

Toward Democratic World Federation

Publication of the Democratic World Federalists

Vol. 14, No. 1

Winter 2005

REARRANGING DECK CHAIRS ON THE TITANIC

KOFI ANNAN'S HIGH LEVEL PANEL FOR CHANGE FAILS TO QUESTION THE FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURE OF THE 60 YEAR OLD U.N. CHARTER.

By Tad Daley, Los Angeles

It is often said incorrectly that the United Nations Charter was designed for the world of 1945. It was actually designed for the world of the 1930s. The paramount question on the minds of the Charter's framers, during those final year of the Second World War, was "How do we prevent another Adolph Hitler?" Their answer, the idea at the core of their Charter, was that the wartime Allies would act in concert to repel all such future aggressions.

Now consider the great issues facing the human community six long decades later. Environmental degradation. The AIDS pandemic. Failed states. Intractable poverty. Non-state terrorists. Transnational governance of, and in a defacto sense, by transnational corporations. Genocides in places remote from Great Power interests like Darfur and Rwanda. States trying to stem the tide of nuclear proliferation while insisting on retaining vast nuclear arsenals of their own.

In this context it is greatly disheartening to see the timid and unimaginative report that UN **Secretary-General Kofi Annan's High Level Panel for Threats, Challenges, and Change** issued on December 2nd. The panel did make a number of thoughtful recommendations about criteria for the legitimate use of force in a threat environment radically altered since 1945. But virtually since the UN's inception, those who feel like they didn't get invited to the party have pleaded to make the United Nations more legitimate, more accountable, and more representative of the peoples of the world. Toward this end the panel put forth two proposals for expanding the Security Council's membership from 15 to 24. Nine new non-veto-holding seats, that's it.

The UN's 50th anniversary year saw several initiatives that proposed a wide range of dramatic changes in the structure of the UN system. Groups like the **Commission on Global Governance**, the **Independent Working Group on the UN in its Second Half Century**, the **Preferred Futures for the UN** symposium, and **The South Centre's For a Strong and Democratic UN** commission were brimming with prominent scholars, Nobel laureates and former heads of state. But the High Level Panel said virtually nothing about the dozens of interesting ideas about the democratization of global governance put forth by these initiatives.

UN reform has never been much of the progressive pantheon. It should be now. If we believe in basic notions of democratic political participation, then we should stand for giving a more direct voice in the affairs of the world to the peoples of the world rather than letting

all the big decisions be made exclusively by "great power" governments.

The international community intends to consider the panel's recommendations at a summit of world leaders just prior to the opening of the UN's 60th General Assembly session next September. Many UN analysts believe that something may finally come of this at that time and that any further opportunities will likely not come again anytime soon after that. So consider some of the provocative proposals and fundamental questions that were, in the panel's report, conspicuous only by their absence:

¹Is a small council of "Great Powers" the only possible mechanism for 21st Century global governance? Are we going to be stuck with the results of the Second World War forever?

¹If the Security Council is going to remain as the primary center of power in the UN, why would a Nigeria or a Brazil, e.g., act to represent African or Latin American interests -- as opposed to simply Nigerian or Brazilian interests? After all, no one expects China or France or the United States on the Council today to represent Asian or European or North American interests in any way.

¹Should there be some kind of democratic legitimacy requirement, so that authoritarian governments that don't "represent" their populations in any meaningful way are not allowed to pretend to do so on the world stage?

¹How about at least modifying or limiting the veto? Even though it is rarely cast, veto calculations dominate virtually every decision the Security Council makes. To allow a single country to defy the rest of the world is to perpetuate the single most undemocratic institution in world politics today.

(It's often taken as self-evident that the U.S. "would never give up the veto," but the veto allows other countries to stand in our way, too. One can envision the U.S. pursuing an initiative that might garner the support of 10 or 11 or even 14 Security Council members. But if Russia or China or Britain or France stand opposed, the U.S. is forced to choose between dropping the initiative, or pursuing it without Council authorization. This, of course, is precisely what happened in early 2003, when the U.S. gave up on its efforts to secure a Security Council resolution authorizing a U.S. invasion of Iraq.)

