

Toward Democratic World Federation

Publication of the World Federalists of Northern California

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RALPH BUNCHE AND GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

by Professor Charles P. Henry, University of California-Berkeley

Federal Judge and former Bunche student Bill Bryant said of Ralph Bunche, "He could see a long way down the block and then he could see around the corner a little bit." I believe Judge Bryant's insight on Bunche's social vision is true, especially in the field of human rights. In particular, I want to argue against the common perception that Bunche's main goal was the establishment of an international organization such as the UN. After all, this was the vision of a number of political leaders after World War I, most notably Woodrow Wilson. I believe Bunche saw around the corner and viewed the UN as a means, one means, to a larger end. That end was what he called an "international mind" or today what we call "global civil society."

In 1900, three years before Bunche's birth, there were 26 Esperanto (universal language) clubs in the world. By the onset of World War I in 1914 there were 1800 such clubs. These clubs, promoting a common universal language, were an early expression of the desire for an international or global community. A number of religious organizations also promoted transnational social and cultural activities like the YWCA founded in 1894, and the social gospel movement was reaching its peak during Bunche's youth. Even the sports world reflected a growing global consciousness with the revival of the Olympic games and the founding of the International Olympic Committee in 1894.

It was the more sinister forces of economic globalization, territorial imperialism, and war, that provided the biggest boost to internationalism. Following the Great War, contacts expanded outside Europe and North America. The Institute for Pacific Relations, of which Bunche was a D.C. branch member, for example, was formally created in 1925 from an initiative launched by YMCA-linked Christian leaders committed to a cross-national exchange of ideas on a broad range of issues such as inter-racial relations and security in the Pacific.

From his earliest public remarks, we see the influence of this new internationalism on Ralph Bunche. In his 1926 speech entitled "That Man May Dwell in Peace," UCLA student Bunche proposes an antidote for the world "war-poisoning" that had taken 23 million lives. It rests on two basic principles: "International Organization," involving *every* nation of the world and the *full development* of the "International Mind or Will." Using the

rivalries of the original thirteen American colonies as an example of what can be overcome, Bunche suggests a universal political society in which each nation would retain its individuality, its nationality and extensive freedom of action and autonomy within

its own domain; yet maintain an abiding consciousness of membership in the more significant international society. But, says Bunche emphatically, "international organization is *not enough!* World Courts, world leagues, world pacts of all sorts, are *futile* unless *solidly* backed by an international citizenry resolutely *demanding* peace and willing to *sacrifice* for its realization." Bunche informs us that psychology and sociology demonstrate that human nature is infinitely modifiable. That it is possible to affect a comprehensive change in human nature. Therefore he advocates social education centering about a new concept of the human self as a member of a world society.

A year later, in his commencement address at UCLA, Bunche elaborates this notion of social education. He says that if the educational systems of the world are to fulfill

their proper obligations to society, they must develop and give the world socially valuable men. Not intellectuals alone but men whose personality includes the *visional dimension* or fourth dimension of personality. This fourth dimension, call it "bigness," soulfulness, spirituality, imagination, altruism, vision, or what you will, says Bunche, is the quality which gives full meaning and true reality to others. It enables man to understand and to love his fellows.

Bunche would remain consistent throughout his life in his belief that ultimate progress toward human fulfillment lay in the cultivation of what philosopher Richard Rorty calls human empathy or sentimentality and not simply international organization. In his Nobel address, Bunche states that humans have harnessed nature and developed great civilizations but never learned how to live well with each other. Our values are materialistic while our spirituality has lagged behind. Once again he stresses the importance of international education but admits that the process is gradual and the procedures of the UN unavoidably complex and tedious. Even more forcefully in a 1953 "Armistice Day" speech at Town Hall in New York, Bunche says:

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TOWARD DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERATION

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NORTHERN CALIFORNIA OFFICERS

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World Federalists envision a **democratic world federation** to democratically enact and enforce world law as a way to solve problems facing the world community that nation-states are incapable of solving by themselves. World Federalists believe that such a system would be capable of ending wars and crimes against humanity and providing peace and security, international justice, human development with sustainable economies, and environmental health.

The World Federalists of Northern California (WF/NCa), incorporated in California as a non-profit public benefit educational body, is based in downtown San Francisco.

