

# Toward Democratic World Federation

Publication of the Democratic World Federalists

Vol. 16, No. 2

Spring 2007

## MONTREUX DECLARATION -- STILL RELEVANT AFTER 60 YEARS

*In August 1947 Max Habicht of Switzerland hosted the first world congress of the world-wide movement for world federation, where more than 300 participants representing 51 organizations from 24 countries produced the following declaration:*

We world federalists meeting in Montreux [Switzerland] at the first international congress of the **World Movement for World Federal Government**, call upon the peoples of the world to join us in our work.

We are convinced that mankind cannot survive another world conflict.

Two years have passed since the fighting ended, but Europe and Asia are still strewn with the wreckage of war.

The work of rehabilitation is paralyzed; the peoples suffer from lack of shelter, food and clothing, while the nations waste their substance in preparing to destroy each other.

The second attempt to preserve peace by means of a world organization, the United Nations, is powerless, as at present constituted, to stop the drift of war.

We world federalists are convinced that the establishment of a **world federal government** is the crucial problem of our time. Until it is solved, all other issues, whether national or international, will remain unsettled. It is not between free enterprise and planned economy, nor between capitalism and communism that the choice lies, but between federalism and power politics. Federalism alone can assure the survival of man.

We world federalists affirm that mankind can free itself forever from war only through the establishment of a **world federal government**. Such a federation must be based on the following principles:

1. **Universal membership:** The **world federal government** must be open to all peoples and nations.
2. **Limitation of national sovereignty** and the transfer to the **world federal government** of such legislative, executive and judicial powers as relate to the world affairs.
3. Enforcement of **world law** directly on the individual wherever or wherever he may be, within the jurisdiction of the **world federal government**: guarantee of the rights of man and suppression of all attempts against the security of the federation.
4. Creation of **supranational armed forces** capable of guaranteeing the security of the **world federal government** and of its member states. **Disarmament** of member nations to the level of their internal policing requirements.

5. Ownership and control by the **world federal government** of atomic development and of other scientific discoveries capable of mass destruction.
6. Power to raise adequate revenues directly and independently of state taxes.

We propose to make use of any reasonable methods which can contribute to the early achievement of **world federal government to prevent another world war**.

We consider that integration of activities at regional and functional levels is consistent with the true federal approach. The formation of **regional federations** - insofar as they do not become an end in themselves or run the risk of crystallizing into blocs - can and should contribute to the effective functioning of federal government. In the same way, the solution of technical, scientific and cultural problems which concern all the peoples of the world will be made easier by the establishment of specialist functional bodies.

Taking into account these principles, we recommend the following lines of action:

1. The mobilization of the peoples of the world to bring pressure on their governments and legislative assemblies to **transform the United Nations Organization into world federal government** by increasing its authority and resources, and by amending its Charter.
2. Unofficial and concerted action: in particular the preparation of a **world constituent assembly**, the plan of campaign for which shall be laid down by the Council of the Movement in close cooperation with the parliamentary groups and federalist movements in the different countries. This assembly, set up in collaboration with organized international groups, shall meet not later than 1950 for the purpose of drawing up a constitution for the **world federal government**. This plan shall be submitted for ratification, not only by the governments and parliaments, but also to the peoples themselves, and every possible effort shall be made to get the **world federal government** finally established in the shortest possible time.

Without prejudging the results of these two methods of approach, we must expand our action as quickly as possible, so that we may take advantage of any new opportunities which present themselves to the federalist cause. One thing is certain; we shall never realize **world federal government** unless all the peoples of the world join in the crusade.

More than ever time presses. And this time we must not fail.