¹Is the ineffectual General Assembly, scarcely mentioned in the panel's report, going to remain forever "one nation, one vote, and

continued on page 6

TOWARD DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERATION

Vol. 14, No. 1 ISSN 1091-8965
Editor - John O. Sutter Associate Editor - Eric Schultz
Editor Emeritus - Keith Beggs

OFFICERS of the DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERALISTS
President - John O. Sutter Vice President - Fred Duperrault
Secretary - Mary E. Harris Vice President - Charles Turk
Chair of Board - Roger Kotila

DIRECTORS

James Adams, Phil Allen, Byron Belitsos, Urs Cipolat,
Esther Franklin, Phil Jaynes,
Bruce Kennedy, Jason Smith, Lyndon Storey

STAFF

Executive Director Eric Schultz

OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES

The objectives and purposes of the Democratic World Federalists 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 Democratic World Federalists.

Readers' comments are welcome.

Subscription: \$25 for 1 year.

The deadline for submissions for the next issue,
Volume 14, Number 2, is 15 April 2005.

THANKS

to Supporters who made contributions in 2004

Emery Reves Club

(\$10,000 and above):
Anonymous

Grenville Clark Club

(\$1,000-\$4,999):
John Harvey & Shirley Carter,
Sacramento
Edythe Hiller, in memory of
Dale Hiller, Hockessin, DE
Roger Kotila & Shari Morgan,
Novato
Max & Phyllis Thelen, San Rafael
Barbara Walker, Princeton, NJ

Max Habicht Club (\$500-\$999):

Helen Callbeck, San Rafael
Esther Franklin, Sacramento
Shirley Kennon, San Francisco
Charles Turk, Salinas

Clarence Streit Club

(\$250-\$499):
Urs Cipolat, El Cerrito
Frank Dines, San Francisco
Fred & Lois Duperrault,
Mountain View
Lucile Green, El Cerrito
Martha Killebrew, Oakland
Herbert Klepper,
So. Setauket, NY
Jerry Tetalman, San Diego
David Wurfel, Toronto, ONT

Henry Osborne Club

(\$100-\$249):
Eugene & Patricia Angell,

Berkeley
William Bartholomew,
Manchester MO
Florian Bartos, Davis
Felicia Bock, Oakland
Richard Carter, La Honda
Surpass Chen, Palo Alto
Nancy Couperus, Los Altos Hills
Harvey Davidson, Orinda
Michael Fitzgerald, San Pablo
Robert Hanson, Walnut Creek
Mary Harris, Pacifica
Marvin Horton, San Francisco
Phil Jaynes, Sacramento
Bruce Kennedy, San Francisco
Charlotte Klock, San Francisco
Elizabeth Means, Aptos
Cleo Michaelsen,
Falls Church, VA
Raymond & Anja Miller,
Brisbane
Robert & Barbara Muller, Goleta
Leila Naslund, Los Gatos
Elizabeth Olson,
Falls Church, VA
Leonard C. Overton,
Bethesda, MD
Janice & Mark Rosenzweig,
Berkeley
John B. Saye, Oakland
Vern Schafer, Lafayette
Gustav Sharvey, San Jose
Alan Shelton, Hillsborough
Jason Smith, Baltimore, MD
Haydn Williams, San Francisco
Ricka Young, Mill Valley

The Democratic World Federalists' 6 POINT PROGRAM

By implementing the following steps the Democratic World Federalists hope to develop greater understanding of the need for, possible routes to, and eventual structure of, a Democratic World Federation:

- (1) publication of *Toward Democratic World Federation*, which goes to readers throughout the United States and 25 other countries;
- (2) informing the public about the movement for global government through our website, www.dwfd.org;
- (3) keeping our Supporters up-to-date via e-mail on news about policies of governments and other entities that affect the governing of the world;
- (4) communicating our message to the media, public officials, other civil society organizations, and the general public through letters and the above means;
- (5) helping other activist organizations to understand and adopt concepts of world federalism through our Solutions to Global Problems outreach program; and
- (6) sponsoring and co-sponsoring events, and cooperating with like-minded organizations, including the Union of European Federalists, to spread awareness of the benefits of democratic federations.

LUCILE WOLFE GREEN (ISITT), 1917-2004 WORLD CITIZEN & WORLD FEDERALIST

Lucile Green, daughter of missionaries in Shansi province, China, and widow of Arthur Isitt, passed away at her home in El Cerrito. She is survived by sons Sidney and Nelson.

Lucile studied philosophy at Yenching University in Peking, was a Phi Beta Kappa and earned a B.A. from Pomona College in California, a Master of Arts in philosophy from Claremont College, and in 1956 a Ph.D. in philosophy from Ohio State University.

She rose from instructor at Ohio State to professor at Merritt College in Oakland, where she taught for 20 years.

