFICERS

President John O. Sutter Vice President Fred Duperrault
Secretary Mary E. Harris Chair of Council Roger Kotila

COUNCILLORS

James Adams, Phil Allen, Felicia Bock, Surpass J. L. Chen, Urs Cipolat,
Nancy Couperus, Esther Franklin, Lucile W. Green, Phil Jaynes,
Michael McGuire, Charles Turk, Sue Zipp

STAFF

Executive Director Eric Schultz
Intern Farrukh Qureshi

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 Student Federalists and several adult 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 and World Citizens, not officially on behalf of any World Federalist bodies.

Readers' comments are welcome.

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

The deadline for submissions for the Autumn 2003 *TDWF* is October 15.

RECENT EVENTS

14-15 August: Presentations in San Francisco, Mountain View, and Sacramento by **Don Kraus** (Executive Director of the Campaign for United Nations Reform) explaining the prospective strategic realignment with WFA.

2 September: Presentation at the San Francisco Chapter by **Prof. Joseph E. Schwartzberg**, President of the Minnesota Chapter, on "Revitalizing the United Nations -- Can weighted voting democratize the U.N. and help make it relevant to the needs of the 21st Century?"

MARK YOUR CALENDAR !

WFA of Northern California

Local Units & Community Advocates

1st Saturday of every second 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. (Marc Christensen, 916-227-4548)

San Francisco Chapter: usually meets on the second Wednesday of the month: Unitarian-Universalist Center, 1187 Franklin St. at Geary (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.

Regional Council Roundtable

Sun. 13 October: 12 Noon, Brown-bag lunch; 1 p.m. Meeting starts; Room 221, 55 New Montgomery St., SF. Councillors and others interested in participating, RSVP 415-227-4880 or wfanca@wfanca.org. Latecomers, ring #225 at intercom.

World Federalist Movement

24-26 October: Annual Meeting of Council, Copenhagen, co-hosted by FN-Forbundet, the Danish Member Organization. (Arrive on Thursday, the 23rd; depart after last event on Sunday afternoon, the 26th, unless staying for sight-seeing.) For more information, see www.wfm.org or write the WFM International Secretariat (see column on left).

World Federalist Association

6-9 November: Fall Assembly of the National Council on the theme "Declaring our Interdependence: Refuting American Exceptionalism in Foreign Policy": Sheraton Braintree Hotel, Braintree, Massachusetts (depart on Sunday, the 9th). For more information, see: www.wfa.org/fall2003 or call 1-800-WFA-0123.

Attention Students!

The Harlan M. Smith "**Builders of a Better World Scholarship**" is available for current or new student members of the WFA who have demonstrated past or ongoing activism on global issues.

For more information, visit: www.wfa.org/youth/scholar.html
The deadline for applications is October 24th.

2003 Annual Luncheon -- a Great Success



Approximately eighty participants showed their support for WFA/NCa on Sunday, 13 April, as they participated in one of our best Annual Luncheons in recent memory. The centrally located City Forest Lodge proved to be an excellent new venue for us as it provided pleasant accommodations, a scenic forest backdrop for speakers, and (most importantly) excellent food at reasonable prices. As our guests munched on their main courses of pork, chicken, or eggplant, they enjoyed a new feature in our Luncheon schedule, an "open mike" run by our chairperson, **Dr. Roger Kotila** of Novato. This opportunity was seized by **Dr. Charles Turk**, **Don Havis**, and **Bill Self**, among others, as an opportunity to report on outside or personal projects and offer thought-provoking commentary on the state of our world.

Dr. Kotila also led our "development" drive and managed to help raise some \$8,000 in pledges, funds that play a crucial role in helping our office stay productive. The announcement of President **John O. Sutter** of Lucas Valley that hard-working Program Officer **Eric Schultz** of San Francisco had been promoted to Executive Director was met with great applause.

The main event came after our meal when **Professor Stephen Zunes**, Chair of the Peace & Justice Studies Program at the University of San Francisco and Middle East editor for the Foreign Policy in Focus Project, spoke on "The United States in the Middle East: International Law or Pax Americana?" The highlights of his presentation are on page 8. A number of copies of his new book *Tinderbox: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism* were sold and autographed.

Thanks were expressed for the Annual Meeting organizers, including Secretary **Mary E. Harris** for handling the registration, accompanied by **Dr. James Adams**; **Dr. Lucile Green** and **Jorge Valle**, the greeters; **Phil Allen** for the signs and tape-recording; **Lena Chen**, the photographer; and **Janice Alden**, at the literature table.