# Toward Democratic World Federation

Vol. 16, No.2 • ISSN 1091-8965

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## THE PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES OF DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERALISTS ARE:

A. To promote an understanding of the principles that:

- Common Humanity** The people of the world, as interconnected members of a common humanity, must recognize that the well-being and safety of anyone should be of concern to everyone.
- Global Problems & Benefits** The people are confronted by global problems, such as war and civil conflict, crimes against humanity and anarchy, large-scale poverty and disease, and degradation of the environment. These can be dealt with, and peace and the well-being of the people promoted, through enforceable world laws.
- Sovereignty & Citizenship** The people, as sovereign citizens, are inherently endowed with the authority and the duty to govern themselves, either directly or through elected representatives, on all levels of society and ultimately the world. As citizens, they should respect the rule of law, which their civic participation creates and legitimizes.

- Good Government** The government of all political units must be open, democratic, and accountable to the people and have effective legislative, executive, and judicial branches, with checks and balances.
- Federation** Planet Earth, with unity in its diversity, requires a democratic, federal system of government, where problems from local to global are dealt with by governments at the appropriate level.
- Constitution** A world constitution with a declaration of rights should be promoted by any means possible, e.g., restructuring and democratizing the United Nations, federating a number of regional unions, expanding a community of democracies, or building a new set of institutions of government through a world convention.

B. To develop an organization/movement without borders and spread its message throughout the world via contacts with other civil-society organizations, educational institutions, the media, lawmakers, and the general public.

## COMINGS AND GOINGS

### WELCOME NEW BOARD MEMBERS & STAFF

As it's 2007 Annual Meeting, the D.W.F Board of Directors elected three outstanding World Federalists as new directors.

**Dr. Tad Daley** of Los Angeles, a leading spokesman for world federation, had been the prime mover of the Campaign for a New United Nations Charter (C-NUNC). A Councillor of WFM, he had been a member of the Board of Directors of WFA.

**Prof. Ronald J. Glossop** of St. Louis, who had taught at Southern Illinois University in Edwardsville, authored the definitive *World Federation? A Critical Analysis of Federal World Government* (1993). He had been First Vice President of W.F.A.

**Chuck Woolery** of Rockville, Maryland, worked to promote world federation as Issues Director of WFA. He co-founded the Global Connections Foundation and is writing on "The Trilemma: Maximizing Freedom and Security in an Interdependent World."

**Timothy Carter** and **Sarah Wood** have joined the D.W.F. staff. Tim, with a J.D. from Golden Gate University is our new Program Officer. Sarah, with a B.A. from Colorado College is our new Administrative Officer.

### FAREWELL SPRING INTERNS & EXEC. DIRECTOR

Two students from new republics of Asia served as DWF interns: **Nazim Dadashov** of Baku, Azerbaijan and **Ibrokhim Merzakhmedov** of Osh, Kyrgyzstan.

Current Executive Director, **Eric Schultz** will be leaving in August to study public policy at Georgetown University

## MARK YOUR CALENDAR!

### DEMOCRATIC WORLD FEDERALISTS

**30 June: Summer 2007 Meeting of Board of Directors**  
**Come Hear Ron Glossop of St. Louis (new Member of the Board of Directors) speak on "The Meaning of the 21st Century"!**

12:00 M., Brown-bag lunch; 1:00 P.M., Meeting starts;  
Room 221, 55 New Montgomery St., SF. No charge.  
Directors, donor-supporters and others interested in participating, RSVP 1-415-227-4880 or at [dwfed@dwfed.org](mailto:dwfed@dwfed.org).  
Latecomers, ring "#225" at intercom by front door.

## WORDS OF WISDOM FROM PETE McCLOSKEY, POLITICAL LUMINARY

Pete McCloskey had a reputation for being a straight shooter, not only as a Marine, but also as a teacher, activist, and politician. And so, it came as no surprise that the crowd assembled for the DWF Annual Good Government Luncheon Lecture on April 15 at the University of California-Berkeley's International House got a frank, "realistic" appraisal of how our movement might promote its agenda through the American political process.