Lucile was a volunteer activist par excellence. She has been a Delegate to the First **World Constitution Convention** (1968), President of the **Association of World Citizens** and active in its **World Citizen Assemblies**, Chair of the **Academy of World Studies** of San Francisco, co-founder of the **World Government Organizations Coalition** (now called the **Coalition for Democratic World Government**), Vice President of the **World Constitution and Parliament Association**, co-chair of the **Action Coalition for Global Change**, and an advisor in its early days to **Philadelphia-II** (which promoted a national initiative as a precursor to a world initiative). We're proud to note that as an advocate



of world government, she was a founding Member of the Board of Directors of the **World Federalists of Northern California** (now the **Democratic World Federalists**).

Lucile co-edited *The Worried Woman's Guide to Peace through World Law* (1965) and authored *Human Value in the Atomic Age*, *The Human Spirit in the Atomic Age*, and an autobiographical *Journey to a Governed World* (1992), a title acquired after appearing in a film by Byron Belitsos, entitled *Toward a Governed World*. Prof. Green dreamed of a People's Assembly within the United Nations and promoted the **San Francisco People's Assembly**. In 2004, this became **Citizens for a United Nations People's Assembly**, which held a preparatory conference in June of that year and is planning for a major conference in San Francisco in June 2005. (See below)

Lucile Green was a member of the Unitarian-Universalist Church of Berkeley, and, reflecting her vision of giving democratic representation to the peoples of the world, was awarded the Gandhi Medal for Peace, Non-Violence, and Truth (1982) and the American Humanist Association Distinguished Service Award.--JOS
(Memorial contributions can be made using the coupon on p. 7.)

EULOGY TO LUCILE

So Lucile Green, it turns out, passed from this mortal plane on the same weekend as Johnny Carson. Lucile's death, of course, received far less coverage and attention than Mr. Carson's. She did not dominate the Sunday radio talk shows. She did not receive a special tribute from Jay Leno. She was not eulogized by President Bush.

But who will turn out to be more influential in the long run?

Lucile's life work was about democratizing and empowering and reimagining our structures of global governance for a more just and sustainable and hopeful human future. She focused much of her efforts on the specific goal of creating a directly elected "peoples assembly" - an imaginative idea that would allow citizens to directly elect someone to serve as their voice at the largest, global level of human affairs. And she never wavered in declaring that her overarching ambition was to fill the minds of women and men with the flame of hope that it is within the power of the human imagination to envision abolishing war itself. A Unitarian minister friend of mine says this is no less than "the biggest idea in the history of history."

Does anyone have any doubt that a thousand years from now, if humanity hasn't destroyed itself and its cradle planet, we will live in something like a Federal Republic of Earth, a World Federation, a single unified human community? This will, indeed, be the biggest achievement in the history of history. And our descendants will recognize NOT just those who actually made it happen in, oh, the 27th, or 23rd, or maybe even the 21st Century. *They will recognize those who came before them.* Those who carried the torch when few others were doing so. Those who maintained the courage of their convictions in the face of ridicule, derision, and seeming irrelevance.

Lucile Green was a voice in the wilderness. Lucile Green for many

decades was willing to preach to the heavens about a Big Idea that was in utter eclipse, a Promising Vision that wasn't on the contemporary public policy agenda, an Ultimate Goal that wasn't remotely on the mainstream radar screen.

But in a thousand years, the stuff that the mainstream talks about today will be utterly forgotten. And the visions that Lucile Green talked about right up until her dying day will reign historically triumphant.

I really can't say whether anyone will remember Johnny Carson in January 3005. But I know that they'll remember Lucile Green. -- *Tad Daley, January 25, 2005*

A People's Parliamentary Assembly The Blueprint for Democratizing the United Nations

On Saturday, June 4, Citizens for a United Nations People's Assembly will host a U.N. 60th Anniversary event at the San Francisco's Palace Hotel, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.. A document entitled *Blueprint for a People's Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations* will be presented

Dr. Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary-General of the U.N., will be the honorary chair of the event, which will include presentations by acclaimed leaders of this international movement.

This special U.N. 60th Anniversary Event is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Lucile Green, founder and president emeritus of the Citizens for a U.N. People's Assembly.

For more information please contact: CUNPA at 1-415-896-2241 or visit www.empowertheun.org

UNITED NATIONS CHANGE ON THE WAY?

