

Toward Democratic World Federation

Publication of the WORLD FEDERALISTS of Northern California

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LEADING EUROPEAN FEDERALIST CALLS FOR U.N. PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

by Jo Leinen, Member, European Parliament

The United Nations is in urgent need of reform to meet the challenges of the 21st Century. The global governance system in the UN must be made more efficient and more democratic. Decisions on the global level influence the daily lives of people everywhere, whether it concerns the economy, the environment, security issues or health policy.



The current UN system is basically the structure of the founding year 1945. The world has changed dramatically in the last 60 years. It is unacceptable that the Allied powers of the Second World War and China can still veto every decision. It is also unacceptable that only governments and executive bodies have full representation at the UN level.

The UN needs the participation of civil society and the representation of the member states' parliaments. The democratic deficit in the UN must be overcome. Governments do not necessarily represent the people of their country, including the opposition and other forces of society. They must be accompanied and controlled democratically by a **citizens' chamber in the United Nations**.

The voice of the citizens is a qualitatively different power from governments, which very often embody the competition between states and act according to the *raison d'etat*. A **People's**

Assembly would act more directly in accord with the people's interests and human development.

One important element of any UN reform must therefore be the establishment of a parliamentary assembly in the UN system. The world parliament could be constituted according to Article 22 of the UN Charter by a simple majority of the General Assembly. It would organize itself as a plenary, in committees and political groups.

The **European Parliament** could be a good example of how this process can start off and how it might continue. The early Coal and Steel Community of 1951 between six European states (Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg) and the European Community of 1957 started with a parliamentary assembly which had a purely consultative status. The national parliaments sent their delegations to this European assembly. Already in the Sixties, however, a broad public debate began, calling for legislative power for the parliamentary assembly and for direct elections of its members.

The **Union of European Federalists (UEF)** has been in the forefront of a broad coalition of forces promoting the transformation of the parliamentary assembly into a real European Parliament and the direct election of the European parliamentarians. This campaign is a success story that continues until the present day.

In June 1979, the first direct elections to European parliament were organized. On June 13, 2004, the Europeans elected the 6th European Parliament. 450 million people from 25 member *continued on page 5*

IT'S TIME TO RENEW YOUR SUPPORT

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Toward Democratic World Federation

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The **World Federalists** of Northern California, *now an independent organization*, has no legal relationship with other organizations, and thus, will receive no funding from dues or contributions paid to such organizations. We now count on you, or loyal supporters, to help us continue our work. By making a modest contribution of \$25 or more, you will not only secure your own subscription to our publication, but also help make sure it is seen by today's leaders in

government, civil society, academia, and the media.

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If you still need to act, please use the coupon on page 9. Have questions? Feel free to contact us at the office at 1-415-227-4880 or wfnc@wfnc.org

TOWARD DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERATION

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OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES

The objectives and purposes of the newly incorporated World Federalists of Northern California are to conduct educational programs to promote:

- (a) the concept that everyone in 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 concept that global problems can best be solved through global solutions, which may be achieved by working locally

and abroad with like-minded organizations; and
(h) the goal of a transparent federal system of global government, which may be achieved through various means, including – but not limited to – restructuring and democratizing the United Nations.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

From time to time questions are asked about the difference between the **United Nations Association, Citizens for Global Solutions**, and **World Federalists of Northern California**.

United Nations Association. The UNA was founded shortly after the U.N. itself, with branches throughout the world, to promote awareness of, and support for, the U.N. Note: In the 1990s, at the urging of World Federalists in its leadership, UNA/USA accepted the need for U.N. reform.

Citizens for Global Solutions. CGS, previously incorporated as the Campaign for United Nations Reform, was formed in 2003/04 as a Sec.501(c)(4) political advocacy body. It plans to have members and branches throughout the U.S., some of whom may have belonged to the old World Federalist Association, now operating as Citizens for Global Solutions Education Fund. CGS promotes U.N. reform, including different institutions to deal with particular global problems, while eschewing publicizing the idea of a democratic world government.

WORLD FEDERALISTS of Northern California was incorporated in 2004. As a Sec.501(c)(3) educational public benefit body, its new EIN is 84-16541189. Most of its leadership was active in the former W.F.A. of Northern California. With supporters around the United States and in other countries, WF/NCa seeks to promote awareness of, and support for, a **democratic, federal** system of governments -- including one for the world -- for the benefit of everyone on Earth. (See Objectives and Purposes in the adjoining column.)

Of course, U.N. reformers, world governmentals, and other concerned citizens are free to support any or all of these organizations.

The views expressed in articles published in TDWF do not necessarily represent those of WF/NCa.
Readers' comments are welcome.
Subscription: \$15 for 1 year.
The deadline for submissions for the next issue, Volume 13, Number 4, is October 31, 2004.

MARK YOUR CALENDAR !

WORLD FEDERALISTS OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

PRE-EMPTIVE PEACE:

FINDING SOLUTIONS TO THE WAR SYSTEM

Tuesday, 14 September. 6-9 p.m. Panel co-hosted by the International House, University of California - Berkeley, 2299 Piedmont Ave. as part of their programmatic theme "Democracy in a Globalized World?" Free (\$5 donations welcome).