During the annual business meeting officers and members of the Regional Council were (re-) elected. Their names appear in the masthead on page 2 and include new member **Dr. Urs Cipolat** from Switzerland.

Lets all try to build on this success and make next year's luncheon even better!

World Federalists Providing Global Solutions

The world government that we promote is not so important or interesting as an end in itself, as much as it is a tool that humanity must use to help it overcome some of its largest obstacles.

It's that thinking, that World Federalists concepts take on special relevance when they are applied as a solution to particular problems, which provides the basic idea behind a new set of programs that we've been developing since March here at the WFA/NCa office. We're calling the program "Global Solutions".

In our times we are seeing an incredible explosion of civil society organizations (NGO's) and other activist organizations. While these organizations often do an admirable job of facing particular problems, almost none address the most fundamental causes of those problems -- our competitive and often violent system of global anarchy.

We are seeking to reach out to those different activist organizations and discuss with them ways global governance can be used as a tool to effectively put an end to the particular world problems around which they are organized. For instance, the first project of the Global Solutions program is "Solutions to the War System." The basic activities in this new program include (1) targeting the organizations in our area that are based on promoting peace and opposing weapons proliferation; (2) distributing to them our arguments on how the application of good global government can be used to solve the underlying war system that is the root cause of those problems; and (3) inviting those organizations to participate in a forum where we would lead a discussion among peers in reviewing the problems, proposing systemic solutions, and then undertaking to promote their implementation.

Next year, when we've gotten things moving regarding ending the war system, we plan on switching gears to select another world problem such as environmental degradation, human rights abuses, etc.

The people who have been involved so far are excited about the ways that this new program can promote our World Federalist agenda. This program would get our message out to people who are not already familiar with it, and (because they are already active with organizations that are helping our world) those persons should be preconditioned to see the merits of our outlook and might be especially willing to do something with it. Another beneficial feature is that the program is structured and replicable; as we apply the same system to different world problems, we can refine our approach and improve our efficiency.

We're hoping that this new program will attract the attention of some of our activists out there in the field. If you are interested in finding out more about the Global Solutions program and ways that you could become involved, check in with the office.

While this new program will be a major focus of our regional office, rest assured that we will continue to promote world law in a number of other ways. Whether it be through working to influence the media, lobbying our elected officials, participating in and/or tabling at events, working with youth projects, setting up speaking opportunities for visiting scholars, producing and distributing our newsletter, or maintaining our website, we are always promoting the understanding and acceptance of World Federalist beliefs. --ES

HOW TO ABOLISH UNJUST WARS--AFTER THIS ONE IS OVER
THE ELEMENTS OF WORLD PEACE ARE PRESENT ON BOTH SIDES OF THE GLOBAL DEBATE

--by Byron Belitsos of San Rafael

THE LAW OF FORCE OR THE FORCE OF LAW?

In times of great crisis, opposites often arise together. Unleash a great evil in one place, and its nemesis arises somewhere else.

But there's one other requirement: On its way out, the old model leaves behind an isolated but crucial truth, one that the new paradigm must incorporate if it is to be a genuine advance. The Bush administration, representing the last gasp of imperialist unilateralism in an interdependent world, is perversely teaching us one such isolated truth: that firm enforcement of international law is needed in a dangerous world. In his ultimatum speech, Bush's Orwellian speech writers dubbed our invasion of Iraq as "enforcement of the just demands of the world." But the President is teaching us a cruel and bitter lesson about how to achieve a world without war and terrorism. The emerging new model he is showing us must incorporate the concept of decisive enforcement of global law. But in the new model, law enforcement must be embedded in the context of a genuine global democracy -- a global governing structure that represents the will and reflects the sovereignty of the world's people.

Bush's horrifying abuse of the high principle of international law enforcement is calling forth its pristine opposite: The need for a genuine global legislature that can pass enforceable global laws, binding legislation that can be applied by a global executive branch and interpreted by duly appointed world courts -- supported by a world constitution that jealously guards individual and national rights. The first imperative of world civilization is to outlaw murder of all kinds across national boundaries, and to use legitimate force to hold individual lawbreakers -- and not entire nations like Iraq -- accountable before legitimate standards of world justice.

The choice is stark: The force of law applied against individuals in a governed world, or the law of force applied against whole countries in a world of lawless anarchy.

Although opposed with a vengeance at all points by the Bush administration, the International Criminal Court was as of March 11, 2003 officially inaugurated. Its 18 justices were elected by 90 or so signatories of the historic 1998 Rome Treaty, the statute that President Clinton signed, which Bush "unsigned" in May 2002, not long before he announced his intention to unilaterally attack Iraq without UN sanction.