Serving 800-plus World Federalists and Citizens for Global Solutions in Northern and Central California, and with contacts throughout the world, WF/NCa supports projects of WFM, CfGS, and local activists. It also explores and promotes different approaches toward achieving our long-range goal - including advocating a reformed and empowered United Nations, democratic regional federations, and a world constitutional convention. (See details on page 6.) Supporters of WF/NCa receive this publication, *TDWF*.

Once its tax-exempt status with the federal and state agencies is completed, contributions to WF/NCa, a Section 501(c)(3) organization, will be tax-deductible. Until it is, contributions may be made and sent to S.F.P.A. at 55 New Montgomery St. #225, and earmarked "WF/NCa" in order to be tax-deductible.

Some of our programs are carried out under the name **Citizens for Global Solutions - Northern California**, indicating our status as a local affiliate of **Citizens for Global Solutions (CfGS)**, a nation-wide organization with both a 501(c)(3) educational branch (doing business as the Citizens for Global Solutions Education Fund) and a 501(c)(4) political advocacy arm. Citizens for Global Solutions emerged in 2003 as a strategic partnership between the World Federalist Association (WFA) and the Campaign for United Nations Reform (CUNR). These organizations can trace their origins to 1947, when the Student Federalists and several adult world federalist groups merged into the United World Federalists (UWF). Citizens for Global Solutions has its headquarters at 420 7th St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

We are indirectly affiliated with the **World Federalist Movement (WFM)**, a world-wide organization formed in Montreux, Switzerland, also in 1947, as the World Movement for World Federal Government. The WFM has member organizations and individual *supporters* throughout the world and an International Secretariat at 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

We invite everyone interested in helping to promote our objectives and purposes (see page 6) to become *supporters* of WF/NCa.

The views expressed in articles published in *TDWF* do not necessarily represent those of WF/NCa, CfGS, or WFM.

Readers' comments are welcome.

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

The deadline for submissions for the Spring 2004 *TDWF* is April 10, 2004.

World Federalists of Northern California -- Citizens for Global Solutions

Local Units & Community Advocates

2nd 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. Topic (Jan. & Feb.) -- Bringing international issues to the election.

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

San Francisco Chapter: usually also 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 desiring to participate as Community Advocates, please call 415-227-4880 several days in advance.

World Federalists of Northern California

Sun., 7 March: 2004 LUNCHEON & INAUGURAL MEETING, See pages 6,7, & 8 for details.

Sun., 18 April: SPRING MEETING OF WF/NCA BOARD OF DIRECTORS 12 Noon, Brown-bag lunch; 1 p.m. Meeting starts; Room 221, 55 New Montgomery St., SF. Directors and others interested in participating, RSVP 415-227-4880 or wfanca@wfanca.org. Latecomers, ring #225 at intercom by front door.

Citizens for Global Solutions

June: NATIONAL MEMBER-SHIP ASSEMBLY. See www.globalsolutions.org for details.



San Francisco People's Assembly

24-27 June: PREP CONFERENCE ON UNITED NATIONS REFORM. San Francisco State University (co-sponsored by WF/NCa). See www.acgc.org for details.

World Federalist Movement

October -- the Hague, Netherlands: 2004 ANNUAL MEETING OF COUNCIL. See www.wfm.org for details



**We encourage you to have a look at
World Beyond Borders
at www.worldbeyondborders.org**

Developed by the dynamic Southern Californian world federalist **Jane Shevtsov**, this new organization seeks to foster innovative thinking about ways that we can use world government to provide a more harmonious and healthy global environment.



FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK



WORLD CITIZENS OR WORLD SUBJECTS?

Many of us concerned with the future viability of the Earth and its population and environment like to think of ourselves as World Citizens. But are we really "World Citizens" or "World Subjects"? Should one differentiate between aspirations and reality, especially when it comes to citizenship?

I'd like to suggest that there is a range of conditions between subject and citizen. A subject is usually an individual person or inhabitant of a political entity in which (s)he has no voice in its governance. Traditionally most inhabitants of ever more complex communities were subjects of the ruler of the community. It was often a monarch -- a chief, warlord, feudal prince, king/sultan/ emperor or other secular or religious potentate.