For more details, go to www.wfnca.org/berkeley.htm or contact our office 1-415-227-4880 or wfnca@wfnca.org.

Sunday, 14 November: Autumn Meeting of WF/NCa Board of Directors. 12 Noon, Brown-bag lunch; 1P.M. Meeting starts;
Conference Room 221, 55 New Montgomery St., SF.

Directors and other supporters interested in participating, RSVP 1-415-227-4880 or wfnca@wfnca.org. Latecomers, ring #225 at intercom by front door.

WORLD FEDERALIST MOVEMENT

22-24 October, the Hague, Netherlands. 2004 Annual Meeting of the Council.

22 Oct. Public Event at the Peace Palace with the theme "Peace and Justice in the 21st Century," and views from leaders of the ICJ, ICTY, and ICC.

Council meets mornings of 23 and 24 Oct. Executive Committee meets evenings of the 22nd and afternoon of the 24th.

See Stephanie Getson at 1-212-599-1320 or getson@wfm.org for details.

UN REFORM CONFERENCE LAUNCHES YEAR-LONG CAMPAIGN TO "EMPOWER THE UN"

By Bill McCarthy, President of the Unity Foundation

The "Towards a Democratic United Nations For the 21st Century" Conference in San Francisco brought together people from five continents to address the need to reform and democratize the United Nations. Over the course of four days in June the participants forged a detailed Action Plan for a year-long campaign under the banner of "Empower the United Nations".

The conference began with an inspiring address by **Robert Muller**, former Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, former Vice President of the World Federalist Movement, and Honorary Chair of the Conference. Dr. Muller stated how vitally important this conference was because of its alignment with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's UN Reform Panel.

On the second day, attendees were treated to a series of educational panels including: "Alternatives to War" - to abolish the scourge of war and terrorism; "Human Rights" - to implement human rights and responsibilities; "International Law" - to accept the jurisdiction of international law and world courts; "Social and Economic Justice" - to work toward responsible globalization based on human rights, labor rights, and a healthful environment to benefit all people; and "The Creation of a People's Assembly in the United Nations."* In all, thirty-two experts addressed these important topics. There were many passionate and empowering speeches including those of **Tad Daley**, Founder of the Campaign for a New UN Charter and **Andrew Strauss**, Professor of International Law at Widener University.

Dr. Daley stated that "We the Peoples" must not just work to prevent particular wars, but exercise our power to end war itself. The best strategy to this end is a redesigned, democratized and empowered UN system complete with executive, judicial and legislative powers capable of representing the whole of mankind — a true "Parliament of Humankind".

Professor Strauss presented a practical step-by-step plan to create a People's Assembly within the next few years. The idea is to approach twenty to thirty nations, beginning with the smaller countries, and ask them to begin to elect delegates to a Global People's Assembly. After a period of time, the larger nations would witness the process of democratization in the smaller countries, and begin to see that this is the logical road to democratizing the countries of the world and ultimately the United Nations.



Lucile Green & Bill McCarthy

Empowered by the speeches of the previous day, everyone at the conference worked throughout Saturday the 26th in one of the five commissions. At the end of the day, the reports from the commissions were presented at a Plenary Session before being turned over to the Campaign Committee which will use them as part of a year-long media campaign to reform and democratize the UN. In the evening there was a Gala Celebration with musical performances, a tribute to **Dr. Rasmi Mayur** and the presentation of

a Peace Pole to **Dr. Lucile Green**, the founder of the San Francisco People's Assembly and the guiding light of the UN Reform Conference.

While the conference may have ended on Sunday, June 27 with a special ceremony and music, the work of the Campaign Committee continues. They are now busy developing the year-long media campaign, running a new website (www.EmpowertheUN.org) and editing video presentations from the conference which will be airing on "Positive Spin" television programs over the next four months. In addition, our spokespersons, Andrew Strauss and Tad Daley, have already been invited to speak at special events in Los Angeles, Berkeley, and Denver.

— *WORLD FEDERALISTS of Northern California cosponsored this conference*

*— *See Jo Leinen's call for a U.N. People's Assembly, page 1.*

COALITION FOR A WORLD PARLIAMENT

On 16--21 January 2004 Mumbai, India hosted the World Social Forum. Among the 1,000-plus events, on the 19th **Nicola Vallinoto**, World Federalist Movement Councillor from M.F.E. (the Italian World/European Federalists), organized and convened a session on "**Towards a World Parliament: Let's Create a Network for Global Democracy.**"

Fifty persons from 20 countries participated in the discussions. Dr. Leo Rebello from India, Co-President of the World Constitution and Parliament Association, chaired the session. Among the speakers were James Arputharaj (Sri Lanka) of the W.F.M., Troy Davis (USA) of the World Citizen Foundation (who promoted having a separate World Democracy Forum), and Andrew Strauss (USA) of Widener University.