Meanwhile, Bush sent his Undersecretary of State John Bolton to strong-arm countries into agreeing to exempt US citizens from the ICC's purview. The Republicans in Congress followed suit by pushing through the stupid American Servicemember's Protection Act. But in March they were morally upstaged by the event at the Hague, where 11 men and seven women -- selected from a list of the world's finest jurists -- were honored at a gala presided over by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands. The inaugural ceremony was attended by foreign ministers and international diplomats from 100 countries.

A POSITIVE MOVEMENT FOR PEACE WITH JUSTICE.

Other elements of the emerging global governance paradigm are showing up too, just in time to refute the doomsdayers and cynics among us. The pristine beginnings of world democracy -- the innocent and fresh voice of the sovereignty of the world's people

-- a voice that can become one part of the legitimate underpinnings of a global democratic federal government, has been showing up in the massive peace demonstrations around the world. I would suggest that it is on that basis that one can elevate a vision of a radical expansion of the goals of the peace and justice movement. This nascent movement should go beyond its mere anti-war or anti-imperialist sentiments; it should move toward the advocacy of a true global democracy under enforceable global law.

Today's misguided peace movement is largely marked by a naive utopianism that confuses human nature with angelic nature. "World peace" is a wonderful ideal, and war is a great calamity. But peace without justice is an illusion -- a sort of truce until the next war comes along. And justice, too, is unachievable without the just establishment of law by elected legislatures along with juridical institutions to apply the law. And the latter are almost useless without enforcement mechanisms: the impotence of the UN is a case in point. On the international level, all this means, again, enforceable global law.

Peace requires justice, and justice rests on legitimate and enforceable law. Only when the peace movement understands this crucial syllogism, and only when international businessmen learn that global commerce is impossible without enforceable global law based on true planetary democracy, will we have an end to unjust wars like the one we have been fighting. Only then can we really tackle the daunting problems of global pollution and grinding poverty.

A day will come when we will no longer need the George Bushes and the Saddam Husseins of the world to teach us their increasingly bloody and increasingly obvious lessons about how justice and peace are achieved on an all-too-human planet. To do it we will need enforceable global law -- the crystallization of brotherly love on a planetary scale.

To see how WFA/NCa is engaging the peace movement, see "Global Solutions" on page 3.

SAN FRANCISCO COLUMNIST ON WHAT THE U.S. MUST DO TO CHANGE ITS GLOABL IMAGE

Jonathan Curiel, Staff Writer for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, on 12 January offered "10 ways that the United States can do a better job of changing the globe without resorting to bombs or the kind of gunboat diplomacy that has been the hallmark of nearly every U.S. administration since .WW-I."

1. Be less jingoistic.
2. Try harder to broker peace between Israelis and Palestinians.
3. Sign the international land mine treaty.
4. Sign the Kyoto Accord on greenhouse gasses.
5. Increase commitment to HIV/AIDS prevention in developing countries.
6. Work with U.N. consistently -- not just when it suits U.S. needs
7. Recognize the International Criminal Court.
8. Embrace microcredit.
9. Use the Internet as a greater portal of change.
10. Fix unhappy perceptions with truth, not spin.

WORLD FEDERATION AND THE NEW CIVILIZATION -- FROM DIVISION TO UNITY TO SYNTHESIS

by Bill Bryant of Oklahoma City

World federation is in this planet's future. The UN will continue to be a necessary and valuable forerunner but, even if reformed, it cannot meet the world's need for political coherence and effectively directed purpose. Nonetheless, the concept of world federation raises such questions as: What does it promise? How will it be structured? How is it to be achieved?

The future development of the global community falls into three periods: **preparation** and **transition** in the 21st Century, followed by **transformation** in future centuries. The process will be continuous, though marked by significant milestones.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATION

First the long term: The real promise of world federation is nothing less than a new world civilization. It must be, for true world federation will not realize its true potential until the world itself has been transformed to a greater extent than many imagine or believe possible. A form of federation is needed to solve the world's biggest problems, but there will be no true federation until they are largely solved.

