

# Toward Democratic World Federation

Publication of the WORLD FEDERALISTS of Northern California

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## THE UNITED STATES, THE EARTH, W.M.D. AND D.W.F

Americans and concerned citizens everywhere in the world need a paradigm change in their Weltanschauung in order to start thinking "out of the box" about how we govern ourselves in our chaotic world.

At the end of World War II, World Federalists in the United States and Europe -- aware of the disastrous effect on humanity often split by power-hungry leaders into warring ultra-nationalist camps -- called for a federal system for governing the world: a world where the people -- the source of legitimate authority -- could distribute their powers to govern between governments of their countries and a government for the Earth.

The campaign for such a federal, well-governed world suffered from attacks by reactionary nationalists like Senator Joe McCarthy, at one extreme, and followers of totalitarian Josef Stalin, at the other, and for four long decades the Cold War prevented meaningful preparations for a World Federation.

Coincidentally, the gentleman most responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union, its last President, **Mikhail Gorbachev** (remember *glasnost* = openness and *perestroika* = reform), was an incipient World Federalist, as he declared on a visit to the U.S. in 1992:

"On today's agenda is not just a union of democratic states, but also a democratically organized world community. An awareness of the need for some kind of global government is gaining ground, one in which all members of the world community would take part."

However, instead of listening and taking up the challenge to work for a well-governed world in which all the people have a stake, a powerful coalition was rising within the United States and striving for a world completely dominated by the U.S. (*ueber Alles*). The coalition, reflecting **President Eisenhower's** warning of the danger of the **military-industrial complex's** growing political control over the U.S., includes businessmen, especially in the petroleum industry. They are aware that the world's production of petroleum has peaked, leading to a contest over control of steadily diminishing resources. (Could they be called "war profiteers"?) There are also certain military officers who aspire to be commanders of American forces that would overwhelm "the enemy."

And, now in the 21st Century, there are still the **Messianics**. Temporarily supporting the Jewish fundamentalists, who were the first to believe in the coming of a Messiah, are the millions of Christian fundamentalists -- the millenarians, the Armageddonists. They believe that their Messiah in the form of Jesus will launch a holy war that will destroy the forces of evil and secure the Holy Land to the Jews of the Bible, who then have the choice of becoming born-again Christians or being thrown into

bottomless perdition, along with all the other non-believers.

Ironically, in reaction to this latter-day Crusader mindset, followers of another kind of Messiah, the Mahdi, have no difficulty in finding Islamist and Arab recruits against the Americans and Israelis.

Then there are the neo-liberal **neo-conservatives**, with their plans to "democratize the Middle East" by military might starting with oil-rich Iraq, enabling Israel to become the regional hegemon. With roots earlier in the 20th Century, in 1997 many of them coalesced into the Project for the New American Century.

The U.S. election of 2000 propelled the neo-cons into dominating the American war machine. Nevertheless, they could not launch the "endless war," which would assure them endless power (might such persons be considered warmongers?), unless a docile American public could be aroused by "a new Pearl Harbor." Their prayers were met on September 11th, 2001, within hours of which plans to conquer Iraq -- allegedly as a step in the direction of democratizing Southwest Asia -- were set in motion. Since the professional intelligence services could not be depended upon to come up with weapons of mass destruction (W.M.D.) as a *casus belli*, and because they found no connection between the secular dictator, Saddam Hussein, and the al Qaeda Islamists under Osama bin Laden, the neo-cons created an Office of Special Plans to help provide their rationale for the war.

As it turned out, invading and overrunning Iraq with their "Shock and Awe" strategy was something that a technically advanced war machine appeared good at. However, pacifying a country whose people had revolted against foreign occupiers in the past and whose army had faded away was something else again.

With their *idee fixe* that Iraq was overrun with W.M.D., the planners of the war sent some 1600 skilled soldiers at a cost of a billion dollars on a wild good chase for W.M.D., which chief inspectors David Kay and Charles Duelfer then reported did not exist. In contrast, were hundreds of sites around Iraq containing explosives and other "conventional" weapons, which U.N. teams had sealed. Scott Ritter, on a U.N. authorized inspection, had discovered such sites possessing instructions on making I.E.D.s (improvised explosive devices). Thus when American troops invaded Iraq in March 2003 with inadequate strength to secure them, these sites were looted, giving Iraqi dissidents an ample supply of arms for an insurgency.

Aside from the grievous human toll on both sides, what has been the financial cost to the American people? Ever since the Sixties the United States has slowly been losing its position as the world's dominant economic power. Three indicators may

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## TOWARD DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERATION

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## OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES

The objectives and purposes of the 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.

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 14, Number 1, is 31 January 2005.

## WORLD FEDERALISTS OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

With antecedents back in the 1940's, we incorporated in California in January 2004, as an educational public benefit body. Under Sec. 501(c)(3) of the I.R.S. Code, with a new EIN 84-1654189 [sic; garbled in the prior issue], we are tax exempt.

Although most of our leadership were active in the former W.F.A. of Northern California, we also have paid Supporters in 14 other states, including Hawaii, Oregon, Nevada, Oklahoma, Missouri, Illinois, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts and three other countries. Our worldview reflects the fact that nationals of Canada, China, Germany, India, Spain, and Switzerland have been on our staff and governing boards. We are a member of the Coalition for Democratic World Government.