The old adage, "that which does not kill you, only makes you stronger" may be tested out on the United Nations this year. On the one hand, the 60 year organization is on the ropes, reeling from a series of blows including US unilateral action in the Iraq war, the oil-for-food scandal, continuing genocide in Darfur, and sexual crime among peacekeepers in Congo. On the other hand, that critical scrutiny may be just what was needed to prompt an invigorating, and long overdue, round of UN reform.

On 22 February 2005, **Secretary General Kofi Annan** summed up the situation by stating, "The UN cannot expect to survive the 21st Century unless ordinary people throughout the world feel that it does something for them." He continued to pledge, "This September...leaders from all over the world are coming to a UN summit in New York. I shall put before them an agenda of bold but achievable proposals for making the UN work better, and the world fairer and safer."

The agenda that he referred to will be based on the finding of two important reform commissions: the *High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change* and the *UN Millennium Project's Investing in Development* report.

Last December, after just over a year of deliberation, the 16 members of the High Level Panel released an 80 page report which (1) reevaluated the threats facing our modern world, (2) examined the means by which international collective security currently operates, and (3) made 101 suggestions as to how the UN's policies and structure need to be overhauled. (*But see p.1.*) From that report, a few important themes emerged:

¹The Panel recognized that inter-state war, which the United Nations was originally set up to counter, is no longer the main threat in today's world. Civil war, terrorism, poverty, and disease, all interrelated and all fully globalized forces, must be treated seriously as security threats. The panel recommended addressing those threats through aggressive economic and social development.

¹The Panel recognized a 2001 report by the **International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty**, which stated that states have a *responsibility to protect* and provide for their citizens. If they fail to do so, the international community becomes responsible for correcting the situation.

¹While acknowledging the real threats posed by militant non-state actors and the proliferation of WMD's, the Panel did not recommend direct UN action (perhaps in the form of a standing UN security force) but instead stressed the UN's ability to produce normative standards upon which member countries should act. Furthermore, it went on to recommend an official definition of terrorism, something the UN has yet to accomplish. The Panel suggested that the Security Council take pro-active measures to address security threats, not under the authority of Article 51, which concerns the right of States to defend themselves from attack, but instead based upon the mandate outlined in Chapter VII, which calls for the Council to "maintain or restore international peace and security,"

¹In an effort to make the organization more representative of the international power dynamics of the 21st Century (as opposed to those of 1945), the Panel made proposals for expanding the Security Council. (See Autumn 2004 *T.D.W.F.*)

¹Finally, the report very clearly continued to see nation states as the primary players on the international scene. It portrays the UN's

role as a facilitator to help the existing states to work better internally and collectively. It declares, "The front-line actors in dealing with all the threats we face, new and old, continue to be individual sovereign States."

The UN Millennium Project's *Investing in Development* report is a product of 3 years' work by a staggering 265 experts on development. The report is "a package of scores of specific cost-effective measures that together could cut extreme poverty in half and radically improve the lives of at least one billion people in poor developing countries by 2005." In a statement that suggests the impotence of the UN in its current form, the project's director Jeffrey Sachs mentioned that "Until now [5 years after the project's goals were established], we did not have a concrete plan for achieving (those goals)."

The report:

¹makes suggestions on how to ensure that countries that receive aid use it properly;

¹proposes reforms in the international agencies and civil networks that help in development, in order to make the entire system more efficient, transparent, and accountable; and,

¹endeavors to convince developed countries that it is in their ultimate interest to contribute between .44% and .7% of their GDP to development efforts.

The direction the United States may take in Annan's September meetings will be largely based upon a **Congressional Task Force** that was set up in response to the corruption in the UN's Oil-for-Food program, that was brought to light recently by the **Volker report**. **Newt Gingrich** and **George Mitchell** have been selected (and endowed with \$1.5 million) to lead a 12-member task force to create actionable suggestions as to how the US should react. With coordination from the **U.S. Institute of Peace**, the group will consult America's most notable think tanks, both liberal and conservative.

UN reformers will remember that Congressional involvement in UN change is nothing new. In 1993, any prospect of positive developments from the **US Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations** was foiled by conservative Republicans. Ten years later, HR 3079 calling for the establishment of a **National Commission on the Modernization of the United Nations** failed to gain any momentum. Gingrich claims that there are several reasons why this time will be different. (1) The task force will focus on the UN from the perspective of American interests and responsibilities, not on the basis of an abstract notion of international community or of the concerns of other countries. (2) Its results will be based on the results of fact-finding missions and assessments of UN activities everywhere, not just in New York and Geneva. (3) It would produce by June a realistic, actionable plan for US actions to help strengthen the UN. (4) Composed of a bipartisan group of leading Americans, it will bring expertise not only from politics and government, but also from the military, business, and academia.