The distinctive features of true world federation and the new civilization of future centuries will include:

1. World-wide federal government, with the whole range of federal institutions. An administration implementing federal social and economic policies. A legislature representing the global spectrum of political opinion and interests.
2. Universal political democracy and freedom, an obligatory requirement. Federal government drawn partly from democratic, partly from non-democratic states would not work in practice.
3. Federal world law, created by a democratic legislature, dispensed by a federal judiciary and enforced by a world police.
4. Comprehensive democracy. Political democracy is necessary but not sufficient. A balance of fiscally responsible social democracy and a socially responsible market economy will be essential for a just and prosperous world.
5. Universal social and economic development. Of fundamental importance! The promise of world federal government is twofold: to end the scourge of international and civil wars -- which destroy or block economic development and divert resources -- and promote global development in a climate of peace.
6. One world currency. Just imagine a North America in which each state or province had its own currency.
7. One official language, which every child will learn as a second language. Other languages will continue to be used.
8. Extraordinary scientific and technological advances transforming all aspects of life. They reinforce the prognosis that the planet will experience the new civilization as a metamorphosis.
9. The emergence of a new global culture. A natural consequence of world-wide development.
10. The emergence of a unifying world philosophy or religion, reflecting our growing knowledge and understanding of the universe. This will also be governed by the twin principles of democracy and freedom, not by authority and dogma.
11. The emergence of one human race. Genetic and sociological research reveals negligible differences between ethnic groups. Behavioral differences are the effects of culture. In future centuries, freedom of migration will create a rainbow world and one human race. There will still be diversity, but of a positive nature, not signifying division, discrimination, or lack of opportunity.

12. A sense of common global identity. As the human race becomes whole and as social development reaches every corner of the globe, the discovery of common identity and the sense of global community will follow naturally.

This is a well-founded projection of the future world federation and the new civilization. Some features will appear in the course of the 21st Century. Others will reach full expression in future centuries. We must first seek global unity by laying the foundations for world federation.

THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION

However, at the start of the 21st Century the world is not yet ready for world federation for two basic reasons.

First, political democracy and freedom are far from universal. World Federation cannot be partially democratic. Secondly, the world's political landscape is too fragmented with many small to medium-sized states. This denies those states the benefits of size and pooled resources, whether natural, political, economic or professional. It also means a significant political and economic imbalance between the smaller and the subcontinental states.

What is the solution? First, political democracy must be adopted universally. Existing democracies may eventually have to start a partial world federation by themselves. The holdouts will be free to join when they qualify and are ready to do so. [Neither the American nor the European federation started out full-blown.]

Secondly, regional federations must be formed wherever they are lacking. Existing undemocratic subcontinental powers must undertake appropriate reforms.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

If these conditions are sufficiently met, a form of world federation would be feasible. However, some transition would be needed to bring the federation to maturity. Old conditions and attitudes will carry over into the young federation. There will still be too much disparity of social and economic development, which will take a long time to rectify. During the transition this will affect the structure of federal government and delay the implementation of some basic features of true federation.

For instance, only about one-fifth of the world's population lives in the currently developed regions. This will not change significantly in the coming decades. Those regions are unlikely to accept a federal governmental structure which gives an overwhelming majority to the less developed but heavily populated regions.

Another example: Unrestricted migration will not be feasible while a wide global disparity in living standards remains.

We must recognize that such issues exist and are legitimate. They are at the heart of much of the opposition to the very idea of world government. The period of transition will allow global attitudes as well as global conditions to adjust to the new world.

During the transition, the solution may be a world federation or confederation of regional federations. This might involve a federal structure based on equal representation of regional federations, regardless of population. The legislature might be bi-cameral, in which one house is based on equal representation from states of all sizes, while the other house reflects the distribution of population. The federal administration and institutions would raise similar issues, requiring similar solutions.

THE PROJECT FOR A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY'S "REBUILDING AMERICA'S DEFENSES: STRATEGY, FORCES, AND RESOURCES FOR A NEW CENTURY"

A sizeable group of "neo-conservatives," who have taken over U.S. foreign and defense policy during the Bush II Administration, had gradually been gaining strength during the Nineties through the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) and the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD)/Center for Security Policy (CSP). In 1997 a number of their activists (in Europe they would be termed "militants") formed the Project for the New American Century (PNAC), and in September 2000, only weeks before the election in the U.S., they issued their report. For those interested in promoting a well-governed world through *global* institutions, it may be educational to compare the PNAC mission with the foreign and defense policy of the Bush Administration enunciated in September 2002, in the drafting of which they undoubtedly had a major hand.

The authors believed that America should expand its position of global leadership by maintaining the preeminence of U.S. military forces. The U.S. has an unprecedented opportunity as--

- (i) It faces no immediate greatpower challenge.
- (ii) It has wealthy, powerful and democratic allies throughout the world. ["Preemptive" strikes in Iraq have reduced the number in this category.]
- (iii) It's in the longest economic expansion in history. [However, what goes up, comes down.] and
- (iv) Its political and economic principles are almost universally embraced. [Are its unilateralist policies putting these principles into peril?]