(Any suggestions for a name change with a less limited geographic identity would be welcome.)

W.F./N.Ca. 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, the potential World Citizens.

All who subscribe to our Objectives and Purposes (see adjoining column), regardless of where they live, are invited to become Supporters. (See coupon on page 7.) Contributions are tax-deductible to the extent provided by law. Supporters will continue to receive *Toward Democratic World Federation*, and those with e-mails can join our e-mail list for articles related to governing the world and U.S. foreign policies that affect it.

*"The possibility of such a world federation as we have dreamed of depends on the education of public opinion."*

— from a World War I-era speech by **Virginia Gildersleeve**, signer of the UN Charter and Dean of Barnard College, NY.

## PRAISE FROM OUR SUPPORTERS

"Terrific job on the last newsletter!"

— Susan L. Harris, Ph.D., Oakland

"It's our pleasure to support your work."

— Barbara and Robert Muller, Goleta, Southern California

"It's gratifying to me that your organization is not afraid of the term 'world government' and is continuing to work toward the real goal of federalists."

— Ted Proudfoot, North Carolina

"You have my full support and best wishes and deserve high credit for upholding our goal as you have done."

— Cleo Michelsen, Virginia

"I appreciate getting *Toward Democratic World Federation*."

— Barbara Walker, New Jersey

"Congratulations on your new status." — David Wurfel, Canada

"I like very much to read the publication of the World Federalists on Northern California."

— Ruth Gunnarsen, who made possible the reprint of *Anatomy of Peace* (see p. 9), Denmark

*Assoc. Editor — Thanks! We're happy to be there to support all of you as we work together in our quest to create a better governed world. We enjoy receiving your comments (positive or negative) and welcome your suggestions.*

*We encourage all supporters to help us spread the word by purchasing gift subscriptions for your friends, colleagues, or family.*

## JOHN HARVEY CARTER, ARCHITECT & CIVIC LEADER 1922-2004

World Federalist Past-President, **John Harvey Carter** passed away on 2 October from pneumonia after complications from knee-replacement surgery.

John was born in Red Bluff in the Upper Sacramento Valley. After graduating from Chico High School in 1940, he attended Chico State College before joining the U.S. Marine Corps in 1942 and serving on the aircraft carrier *USS Puget Sound* in the Pacific Theater.

Resuming his studies at the University of Southern California, he earned a degree in architecture in 1952. After five years of assisting other architects, John opened his own business in 1957 and began designing award-winning buildings that "worked with nature," including many in the Sacramento region.

Appointed to the Planning Commission in 1964, John used his post as chairman to help establish the American River Parkway, arranging to have all meetings in the evening so the public could attend. A supporter of the Sacramento Opera Association, he designed its new building. Among his 400 creations was the building of the Unitarian Universalist

Society of Sacramento in whose attractive auditorium a large turnout of friends attended his memorial service on 6 November.

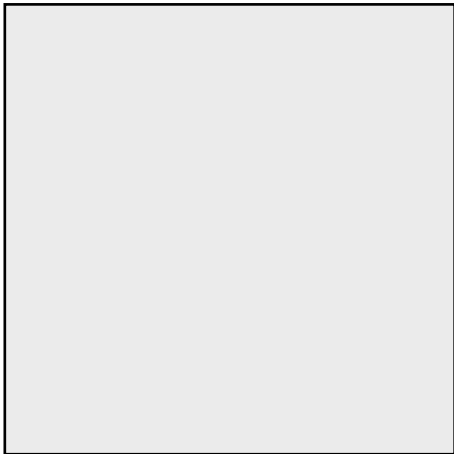
However, John was not only an architect of structures in which one could reside or work, he was also an architect of structures of peace, a.k.a. government. At the memorial service past minister Ted Webb spoke of John's dedication to the World Federalists. John served as President of the United World Federalists' robust Northern California branch in 1960-61.

Years later, after branches were reactivated under the renamed World Federalist Association, John agreed to serve as interim President for the Northern California Region in 1995-96. Subsequently he often acted as Master of Ceremonies or Fund Raiser at the annual luncheons. Throughout the years John and his wife, Shirley, had

also been most generous in providing World Federalists with financial support and advice.

This dedicated World Federalist will be missed.

*With the consent of his family, donations in his memory may be sent to the World Federalists of N.Ca.--JOS*



John O. Sutter and John H. Carter

## WORLD FEDERALISTS APPROVED MANY PATHS TO OUR GOAL

At the Fall 2002 Board Meeting of the World Federalist Association hosted in San Mateo by the W.F.A. of Northern California the **World Constitution Resolution** was debated and approved. Principally drafted by **Bob Gauntt**, it contained amendments by **Walter Hoffmann**, **John Logue**, and **Stanley Platt**.

The Resolution elaborated on one aspect (governing structures) of WFA's *Goals and Beliefs*, and encouraged exploring all avenues to our common goal. WFA/NCA now carries on that legacy as it continues to be open to this approach.