Resolutions adopted included to: (1) Establish a World Parliament; (2) Make World Democracy the main theme of the next WSF; (3) Set up a Web Site on World Parliament, with links to other Mundialist organizations; (4) Organize a Network or Federation of World Democ-

racy Organizations; and (5) Set up an E-Forum for World Parliament to produce a World People's Basic Manifesto.

At the same time, British writer **George Monbiot** addressed a plenary session on "Globalization and its Alternatives." Reflecting the title of his book, *The Age of Consent: A Manifesto for New World Order*, Monbiot called for global action to establish a new world order, one where the United Nations is replaced by a World Parliament, whose representatives will be elected by citizens of all countries.

On the 20th, global democracy activists organized a Workshop on Global Democracy with the theme "Organizing a Coalition for a World Parliament." At this event, where Rob Wheeler (USA) was facilitator, Strauss and Monbiot spoke.

In planning for the next WSF meeting in 2005, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, it was recommended that World Democracy be a primary theme, and a "**World Democracy Forum**" or "**Global People's Assembly**" be a part of future WSFs.

-- *This is an extract from Nicola Vallinoto's report.*

ANARCHY VERSUS DEMOCRATIC WORLD GOVERNMENT

Reviewed by Roger Kotila, Member, W.C.P.A.

When I received **Dr. Glen Martin**'s essay *Anarchism versus Democratic World Government*, I was immediately curious. Could this be the next big idea for World Federalists?

Dr. Martin is Secretary General of the **World Constitution and Parliament Association**, best known for drafting, over a period of 30 years, the **Constitution for the Federation of Earth (CFE)**. A small but growing group of international activists is promoting this Constitution as a replacement for the United Nations Charter in order to better facilitate the establishment of a democratic world government and a world parliament.

These activists are in a situation not unlike that of the American authors of the **Federalist Papers**. In 1787-88 *American patriots* argued for the acceptance of the US Constitution to replace the Articles of Confederation. Now, *world patriots* are advocating an equally revolutionary change. Could new texts, like the strongly worded *Anarchism versus Democratic World Government* be the foundation for a World Federalist Papers?

A FAILED WORLD SYSTEM OF ANARCHY

In Martin's view, the current world system is failing because of its basic anarchistic nature. Anarchism, let us remember, is a doctrine that views government and laws as undesirable. Global anarchy, Martin contends, is the basic cause of endless wars and militarism, environmental crises, poverty, misery, and more. His analysis looks at the role that sovereign nation-states and big multinational corporations play in allowing, or promoting, anarchy at the global level.

UNACCOUNTABLE POWER?

Currently, at the global level "might makes right," for there is little or no *enforceable* world law. When an international law is broken, only weaker individuals, organizations, or countries are at risk of being held accountable.

Martin observes that multinational corporations are often beyond the legal reach of any particular national government and accuses them of intentionally lobbying to preserve this very situation. As big businesses see it, a lawless world allows them to remain unaccountable for actions taken in the quest to meet their own selfish needs.

Martin explains: "For the last 40 years, the propaganda coming from the big corporations has been antigovernment (anarchist) propaganda. They tell us that the source of our problems is 'big government' that takes our taxes and inhibits business enterprises, creativity, etc.

"...The modern world system has generated vast concentrations of private, corporate wealth that operates in secret from the public in an undemocratic and unaccountable fashion. Corporations...operate not out of concern for the environment, democracy, or the public good but to maximize profits for investors, regardless of the consequences. They also operate in cooperation with imperial nation-states to dominate and control cheap labor, resources, and the wealth-producing process worldwide.

"Study of this world system shows that the two fundamental presuppositions of bad government are monopoly capitalism and the sovereign nation-state... Therefore, we can create true democracy and true good government only on the planetary level."

HORRID HISTORY OF THE SOVEREIGN NATION-STATE

As Martin states, it is not just "Big Money" at fault for our

modern world's deadly mess. The sovereign nation-state is equally part of the problem. "Nations began the race for domination of the wealth and resources worldwide...with the horrid history (continuing to this day) of wars, conquests, and colonialism. Thus emerged the modern system of territorial nation-states -- all in competition with one another for wealth, military power, and spheres of hegemony."

It is a grim analysis: "Nations are impelled to militarize, to operate through a secret foreign policy, using 'intelligence' gathering, diplomatic deception, treaty alliances, and economic, political, or military coercion to secure their control over the wealth-producing process..."

Martin concludes, "Democracy cannot flourish within this system, since governmental secrecy, militarism, and lack of civilian oversight are entirely incompatible with democracy."

Is America an example of how the current global system can destroy real democracy? Martin thinks so. "In the US today, we do not have true freedom, nor equality, because the US is not a democracy. It is an oligarchy of the rich (mostly Caucasian males), a propaganda system run by the rich, and a system of injustice and coercion enforced against the poor at home and abroad."

He goes on, "Hence, in the US today, we are in a condition of what I call 'structural immorality'."

Martin bluntly warns us that the modern world system of sovereign nation-states and monopoly capitalism, including the United Nations system, are "outmoded political and economic philosophies." Because of this system, he asserts, we are denied authentic democracy and unable to solve the world's growing problems and crises.