PNAC's strategy was to establish 4 core missions for the U.S. military--

1. Defend the American homeland;
2. Fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major theater wars;
3. Perform the "constabulary" duties associated with shaping the security environment in critical regions;
4. Transform U.S. forces to exploit the "revolution in military affairs."

To carry out these core missions sufficient force and budgetary allocations are necessary. The U.S. must:

- a. Maintain nuclear strategic superiority, basing the U.S. nuclear deterrent upon a global, nuclear assessment;
- b. Restore the personnel strength of the military to roughly the levels outlined by the Bush I Administration in the "Base Force," increasing active-duty strength to 1.6 million;
- c. Reposition U.S. forces to respond to 21st Century realities by shifting permanently-based forces to Southeast Europe and Southeast Asia, and by deploying the Navy to reflect growing strategic concerns in East Asia;
- d. Modernize U.S. forces selectively (including the V-22 "tilt-rotor" Osprey for the Marines, which has been opposed by many in the military and Congress);
- e. Cancel wasteful "Roadblock" programs (including the Joint Strike Fighter);
- f. Develop and deploy global missile defenses to defend the American homeland and American allies, and to provide a secure basis for U.S. power projection around the world;
- g. Control the new "International Commons" of Space and

"Cyberspace," and create new U.S. Space Forces to control space;

- h. Exploit the "revolution in military affairs" to insure the long-term superiority of U.S. conventional forces; and
- i. Increase defense spending up to 3.8% of GDP, adding up to \$20 billion to total defense spending annually. (*September, 2000*)

Cast of Characters:

Participants in the Project for the New American Century, founded in 1997 (with their current status) included, among others: **Jeb Bush**, Governor of Florida; **Dick Cheney**, Vice President; **I. Lewis Libby**, Chief of Staff to the Vice President; **Donald Rumsfeld**, Secretary of Defense; **Paul Wolfowitz**, Deputy Secretary of Defense; **Stephen Cambone**, Under-Secretary of Defense for Intelligence; **Eliot Cohen** and **Devon Cross**, Members, Defense Policy Board; **Abram Shulsky**, Director of the Pentagon's secretive Office of Special Plans (used by Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, et al. to circumvent the C.I.A., D.I.A., etc. to produce its own "intelligence" and presumably propaganda); **Dov Zakheim**, Comptroller of the Defense Department; **Richard Perle**, former Chairman, Defense Policy Board; **John Bolton**, Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security; **Eliot Abrams** (alumnus of the Iran-Contra Scandal, member, National Security Council; **Frank Gaffney**, President of the Center for Security Policy; **Donald Kagan**, Yale University; **William Kristol** and **Robert Kagan**, *The Weekly Standard*; and **Norman Podhoretz**, *Commentary*.

ELEVATOR DEFINITIONS

Last May **Jane Shevtsov** of Los Angeles suggested that World Federalists come up with a brief description of our goals, to give during the time we meet someone and chat in an elevator. Here are some of the proposals:

"World Federalists support a democratic global government to end war and pass enforceable laws on global issues while allowing countries autonomy in internal laws, which hopefully will result in a better way of life for all."--**Debbie Metke**, Milwaukee

"State laws at the state level, national laws at the national level, world laws at the world level - each with elections, courts, and police force."--**Robin Helweg-Larsen**

"A good world deserves a good government."--**Syd Baumel**, Winnipeg

"To be successful, every community should be led by good government. What about the global community?"--**Paul Harrison**, Finland

"World peace and sustainable development require that freedom and sovereignty be limited by international laws that we want others to follow, that we must also follow, and by a system of international enforcement."--**Dale Kline**, Akron

"Democratic world federation is necessary to govern economic and technological globalization, establish universal peace, enable coherent worldwide development and preside over the emerging world civilization."--**Peter Bailey**, Ottawa

"World Federalists envision a well-governed world system, where citizens elect their lawmakers at all levels from the local to the global."--WFA/NCa

On 17 September 2002 President George W. Bush outlined a new National Security Strategy, which was heavily influenced by PNAC elements in the Administration and Department of Defense. In an overview and eight sections it resurrected the old balance of power concept, emphasized its war on terrorists and a perceived threat from weapons of mass destruction for which it justified preemptive strikes, and resuscitated plans for a missile defense. Despite references to promoting health, education and agriculture in poor countries, these may fall victim to budgetary constraints. A need for nation building was also noted, but it came with a call for international inputs.

I. Overview of America's International Strategy: The U.S. will use its power to promote a balance of power that favors freedom and makes the world a safer and better place.