"WHEREAS

(a) enforceable world law is a central objective of the WFA;  
 (b) giving law enforcement power to a world organization without safeguards against abuse of that power would present an unacceptable risk of world tyranny;

(c) a necessary safeguard against such abuse of power is a world constitution with a bill of rights;

(d) a major objective of the WFA is a democratic world federation founded on a world constitution which includes a global bill of human rights;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that:

(1) The WFA, in both its membership education and its public outreach, shall stress the importance of an adequate world constitution, explaining that it is a critical prerequisite for just and effective law enforcement; and

(2) The WFA, recognizing that World Federalists differ about the best approach to attain a broadly supported world constitution, shall in its educational efforts encourage consideration of, and present balanced information about, the approaches, includ-

ing but not limited to:

### Short-term Goals

- (i) Reinterpretation of the present UN Charter and the adoption of UN resolutions or treaties to establish new institutions;
- (ii) Individual UN actions to amend the UN Charter under Article 108;

### A Democratic World Federation Through Restructuring the UN

- (iii) A UN Charter Review Conference to revise the Charter as called for under Article 109;
- (iv) A new UN Charter proposed from outside the UN, which would be submitted to national governments or *their people* for ratification;

### A Democratic World Federation through a World Constitutional Convention

- (v) A World Constitutional Convention organized by national governments outside the UN; and
- (vi) A World Constitutional Convention established through a worldwide *peoples referendum*."

### END OF AN ERA?

On 6 August 2004 **Virginia "Ginny" Rothwell** of Inverness, California, passed away. She had a special place at the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the signing of the U.N. Charter in June 1995, having been the wife of **Easton Rothwell**. Easton, who passed away in 1987, worked on the concept during World War II then headed the U.S. Secretariat for the United Nations during the San Francisco Conference.

## ANTI-WAR ACTIVISTS CONSIDER WORLD FEDERATION

SEPTEMBER 14 - Representatives from **California Peace Action, Code Pink, International ANSWER, Veterans for Peace**, and the **World Federalists of Northern California** participated in a forum discussion titled "Preemptive Peace—Finding Solutions to the War System." This was part of the "Democracy in a Globalized World" series at the University of California, Berkeley's International House

The evening program represented the culmination of more than a year's effort by the World Federalists on the Solutions to the War System outreach project. The project was born out of concern that today's peace movement was once again aroused to protest a particular war without having much to offer in terms of preventing future wars, a somewhat Sisyphean exercise. Rather than allow this seemingly generational cycle to persist, we sought to help peace activists understand that by dedicating some of their efforts to the creation of institutions of good global government, they would be working to create real, lasting peace.

Guided by the keen journalistic instincts of the *San Francisco Chronicle's* **Jonathan Curiel**, the discussion centered on three central questions. Is human conflict inevitable, and if it is, does it necessarily follow that war is inevitable as well? Consequently, if war is preventable, how and what can be done now to undertake action to that effect?

World Federalists **Byron Belitsos, Bob Gauntt, and Eric Schultz** made a case that while human conflict is probably inherent in civilization, governance has been proven as a method by which communities of all sizes can live together in peace. As the people of the world increasingly understand themselves to be members of a common humanity, it will become necessary to develop proper governing systems to protect that larger community's interest.

While representatives from the other participating organizations seemed to understand this premise, and two saw some merit ultimately in a world government, objections, known well to most World Federalists, arose.

Many expressed a now common sentiment that governments, (particularly our own) and perhaps even inter-personal power structures in general, tend to become corrupt, exploit the weak, and act in ways not in tune with "the will of the people." The room echoed with proclamations that it was the corrupt government officials and corporate fat-cats that had created a war in Iraq, not "us." Based on that view, more than one organization expounded the need for an international people's movement in order to wrest power away from the governments, and organize human communities based on acceptance of others, dialogue, and shared human values.

The representatives of these peace organizations also felt that immediate resolutions of current issues, particularly the war in Iraq, were more important than creating a global system of governance.

These points are certainly not without merit. However, World Federalists must help people restore faith in the theory and practice of governance and move for its proper implementation on all levels of society, including the world stage. Important points to note include:

- Even with its downsides, few people would want to live in an ungoverned city, state or nation: Why should we resist

governing the world?

- While positive dialogue and mutual understanding can be used to maintain good civil relations among people much of the time, they won't work all of the time. In those situations, unless there is government (and the law and order it can legitimately provide) people are left with only two choices: fight back (often violently) or give in to exploitation.
- It doesn't do any good to simply vilify our governing systems. In times when they are not working satisfactorily, activists have a *responsibility* to produce reforms in order to meet their needs. Without that civic activity, bad government will inevitably arise.
- Multinational corporations, criminal enterprises, international institutions (like the WTO and IMF), and national governments, already make decisions that have significant and far reaching implications. In this way, the world stage is being "governed" already. The problem is that the bodies making those decisions are not accountable to the people affected by their policies. A democratic global government would solve that problem by empowering people with a process by which their voice can be heard.
- World Federalists are by no means against activism taken in response to immediate problems. We are, however, frustrated by the lack of discipline and foresight demonstrated by many contemporary activist campaigns. Raising public awareness, and rallying support for political change are good first steps in the process of social development, but those acts must be followed up with the creation of institutional capacities designed to permanently address recurring problems. For some people, creating a system of global government may seem to be a forbiddingly large and complex job, but it is ultimately an achievable goal. Furthermore, even small steps taken toward that end have continuing effects, for they permanently raise the baseline level of human cooperation and provide solid foundations for future progress.