Sovereignty, the authority to rule, and the powers obtained therefrom were in the hands of the ruling monarch or autocrat. The autocracy -- sometimes totalitarian -- could be either secular, as in Nazi Germany or Stalinist Russia, or theocratic, as in Taliban Afghanistan, rabbinical Judea and Samaria, or Europe under the Christian Church during much of its history.

The average inhabitant, during much of history, remained a subject without a real right to self-government -- when the powers of government were shared between a monarch and an aristocracy (as in post-John England, the Holy Roman Empire, and feudal Japan), or between the monarch and the clergy (as in Hindu India and the Islamic Caliphate), or among three castes -- the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the clergy (as in many of the post-Westphalian European nation-states).

In most instances the commoner inhabitant traditionally and through inheritance remained a subject and had no voice in his/her government. Since the people of the Earth still have no voice in the governance of the Earth, there not yet being a global government, we remain "World Subjects," not of a global autocracy, but of global anarchy.

When tyranny -- misrule -- was sufficiently great, there might be rebellions by some of the people, as by the British barons against King John or by peasants in parts of Europe and Asia. With the Enlightenment and education came a growing demand for self-determination and self-government on a larger scale.

American colonists in territories under the British Crown, with their distance from the metropolitan power, increasing availability of education, and leadership influenced by the Enlightenment, began to participate in self-government and long for self-determination. With the successful War of Independence -- the American Revolution -- many Americans found themselves no longer subjects of a foreign monarch but citizens able to delegate powers to their governments at two levels under a federal structure.

Two centuries later the inhabitants of a number of countries of Western Europe have seen their community go through a number of stages leading to what they hoped would be a new European citizenship, to possess and treasure along with their national and sometimes constituent-state citizenship.

Meanwhile, in many "independent" countries the local inhabitants are still not full-fledged citizens, despite regular elections. How could they be, if (a) they never actually participated in the

elections of their governors/legislators; (b) the electoral rules prevented any "citizen" not anointed by the ruling group from standing for election; or (c) their legislators were beholden to moneyed or other vested interests?

To become truly World Citizens, it is necessary to delegate powers and fashion a system for governing the Earth, with adequate checks and balances, horizontally among the global institutions and vertically among the different levels of the world federation. At the same time, it would do no harm if we, living in what we like to call democracies, become real citizens thereof and overcome the obstacles to full-fledged citizenship at home.--JOS

World Federalists of Northern California Election of Board of Directors and Officers

The following have been nominated for election at the Inaugural Meeting of the WF/NCA on 7 March following the 2004 Annual Luncheon:

Members of Board of Directors (by County)

Alameda -- Phil Allen,* Dr. Felicia Bock,* Dr. Urs Cipolat*

Contra Costa -- Dr. Lucile Green,* Jason Smith (co-opted)

Marin -- Byron Belitsos,* Dr. Roger Kotila,*

Dr. John O. Sutter*

Monterey -- Dr. Charles Turk*

Sacramento -- Esther Franklin,* Phil Jaynes*

San Mateo -- Mary E. Harris*

San Francisco -- Dr. James Adams,* Bruce Kennedy

Santa Clara -- Fred Duperrault*

(*- incumbent members of the Regional Council)

As part of the process by which the World Federalists of Northern California is now incorporated under California law (see p. 2 for details), our governing body, previously the Regional Council, will henceforth be our Board of Directors. Composed of up to 15 directors, it coordinates activities of World Federalists and Citizens for Global Solutions throughout Northern and Central California.

Board terms are for 3 years. Board members elected in 2004 will randomly be assigned 1/3, 2/3 or full-length terms to ensure staggered election openings in the future. Subsequently, those wishing to serve on the Board should send a letter expressing their intention and qualifications to the Board c/o the San Francisco office.

The new Board will elect the officers, for 1 year terms, of whom the following are candidates:

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

Vice Presidents (2) -- Fred Duperrault, * Political Activist

Dr. Charles Turk, Management Scientist

Secretary -- Mary E. Harris,* Art Teacher

Board Chair -- Dr. Roger Kotila, Psychologist *

"...The days when humanity can hope to save itself from force are over. None of the structures of violence can any longer rescue the world from the use of violence, now grown apocalyptic. Force can only lead to more force, not peace. Only a turn to structures of cooperative power can offer hope. To choose that path, the U.S. would first have to choose the American republic over American empire, and then, on the basis of principles that underlie the republic, join with other nations to build cooperative structures as a basis for peace."
-- Jonathan Schell *The Unconquerable World*