Martin expands, "The truth of the matter is that good government is the only thing that can prevent the domination, exploitation, and injustice flowing out of corporate greed and all other forms of unaccountable power."

"Government is a designed social institution that can be substantially improved through building in checks and balances, citizen oversight, true freedom of information, and democratic participation. It must be 'federated' in a series of levels from the smallest community units, to the largest planetary units in order to preserve citizens' control over their local affairs. **The point is not to get rid of government but to create good government.**"

Dr. Martin feels, "The United Nations is based on the failed assumptions of the modern world system: the sovereign nation-state and monopoly capitalism. Our only option, if we are to have a future at all, is nonmilitary, democratic world government."

He proposes that we replace the United Nations Charter and federate under the **Constitution for the Federation of Earth** instead. I agree. World Federalists know that a confederation of nations (the UN's structure under the UN Charter) is the same type of system that America's founding fathers decided they must reject. They abandoned the Articles of Confederation for the US Constitution -- and, in doing so, ended the anarchy among the thirteen original states.

THE BIRTH OF THE WORLD FEDERALIST PAPERS?

Recognizing that our failed and destructive world system not only breeds war, but also casts a shadow on democracy itself, it *continued on page 5*

"People's Assembly" continued from page 1

states could vote for 736 deputies in this European people's assembly. The European Parliament has step by step acquired more powers. The first European Constitution, signed on June 18, 2004 by the heads of state and government of the 25 member states, will give the EP nearly the full range of powers of an elected parliament. The Constitution states the rule that European laws will be made by a two-chamber system: the citizens, represented by the European Parliament, and the states, by the Council of Ministers. The European Parliament will get full control over the EU budget and is entitled to elect the president of the European Commission, which is the government of the European Union. After the federal parliament of India, the European Parliament represents the second largest democracy in the world. It is the first supranational parliament on this globe.

The European Parliament could be a model for similar developments in other continents as well as on the UN level. The newly created African Union (AU) will set up its own parliamentary assembly very soon. Similarly, the Latin American association of Mercosur is debating a parliamentary assembly. The time has therefore come to push for a parliamentary body also in the United Nations system. **For the democratic development of global governance, it would be best to have one single parliamentary assembly and not one for every UN organization (WTO, World Bank, etc.).** The resources of parliamentarians are too limited for such a disaggregation. A single People's Assembly could also ensure the coherence of policies and decisions within the UN.

The number of parliamentarians in the People's Assembly should be below 1000 in order to facilitate debates and efficient decision-making. Every country should have a minimum of two parliamentarians, Additional representatives should be allotted based on population, thus allowing the largest countries to have as many as 18.

For a start, an amount of \$100 to 120 million would be enough to provide for plenary sessions, committee meetings and a general secretariat. Compared with the one trillion dollars spent on weapons every year, the necessary financial resources to achieve global democracy should not be an argument against the world parliament. Of course, there are undemocratic countries in this world, and there are doubts regarding the character of their parliamentary envoys. Yet, Freedom House has calculated that among the 192 member states of the UN there are 117

"Anarchy" continued from page 4

is hard to disagree that a democratic world government is the logical solution.

That's not a new revelation. While working under the pseudonym of "Publius," Hamilton, Jay, and Madison worked tirelessly to write and promote a series of 85 articles, the *Federalist Papers*, in which they offered democratic federal government as a solution to the anarchistic conditions of their time. They promoted the US Constitution as a means for peaceful and prosperous coexistence among the United States of America. Isn't it time that we now embark on the "World Federalist Papers" * in hopes of producing similar results in our own age?

If Dr. Martin is right about the importance of the Constitution for the Federation of Earth, and I for one believe he is, then it needs to be introduced to the larger public. Let it be approved or

democracies, a clear majority. It is hoped that parliamentary debates in the new assembly would help undemocratic countries politically and educationally to develop democratic cultures of their own. In my opinion, it is necessary to start with parliamentarians from all UN members to preserve the equality of the states and their population in this world.

A world parliament is an instrument for a world citizenship. The representation of the citizens in this assembly would increase their identification with global problems. The opening phrase of the UN Charter, "We the peoples," could finally fulfill its true meaning. The parliamentary assembly would also be an invaluable push for the development of a global civil society. NGOs are very important, but by definition, they do not have the same democratic legitimacy as parliamentarians emerging from direct and general elections. With the world parliament, NGOs and civil society would have a clear focus and a strong partner in the UN.

HOW IS IT POSSIBLE TO REALIZE A PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY IN THE UN?

A world-wide campaign of citizens, organizations, parliamentarians and governments will be necessary to achieve this goal. Civil society has a special role to promote this idea because those who have the power are reluctant to change and do not want to share power. We therefore cannot wait for governments and national parliaments to start this process. There is, of course, a famous success story in recent years of a global coalition to promote UN institutions. **The World Federalist Movement (WFM)** coordinated about 4,000 activists from NGOs in Rome in 1998 in support of the International Criminal Court (ICC). I would like to see WFM or another coalition unite world citizens for a world parliament.