He believed that his was a "message of hope" because he felt that we have now entered a period in history when the energy and idealism of young people could once again be directed to "the concept of world peace through world law." In fact, he believes that in the period leading up to the November 2008 U.S. Presidential elections, there is greater potential for advocates of world law to make significant strides toward political change than at any period in the previous 30 years. Why? Because, "People are running not only for the Presidency, but we have a majority in the House and Senate, which has finally emerged from the humiliation and debasement of the Republican domination of the past 6 years, that wants to do the right thing, and there is no reason why that right thing can't be a restoration of a working United Nations."

McCloskey drew parallels between our movement in the current political climate and the environmental movement in the political climate of the early 1970's. Both then and now, our nation was at war, optimistic economic and social trajectories suddenly seemed uncertain, and our political system was facing a changing of the guard as a result of ruling party arrogance and corruption. Back then, as a co-founder of Earth Day and a sitting Congressman, McCloskey had an insider's view of how environmentalists gained their power. At our Luncheon Lecture he stated,



"I use the Earth Day example because 20 kids, headed by Denis Hayes, a young civic leader who had only recently graduated from Stanford University, caused the environmental revolution." Given only a small staff of young people, Hayes managed to develop and distribute newsletters to student body presidents of high schools and colleges throughout the country. Besides topical information about the Earth and its environment, these newsletters called for each recipient to help sponsor a local event on April 22 with "teach-ins" on environmental issues. On that April 22, an estimated 20 million persons took part in the first Earth Day.

These same student organizers immediately put this political capital to use. Following Earth Day, they chose 12 Congressmen that were seen as obstacles to progress on environmental issues and used the press to publicly label them as "the Dirty Dozen." During the next elections, student activists mobilized in their districts to enlist voter support for their defeat. Using a tactic of guerrilla warfare (picking off the weakest, not necessarily the worst) they succeeded in seven of the tightest races.

When the next Congress convened, environmentalism -- a movement once thought of being comprised of "kooks, nuts, young people, and little old ladies in tennis shoes that went out watching birds" -- now had real political power. In the next few years, Congress passed the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, Endangered Species Act and Superfund legislation. At the same time, Richard Nixon, an anti-environment president, felt compelled to create the Environmental Protection Agency.

In McCloskey's calculations, our current political landscape is, as it was in 1970, dry tinder just waiting for the spark of a few

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## CHARLES TURK, CHAMPION OF DEMOCRACY



On 6 March, Charles Turk passed away after a long bout with cancer. A computer expert, Dr. Turk and his wife, Sylvia Shih, were long-time supporters of WFA of Northern California and its successors.

At our 2002 Good Government Luncheon Lecture, they readily replaced an indisposed speaker [see photo] and reported on developments at the National

Initiative for Democracy and the Ed and Joyce Koupal Memorial Conference (organized by Senator Mike Gravel that February in Williamsburg, VA).

An early and active director of Philadelphia-II and One World, which promoted the initiative, Charlie designed a formula for participation in an eventual world convention. It was based on population and the level of successful governance attained by the nations, and set a numeric value to their representation. [Anyone interested may get a copy from our office.]

After our organization became independent in 2004, now as Democratic World Federalists, Charlie was a founding member of the Board of Directors and served as Vice President and later, while physically weak but mentally alert, provided sage advice as a Member of our Board of Advisors.

A long-time fighter for human rights, Charlie was a wise and gentle advocate, who will be greatly missed.--JOS  
(Memorial contributions may be made using the coupon on p.7.)

## **BANNING BOMBS, FROM BOMBLETS TO NUKES**

by Rene Wadlow, Geneva, Switzerland

### **BAN CLUSTER BOMBS: A U.N. CALL**

At the Review Conference on the Convention on Prohibitions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which may be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to have Indiscriminate Effects [come up for air!], UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called for urgent action to address the disastrous impact of cluster munitions, especially when used in populated areas as happened in last summer's conflict in Lebanon.