Global civil society organizations may also have suggestions to offer. Already, in January 2005 at the fifth **World Social Forum** (in which an estimated 200,000 people participated) there were major discussions on creating a "global alliance" to push for a more democratic, representative, and accountable UN. --ES

READERS RESPOND

WE NEED REGIONAL FEDERATIONS

The Autumn 04 *TDWF* contained an article: "Many Paths to Our Goal," that mentions a 2002 [sic] Resolution that "...The WFA...shall in its educational efforts...present balanced information about ..." This is followed by six suggested goals. There is no mention of a region-by-region approach to the creation of a World Federation, under the UN or otherwise.

Let us compare the plans mentioned with another one.

Following WWI, the **League of Nations** was organized. Following WWII, the **United Nations** was established. Both confederations were basically debating societies, not governing legislatures. Both lacked security forces, having neither police nor military powers. As a result, neither has succeeded in ending the scourge of war. It is not difficult to understand why these bodies were denied armies. The people of the world - myself included - do not trust having such great military power, a World Army, unified under a single command.

Both the League and the UN may be categorized as "all-at-once" efforts. The [2002] resolution, which discusses a UN Charter Review Conference and/or World Constitutional Convention, promotes two more "all-at-once" efforts. Each aspires to produce reforms for the entire world.

Is there an alternative, one in which there can be security forces powerful enough to enforce laws and maintain peace between the nations of the world, but not so powerful as to threaten to become a world dictatorship? One that does not require a worldwide "all-at-once" revolution?

I believe that there is. It is **Regional Democratic Federations** (RDF), each with a **Regional Security Organization** (RSO). These RSO's would include police, diplomats, mediation facilities, humanitarian assistance, and military forces adequate to stop an assault by any nation within the region or by any of its neighbors.

We have now extant a regional democratic federation in Europe. For almost 60 years the countries of that region have kept the peace internally, cooperated economically (through the **Coal and Steel Community** and later via the **European Union**) and (through NATO) defended themselves from Soviet intrusion.

These RDF's can serve as the building blocks of a World Federation. Countries within a common region are more likely to realize that many modern problems do not stay contained within national boundaries, and, as a result, they should be more likely to take an active interest in creating mutually beneficial circumstances. While that is occurring, the people within a region learn to trust the enforcement powers of their RSO and also begin to solve problems through collective democracy.

Throughout history, democracies tend not to go to war with other democracies. As each region will be democratic, the chances for inter-regional war will be slim. A Democratic World Federation can ensure peace and cooperation between the regions.

After years of studying this issue, it is my own conviction that the region-by-region strategy, not the all-at-once strategy, has the best chance of creating a Democratic World Federation.

-- James Adams Ph.D., member of DWF's Board of Directors and U.S. Steering Committee of the **Global Action to Prevent War**.

*Editor's note: The **European Union** is making progress toward becoming a democratic regional federation. Its members are already*

discussing the creation of a EU military force and throughout the year European states will be conducting a referendum on a proposed new European Constitution.

*The success of this region has spawned other regional federations, as can be seen in the fledgling **African Union** and the developing **South American Community of Nations**. (For more on that group's aspirations see the quote on page 8.)*

WORKING TOGETHER FOR A WORLD CONSTITUTION

The four preconditions for a World Constitution stated in Bob Gauntt's resolution are precisely satisfied by the **Constitution for the Federation of Earth** (CFE) drawn up by the **World Constitution and Parliament Association**. Surely it makes no sense that organizations so closely in agreement and with the same ultimate goal should not cooperate, and for the Northern Californian World Federalists to refrain from ratifying the Constitution for the Federation of Earth and combining with the **Global Ratification and Election Network** (GREN) in the campaign for final ratification.

Your short-term goals would be acceptable only if they led to a prompt replacement of the UN Charter by such a Constitution, subject to amendment (as the CFE is) by a democratically elected World Parliament or by the popular petition.

It is useless to "reform" the UN in other respects (e.g., increasing the size of the Security Council) as long as the present Charter remains in force, for it is fatally flawed by its Article 2 committing it to respect the sovereignty of the members, and by its Chapter VI, providing warlike measures as ostensible means to the preservation of world peace. If these two features are removed, the rest of the Charter becomes virtually meaningless.

It would be a great step forward if you and Glen Martin could get together and bring about some effective way of working in coordination.