READER'S VIEWS: THE URGENT NEED FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

by Prof. Errol E. Harris of Amberside, England

For more than fifty years I have been stressing in books, articles, and letters to editors, the urgent necessity for the establishment of an appropriately constituted democratic World Federal Government. I have been drawing attention to the mounting threats to human survival of nuclear holocaust, climate change resulting from global warming caused by human activities, the loss of bio-diversity, and the general deterioration of the environment. Now **Chuck Woolery** [in "Biothreats Necessitate New Thinking about Funding for Global Institutions" in the Autumn 2003 *T.D.W.F.*] has extended this list with the appalling menace of biological and cyber self-replicating weapons. As if this were not enough, he adds the security threat from economic instability from the free flow of capital. These evils are, we may hope, not yet irremediable, but none of them can be effectively reduced except by global measures which cannot be ensured by anything less than a World Government administration with genuine legislative, executive and juristic systems.

To me, Chuck Woolery seems rather unduly sanguine about the probability that these "horrific scenarios... will persuade pragmatic individuals into thinking about the benefits of harmonized and enforceable global law" (undeniably necessary as that is). The international scene, with the side-stepping of the United Nations by the United States administration and the British Prime Minister, the failure of the Rio Agenda 21 and the consequent Tokyo and Johannesburg Summits, the futility of efforts to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons, the difficulties of pacifying and stabilizing the Middle East, and the general ineffectiveness of the United Nations, hardly seems to indicate that there are many "pragmatic individuals" at all cognizant of the need for the one practical precondition of coping successfully with the problems of global terrorism, global warming and the other above-mentioned horrors threatening our immediate future.

That precondition has been clearly and accurately stated by **Eric Schultz**: "The only way to ensure the future success and continued survival of humanity is by joining together to form a federally structured, super-national governing system capable of democratically creating and justly administering enforceable world law." The indispensable condition is the Rule of Law world-wide in place of the present unavoidable rule of military force – unavoidable as long as nations claim and exercise their assumed right of sovereign independence, which sets them above any superior legislative. While nations remain sovereign they can defy the resolutions of the Security Council (as Israel, Saddam Hussain, and others have done), and cannot be brought to book except by resort to military force, itself a violation of the Rule of Law and always with the risk of escalation and universal conflagration. What is needed is a law that can be enforced upon individuals, not states, by a World Police Force.

Even such developments as have been hailed as advances in the direction of world government, such as the International Criminal Court, have been frustrated by the intransigence of sovereign states like the US which refuse to recognize its jurisdiction over their citizens. The International Court of Justice is subject to the same limitations, for its jurisdiction can be, and has been, rejected or ignored by states that consider its decision contrary to their national interests. Similarly, the US and Russia are hesitant, or refuse outright, to ratify the Kyoto agreement. The

new institution, as well as the old (and for that matter, the U.N. Charter itself) are simply international "agreements," which like all treaties, even when signed and sealed, can be renounced at will, or are liable to be ignored or wantonly violated by their signatories whenever their perceived national interests are at stake.

A serious obstacle to persuasion of "pragmatic individuals," the general public and their political leaders, of the urgent need for the establishment of democratic World Federal Government is the prevailing concentration by most World Federalist organizations on the so-called "reform" of the U.N. (whether as a sufficient remedy to its obvious shortcomings, or as a first step towards world federation). The suggested reforms, even if they could be achieved, would not improve the situation or make a significant difference to the effectiveness of the United Nations. Alleged democratization through a popularly elected assembly advisory to the General Assembly, which is itself no more than an advisory body, can have little or no greater influence on the Security Council than at present. Increasing the membership of the Security Council will not deter the permanent members from exercising their veto. Nor will any of these suggested reforms prevent sovereign states from defying the resolutions of the Council whenever they consider it in their national interests to do so. No reform short of the elimination from the Charter of Article 2 and its conversion into a genuine Constitution for World Government will be of any use. Even if what is being proposed could be regarded as a first step towards that end, the desired process would be far too slow. The alarming bio-threats described by Chuck Woolery will not wait for unlikely gradual political developments, nor will global warming, which scientists warn us has probably already proceeded so far as to be irreversible.