These aforementioned themes were presented not only in the Preemptive Peace Conference at Berkeley but also in the "press kits" of media material that were specifically designed for this campaign. These packets, consisting of 6 brochures and an individualized cover letter, have been disseminated to 48 organizations so far. Before we finish the project, nearly 100 peace and disarmament organizations in the greater Bay Area will have received this information.

Through these efforts, we believe our organization has achieved some measure of success in raising awareness of World Federalist concepts within one of our country's most dynamic activist communities. Our hope is that, as they come to understand that global government is a necessary component for the creation of legitimate, lasting, and peaceful human coexistence, these activist movements will be more inclined to focus more of their energy towards the promotion of that goal. —E.S.

### WORDS OF WISDOM

"My first wish is to see War, this plague of mankind, banished from the earth." — General George Washington

"You can't say that civilization don't advance, for in every war they kill you a new way." — Will Rogers



*This report from Matt Eisenbrandt, Litigation Director at the Center for Justice & Accountability in San Francisco, presents World Federalists with an interesting precedent for us to consider. Even as the U.S. Administration vehemently denounces the very idea of the International Criminal Court, some of its own courts*

*continue to reinterpret domestic laws in order to push forward in the spirit of individual accountability and universal jurisdiction. Judges and prosecutors worldwide, having been emboldened by what is now termed the “Pinochet principle,” are increasingly prone to act upon legal standards based less on national legislation and more on what are considered to be obvious, common, and purportedly indisputable social norms. While bringing about positive results, some may question the basic legitimacy of such “vigilante” justice. As people become more willing to contemplate the notions of rights and justice outside the traditional bounds of Westphalian sovereignty, we hope that they will also work to codify, legitimize, and enforce those sentiments through an institution of global government. —ES*

### U.S. FEDERAL COURT HOLDS FORMER SALVADORAN CAPTAIN LIABLE FOR 1980 ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ROMERO

On September 3, 2004, Judge Oliver Wanger of the Eastern District of California in Fresno issued a historic decision holding Modesto, California resident Alvaro Saravia responsible for the assassination of revered Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador. In the case, *Doe v. Saravia*, Judge Wanger ordered Saravia to pay \$10 million to the plaintiff, a relative of the Archbishop. In so doing, Judge Wanger stated that “the damages are of a magnitude that is hardly describable.”

The judgment marks the first time that any individual has been held legally responsible for the assassination. Judge Wanger determined that the murder constitutes an extrajudicial killing under the Alien Tort Claims Act of 1789 and the Torture Victim Protection Act of 1991. Significantly, the judge also held that the assassination was a crime against humanity because it was part of a widespread and systematic attack against a civilian population.

The Center for Justice & Accountability (CJA) and its co-counsel, Heller Ehrman White & McAuliffe LLP, filed suit in September 2003 against Saravia for the key role he played in the assassination. Saravia was the right-hand man of reputed death squad leader Roberto D’Aubuisson, and several independent investigations had concluded that he had a primary role in organizing the assassination. Evidence produced at the four-day default hearing established that Saravia had obtained weapons, vehicles and other materials for the assassination, ordered his personal driver to transport the assassin to and from the chapel where Romero was shot, and paid the assassin after the assassina-

tion had been carried out. The U.N. Truth Commission and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights both concluded, after separate investigations, that Saravia was actively involved in planning and carrying out the assassination. Saravia has been in hiding for the past 18 months and did not appear at the hearing.

Saravia, a former Captain in the Salvadoran Air Force, left the military in 1979 to work closely with Roberto D’Aubuisson, who organized death squads composed of civilians and military figures. He also founded the far right political party Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (“ARENA”), which has been in power in El Salvador for most of the past 20 years.

Eleven witnesses testified at the hearing, including:

- 1 Amado Antonio Garay, Saravia’s personal driver who, upon Saravia’s orders, drove the shooter to the church where the shooter killed Archbishop Romero;
  - 1 Judge Atilio Ramirez Amaya, the judge assigned to investigate the assassination in 1980, who described his investigation, the obstruction by the Salvadoran police, and the attempt on his life which caused him to flee the country; and
  - 1 Ambassador Robert White, the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador at the time of the assassination, who testified about his interactions with Archbishop Romero and the involvement of the Salvadoran military and D’Aubuisson in the assassination.
- The case has already had a substantial impact in El Salvador.



The Catholic Church has called for a re-opening of the investigation into the assassination and a lifting of the amnesty law. The Archbishop of El Salvador has said that the U.S. judge’s findings could help with the process of Romero’s beati-

fication, because the trial uncovered new facts about who killed him and why.