-- Prof. Errol E. Harris, Amerside, England

"Your newsletter...was a refreshing change from the 'Amerika ueber Alles' attitude of our current government and media propaganda machine."--Fred Unterleitner, Placerville, CA

"The Autumn edition was outstanding. It's wonderful to be once again reading a publication that speaks honestly and openly about enforceable world law and world government."

--Wm. F. Bartholomew, Jr., Manchester, MO

"Thanks for your great publication, *Toward Democratic World Federation*, and the fact that your organization seems to be the best remaining organization for UWF's and WFA's goals."

-- Robert Stuart, Past W.F.A. Board Chairman, Cape Coral, FL

"Thank you for sending me *Toward Democratic World Federation*. Selalu senang membaca ulasan dan kritik Anda! [I'm always happy to read your analyses and critiques.]"

--Mardjono Reksodiputro, Jakarta, Indonesia

Concerning T.D.W.F.) "Congratulation on your good effort for freedom and peace."--Kartini Nurdin, Jakarta, Indonesia

"It's very brave of you guys to keep sounding the trumpet of one world. It's the biggest idea in the history of history. It's an idea that's in utter eclipse today. [We need] to keep talking unapologetically about what we see -- however distant -- as the destiny of humankind. I'm glad you guys do have such courage. It will, eventually, pay off. One day our descendants will recognize those who carried the torch." --Tad Daley, Los Angeles, CA

ERRATUM:

The cited WFA resolution was passed in the fall of 1992, not 2002, as stated in our previous issue.

"Deckchairs on the Titanic..." continued from page 1

no power?" How about considering some kind of weighted voting (already used in both the international financial institutions and the EU)? More importantly, how about giving the General Assembly the same kind of power to enact binding international law over at least certain matters that the Security Council now possesses?

¹How about a global forum of non-governmental organizations, for national governments are hardly the only international actors in the 21st Century?

¹How about a parliamentary assembly, where select national parliamentarians would convene a few times a year in an international forum? Even if only advisory, they would provide a much more direct voice for ordinary citizens on the world stage than executive branch diplomats.

¹Even better, how about creating a directly elected "People's Assembly" to stand alongside the General Assembly as **Prof. Richard Falk** of Princeton and **Prof. Andrew Strauss** of Widener University have proposed? Again, even if only advisory, this body would recognize that people in most democracies elect particular individuals to represent them at the local, regional, and national levels. They should have the right to do so at the global level as well. Already, a working model of this system is found in the European Parliament..

George F. Kennan takes the concept one step further by floating the idea of creating some kind of "Global House of Councilors," whose members would represent not any particular state or region, but the welfare of the whole of the human community.

Few of these ideas, of course, are politically realistic in the near term. But how can we ever change the political realities of the near term if we don't even discuss what might be desirable in the long

term? Couldn't the panel have both made specific recommendations to be considered during the 60th anniversary year and put forth some ideas that might be explored further down the road?

Outside of San Francisco, at John Muir Woods, home of some of the the oldest living things on Planet Earth, one can find a heavy metal plaque dated April 29, 1945 - ten days before the surrender of Nazi Germany, more than three months before the atomic devastation of Japan. It reads: "Here in this grove of enduring redwoods, preserved for posterity, members of the United Nations Conference on International Organizations met on April 29, 1945, to honor the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Thirty-Second President of the United States, Chief Architect of the United Nations, and Apostle of Lasting Peace for all Mankind."

Back in Washington, DC, the Jefferson Memorial bears the statement: "I am not an advocate for frequent changes in laws and constitutions. But laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind....We might as well require a man still to wear the coat which fitted him when a boy as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors."

For those who aspire to lasting peace today, it is imperative that these messages are taken to heart, It's time to seek imaginative new architects who are not held hostage by the designs of our barbarous ancestors. It's time to fashion a grown-up coat for the storms of the 21st Century.

Tad Daley Jr, Ph.D. is a Senior Policy Advisor for the Progressive Democrats of America. Previously, he has served as an Issues and Policy Director for Dennis Kucinich during his 2004 presidential campaign, and the Chief Deputy to former US Senator Alan Cranston. Dr. Daley is a dedicated Supporter of the Democratic World Federalists.

collection of various international agencies (functionalism) with possibly some minor modifications in the U.N. Charter to give countries such as Japan and Germany permanent seats on the Security Council.

(3) A very gradual transformation of the U.N. toward a federal system (rule of law) where the national governments retain much of their sovereignty but a democratically representative world legislature is developed perhaps on the model of the evolving European Union. In looking at the present situation, Baratta concludes that "a world federal government that would remain democratic and truly protective of world citizens is almost everywhere regarded as something for the far future."