II. Champion Aspirations for Human Dignity: The U.S. must defend liberty and justice -- the principles for all peoples -- by speaking out in international institutions; using foreign aid to promote freedom and reward nations moving toward democracy; making freedom and development of democratic institutions key in our bilateral relations; cooperating with other democracies while pressing governments that violate human rights to improve; and promoting freedom of religion and conscience.

III. Strengthen Alliances to Defeat Global Terrorism and Work to Prevent Attacks Against Us and Our Friends. The U.S. will not distinguish between terrorists and those who aid them. Our first objective will be to attack and destroy terrorist groups of global reach. The U.S. will make **preemptive strikes** and destroy any threat before it reaches our borders. We will support moderate governments especially in the Muslim world, to preclude conditions that promote terrorism. We will strengthen America's homeland security against attack.

IV. Work with others to Defuse Regional Conflicts. The U.S. will build international relationships and institutions to help manage local crises but help only those who want to help themselves. Because of America's close relationship with **Israel and key Arab states**, America stands committed to an independent and democratic Palestine, living beside Israel in peace and security. The U.S. is also concerned with India and Pakistan, Indonesia, Latin America, and Africa.

V. Prevent Our Enemies from Threatening Us, Our Allies and Our Friends with Weapons of Mass Destruction. By using alliances and new partnerships, as well as creating a **missile defense system**, increased intelligence and innovations for using military forces, rogue states and terrorists can be stopped before they can threaten or use WMD. To prevail in conflicts with WMD-armed adversaries, we may take **preemptive action**.

VI. Ignite a New Era of Global Economic Growth through Free Markets and Free Trade. The U.S. will promote economic growth and world stability, by opening up markets, **promoting capitalism and investments in developing countries**, moving ahead with **bilateral free trade agreements**, popularizing the connection between trade and development, helping domestic industries and workers adjust, enhancing energy security, and stabilizing greenhouse gasses.

VII. Expand the Circle of Development by Opening Societies and Building the Infrastructure of Democracy. The U.S. and other developed countries should set a target of doubling the

size of the world's poorest economies within a decade, by: aiding countries that have initiated national reform policies, improving the effectiveness of the world banks in raising living standards, opening societies to commerce and investment, and promoting public health, education, and agricultural development.

VIII. Develop Agendas for Cooperative Action with the Other Main Centers of Global Power. America will organize **coalitions of the willing** to promote a **balance of power** that favors freedom. Europe is the seat of two of the strongest and most able international institutions in the world: the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the **European Union**. NATO's military forces must be transformed so that they dominate potential aggressors. The U.S. will also work to strengthen ties with Russia, India, and China, while recognizing that some significant differences exist with them.

IX. Transform America's National Security Institutions to Meet the Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century. The U.S. must transform its military to: assure our allies and friends; dissuade future military competitors; deter threats against U.S. interests, allies, and friends; and decisively defeat any adversary if deterrence fails. The U.S. will require **bases** within and beyond Western Europe and Northeast Asia, and it must develop advanced remote sensing, **long-range precision strike capabilities**, and transformed maneuver and expeditionary forces. Besides defending the homeland, the military must conduct information operations, ensure U.S. access to distant theaters, and protect critical U.S. infrastructure and assets in **Outer Space**. We must transform our intelligence capabilities.

The U.S., with **international cooperation**, must also be able to help build police forces, court systems, and legal codes, local and provincial government institutions, and electoral systems. The war on terrorism is not a clash of civilizations but a battle for the future of the Muslim world. And we will strive to assure that Americans are free from the **International Criminal Court**, whose jurisdiction the U.S. does not accept.-- *Digested with the assistance of Jason Smith of San Francisco.*

CAN A NEW PROPHET SOLVE THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS?

In *Bush at War* Bob Woodward concluded that "the President was casting his mission and that of the country in the great vision of God's master plan." Possibly related to this Bush was quoted as saying: "I do not need to explain why I say things. That's the interesting thing about being the President. Maybe somebody needs to explain to me why they say something, but I don't feel like I owe anybody an explanation." (Not even the American people?)

In June President Bush had a "summit meeting" with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas. On 26 June the Israeli paper *Haaretz* published the following from a transcript of Abbas's description of that meeting to leaders from Hamas and other militant groups:

"God told me to strike at al-Qaida and I struck them, and then He instructed me to strike at Saddam, which I did, and now I am determined to solve the problem in the Middle East. If you help me, I will act, and if not, the [American] elections will come and I will have to focus on them." (For an op-ed on this see "Global Eye - Errand Boy" by Chris Floyd in *The Moscow Times*, 6/27/2003.)