Surely the obvious first step should be for all advocates of World Federalism to endorse and ratify the **Constitution for the Federation of Earth** (drawn up by the World Constitution and Parliament Association) pending its review and amendment – for which it provides – as thought necessary by an established World Parliament. This, after all, is the natural first and most practical step toward what all world federalists aim to achieve; and unless and until the World Federalist organizations speak with one voice there will be little prospect of their persuading others of the need for world government. The objection some have made to this Constitution, that it has not been written by a democratically elected constituent assembly, is irrelevant. What makes a constitution democratic is not its authorship, but its willing acceptance by a popularly elected representative body of those who will be subject to its provisions. To have a draft constitution ready and available for ratification by governments and peoples is clearly the first practical necessity.

In 1945 the conference held at Dublin, New Hampshire, considering the prospects of atomic warfare, declared that a world federation capable of preventing war and with genuine legislative power, responsible executive, and adequate tribunals to enforce enacted law, was the sole means of averting global catastrophe.* There was (declared the delegates) no time to be lost – "the necessity of immediate action is urgent. There is not a moment to lose." Since then we have lost more than half a century! If we delay any longer we shall lose everything.

*[*copies may be obtained by writing to the WF/NCA office]*

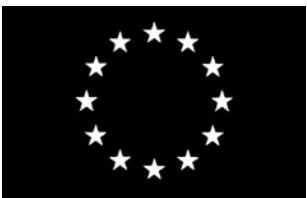


UNITED NATIONS

Shaken by the precedent of pre-emptive attack exhibited in America's war on Iraq, the UN Secretary General **Kofi Annan** arranged for the appointment of a high-level international panel to study and make suggestions on possible UN reform. Annan called for the panel to "provide a new assessment of the challenges ahead and to recommend changes which will be required if these challenges are to be met effectively through collective action ... including but not limited to a review of the principal organs of the United Nations." The panel of 16 members is chaired by **Anand Panyarachun** (Thailand) and also includes: **Robert Badinter** (France), **Joao Clemente Baena Soares** (Brazil), **Gro Harlem Brundtland** (Norway), **David Hannay** (United Kingdom), **Mary Chinerey-Hesse** (Ghana), **Gareth Evans** (Australia), **Enrique Iglesias** (Uruguay), **Amre Moussa** (Egypt), **Satish Nambiar** (India), **Sadako Ogata** (Japan), **Yevgeny Primakov** (Russian Federation), **Qian Qichen** (China), **Nafis Sadik** (Pakistan), **Salim Ahmed Salim** (Tanzania), **Brent Scowcroft** (United States).

In another development, Presidents **Jacques Chirac** of France and Presidents **Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva**, backed by Kofi Annan, launched an appeal to the international community to reconsider the institution of international taxes on "international transactions such as, among others, certain kinds of arms sales and certain other financial transactions." In addition to helping to curb the massive worldwide business of weapons trade, the measures would produce revenue that would be used to "combat hunger and poverty." While the details of this plan (currently termed the **Lula Fund**) differ substantially, the idea of international taxation is not a new one. The Nobel prize-winning economist **James Tobin** first popularized the idea in the 1970's.

Reports from both, the reform panel, and a group working on the Luna Fund, are expected to be delivered to the UN at its next General Assembly in September 2004.



EUROPEAN UNION

The E.U. suffered a setback in mid-December 2003 as negotiations to produce its constitution collapsed primarily over the issue of voting rights.

Much of the constitution had been drafted by Elder Statesman of Europe, former President of France **Valery Giscard d'Estaing**. However, the Convention on the Future of Europe consisted of 105 representatives of E.U. governments, legislatures, and institutions, and in negotiations "old" member Spain and new member Poland clashed with Germany and France, both larger countries. The former wanted to maintain the interim system of voting adopted in 2000, which gave them a somewhat disproportionate number of votes compared to the latter. Germany and France wanted a formula of votes to reflect their greater population. (Shades of 1787 when our own Convention almost broke up over differing proposals for

voting by the larger and smaller states, until the Connecticut Compromise was fashioned!) In any case, a new voting system would not go into effect until 2009.

Ireland assumed the Presidency of the European Council for the first half of 2004. Although there was some question over when the Convention would be in a position to meet again and make decisions, Irish Foreign Minister **Brian Cowen** began holding informal talks with his counterparts, a sign that work is continuing. Meanwhile, the constitution committee chair worried that the process might run out of steam if the constitution is not concluded before the mid-June European elections.