"But," says Baratta, "from our perspective, to speak of [global] governance, not [world] government, is to speak only of the product, not the producer.... Federalists want world government ... not as a good in itself but as the necessary instrument to establish peace and justice. Not to talk of government is not to face squarely the issue of willing the means for the end."

In this review I have focused on the theoretical and analytical insights to show that this work is not only historical. At the same time, it is basically a historical work filled with facts, names, dates, documents, quotations, and details about how some actions and events led to other events in quite unpredictable ways. The reader

sees World Federalists and their opponents involved in real political battles with real outcomes. One learns, for example, about the extent to which the Soviet Communists viewed World Federalists as representing the cosmopolitanism being advanced by West even as they were being treated as Communist sympathizers in the United States. The reader also learns about the details of the battles between particular federalists who had differing ideas about what the movement should do and what ideas should be stressed.

The interesting collection of 17 relevant photographs and cartoons is an unexpected bonus. It is also worth mentioning that the excellent Foreword is written by **John B. Anderson**, the last President of the World Federalist Association.

This two-volume set with its \$150 price-tag is obviously designed primarily for libraries and very serious students of world federalism. But its quality, including the exhaustive documentation, appendices of relevant documents, extensive bibliography, and thorough index makes it definitely worth the price.

Ronald J. Glossop, Ph.D., is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy and Peace Studies at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville and author of Philosophy: An Introduction to Its Problems & Vocabulary (1974), World Federation? A Critical Analysis (1993) and Confronting War (4th ed., 2001)

WE'RE THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERALISTS

On 11 February 2005, the Board of Directors of the World Federalists of Northern California, which a year before had incorporated as a public benefit, educational organization in California, took on the new, and hopefully lasting name of **Democratic World Federalists**.

WHO ARE WE AND WHAT ARE WE WORKING FOR?

We, the Democratic World Federalists, are working for Democratic World Federation and have many honorable antecedents to follow. In 1944 **Student Federalists** were already calling for a Federal World Government. In October 1945 many civic American leaders issued the **Declaration of Dublin, N.H.**, which promoted a world federal government. In 1947 some far-seeing men and women from many countries formed the **World Movement for World Federal Government**, as a global body, which later was renamed **World Association for World Federation**, before being shortened to **World Federalist Movement**.

In 1992 we named our quarterly publication *Toward Democratic World Federation*. In 1997 the W.F.A. amended its Goals and Beliefs to declare that to achieve its goal a democratic federal world government was required. Reflecting the growing consensus about what we should be working for, it is essential that we do not shy away from calling ourselves **Democratic World Federalists**.

Our office is in San Francisco, the city where the finishing touches were put on the **United Nations Charter** in 1945, and where we hosted the XXIInd World Congress of the W.F.M. in 1995. California is also the state where in 1949 United World Federalists led by California President **Alan Cranston** and Executive Director **Robert Walker** convinced the State Legislature to pass the first of several state resolutions calling for the United States to participate in a world federal government.

But, befitting, an organization working for a government *for all*

humanity, we've discarded geographic limitations and opened ourselves to World Federalists from anywhere. By the end of our first year, we had Supporters -- many of them distinguished World Federalists -- from Hawaii to Massachusetts and from Oregon to Florida, as well in Canada and several European countries. We've had nationals from Australia, Canada, China, Germany, India, Spain, Switzerland, and Vietnam working in our office or on our governing board.

Many groups have been working to bring the rule of law to the people of the world. Debates have occurred over how this should come about. Some advocate strengthening the United Nations with its General Assembly and Security Council, which had been modeled somewhat after the League of Nations with its Assembly and Council. Some have advocated creating international institutions to deal with specific international problems. Some have proposed producing a popular assembly as a step in democratizing the U.N. Some have proposed developing regional federations, from which a world federation may evolve. Some have advocated holding a world constitutional convention to produce a world federal government. Some have even drafted constitutions for the world community and government.

We invite anyone to become a Supporter who considers him/herself a World Federalist and believes that it is essential to popularize the concept of a Democratic World Federation if the Earth and humanity are ultimately to survive. This can be done by sending in a contribution for 2005, using the coupon below. Not only those who may feel isolated from any organized group are welcome as Supporters of the Democratic World Federalists, but also those who feel themselves to be World Federalists while also supporting other groups with tangentially related interests.
-- JOS

I / We wish to support the **DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERALISTS** with a donation of:

___\$50; ___\$100; ___\$250; ___\$500;
___\$1,000; ___\$2,500; ___\$5,000; ___Other \$_____

Contributors will receive our publication, *Toward Democratic World Federation*, and be eligible for timely e-mail updates on actions and policies relevant to the governing of our world.