He stressed that "Recent events show that the atrocious, inhumane effects of these weapons -- both at their time of use and after the conflict ends -- must be addressed immediately so that civilian populations can start rebuilding their lives."

The UN Mine Action Coordination Centre (UNMACC) working in southern Lebanon reported that their density there was higher than in Kosovo and Iraq, especially in built up areas, posing a constant threat to hundreds of thousands of people, humanitarian and reconstruction workers as well as to UN peacekeepers. An estimated one million cluster bombs were fired on south Lebanon during 34 days of war, many during the last two days of war when a ceasefire was a real possibility. The Hezbollah also shot off rockets with cluster bombs into northern Israel.

Israeli cluster bombs were reportedly "Made in the USA," while those of Hezbollah came from Iran. Therefore, one of the first necessary steps is a ban on the transfer of cluster munitions.

Cluster munitions are containers that hold a number of submunitions such as "bomblets" or "grenades" ranging from a few to hundreds. They can be air-or ground launched.

Thirty-four countries are known to produce cluster weapons and at least 73 states stockpile them -- an estimated four billion. With that many around, there is a real threat that non-state armed groups will also be able to buy them on the "grey market."

The failure rate of cluster munitions is high, ranging from 30 to 80 percent. But they may, in fact, be designed to kill later. The large number of unexploded cluster bombs means that farm lands and forests cannot be used or are used with great danger. Most people killed and wounded by cluster bombs in the 21 conflicts where they have been used are civilians, often young.

Thus, there has been a growing momentum on the part of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to call for banning cluster bombs. Along with Handicap International, Human Rights Watch, and the Mennonite Central Committee, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) called for stopping the use of cluster bombs and for destroying stockpiles.

In 1973 the ICRC had called together a Working Group on Conventional Weapons. In view of wide use by US forces of napalm in Vietnam, a ban on incendiary weapons was at the center of the discussions. Less well known was the increasing use by the US troops of an ancestor of cluster bombs--"flechettes" made of hard plastic, which injure but are not detectable in the body by x-rays.

In view of the widespread feeling among diplomats that the

United Nations had not been able to prevent the wars in Indo-China, Sweden, a country active in proposing disarmament measures, led a conference in Geneva. A treaty was negotiated that would ban or limit the use of certain conventional weapons, such as incendiaries or laser weapons designed to cause permanent blindness. The treaty was to again make central a principle of the Hague Conferences at the start of the 20th Century, that combatants must refrain from employing weapons that might cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects. The resulting Convention is an umbrella treaty containing general principles to which can be attached protocols; there are currently five, each dealing with a single category of weapon. Public reaction to the use of napalm linked to a general reaction against the war in Vietnam was the starting point of the effort carried first by NGOs and a small number of governments.

Perhaps the indiscriminate use of cluster bombs against Lebanon and a growing realization of the dangers in the Middle East will similarly lead to sustained efforts, first a freeze on the use, then a ban on transfers, and a ban on production, followed by a destruction of stockpiles. NGO efforts for such a ban need to be in as many countries as possible, and there needs to be a highly visible public support before an ICRC working group meets in 2007 to consider the technicalities of such a ban. It is now time to build the momentum.

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### **MIDDLE EAST NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE**

Mohamed ElBaradei, Director of the U.N.'s International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) called on Iran and Israel to enter into serious negotiations to create a nuclear-weapon-free -- [NWF] zone in the Middle East -- a zone in which both would be members. He spoke on 15 April 2007 following talks in Jordan with King Abdullah II. Jordan, caught between Iraq and growing tensions between Israel and Palestine, has been trying to play a more active role of regional peacemaker.

ElBaradei stressed that a peace agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors "must be reached in parallel with a security agreement in the region based on ridding the area of all weapons of mass destruction."