Despite these setbacks, the fact that countries that have been fighting each-other for hundreds of years (including two world wars in the just the past century) are now working together to form the first ever inter-national constitution is heartening to promoters of world federalism. It just goes to show how natural the concept of federating can be once a notion of common self-interest is recognized among any group of people.



INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

In spite of U.S. resistance and refusal to sign the 1998 Rome Treaty, establishing the International Criminal Court (ICC), the court is well under way. The first 18 judges have been selected, and the first Chief Prosecutor was elected and began work in June 2003. Since then, the Chief Prosecutor, **Luis Moreno Ocampo** of Argentina, has been assembling a team able to prosecute crimes against humanity and genocide, and his team is about to get its first case.

According to a recent announcement from the Chief Prosecutor, the ICC will begin investigation into the crimes of a group of northern Ugandan rebels. The group, known as the Lord's Resistance Army, has been responsible for terrorizing northern Uganda since Yoweri Museveni seized power in Kampala in 1986. Reports of the groups activities include summary execution, rape, child sexual abuse, recruitment of child soldiers, torture and mutilation, and looting and destruction of civilian property. Reports from the Prosecutor's office indicate that as many as 20,000 children have already fallen victim to the group.

The United States was one of only seven nations, along with China, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Qatar, and Yemen, to vote against the creation of the ICC, citing potential abuse of the court's jurisdiction to conduct politically motivated investigations and prosecutions against American citizens (mainly military and political personnel). However, even with the current administration's hostility toward the court (particularly their efforts to secure bilateral agreements requesting states not to surrender American nationals to the ICC), the ICC has begun to enjoy success. The court boasts a judiciary full of talent from a broad spectrum of nations, and the referral of the first case from the Ugandan president is a huge step for the court, and international human rights. World Federalists should pay particular attention to how the Chief Prosecutor, and the ICC as a whole, handles their first case. The implications for international human rights law will be far reaching.

OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES

The purposes of the newly incorporated World Federalists of Northern California are to promote:

- (a) the concept that all people of the world, being members of a common humanity, are inherently citizens of the world with the potential to become self-governing;
- (b) the understanding that the people, being sovereign and having the inherent right to self-government, may delegate their powers to governments at any and all levels, and such governments shall be responsible to the people;
- (c) ways and means for political units at all levels to form open vibrant democracies and to overcome obstacles to that achievement;
- (d) the idea that war, anarchy, and civil conflict can be overcome and meaningful peace achieved through democratically legislated world law and a world government empowered by the sovereignty of the people;
- (e) human rights and the concept that the well-being and safety of everyone is important to the well-being of anyone, and crimes against humanity can be most effectively dealt with through laws enacted by a transparent democratic, federal system of government throughout the world;
- (f) realization that a healthful, viable global habitat can best be achieved through the transparent administration of world law and appropriate world-wide policies;
- (g) the common goal of a transparent federal system of government through various means, including – but not limited to – restructuring and democratizing the United Nations; and
- (h) the concept that global problems can best be solved through global solutions, by working, inter alia, as Citizens for Global Solutions.

Inaugural Meeting. . . continued from page 8

strongest nation in history and what responsibilities lay ahead for our nation."

Strobe Talbott, former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State and President of the Brookings Institution stated that "Garrison, who has devoted much of his career to exploring the emergence of a new international system with the end of the Cold War, offers a comprehensive examination of the idea of an American Empire. He is balanced, thoughtful, yet intellectually passionate contribution to the debate over American power and America's role in the world."

Now you can hear him speak and form your own opinions. It is a rare occasion to have an activist and scholar of this magnitude captive to such a small audience. Don't miss your chance to gain insights into our complex global political playing field, ask questions, and even *challenge* Garrison about what exactly he means when he calls for global governance.

INAUGURAL MEETING

The World Federalist Association, a nation-wide NGO incorporated in the District of Columbia, is reducing its footprint and no longer will have members and local units, as its sister organization, the Campaign for U.N. Reform, becomes the dominant entity in the strategic partnership and is renamed Citizens for Global Solutions. As part of an effort to become more influential and effective, CfGS will start with 4,300 members and work sometimes through local units.