POSITIVE ALTERNATIVES TO CURRENT U.S. POLICY

By now, most of us know that the situation facing the US military policing of Iraq and Afghanistan is a real mess. The reasons are numerous but to name a few:

- The military was not trained to be, nor does it want to be, a post-conflict police force.
- Forcing it to do so is costing us multiple American lives each week.
- It is also costing us tens of billions of dollars at a time when, throughout the nation, essential services are being slashed.
- All the while, it isn't even advancing our overall security. In fact, our inability to create stable environments is leading to lawless and dangerous failed states in which resentment of America, and consequently the potential for the creation of future terrorists, run high.

These problems are well documented; what is not are positive solutions. It may be too late to help in these immediate situations, but it is becoming clear that the job of policing and re-developing post-conflict states should be shared. We need to create an international civilian police force, one working as a permanent institution under the control of the U.N. Right now there is a bill in the House of Representatives which calls for exactly that: the **International Rule of Law and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2003 -- HR 1414**. Local representatives, **Anna Eshoo, Barbara Lee, George Miller, and Lynn Woolsey** have co-sponsored it, but they are only four of 21 to do so (the bill has 2 original sponsors). If this legislation is ever going to make it out of its committee and see the light of day, people need to hear about it and recognize that it represents a positive way for America to contribute to a safe and lawful world order.

This movement for the creation of a U.N. post-conflict police force takes on even more interest when seen as just one particular example of a larger policy debate in America.

Repeatedly, especially in some parts of the liberal media, we hear of how the neo-conservatives like **Wolfowitz, Perle,** and

Kristol have taken over American foreign policy. Neo-conservative ideology is largely formulated as a reaction to the concept of cultural relativism. Its proponents believe that American-style democracy and liberalism are truly the best way to govern people and that there is no reason to tolerate other governing philosophies. Seeing that America is now the lone superpower in the world, they feel that we can, and actually have a moral obligation to, forcefully promote these ideals throughout the world. The events of 9/11 only served to reinforce their idea that America can no longer turn a blind eye to "rogue nations" that are perceived to threaten American security, refuse to cooperate with the modern world, and/or persecute their own people.

In theory, those ideas sound pretty good to most people (I'd imagine even to some in the peace movement), and because they promote strong values and a pro-active agenda, they have become popular with politicians.

The problem lies not in the values themselves, but in the policies that have been drawn from them. It does not necessarily follow that the unilateralist, militaristic stance that America has taken under the Bush Administration is the only way to strongly promote a stable world order. In fact, trying to enforce that is proving to produce just the opposite results; it has become unsustainable, bad for our country, and bad for the world as a whole. If the Administration continues to fight progress, and instead tries to force a 19th Century imperialistic policy on the world, our country will eventually exhaust itself.

There is, however, a positive alternative. The US could take all of that energy and moral conviction and use it to take the lead in the development of permanent worldwide institutions of security and cooperation. That positive alternative would lead to innumerable benefits for our country and the world as a whole.

Most importantly, it is just the type of empowering, constructive, and visionary task that could break the crisis of apathy and fear that has seized the minds of Americans. -- *ES*

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

[] provide a gift membership to:

Name: _____ Address: _____

enabling W.F.A. to work for a more democratic and effective United Nations leading toward a democratic world federation.

[] \$35* Individual [] \$15* Limited Income Individual [] \$10 Youth (30 and under)
 [] \$40* Couple [] \$20* Limited Income Couple * includes \$5 for regional operations

(Membership dues are shared between national and local offices.) **Dues Amount:** \$ _____

CONTRIBUTIONS: I/We want to help the work of World Federalists at the following level:

____ \$ 25 ____ \$100 ____ \$ 375 ____ \$ 1,000
 ____ \$ 50 ____ \$250 ____ \$ 500 ____ Other

Contribution Amount: \$ _____

RECOMMENDED READING: I/We want to buy:

____ copies of Stephen Zunes's <i>Tinderbox: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism</i> , 2003	@ \$20.00 = \$ _____
____ copies of Benjamin Ferencz & Ken Keyes, Jr.'s <i>PlanetHood</i> , 1991	@ \$2.50 = \$ _____
____ copies of Lucile Green's <i>Journey to a Governed World: Thru 50 years in the Peace Movement</i> , 1992	@ \$8.00 = \$ _____
____ copies of Gil Jonas's <i>One Shining Moment, A Short History of the American Student Federalist Movement 1942-1953</i> , 2001	@ \$22.00 = \$ _____
____ copies of Emery Reves' <i>The Anatomy of Peace, 1945/46</i> (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 = \$ _____

Book Subtotal: (includes shipping and handling) \$ _____

TOTAL ENCLOSED \$ _____

Name : _____ Address: _____
 Phone: () _____ Fax: () _____ E-mail: _____

Make checks payable to WFA of Northern California. Membership dues and contributions are tax-deductible.