*For more information about the case, please visit CJA’s website: [www.cja.org](http://www.cja.org).*

*Ultimately in a well-governed world people of all beneficent beliefs would be represented. Currently there is much debate on how to make the U.N. Security Council more representative of the people of the Earth. Below, you will find two new ideas--JOS*

### PROPOSAL TO ENLARGE SECURITY COUNCIL TO 24

The United Nations Security Council should be increased to 24 from 15 member governments, with more regional balance, according to a panel named by Secretary-General **Kofi Annan**.

The panel calls for the Security Council to be divided into four regional groups -- the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Asia -- with six members from each.

There are differences on how to divide up the new seats. One proposal calls for no change in the 5 privileged powers with vetoes while allowing for eight of the 9 additional seats to be for

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"The United States..." continued from page 1

exemplify its deteriorating condition.

- First, by launching a costly war and simultaneously reducing means for paying for it by awarding millionaires (and billionaires) tax breaks, the current U.S. Administration has piled up a series of record national deficits.
- Secondly, in November 2004 the U.S. Congress approved raising the accumulated national debt to some \$8,180,000,000,000.00. This is equivalent to over \$110,000 per family of four! (How many grandchildren will it take to pay off this sum -- which under present circumstances could continue to mount?)
- Thirdly, the United States has changed from being the country with the largest positive current account in international trade and finance to the one with the worst -- with a deficit of over \$500,000,000,000.00 in 2003.

A fallout of the adverse economic situation is the devaluation of the U.S. Dollar. Shortly after it was issued, the Euro came to be valued at less than the dollar. By 2002, the two currencies were virtually on a par. Two years later, the dollar is worth only three-quarters of a Euro. And to my chagrin, in October, it cost me two dollars to buy a British pound!

Meanwhile, by buying U.S. Treasury bonds, the governments of China and Japan (with huge favorable balances of trade with the U.S.) have been propping up the dollar. As the value of their holdings decline, and as inflation takes off in the United States, interest rates will be pressured to rise, in an effort to forestall countries' dumping their dollars, which in turn might well lead to a depression.

Nero fiddled while Rome burned. Where are today's world statesmen and stateswomen — today's version of America's Founding Fathers and pioneers of the European Union — to call for ending endless wars, whether on "Communism" or on "Terrorism"? Isn't it long past time that we not only realize the need for a well-governed world, a democratic world federation (D.W.F.), but also strive to achieve it? —*JOS*

<b>RECENT EVENTS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA</b>
<p><b>4 November:</b> Another event in the I-House's "Democracy in a Globalized World?" series (see page 4) was a speech by World Federalist <b>Tad Daley</b> of Los Angeles, former head of the Campaign for a New U.N. Charter. He spoke on "Reinventing the United Nations" before a largely student audience.</p> <p><b>22 November:</b> <b>Immanuel Wallerstein</b> of Binghamton University presented a critique on how "the United States Confronts the World," at the World Affairs Council of Northern California. He had been the leading political philosopher of the <b>Student Federalists</b>, when he had called for supporting the struggle of two-thirds of the people of the world to achieve freedom, preserving and expanding freedom at home (while combatting tendencies to limit traditional liberties in times of crisis), and developing the U.N. into a world federal government.</p>

"Stepping Stones.." continued from page 5

office as President of the Republic of Indonesia, after the world's first free and fair *direct election* for chief of state of any major country, and where there were no questions about the legitimacy of the outcome. (This is quite an achievement in a country where two of S.B.Y.'s predecessors got themselves chosen as president for life.)



The red and white stripes of Indonesia's Flag

Not only is Indonesia the world's fourth most populous country, but it has a larger Muslim population than any other, and (unlike in many of the Arab countries) its Muslim citizens are overwhelmingly moderate and tolerant. (Within three years of its declaration of independence, it had women cabinet ministers; the U.S. got its first one 157 years after it declared independence.) There is also separation of clergy and government. Moreover, September saw the end of over four decades of having seats reserved for the military in Parliament and the People's Consultative Assembly (M.P.R.).

Foreign Minister **Hassan Wirayuda** told the U.N. General Assembly on 27 September that Indonesia's achievements in the area of international peace and its commitment to democratic values had set a good precedent not only for other Muslim nations, but also for Western countries. Moderate Islam must have a permanent seat on the Security Council.

Indonesia, a victim of three deadly terrorist attacks, was certain that the fight against terror could be won through a global coalition with open membership.

Finally, Hassan called on all nations to join hands in promoting democracy, noting "Democracy is never a miracle. Never a gift nor something imposed. It is always hard earned, often the fruit of many sacrifices. And its ultimate worth depends entirely upon us, the people -- whether we have the political maturity, the wisdom and the courage to make it work and make it endure."

<b>MARK YOUR CALENDAR !</b>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>WORLD FEDERALISTS</b> of Northern California</p> <p><b>Sunday, 16 January 2005:</b> Winter 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, phone 1-415-227-4880 or e-mail wfnc@wfnc.org. Latecomers, ring #225 at intercom by front door.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">COALITION FOR A WORLD PARLIAMENT AND GLOBAL DEMOCRACY</p> <p><b>25-30 January 2005 in Porto Alegre, Brazil:</b> Meeting during the World Social Forum. For more information, see: <a href="http://www.world-democracy.org">www.world-democracy.org</a>.</p> <hr/> <p><b>24-26 June 2005 in San Francisco.</b> Events in connection with 60th anniversary of the drafting of the United Nations Charter. (tba)</p>

*"Mencius" continued from page 10*

heaven's mandate to rule; "Heaven hears with the people's ears; Heaven sees with the people's eyes."