Both US and Israeli strategic planners have likely envisaged the possibility of strikes against the nuclear installations of Iran. To what extent such a dangerous and basically unrealistic strategy is taken as an option "on the table" is impossible to know. What is sure is that the degree of tension in the Middle East over Iran, Iraq, and Israel-Palestine has been growing. Thus, responsible leaders are trying to reduce tensions with proposals for new negotiations -- regional talks on the Israel-Palestine conflict, regional talks on the future of Iraq, negotiations on a NWF zone in the Middle East or a broader Organization for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East.

The hazards of nuclear proliferation in the Middle East have existed since Israel developed its bombs and was widely discussed

in the early 1980s after Israeli forces destroyed the French-built nuclear reactor near Baghdad in June 1981. Nuclear proliferation has always had its ardent supporters who believe that security is increased by enlarging the number of states with credible deterrence [shades of the NRA!]. This view, often referred to as the "porcupine theory," suggests that a nuclear weapon state can walk like a porcupine through the forests of international affairs: no threat to its neighbors, too prickly for predators to swallow.

However, the Middle East is filled not with porcupines but with men who may not be immune to irrationality. Irrationality at national leadership levels is known in world politics, and risk-taking even by rational leaders can get out of control. Thus, with the current impossibility of having a NWF world, the concept of regional nuclear-weapon-free zones has spread.

A nuclear-weapon-free zone was first suggested by the Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki at the UN General Assembly in October 1957. The crushing of the Hungarian revolt by Soviet troops and the unrest among Polish workers showed that the East-West equilibrium in Central Europe was unstable with both the Soviet Union and the USA in possession of nuclear weapons, and perhaps a willingness to use them if the political situation became radically unstable. The Rapacki Plan called for the de-nuclearization of East and West Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. However, it never led to negotiations on nuclear-weapon policies in Europe.

The first nuclear-weapon-free zone to be negotiated was a direct aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. A nuclear exchange between the USA and the USSR was close enough so that Latin American leaders were moved to action. The Cuban missile crisis was a warning that one did not need standing armies facing each other for there to be danger.

Mexico under the leadership of Ambassador Alfonso Garcia-Robles at the UN began immediately to call for a

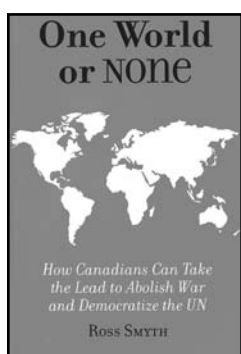
de-nuclearization of Latin America. In February 1967 the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America was signed at Tlatelolco, Mexico. It established a permanent and effective system of control which contains a number of novel and pioneering elements as well as a body to supervise the Treaty.

On 8 September 2006, the five states of Central Asia -- Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan -- signed the treaty establishing a NWF zone. It aims at reducing the risk of nuclear proliferation and nuclear-armed terrorism. The treaty bans the production, acquisition, deployment of nuclear weapons and their components as well as nuclear explosives. It also bans the hosting or transport of nuclear weapons, as both Russia and the USA have established military airbases in Central Asia where nuclear weapons could have been placed in times of crisis in Asia.

The treaty was signed at Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan, which was the main testing site for Soviet nuclear weapons. Between 1949 and 1989 some 500 nuclear tests took place there, leaving a heritage of radioactivity and health problems. A non-governmental organization "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" was formed in the 1980s of American and Soviet nationals who had lived in the nuclear-weapon test areas. Its aim was to work to abolish nuclear weapons and to push compensation for persons suffering from the health consequences of the tests.

It is an unfortunate aspect of world politics that constructive, institution-building action is usually undertaken only because of a crisis. The growing pressure building in the Middle East could lead to concerted leadership for a Middle East NWF zone. The IAEA has the technical knowledge for putting such a zone in place. Now there needs to be leadership from within the Middle East states as well as broader international encouragement.

--Rene Wadlow is editor of the online journal of world politics --  
[www.transnational-perspectives.org](http://www.transnational-perspectives.org).