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

Please mail checks payable to the Democratic World Federalists to:

55 New Montgomery St. #225, San Francisco, CA 94105

Thank You

MY INFORMATION:

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: (_____) _____ Fax: (_____) _____

JOSEPH P. BARATTA, WORLD FEDERALIST HISTORIAN

To Speak at 2005 Annual Luncheon (see inside for details)

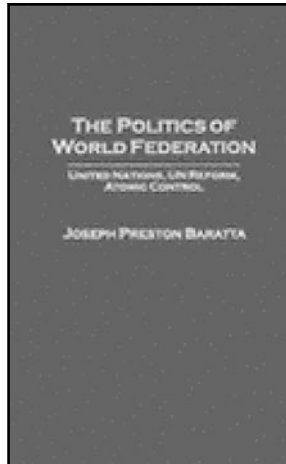
We're honored to have **Professor Joseph Preston Baratta** as the speaker at our first Annual Luncheon of the Democratic World Federalists.

With a dissertation on the origins of the world government movement, 1937-1947, he received his Ph.D. in history from Boston University. He directed the office of WAWF (World Association of World Federalists / for World Federation) at the United Nations in New York, 1985-1988. At present he teaches world history and international relations at Worcester State College in Worcester, Massachusetts.

Dr. Baratta's book *The Politics of World Federation* has just been published by Praeger Press in 2004. A review of it by **Ronald J. Glossop** follows:

World Federalists who would like to know more about their roots have a new treasure here. The first sentence of this new two-volume work by a professional historian (who knows the movement from within as well as through intensive study) succinctly describes the whole: "This book is a history of the practical, political efforts to establish a constitutionally limited, democratically representative, federal world government in order to effectively abolish war."

The first volume covers the historical period up to the beginning of the Cold War in 1947, but it also contains the very valuable "Introduction to Both Volumes." This introduction not only provides a summary overview but also some valuable analytical comments about implementing the World Federalist ideal. For example, Baratta addresses "Major Problems in Constructing World Federation." He mentions four of these issues on which World Federalists differ



among themselves.

(1) Should membership in the world federation at first be limited to democracies, or should it be universal from the beginning?

(2) Should representation in the legislative body of the world federation be proportional to population, or should it take account of other factors such as economic or military power?

(3) Should the world federation be granted just those powers needed to stop wars (and thus tend to preserve the status quo) [the minimalist view], or should it be granted wider powers so it could address issues of justice and equitable distribution of wealth [the maximalist view]?

(4) Should the transition from the existing state of affairs be revolutionary and moved by populism from below, or should it be gradual and evolutionary, relying on trying to influence the policies of those who have power?

In both this introductory chapter and in his concluding chapter of Volume 2, Baratta distinguishes between three possible alternative approaches to world politics which lead to three alternatives for the structure of the U.N.

(1) The international system continues to be a basically national-government-to-national-government (balance-of-power) system with the U.N. being brought in only when necessary to facilitate multilateral diplomacy.

(2) The international system based on collective security continues to evolve very gradually as basically a non-hierarchical

continued on page 6

Toward Democratic World Federation

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

Vol. 14 No. 1
Winter 2005

DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERALISTS

55 New Montgomery St., Suite 225
San Francisco, CA 94105-3421
Phone: 1-415-227-4880, Fax: 1-415-227-4878
e-mail: dwfed@dwfed.org
www.dwfed.org

Nonprofit Org.
U. S. Postage
PAID
San Francisco, CA

ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED

Table of Contents

Rearranging Deck Chairs on the Titanic	1
Objectives & Purposes	2
6 - Point Program	2
Thank You	2
Lucile W. Green, 1917-2004	3
UN Change On the Way?	4
Special Announcement of 2005 Annual Luncheon	<i>insert</i>
Readers Respond	5
We're the Democratic World Federalists	7

*"Sooner, rather than later, we shall have a single currency, a single passport, [and] a parliament with directly elected representatives for this new nation that we are creating today." -- Peruvian President Alejandro Toledo, 8 Dec. 2004, on occasion of the signing of the **Cuzco Declaration**, a statement announcing the formation of a South American Community of Nations*