This presents, of course, an interesting question of how the larger units with downtown offices and paid staff, now dependent almost entirely on contributions plus grants, can continue to operate and develop. Fortunately, following our hosting the XXII World Congress of the World Federalist Movement in 1995, when we in San Francisco took on new staff and expanded our operations, we have gained experience in reporting regularly to California state agencies and the Internal Revenue Service. Moreover, the most prosperous local unit with the largest staff provides a precedent: the Pittsburgh Chapter has for years operated successfully under its own Pennsylvania charter.

Accordingly, as we cooperate with the Citizens for Global Solutions in our work, we have incorporated in the State of California as **World Federalists of Northern California**, which will enable contributions from our supporters anywhere to be tax-deductible.

At the Inaugural Meeting on 7 March 2004 after Mr. Garrison's presentation, the new governing body -- the Board of Directors and officers (see page 3)-- will be elected and the program for the future reviewed.

Bunche. . . continued from page 1

"It is not, really, the UN as an organization to which I am devoted but rather the basic ideals and objectives to which it is committed and which it perseveringly strives to implement. For how can civilization and mankind survive and progress unless we have peace; unless people are free; unless there is hope for progressively improving living standards for all people; unless there is morality and justice -- international as well as national; unless racial and religious bigotries are dominated and we can cultivate a true spirit of brotherhood among men."

The basic ideals and objectives Bunche strove for form the foundation of what we now call global civil society.

[*The Ralph Bunche Centenary runs Aug 7, 2003 -- Aug. 2004.*]

THANKS

to supporters who made contributions in 2003.

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Golden Circle (\$500-\$999):

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Novato

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&

Jorge Valle of El Cerrito with
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ment

World Federalists of Northern California 2004 Annual Luncheon

World Federalist supporters, Citizens For Global Solutions members, students, and other concerned citizens are invited to hear

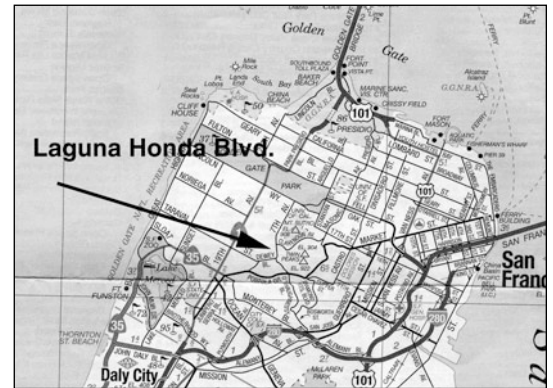
Jim Garrison, President, State of the World Forum, speak on

America as Empire: Global Leader or Rogue Power?

Sunday, 7 March 2004

- 11:30 Registration/Reception (no host bar & hors d' oeuvres)
- 12:15 Luncheon and Welcome by MC - Roger Kotila
- 1:00 Announcements by Exec. Director Eric Schultz
Introduction of program by President John O. Sutter
Presentation by Jim Garrison
- 2:10 Intermission
- 2:20 Inaugural Meeting of the Board of Directors (open to all interested persons)

Tickets will be held at the door



Directions to City Forest Lodge:

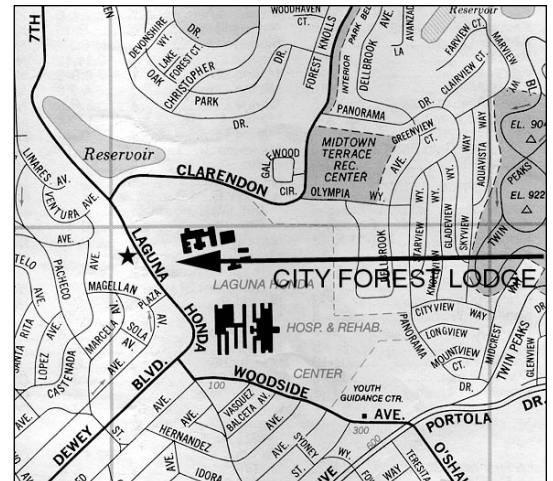
254 Laguna Honda Blvd SF, CA 94116

Look for sign reading "City Forest Meetings & Events Center" adjacent to the Forest Hill Christian Church. The lodge is located at the back of the driveway. Parking is available along Laguna Honda, with additional parking along Clarendon Ave. For public transportation, take **SF Muni** (underground) lines K,L, or M or **Bus lines 36, 43,44 or 52** to **Forest Hills Station**. Once there, proceed on foot downhill for a few hundred feet to the location. **BART & Caltrans** riders should transfer in San Francisco to Muni lines.