**ONE WORLD OR NONE:  
HOW CANADIANS CAN TAKE THE  
LEAD TO ABOLISH WAR AND  
DEMOCRATIZE THE UN**

By Ross Smyth (Montreal, Price-Patterson Ltd., 2006)

Review by Bob Neumann

This is a sad book in many ways, as it reminds us that decades of effort by many talented persons and groups have changed nothing. The idea of world government is less than spit in the world's consciousness.

U Thant, when head of the United Nations, gave a speech to the World Congress of World Federalists in Ottawa, Canada on 23 August 1970, which Smyth quotes in its entirety. Reading this speech 37 years later, one realizes that it does NOT need to be updated as to world needs and problems. All the calls for UN reforms to handle wars and world problems differently have been ignored, as we muddle along with the same problems U Thant

lays out in his speech.

For decades, as President of the World Federalists of Canada, Smyth was involved in many of the attempts to improve world order and to deal with world problems. The abolition of war especially appealed to him as a basic need of humanity. "We must convince the public that **the Number One enemy of society is the institution of war itself.**" With this book, he seeks to collect and distribute the information that his fellow Canadians would need to mobilize toward that end.

The world government movement is now sixty years old (perhaps over a hundred, if you date back to the Hague Peace Conferences), yet change to the global political order is still needed, and our global problems have only grown worse. Still Smyth has the patience to believe, "an evolution toward world government will be an evolution accelerated by rapid periods of progress." Through it all, Smyth never loses track of the goal -- the end of wars and the ability for humanity to finally work on worldwide problems through a world government. This book adds depth and perception to what the World Federalists and other like-minded groups have been struggling for over the last six decades.

*"Democratic Deficits" continued from page 8*

upon the unfortunate population of Iraq as a consequence of that decision was in no way one that they chose. Nor are other peoples in the region or even further afield in any way responsible for those decisions that might well lead to wars engulfing their own countries and the rest of the world. The nominal claims of Blair and Bush to be democratic are false, but that remains unobserved by their nationalist followers.

The growth of an interdependent world has other unobserved effects on democracy. For example, unrestrained economic development, fostered and hastened by governments everywhere, is leading to global climatic change and environmental destruction. Even if the world were to reform its political system to provide access and input to governmental decision-making, the fact that billions in this world live lives marked by poverty, disease, hardship, and uncertainty would remain a formidable obstacle to full democracy.

Assuming that one could measure the degree of democracy and assign a figure of 100 to the ideal of "full," nowhere near that figure is attained in more than a handful of small communities. Even in the fully developed democracies the democratic index may not exceed 70 or 80. Our ready use of the term "democracy" may satisfy our crude political fumbblings, but the incessant criticisms of political leaders in those societies may raise some doubts. World citizens everywhere deserve better than this.

-- This article is one of over 60 World Citizen Letters to be found on [www.jrmondialist.org](http://www.jrmondialist.org), where comments are always welcome.

*"McCloskey" continued from page 3*

motivated youth leaders to ignite a sweeping social/political movement. Only this time, rather than environmentalism, the movement may be one working for "a United Nations that works and an American people that prefers having a United Nations that works to sending our kids to Iran, Iraq or Afghanistan or anywhere else we want a regime change."

McCloskey commented on some obstacles to this process -- chief among them being the influence of money on our political process. As an example, he cited the extraordinary influence of the Zionist lobby in the US Congress. By preventing the US from enforcing UN resolutions related to the fair resolution of the Israeli/Palestine issue, this group has undermined the credibility of not only the US but and the entire UN system. The problem, as McCloskey sees it, is not that people should seek to exert influence in issues that they feel deeply about, it is that our political system enables those people to entertain those whims by buying power. McCloskey called for public financing of political campaigns as one way to return policy-making to the realm of reason.