The **San Francisco People's Assembly** in June 2004 was a starting point for such a global campaign. Let's get going to have our first results next year, when the world community will be meeting for the 60th anniversary of the UN. I will do my utmost so that the newly elected European Parliament will be a strong partner for this important idea and this innovative project. We are living in one world. **The citizens of this globe need direct representation: a world parliament is a necessity for the 21st Century.**

--Jo Leinen (MP from Germany) heads the Union of European Federalists, which also supports a democratic, federal system of world government. This presentation was made in San Francisco on 25 June 2004.

rejected based upon free and open study, discussion, and debate. World Federalists having nothing to lose in such an exercise. Whether others agree with the CFE or not, the very act of engaging in that activity will raise the general awareness of issues that are critical to everyone in our movement.

Where to start? I suggest we all read the Constitution for the Federation of Earth (AKA Earth Constitution) and tell our friends, family, and acquaintances about it. This document has been translated into numerous languages, and is available to be downloaded at www.worldproblems.net.

*- *Celebrating the 250th birthday of James Madison, former Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy (Honorary President of the World Federalist Movement), called for an Internationalist Federalist Papers. (See Spring 2001 T.D.W.F.) Would he have meant **World Federalist Papers**? --Editor*

IMPRESSIONS OF LIBYA

The **Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya** -- quite a mouthful -- is the official name for the country in the Maghrib between Tunisia and Egypt.

From 1 to 8 July, a delegation of 13 American world governmentals and peace activists (including **World Federalists** Esther Franklin, Eric Schultz, and John Sutter), led by Professor Glen T. Martin of the World Constitution and Parliament Association, visited Libya as guests of the Libyan authorities. (Shortly before, on 28 June, the United States and Libya had reestablished diplomatic relations.) In addition to seminars, a number of visits in and out from the capital Tripoli were arranged.

HISTORICAL NOTE

Libya's indigenous peoples were colonized by the Phoenicians (as early as 1000 BCE), and then the Greeks, Romans (building such cities as Leptis Magna and Sabratha, visited by the group), Vandals, and Visigoths. The spread of Muslim armies across North Africa in the 7th Century CE brought the Islamic Arab culture to Libya, and for many centuries it was ruled by the Ottoman Turks. However, from 1912 into World War II the people reportedly suffered as a colony of Italy, ruled at the end by the Fascist "Leader" Benito Mussolini.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

As our hosts explained in a session on democracy, governments throughout the world pass through three stages. First came the **monarchy**. The post-war British occupation of Libya installed Idris, a tribal leader, as King.

Next comes **representative democracy** in the form of the republic. While the foreign settlers thrived under the monarchy in Libya, the indigenous people reportedly felt exploited, leading to the revolution of 1969 under **Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi**, who then served as President of the Republic until 1976.

Meanwhile, Qaddafi created a socio-political ideology to overcome some of the problems inherent with the previous institutions and published his views in *The Green Book*.

In his eyes a shortcoming of representative democracy is exposed in many countries after the people have elected their representatives when the latter often ignore the needs and wishes of their constituents and proceed to serve other interests.

This led Qaddafi in 1976 to launch Libya into the third stage and began an experiment of **jamahiriya -- direct democracy**. The country is divided into **Basic Popular Conferences** (averaging roughly 20,000 inhabitants), where the citizens (women as well as men) meet and make decisions (pass ordinances) on the governance of their local communities, not unlike the New England town meetings. Each such conference elects a secretariat, which meets at the **General People's Congress** in the new administrative capital **Surt** and conveys decisions from the local level in the process of making the laws of the land.

Qaddafi denounced the incessant struggle of political parties for power, which was to the detriment of the people. In *The*

Green Book, he sought to unify the population away from the divisive elements of class, party, tribe or sect. (When I inquired about the role of the mullahs, I was informed, "There are no mullahs!") Nevertheless, while not called a political party, the Revolutionary Committees Movement appears to play a dominant role in governing Libya. In contrast, while apparently Head of State, Qaddafi -- known as "the Leader" -- has no formal position in the government.

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

Despite references to "Libyan Socialism" in the country's name, there is nothing Marxist in Libyan economic policy. Quite the contrary: individual entrepreneurship is encouraged. On the other hand, corporation autocracy is considered repugnant, and having wage-workers -- considered to be a form of slavery to company masters -- is discouraged.

Accordingly, if a number of persons are interested in manufacturing or selling something, they are encouraged to join together as owner-producers, and share in the work and profits. I remarked that

this economic institution could be found in the northern United States and parts of Europe. We call it a *cooperative*.

With Libya financing social services from natural gas and petroleum exports, its people appear well off, with virtually no poverty and only a minimal spread in income between those at the bottom and the top -- in stark contrast to the situation in the affluent U.S. We were also informed that Libya provides universal health care and free education through the university level.