For more detailed directions, see:

www.wfanca.org/directions

or call our office at 415-227-4880



PRE-REGISTER BY MARCH 1 USING THIS COUPON.

(Those wishing to register after the 1st may do so by calling in to our office, but cannot be guaranteed a meal.)

Show your support for the World Federalists of Northern California by inviting your friends and family!

Clip here and mail to WF/NCa at 55 New Montgomery Street, Suite 225, San Francisco, CA 94105

(Make checks Payable to WF of Northern California.)

*Please reserve _____ Luncheon places @ \$30; _____ @ \$10 for Youth/Students (30 & under) \$ _____
 _____ Table(s) of 6 @ \$180

We would like (indicate number) _____ Chicken Marsala
 _____ Pork Tenderloin
 _____ Stuffed Peppers (Vegetarian)

Meals will be complemented with hors d' oeuvres, a salad, dinner rolls, coffee or tea, and dessert.

*Please reserve: _____ Places for **Program only** @ \$5; _____ Places for Youth/Students (free) \$ _____

*I/We *shall attend*, and wish to make a contribution to W.F./N.Ca . \$ _____

*I/We *cannot attend*, but wish make a contribution to W.F./N.Ca \$ _____

TOTAL ENCLOSED \$ _____

Name(s):(1) _____ (2) _____

Address: _____

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

SHOULD AMERICA BE A REPUBLIC OR EMPIRE - OR WHAT?

Innovative Speaker at Annual Luncheon & Inaugural Meeting, March 7

If one takes the term "citizen" literally, meaning one who actively engages the political and social fabric of the group with which they associate their identity, then there are few people living more deserving of the distinction of Global Citizen than **Dr. Jim Garrison**. We are excited to have a scholar and activist of such notable stature as our speaker at this year's Annual Luncheon.

Dr. Garrison is one of the premier voices on issues regarding globalization, the nuclear threat, and post-Cold War geopolitics. A decade ago he brought to the United States the recently resigned Soviet Foreign Minister **Eduard Shevardnadze** and President of U.S.S.R., **Mikhail Gorbachev**. Through the two organizations that he founded or co-founded, the Gorbachev Foundation and the State of the World Forum, he has brought together over 4,000 people from over 100 countries for forums designed to create new thinking about global problems

Looking at his background, it becomes obvious that the path set for this man was forged at an early age. Jim was born to missionary parents in the Szechuan Province of China and spent much of his childhood in Taiwan. By the time he entered the university he had traveled to over forty countries and was active in the anti-Vietnam and environmental movements. His education background is extensive, including a masters degree from Harvard and a Ph.D. from Cambridge.

His new book (one of seven published) *America as Empire: Global Leader or Rogue Power?* lays out the following basic argument: America has long been on a path of empire building.



From the beginning, Garrison states, America did not hesitate to send its armed forces to other countries to defend its two primary – and sometimes contradictory – foreign policy goals: promotion of U.S. commercial interests and encouraging representative democracy.

Now, the rise to global empire has been achieved. The question confronting modern America is: What are we to do with that power? As Garrison sees it we are confronted with two basic choices, to try to coerce the world militaristically to bow to our will, or provide leadership in creating global governing institutions capable of sharing the management of our modern globalized world. Garrison's extensive historical study of past empires leads him to believe that the first choice is not sustainable. The alternative, however, is not so clear cut, for he feels that the current global institutions are not fit such a job. In a CNN interview, he stated, "The institutions that we have in place to govern globalization, the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank, even the United Nations, were all designed before globalization emerged and are limited exclusively to representatives of sovereign states. ... I think the central challenge before the human community is the question of how we govern globalization." Garrison calls on Americans to use their power of empire not to "dominate, but catalyze the next generation of global governance organizations."

George Soros, multibillionaire and financier of international development organizations around the world stated, "Garrison has provided a thoughtful analysis of why America became the *continued on page 6*

Toward Democratic World Federation

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

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"Freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed." -- Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," 16 April 1963