He also warned that politicians, regardless of party affiliation, in time tend to become corrupted by power. He stated that the most important rules of political science are "never trust a politician" and "power corrupts." That point was made chillingly clear when, in responding to a question about the possibility of govern-

ment collusion in 9/11, he stated, "I don't think you can ever fully write off what the CIA or political leaders are capable of if they reach the conclusion that my classmate John Erlichman did, that the national security requires the election of a certain person."

During the Q&A session McCloskey reminded those wishing to promote a political agenda to make sure to find a "horse," that is, a particular Congressperson who will take up and carry one's agenda to Congress as a whole. When doing so, one should also be alert about which Congressional committee has jurisdiction over the subject and who is on that committee. Finally, true to his blue-collar, practical perspective on political affairs, he cautioned world governmentals that, "Politics is the art of what is possible. You have to think what is possible in our world, not how you would like it, or dream it. You have to think -- what can we

*"Parliamentary Assembly" continued from page 7*

national policies and interests. Without prior radical reforms nationally and internationally, the main difference from the General Assembly would be proportional representation and the illusion of more democracy and greater fairness.

How acceptable this arrangement would be to the existing major democracies, which would then be in a structural minority, should not be taken lightly.

There are important reasons, therefore, to **adhere to the federal principle as the basis for a democratic world government**. Among other advantages, it meets the issues raised by the proposal for a UN Parliament. The issue of unequal standards of democracy is met by federation, since **all member states must be equally democratic for any federation to be able to function**. The issue of constituency size is a symptom of the political and economic fragmentation of much of the world, a basic problem which must be met by the **creation of new regional federations wherever necessary**. The issue of the unequal population of the world's regions and continental states can then be met by a bicameral federal legislature along the lines of the US Congress. Above all, before the house is built, the foundations must be well prepared.

With eyes open to the possible pitfalls, I will say that a UN parliament is nonetheless worth supporting. Such an initiative may rally support, generate momentum and, by exposing underlying issues, lead to something better than what its authors evidently have in mind.

"The man who in times of popular excitement boldly and unflinchingly resists hot-tempered clamor for an unnecessary war, and thus exposes himself to the opprobrious imputation of a lack of patriotism or of courage, to the end of saving his country from a great calamity, is, as to 'loving and faithfully serving his country,' at least as good a patriot as the hero of the most daring feat of arms, and a far better one than those who, with an ostentatious pretense of superior patriotism, cry for war before it is needed, especially if then they let others do the fighting." -- *Carl Schurz, German revolutionary and U.S. Senator, April 1898.*

# A DEMOCRATIC U.N. PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY?

By Peter Bailey, Ottawa, Ontario

As a democratic world federalist, I confess I have serious reservations about any proposals for a world parliament which is not part of a federal governmental structure. I believe that a world parliament cannot be both global and democratic in the present international circumstances without significant prior international reform. I also fear that, in the absence of a federal structure, its composition would cause political tensions that would render it not merely ineffective but, by its example, possibly counterproductive to the larger goal of world government. At best, it might reveal a route to avoid. Let me explain.

The essential purpose of world parliament proposals is presumably to promote democracy at the global level and do so in two senses. First, to prepare the way for an assembly directly elected throughout the world and, secondly, to allow all countries to be represented in proportion to their population.

Direct election faces several challenges, not least of which is the size of the constituencies. Given a world population of 7 billion, an assembly of 1,000 representatives would require constituencies of 7 million each. Sixty percent of the world's countries have populations of less than 7 million, most far less. Many constituencies would therefore have to include several countries, which raises political as well practical issues. Wisely, direct election is not an immediate goal.

The interim solution is that countries would send representatives drawn from existing national legislatures. Country representation in proportion to population is immediately attainable and would surely be insisted on by countries around the world. I assume that the proponents of a UN parliament do not

envisage a founding body of representatives from a limited number of countries (such as the existing democracies), but I wonder if the implications of a proportionately representative world assembly in present circumstances have been thought through.