FOREIGN POLICY

One of our sessions was devoted to American foreign policy as viewed from the Arab and Islamic perspectives. Many of our hosts had earned degrees in the United States and were well-read. They made clear that while they liked Americans as individuals, they deplored U.S. foreign policy, which they felt was biased and unbalanced. They traced antipathy of many Muslims toward the U.S. to our country's unrelenting support of Israel despite its continued aggression against the Palestinians. One of our interlocutors had read four books by Binyamin Netanyahu and noted that the former prime minister tried, in an effort to portray Israel as marching with the U.S. in the war against terrorism, to link the Palestinians' resistance against the Israeli occupiers to the terrorism of al-Qaida. The Libyans were also aware that Richard Perle, Douglas Feith and David Wurmser had worked for Netanyahu before securing positions within the U.S. Department of Defense in 2001.

Nevertheless, Qaddafi offered his own solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: a single state for Jews and Palestinians, that he called "Isratine."

Reflecting the "Arab" in the country's formal title, and considering Libya to be a leading member of the Arab nations, Qaddafi for many years sought to play a role in the 22-member Arab League. Maps showing a sweep of countries from the Atlantic across North Africa to Arabia, Palestine, and Iraq can

continued on page 7



John Sutter & Eric Schultz at Leptis Magna

WORLD FEDERALISTS OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA INAUGURATED

Sunday, March 7, was a red letter day for the **World Federalists** of Northern California. Having been incorporated as a California corporation on January 28, with a new set of bylaws on February 2, they held their inaugural meeting at the City Forest Lodge in San Francisco.

ELECTIONS

A new 15-member **Board of Directors** was elected to serve ultimately for 3-year terms, initially (after drawing lots) with one echelon each for one-year, two-year, and three-year periods.

Directors through 2005: James Adams (San Francisco), Phil Allen (Berkeley), Felicia Bock (Oakland), Mary Harris (Pacifica), and Phil Jaynes (Sacramento).

Directors through 2006: Urs Cipolat (Berkeley), Fred Duperrault (Mountain View), Esther Franklin (Sacramento), John Sutter (San Rafael), and Charles Turk (Salinas).

Directors through 2007: Byron Belitsos (San Rafael), Lucile Green (El Cerrito), Bruce Kennedy (San Francisco), Roger Kotila (Novato), and Jason Smith (Walnut Creek).

The Board then elected the following officers: John O. Sutter, President; Fred Duperrault and Charles Turk, Vice Presidents; Mary Harris, Secretary; and Roger Kotila, Board Chairman. Subsequently, new Board member Jason Smith, who during his lunch hour has helped out at the office as a volunteer, was appointed Assistant Treasurer.*

PROGRAMS

Executive Director Eric Schultz and President Sutter reviewed WF/NCA's 6-point program:

1. Publication of *Toward Democratic World Federation*, which goes to readers throughout the United States and in two dozen other countries.
2. Promotion of the **World Federalist** message about the need for a democratic federal system for governing the Earth, as well as to illuminate the need to reform the United Nations and international policies of the United States, via the Internet, including our www.wfnca@wfnca.org website, and letters to the media, politicians, other civil society organizations, and the general public.
3. Work with other **World Federalists** from throughout the



Board Chairman Roger Kotila

world, especially in the World Federalist Movement, and with European Federalists in spreading awareness of the benefit to the people of democratic federations.

4. Cooperate with like-minded organizations in programs of mutual interest.

5. Co-sponsor the preparatory conference in San Francisco in June, to culminate in a conference in 2005 on "Toward a Democratic United Nations for the 21st Century."

6. Launch our "Finding Solutions to the War System" project in September in cooperation with the University of California - Berkeley and other civil society organizations.

JIM GARRISON AND AMERICA AS EMPIRE

Our featured speaker at the 2004 Annual Luncheon preceding the Inaugural Meeting was Jim Garrison, President of the State of the World Forum. In his book *America as Empire: Global Leader or Rogue Power?* Garrison traced the growth of the characteristics of empire from the earliest days of our Republic. In a historical review, he notes that the first relatively permanent empire, that of Rome, was successful largely because it enabled the population of overrun

nations to become and be accepted as loyal and patriotic Roman Citizens. Rome was also blessed by a number of exceptional emperors in its earlier years. In contrast, as the de facto American Empire in recent years has expanded and applied U.S. military power abroad, it has -- in a period of instant communication -- not only created new enemies but also caused formerly friendly countries to question our motives.

Garrison noted that President Woodrow Wilson started a beneficent trend by championing self-determination at a time when many peoples were not free or self-governing. He praised Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S Truman for getting other countries to cooperate in launching the United Nations and Marshall Plan for the recovery of war-torn Europe. Garrison calls for a third era of positive American leadership that can play a beneficent role in moving the world forward in a non-militaristic way for the 21st Century.--JOS

* - With Jason's departing for law school, Bruce Kennedy became Assistant Treasurer in August.

"Libya" continued from page 6

still be found in many places. However, after a falling out with Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, Qaddafi is giving greater attention to Africa and the new African Union.

Meanwhile, reflecting its range of interests, Libya hosts the General Forum for Arab-African Non-Governmental Organizations (FONGAF), which claims over 400 member organizations.

FINAL THOUGHTS

A largely desert country, Libya has overcome a water shortage by a huge construction project, the **Great Man-Made River**, which brings sweet (fresh) water from aquifers in the south through giant tunnels and pipes to the population along the Mediterranean coast.