GLOBAL DEMOCRACY: INDIRECT OR DIRECT?

by John O. Sutter of San Rafael

Most World Federalists agree that the ultimate form of global government would be democratic and federal (despite the appalling ignorance of most Americans of the meaning of the latter term). Nevertheless, there is a current debate among activists and staff in the United States over whether to educate the public now -- as the Student Federalists did after World War II -- or leave this sine qua non for later generations.

Another debate, one not so loud and clear, is whether the global legislators should be elected **indirectly** via a series of tiers of representatives or **directly** by the world's citizens. In other words, should global democracy be indirect or direct?

Proponents of indirect democracy in the federal system see the world citizens as somewhat atomistic. They would elect at the local level councillors/legislators, who in turn would elect (probably among themselves) legislators at the next higher level, and so on, ultimately with the members of the national or continental/regional parliaments electing the global lawmakers.

Despite the fact that European Federalists have been in the vanguard of the campaign for the individual European citizens to elect directly their members of the European Parliament, some European world federalists/governmentalists call for the indirect election of members of the Global Parliament.

Proponents of one form of direct democracy in the federal system see individuals as citizens at the same time of their locality, constituent state/province, nation-state, and possibly continental/regional union (e.g., the European Union), and ultimately of the Earth. This holistic citizen would have a voice in choosing his/her lawmakers at all political levels through direct elections.

Meanwhile, a campaign launched a decade ago by former **U.S. Senator Mike Gravel** and several World Federalists in Northern California is promoting a partnership in law-making between the citizen and his/her legislator through instituting the direct enactment of specific laws by the individual citizens

(expanding the New England town meeting principle to the nation) especially when legislatures, for whatever reason, fail to enact them.

This revolutionary concept promoted by Philadelphia II and The Democracy Foundation can now be implemented by U.S. citizens voting for the National Initiative for Democracy via the Internet at www.ni4d.us. Once this form of direct democracy becomes the law in the United States, appropriate for maturing citizens of the 21st Century, it can be replicated elsewhere. (Switzerland is already the first country with direct democracy at the national level.)

As we think out of the box and plan for a well-governed world in the interest of all humanity, there may come a day when the world citizens -- the ultimate holders of sovereignty -- will not only be able to elect the World Parliamentarians to make laws for the benefit of the Earth and its people, but also to participate directly in the lawmaking.

QUESTIONS FOR SURVIVAL

Ever have a hard time getting people to start seriously thinking about world federalism? Longtime WFA activist, **Mary Harris** of Pacifica has come up with an exercise that should get almost anyone's wheels turning. Try it out on your friends and family -- or even on yourself. We think you'll soon find that these are, as she calls them, Questions for Survival.

- 1) What are the biggest threats to humankind?
- 2) How would your life be affected if those threats were eliminated?
- 3) What do you think will happen if they are not?
- 4) What are some solutions to those problems?
- 5) What are you doing to promote those solutions?

We'd like to hear some of your responses. If you have any that you want to share, please send them in to our office.

Toward Democratic World Federation

"World Peace with Justice through Democratically Encated & Enforceable World Law"

Vol. 12 No. 2/3
Spring/Summer
2003

World Federalist Association of Northern California

55 New Montgomery St., Suite 225

San Francisco, CA 94105-3421

Phone: 1-415-227-4880, Fax: 1-415-227-4878

e-mail: wfanca@wfanca.org

www.wfanca.org

Nonprofit Org.
U. S. Postage
PAID
San Francisco, CA
Permit No 11368

ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED

Table of Contents

Are We Safer Now Than Before 9/11 ?	1
Calendar & Events	2
2003 Annual Luncheon	3
Providing Global Solutions	3
How to Abolish Unjust Wars	4
World Federation and the New Civilization	5
PNAC's Rebuilding America's Defenses	6
Bush Administration's National Security Strategy	7
Redefining Security	8
Positive Alternatives to Current U.S. Policy	9

"A persistent and repeated error through the ages has been the failure to understand that the preservation of peace requires active effort, planning, the expenditure of resources, and sacrifice, just as war does."
-- Donald Kagan (1995) *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace* (Coincidentally, Kagan was one of the principal drafters of PNAC's report on *Rebuilding America's Defenses*, see page 6.)