- 3) As Mencius had based his argument on a human potential for moral behavior, when he speaks of "the people" he was speaking of all humanity, not just one's own nationals. He was logically compelled to conclude that the only legitimate government was one that governed for all people. He hoped for a new unity of humanity, to be achieved by winning the people's hearts (i.e., treating them justly), not by putting the interest of one country first. "To win the world, win the people... to win the people, win their hearts."
- 4) A war not justified by human benefit will only lead to more conflict:

Mencius was well aware that there would be rulers who claimed to be fighting for world justice when in fact they were only concerned for themselves. For Mencius, security could come only from bringing justice to humanity, not by treating it with force.

Qi was one of the great powers of Mencius' time. After it annexed Yan, it faced rebellion within Yan and attack by a coalition of forces from other states. In a famous passage Mencius explained to the King of Qi why things had gone wrong.

"Now when you went to punish Yan which practiced tyranny over its people, the people thought you were going to rescue them from water and fire, and they came to meet your army. Now you double your territory without practicing benevolent government. This provokes the armies of the whole empire (i.e., the other states now united against Qi). If you...take your army out after setting up a ruler in consultation with the men of Yan, it is still not too late."

Mencius felt that any war other than one genuinely supporting the human community would be unjust and lead only to further conflict. That is why Qi was welcomed when it was simply opposing tyranny but attacked when it behaved like just another great power.

- 5) Civilized people should be loyal to civilization, rather than to their country:

Mencius used the word *Jun Zi* (usually translated as exemplary person or gentleman) to describe someone who was trying to develop his or her heart of compassion and promote civilization. Mencius hoped the *Jun Zi* would develop into a transnational intellectual class, who put human justice before nationality. The best gentleman of a village is in a position to make friends with the best gentlemen in other villages; the best gentlemen in a state, with the best gentlemen in other states: Thus Mencius believed respecting the people legitimized government, and by "the people" he meant all humans. He urged people to put their conscience as humans before their loyalty as national citizens. Our humanity is more important than our patriotism.

#### COMPARISON WITH CONTEMPORARY WESTERN THINKERS:

**Socrates** — At his trial Socrates (c470-399 BCE) stated that the "unexamined life is not worth living." He argued that the best thing he could do for Athens was to examine assumptions and try to move closer to truth. He also offered the defense that he had been a loyal Athenian and engaged in military service on

Athens' behalf. Even after being found guilty, one of the reasons he rejected the idea of escaping was that it would be a form of disloyalty to Athens. In other words, his fearless examination of all assumptions did not include the assumption of loyalty to the state. Far from questioning this assumption, he expected praise for upholding it. Socrates fought for his country and expected credit for that, while Mencius repeatedly left his country to campaign against war and for a community of humanity.

**Plato** — Socrates' student Plato (c 427-347 BCE) wrote the first major work of western political philosophy, the *Republic*. Plato gave much thought to the Republic's internal organization. However, when it came to foreign policy, his main hope was that the Republic would be difficult to defeat in warfare: "Our trained soldiers should easily be a match for two or three times their number." For Plato "the people" still meant only the people of his own country.

**Aristotle** — Aristotle (384-322 BCE) studied with Plato. Aristotle's ideal government was not a human community, but an ideal city-state, ready to wage war upon its enemies.

He declared, "It is proper that Greeks should rule non-Greeks," the implication being that non-Greek and slave are by nature identical. He concluded that, "It is clear then that by nature some are free, others slaves."

Mencius argued that even the crudest barbarian could become part of the moral community of humanity. He illustrated this by pointing to two worthies of the past: "Shun was an eastern barbarian; Wen was a western barbarian. The standards of the two sages, one earlier and one later, were identical."

The great early thinkers of Western civilization pioneered the Western tradition of putting our nation before our common humanity and treated a world of warring states as the norm rather than a crisis of humanity. Mencius helps us appreciate that human divisions are contingent rather than innate and that politics should focus on the human interest rather than the national interest.

Whether we agree with Mencius or not, it is worth our while to note that ideologies such as World Federalism make more sense if they are presented as an outcome of the thought of great human thinkers rather than just the next stage of the Western project. In reality, Western thinkers were amongst the last rather than the first to realize that our common humanity should not stop at national borders. It has been Western ideological frameworks, such as nationalism and racism, that have done more to divide the world than the thought of almost any other civilization. As we attempt to correct the flaws of the Western tradition, we should do so in a manner that acknowledges contributions from other cultures.