Although equality of women is provided for in *The Green*

Book, women (mostly Muslim) are expected to be nurturing mothers during their fertile years. Many of us would have liked to ask about careers for women whose children have already grown up -- such as often occurs in the United States (and among members of our delegation). However, while not a single woman could be found among our many host-speakers, they can be found (unshrouded) in many of the offices, hospitals and schools. And so, while women's liberation in Libya is far better than in Arabia, it still has a way to go to equal, say, the largest Muslim country -- Indonesia.

In sum, the good life of Libyans appears from first impressions to be well provided for under the ubiquitous glance of "the Leader." A followup visit to check early observations could be warranted.--JOS

WHERE IS THE GREATER PATRIOTISM, THE GREATER GOOD?

Pax America, Pax Europa or Pax Humanitas?

Throughout history there has been a slow but definite evolution of the human community from hostile tribes to tribal coalitions, from internecine principalities to unitary nation-states, and gradually from warring nation-states to federal unions. America and Europe are the two leading examples.

AMERICAN FEDERATION

In the 1770s and 1780s American leaders like **George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, James Wilson** and **Benjamin Franklin** led an informal "American Federalist Movement" to develop their country's government, which passed through two stages. In the first, the 13 relatively isolated British colonies cooperated in fighting for freedom from the perceived tyranny of King George III. Under a treaty of friendship, they formed the United States of America as a loose league, or confederation, of independent states, where "patriots" looked first after the welfare of their particular state.

In line with historical experience, as soon as the common enemy no longer threatened, the states, claiming sovereignty, soon began bickering among themselves, carrying on economic warfare and, in certain cases, even shooting over territorial claims.

The second stage led by American federalists soon followed. The widely perceived impotency of the American confederation led Virginian and Pennsylvanian patriots to look "out of the box," to consider matters above and beyond their particularistic interests and imagine a greater, common good. By 1788 eleven of the congeries of bickering American states, having ratified the **federal** Constitution, created a new **federal** union. In fact, the sovereign citizens -- electors-- through referenda in the form of popular conventions voted to distribute their powers to govern themselves between governments of their respective states and the federal union. This was achieved in the face of much opposition and inertia.

After a civil war (started by leaders who were, for example, Virginian and Carolinian patriots first) the U.S.A. was confirmed as a federal union by those who considered themselves American patriots first. From that time forward, being free of inter-state strife, Americans have been able to develop the U.S.A. into a country where the people of all the constituent units could benefit and consider themselves patriotic citizens.

EUROPEAN FEDERATION

In Europe after World War II, France and Germany, where the "patriotic" leaders of two warring nations had fought for generations, agreed to bury the hatchet under a plan devised by **Robert Schumann**, whose homeland had been fought over by French and German rulers for three centuries. With strong support by French Premier **Jean Monnet**, who had worked in the League of Nations headquarters and learned from its failures, and by German Chancellor **Konrad Adenauer**, and advocacy by Italian Professor **Altiero Spinelli**, the Coal and Steel Community was founded starting with their 3 countries plus Benelux (Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg). This grew (while numerous parallel European institutions were formed, such as the European Council and the Office for Security and Cooperation in Europe) into the European Economic Community, the European Community, and (since 1993) the European Union (EU).

Citizens of the E.U.'s member states for years have directly elected Members of the E.U. Parliament. Now a **federal** constitution has been drafted (although because of British ultra-sensitivities the term "federal" may not appear in official print), and a veritable United States of Europe -- with 29 member states -- is in the process of formation. This is occurring, in the face of opposition often by nationalist politicians and bureaucrats, fear of a larger community by some of the populace, and inertia. The newly sovereign citizens of countries of Eastern Europe have agreed to delegate some powers of government to the expanding E.U., as the citizens -- patriots -- of formerly squabbling countries are realizing the benefit of living in a larger community, a union, in which a Pax Europa is replacing the attitude of "my country above all others" and "to hell with the rest."

WORLD FEDERATION

In such democratic federal unions, the people -- sovereign citizens -- may participate in choosing the government of their respective political units, from the local to the district, province, country, on to the supranational or continental level. And, as **Emery Reves** exhorted in *The Anatomy of Peace* over a half-century ago, on to the global level.

During World War II, world government groups arose in the United States and United Kingdom, and young activists in the Student Federalists championed the formation of a federal union at the global level, to which former colonies would be admitted, despite a major democratic deficit in most of them.

Unfortunately, the movement for a democratic global federal union went into the deepfreeze in the face of the Cold War launched by the Soviet dictator Stalin, who called the World Federalists "Fascists." On the other hand, the other Joe, the reactionary Senator McCarthy tried to label the World Federalists "Communists."

Following the collapse of the Soviet Russian Empire in the early Nineties, Europe and the World faced the challenge of moving their constituencies towards democratic **federal** unions -- always in the face of particularistic politicians who feared sharing the powers of government with the citizens of other, often neighboring, countries for a government of, by, and for the entire European and world communities.