Such an assembly of 1,000 delegates must reflect the distribution of the world population. Asia would have roughly 600 seats (including China 200 and India 160), Africa 120, North America 80 (including the USA 45), the European Union 80, South America 50, Russia 22. Most countries would therefore have to share a delegate, and many governments would have to find a formula for joint representation by one representative, similar perhaps to that devised by the IMF and IBRD (although that would mean government-appointed delegates, which is what the UN Parliament proposal is seeking to avoid).

In the world community of the future, a similar distribution of seats will be normal and, contained in a federal structure, not a problem. All federal states will enjoy political democracy; aggressive separatist nationalism will have faded away; the political party spectrum from left to right will be federal and global, transcending state boundaries and loyalties.

However, in a Parliament tacked on to the present U.N., the proportion of delegates who would be independent voices, free to speak and vote as their reason and conscience dictate, would be in a definite minority. Most, whether they are from authoritarian or quasi-democratic states, whether individuals representing several states or in blocs selected in effect by their governments, would be the voices of the governments that sent them, representing

*continued on page 6*

**Help us share the knowledge that can lead to a just and sustainable world  
by supporting the Democratic World Federalists.**

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## DEMOCRATIC DEFICITS

By John Roberts of Littlehampton, West Sussex

"Democracy is a system of government in which those ruled are, in some proportionate measure, willing and able to participate in decisions that affect their lives." Without the means to make this possible there will be deficits that make democracy ineffective or even impossible. Thus, while it may be simple for a parishioner to have a say in the way his own parish is run, in the progression to larger units of government things often become far more complicated.

Democracy is a relative term. This is made very clear in any examination of democratic history. A society may start from a hierarchy, but is likely, over time, to broaden the ruling group to a point where it can be described no longer as a monarchy or a tyranny, but has become an oligarchy. There is a case to be made for giving societies a numerical value -- say 40%, 50% or 60% democratic; and following that, the likely implication would be that only those having over 50% could be termed democracies.

Britain began as a number of tribal kingdoms which were reduced, over centuries, to a single monarchy in England, which, despite imperialist ventures into Wales, Ireland, Scotland and France, developed a broader system of representative government. That was of an oligarchy dominated by land-holders, who in time challenged the monarchy and in the 17th Century overthrew it. In such times no politician or ruler suggested that democracy was a feasible system of government.

The progression towards a wider participation in government gathered pace during the 19th Century in Britain. Apart from a brief flirtation with radical ideas in the mid-17th Century English republic, the first time that any serious demand for democracy

arose was with the French Revolution of 1789. It became clamorous in 1830 with the first Reform Act and the People's Charter in Britain. The second Reform Act of 1868 and successive legislation saw greater and greater popular participation, and by 1900 Great Britain could reasonably be termed a democracy.

Nevertheless, not until 1928 were all adult women given the right to vote. Meanwhile, powers of the House of Lords prevented full popular say in decisions of government in a monarchy retaining a minimum of political power but a degree of influence and residuary powers. A more serious deficit lay in inequalities of education, wealth, social standing and living conditions that prevented full access to decision-making on the part of a majority. A theoretical democracy was in fact still deficient.

Furthermore, the world of which Britain is a part had moved on while the British struggle for democracy was taking place, and that created or transformed democratic deficits in ways still unobserved by the majority. The rise of vast alliances in which decisions are taken by governments often far away in attitude from their electorates has brought new challenges. Decisions affecting all Europe now have to be taken by Europeans as a whole if they are to be considered democratic. Even more significant in an interdependent world, democracy often has to be not merely local, regional, national and continental, but also global.

For example, when two "democratic" leaders, George W. Bush and Tony Blair, launched an attack on Iraq in 2003, the people who were most to be affected, i.e. the Iraqis, had no input into the making of that decision. The chaos that has been heaped

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## Toward Democratic World Federation

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

Vol. 16 No. 2  
Spring 2007

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*Democratic World Government is the only imaginable positive future for humanity.*

-- Timothy Roscoe Carter