*References for quotations etc. can be provided upon request.*

*Note from the Associate Editor — Having been co-opted earlier in November, Lyndon Storey is the newest member of our Board of Directors. Before moving to the U.S., he was instrumental in the formation of the **World Citizens of Australia**.*

*" I wonder if there will come some day in human history when we carry a global passport, one that recognizes —with my Vietnamese and Iraqi friends and myself — the only qualification is our common heart."*

— Wendy Erd Kaufmann, Alaska and Vietnam

## W.F.M. AND INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

The **International Peace Palace** was built a century ago in Den Haag, the Netherlands, with financing from the Scottish-American steel baron, Andrew Carnegie. It has long been the home of the **International Court of Justice** (World Court), which hears disputes between countries. During the past decade it was joined by the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia** (which is trying Slobodan Milosevic) and the **International Criminal Court**, both of which — like the **International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda** — try persons indicted for egregious crimes against international law. The I.C.C. resulted from the Treaty of Rome in 1998, where diplomats from the smaller countries benefited greatly from a large coalition of civil society organizations led by Bill Pace, W.F.M. Executive Director.

The 2004 Annual Meeting of the governing Council and Executive Committee of the **World Federalist Movement** was held on 23 --24 October in Den Haag. On the 22nd, many Councillors attended a seminar on the Peace Palace grounds, with speakers from the World Court, the I.C.T.F.Y., and the Rwanda tribunal.

During the meeting of the W.F.M. Council, the current status of the I.C.C., was discussed. Having "unsigned" the Treaty of Rome, the U.S. Administration appeared to be trying to subvert the Court by pressuring other countries to sign bilateral treaties to exempt U.S. nationals from being referred to the I.C.C. A U.S. effort to get the U.N. Security Council to concur in such exemptions failed, as for the first time a large majority of the Council members were prepared to reject the U.S. position.

During the meeting, the Council voted to admit the Union of European Federalists and the new Citizens for Global Solutions as Member Organizations (M.O.s). This status is granted to

primarily World Federalist organizations that represent at least 30 paying persons, and it carries the privilege of appointing Councillors to the Council and Delegates to the periodic Congresses. Along with the more active ones, the M.O.s include the Bashkortostan Federalist Association, Korean League of World Federalists, and World Federalists of Australia, Belgium, France, and Sweden.

World Federalists in Northern California have been active since before 1949 (when they convinced the California Legislature to pass a resolution calling on the U.S. Congress to enable the United States to participate in a world federal government).\* Also, along with several name changes, they have hosted

congresses of the world body, including the XXIIInd World Congress of W.F.M. in 1995, when they also organized the forum for citizen organizations on "Restructuring the United Nations: Achieving Democratic Global Governance for the 21st Century." With over 125 paid supporters W.F./N.Ca. applied to become an M.O. of W.F.M. On the recommendation of the W.F.M. leadership, it was accepted as an Associated Organization (A.O.), joining organizations which are "established with a primary purpose other than those of WFM...but are in general sympathy with the idea of world federalism," such as the Federation of Christian Churches in Pakistan of Lahore, India Institute for Non-Aligned Studies of New Delhi, Pan-African Reconciliation Council of Lagos, and W.F.A. of Sierra Leone, of Kenema.

In other balloting, **Eric Schultz** from Northern California and **Frans Micklinghoff** from the Dutch hosts were co-opted onto the Council.

*\*The text of the "California Resolution" can be obtained by writing W.F./N.Ca.*

## UNCLE SAM, BULLY OF THE LITTLE COUNTRIES?

As a major part of its unilateralist Orwellian campaign ("all animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others") against the International Criminal Court, the U.S. Administration has carried on a campaign to intimidate many of the smaller and weaker countries that have signed on to the I.C.C. To receive foreign aid, they were forced to sign bilateral agreements under Article 98 of the I.C.C. Treaty, forbidding them from referring any U.S. personnel to the court (only Americans, not persons from other countries).

U.S. foreign aid has been only a fraction of that from other developed countries on a per capita basis, and in recent decades in place of helping the economic and social development of poorer countries, increasing amounts have gone to building up the military power of countries, including one of the world's wealthiest.

But even military aid has been cut from erstwhile friendly countries that have refused to sign the bilateral agreements. Among over 20 such countries is Croatia, which lost \$5.8 million for training troops for NATO. Tanzania, where al-Qaeda had bombed the U.S. Embassy in 1998, lost \$450,000 to bolster

security, and Ecuador lost \$15.7 million, much for detecting traffickers in narcotics often destined to the U.S.

Trinidad and Tobago lost \$450,000 for its Coast Guard, leading its former president, Arthur Robinson, architect of the I.C.C., to observe, "The principal superpower, which should guide other nations toward the rule of law, is turning into a bully of the world." [from Newsday.com, 19 October]

"The little threads of war --  
within or between nations --  
Have only the rude judge of might  
to create -- usually a misshapen right!  
A world united under one set of laws  
could mete out saner justice  
than our righteous, parochial use  
of the sword of 'just' war  
or 'glorious' revolutions."

--from *There's Gotta Be a Way*, by **Bob Neumann** of Penngrove, CA.

## BOOK NOTES

THE ANATOMY OF PEACE by Emery Reves, 1945-46

(Remainders of 1000 copies reprinted in 1995 for the World Federalists of Northern California, inter alia, to help celebrate the World Congress in San Francisco of the World Federalist Movement.) \$8 from WF/NCa.