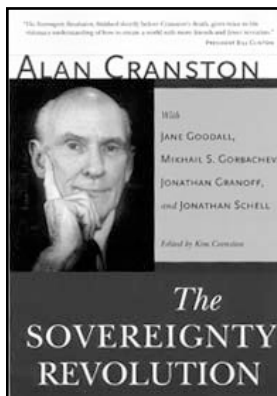
Europe has been fortunate in having an influential movement -- the **Union of European Federalists** -- and its dynamic **JEF** (Young European Federalists) in the vanguard to promote European patriotism and European citizenship and a Pax Europa through a true **European federal union**.

What the people of the world need now is to rise above the static conception of a United Nations as a loose league or confederation of competing -- often to the point of fighting-- sovereign nation-states. What the world needs now is **world** patriotism and **world** citizenship leading to Pax Humanitas. Happily, the U.E.F. is ready to affiliate with the **World Federalist Movement** to help it to make a **democratic federal world union** a goal worth promoting sooner, rather than later --*JOS*

"Hearken not to the voice which petulantly tells you that the form of government recommended ... is impossible to accomplish."

-- James Madison, *The Federalist* No. 14

BOOK NOTES



THE SOVEREIGNTY REVOLUTION

by Alan Cranston

(past President, World Federalists of California and United World Federalists)

Stanford University Press, 2004

"Senator Alan Cranston was a passionate public servant, a true citizen of the world and an inspirational force for peace. *The Sovereignty Revolution*, finished shortly before his death, gives voice to his visionary understanding of how to create a world with more friends and fewer terrorists. The Senator argues that we must revise our notions of sovereignty if we are to meet the global challenges of the 21st Century." -- *President Bill Clinton*

WARLORDISM:

ON THE CAUSES OF WAR AND A VISION FOR A ROAD TO PEACE

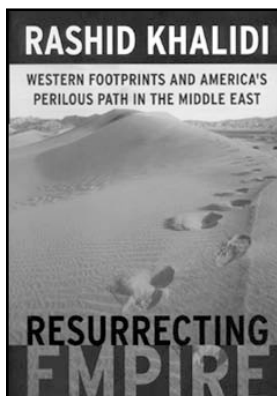
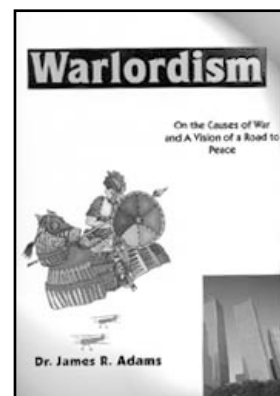
by Dr. James R. Adams

(Member, World Federalists of Northern California Board of Directors)

AuthorHouse, 2004

An even cursory review of the history of war supports an interpretation that the tactics being employed for ending war are failing -- for evident reasons. The organization of humanity into "sovereign," war-oriented, nation-states creates a breeding ground for aggressive warlords.

These warlords -- kings, emperors, dictators, religious terrorists -- have been in the past, and continue today, to be the sources of military aggression. To end war, the incipient warlords must be de-fanged before they can strike.



RESURRECTING EMPIRE: WESTERN FOOTPRINTS AND AMERICA'S PERILOUS PATH IN THE MIDDLE EAST

BY Rashid Khalidi

Beacon Press, Boston, 2004

"If you are wondering why the United States is up to its ears in alligators in Iraq and is widely hated in the Arab world, read this impressive book. Unlike most so-called Middle East experts, Khalidi actually knows a great deal about the region, which allows him to make a sophisticated and persuasive case that the Bush Administration's plan to re-make the Middle East at the end of a rifle barrel is delusional."

--*John J. Mearsheimer, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago*

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PREEMPTIVE PEACE

Finding Solutions to the War System

After all the excitement of protests and elections has died down, is our nation's foreign policy ever *that* different? At times, doesn't it seem as if generations of activism serve as little more than small speed-bumps in America's drive for military domination? In an increasingly dangerous world, can our peace and disarmament movements break the cycle of simply reacting to the crisis of the moment? While we all know that we need to prevent wars before they start, what, exactly, must be done in order to start practicing *preemptive peace*?

Join us as the *San Francisco's Chronicle's* **Jonathan Curiel** moderates a discussion on these topics with the leaders of some of our area's most dynamic activist organizations. Students, activists, and concerned people of all types are encouraged not just to listen, but also to take part in the creation of a new agenda for creating lasting peace, security, and justice in our world.

Sponsored by the **World Federalists** of Northern California, the International House at U.C. Berkeley (as part of the Democracy in a Globalized World? series), and U.C. Berkeley's Peace and Conflict Studies.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14 — 6 to 9 PM

Ida & Robert Sproul Rooms — University of California, Berkeley's
International House at 2299 Piedmont Avenue

\$5 contributions to be collected at door, but nobody will be turned away.

Help ensure our success — spread the word!

Toward Democratic World Federation

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

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"History is now choosing the founders of the World Federation. Any person who can be among that number and fails to do so has lost the noblest opportunity of a lifetime." -- Carl van Doren.