Decrying the dangers of (ultra)nationalism of the major powers, including the U.S., Reves wrote: "We believe that peace and security can be established and assured only if we, the sovereign people, who for our own safety and well-being have delegated parts of our sovereignty to cities to handle our municipal affairs, to departments, counties, provinces, cantons or states to take care of departmental, county, provincial, cantonal or state issues, and to our national governments to attend to national problems -- now to protect ourselves against the danger of inter-national wars, delegate part of our respective sovereignty to bodies capable of creating and applying Law in inter-national relations."

Positive and negative prospects for achieving a well-governed world are often affected by nationalist and imperialist ambitions of key politicians.

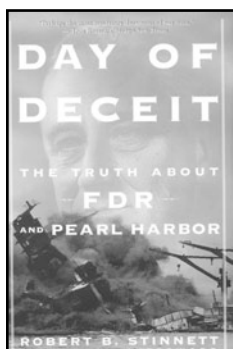
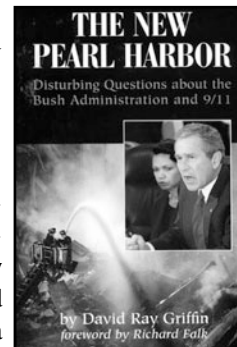
### THE NEW PEARL HARBOR:

#### DISTURBING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND 9/11

by Professor David Ray Griffin of Claremont, California —Olive Branch Press, 2004, \$15

"David Ray Griffin has written what America may most of all need -- a dispassionate, balanced, and exhaustively researched and documented account of the implausible gaps and misrepresentations of the Bush administration's official story of 9/11. Sensitive to the 'conspiracy theory' mind-stop that has disconnected his fellow

Americans from the facts of this history-steering event, Griffin painstakingly marshals the evidence pro and con, and follows it where it leads."--John McMurtry, Professor of Philosophy, University of Guelph, Canada



Did other U.S. chief executives ever secretly plot to take the country to war? In his book *Franklin D. Roosevelt, Champion of Freedom*, Conrad Black wrote that F.D.R. was also given to "unmitigated falsehoods," was "frequently duplicitous," "incapable of admitting error," and "almost compulsively devious." Now read:

#### DAY OF DECEIT: THE TRUTH ABOUT FDR AND PEARL HARBOR

by Robert B. Stinnett of Oakland, California

Touchstone (Simon & Schuster), New York, 2000-01, \$16

"Stinnett provides overwhelming evidence that FDR and his top advisers knew that Japanese warships were heading towards Hawaii. The heart of his argument is even more inflammatory: Stinnett argues that FDR, who desired to sway public opinion in support of U.S. entry into WWII, instigated a policy intended to provoke a Japanese attack."--Publishers Weekly

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# NON - WESTERN POLITICAL TRADITIONS AND WORLD FEDERALISM

By Lyndon Storey, Melbourne and San Francisco

When it comes to international co-operation and respect for our fellow human beings there are many great thinkers in other cultures who have lessons for us. World federalism can and must draw upon as many intellectual traditions as possible rather than focusing just those from the West. The West, after all, has given the world racism, political nationalism and imperialism. Having conquered and divided the world, we should consider the thought of a non-Western thinker who advocated world unity. Such a thinker was Mencius ("Meng Zi" c 371-289 BCE), who advocated human unity and is one of the most famous philosophers in Chinese history. This article will introduce his thought and compare it with the more exclusivist thought of famous Western thinkers living at the same time.

## WHO WAS MENCIUS?

Mencius claimed to be interpreting Confucius, who died more than a hundred years earlier. Mencius lived during China's "Warring States" period when seven powerful states competed for power. He refused to support any one state and instead advocated social justice and peace for all of humanity.

## MENCIUS' IDEAS IN A NUTSHELL:

Here are some key themes of Mencius' thought.

1) We all share a common humanity and a "heart of compassion:"

Mencius believed our common humanity was more important than religious or national differences. The core of this was our sense of compassion towards others, which he viewed as being innate and the source of both human solidarity

and ethics.

In a famous passage he argued: "My reason for saying no man is devoid of a heart sensitive to the suffering of others is this. Suppose a man were, all of a sudden, to see a young child on the verge of falling into a well. He would certainly be moved to compassion, not because he wanted to get in the good graces of the parents, not because he wished to win the praise of his fellow villagers and friends, nor yet because he disliked the cry of the child. From this it can be seen that whoever is devoid of the heart of compassion is not human..."



The point here is not that we are all saints but that in the first instant our "heart of compassion" is aroused and only later, depending on how we have developed, do more calculating and cynical motives take over. The moral potential is already there within each of us.

2) Government must be for the welfare of the people to be legitimate:

Mencius argued that government had to treat people as moral beings who possessed a "heart of compassion." Therefore, government had to take account of the will and needs of the people. "First come the people, last comes the ruler." On one occasion a tyrant was overthrown and Mencius was criticized for not opposing the rebellion. Mencius replied that what had occurred was not the overthrow of a legitimate ruler, but an illegitimate one, as the deposed ruler had relied on force and cruelty. If the people lost faith in the ruler, he lost

*continued on page 7*

# Toward Democratic World Federation

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

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*"My goal is a democratic world government, and I prefer to call it by name. I eschew other designations as incomplete, ambiguous, inaccurate, most indeed dishonest"*

— Stewart M. Ogilvy

