

Appendix A

Key Organizations and Websites in the Global Governance Movement

World Federalist Movement

777 United Nations Plaza, 12th floor
New York, New York 10017
Telephone: (212) 599-1320
Fax: (212) 599-1332
E-mail: wfm@igc.org
<http://www.worldfederalist.org>

The WFM brings together thirty organizations and 30,000 individual members internationally who “call for an end to the rule of force through a world governed by law, based on strengthened and democratized world institutions, [and] inspired by the democratic principles of federalism.” The WFM is headquartered across the street from the United Nations in New York City, and is an accredited non-government organization (NGO) through the Economic and Social Council of the UN. It serves as the secretariat for the NGO Coalition for an International Criminal Court, a 1,000+ coalition of civil society organizations.

Citizens for Global Solutions

418 Seventh Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003-2769
Telephone: (202) 546-3950
Fax: (202) 546-3749
Email: info@globalsolutions.org
<http://www.globalsolutions.org>

CGS was formed in 2004 out of the merger of the Campaign for UN Reform and the World Federalist Association, two of the largest organizations in the movement for world government in the United States. Today the CGS “envisions a future in which nations work

together to abolish war, protect our rights and freedoms, and solve the problems facing humanity that no nation can solve alone. This vision requires effective democratic global institutions that will apply the rule of law while respecting the diversity and autonomy of national and local communities.” Now the largest membership organization in the world federalist movement, Citizens for Global Solutions promotes its mission through “member activism and grassroots advocacy, the support of political candidates who share our values, and program initiatives like our International Criminal Court project.” CGS’s ongoing research is conducted by its “think tank”—the World Federalist Institute.

Democratic World Federalists

55 New Montgomery Street, Room 225

San Francisco, CA 94105-3421

Telephone: (415) 227-4880

Email: wfanca@wfanca.org

<http://www.dwfed.org>

DWF evolved out of the San Francisco chapter of the World Federalist Association (now the Citizens for Global Solutions) and presents itself as a friendly alternative to the CGS on the question of tactics. In 2004 it became an independently incorporated tax-exempt educational organization, with a large membership in the San Francisco Bay Area, and supporters in fifteen states and three other countries. Its widely read newsletter is *Toward Democratic World Federation*. The Democratic World Federalists indicate an intention to bring to movements for peace, human rights, and social justice the following message: “The citizens of the world are sovereign, and have the right to participate in self-government, delegating their powers at any level they see fit. The United Nations is not a government; and a world government is needed to address the global problems of war, civil conflict, poverty, disease, environmental damage, and to uphold human rights.”

The World Constitution and Parliament Association

313 Seventh Avenue
Radford, VA 24141
Fax: (540) 831-5919
Email: govt_rules@yahoo.com
<http://www.wcpa.biz>
<http://www.wcpagren.com>
(See also: <http://www.worldproblems.net>)

WCPA provides logistical support to convene consecutive sessions of what it calls the Provisional World Parliament, and it calls for a Founding Ratification Convention for inaugurating democratic federal world government. The WCPA was responsible for creating the Constitution for the Federation of Earth, a project begun in 1958 and completed in 1991. This so-called Earth Constitution was elaborated by hundreds of people from dozens of countries and all continents. Scrutinized by many international lawyers, scientists and human rights specialists, this model constitution has been translated into twenty-two languages. Eight sessions of Provisional World Parliament have been held, enacting thirty world legislative statutes, which the WCPA says provides a legal basis for democratic world government. The laws promulgated by the Provisional World Parliament “are not subject to approval by national governments, but only subject to the duly-elected world parliament, when that forms. We encourage a Founding Ratification Convention, for at least two dozen national governments to simultaneously ratify the Earth Constitution, thereby providing an impetus for rapid world-wide ratification by both nations and people.”

American Movement for World Government

104 Paradise Harbor Blvd, #515
North Palm Beach, FL 33408
Telephone: (561) 863-7187
Fax: (561) 863-5763
<http://www.americanmovementforworldgovernment.org>

When the (former) World Federalist Association turned its focus to a more gradualist approach similar to that of the United Nations, the American Movement for World Government (AMWG) was established in 1955 to provide an alternative. AMWG created “a new home for ‘all’ American world federalists, including those that favored a constitutional convention.” The AMWG recently played a significant role in creating the Coalition for Democratic World Government. It believes that “the growing and unregulated power of transnational corporations, along with superpower preemptive unilateral strikes, strongly suggests that NOW is the time to push for world government.” AMWG is associated with World Peace News (see below).

Association of World Citizens

55 New Montgomery Street, Suite 224
San Francisco, CA 94105
Telephone: (415) 541-9610
Fax: (650) 745-0640
Email: info@worldcitizens.org
<http://www.worldcitizens.org>

The AWC is “an international peace organization” with branches in 50 countries. Founded 1975, it has NGO status with the United Nations and Consultative Status with the UN’s Economic and Social Council. The Association works with “people, progressive governments, and international institutions to help create a democratic world community with global governance capable of maintaining lasting peace and justice through international law. The key to achieve this goal is for people to think and act as responsible Citizens of the World.” For many years, the AWC has been a driving force behind the movement for a “people’s assembly” at the United Nations.

The Ashburn Institute/Association to Unite the Democracies

P.O. Box 77164
Washington, D.C. 20013-7164
Telephone: (202) 220-1388
Fax: (202) 220-1389
Email: info@ashburninstitute.org
<http://www.ashburninstitute.org>

The Ashburn Institute, established in 2004, emerged out of the Association to Unite the Democracies, an organization born in 1939 to promote international peace through the federation of the world's democracies. "We are dedicated to uniting democratic nations, by promoting democracy and cooperation. We do this through educational and cultural exchanges among the representatives of the global community. Greater cooperation and federation will create an environment in which fledging democracies can thrive, and attract other democracies to join. We believe that a federation of democracies is the most effective means to address the common problems of all peoples."

World Service Authority

World Office
1012 14th Street, NW, Suite 205
Washington, D.C. 20005
Telephone: (202) 638-2662
Fax: (202) 638-0638
<http://www.worldservice.org>

The WSA is the administrative branch of the Government of World Citizens, the organization founded in 1953 by seminal world government activist Garry Davis. In 1949, Davis founded the International Registry of World Citizens; over 750,000 individuals in 150 countries registered at that time, and the number currently registered is about one million. The WSA calls itself "a non-profit, global 'city hall' for individuals everywhere who are seeking to evolve the World Government or are seeking assistance from it." Among the documents available from the WSA is the World Passport, the

World ID Card, and the International Residency Permit. To date over 2,500,000 WSA passports have been issued. Over 150 countries have recognized the World Passport on a de facto basis.

Coalition for Democratic World Government

<http://www.cdwg.org>

CDWG is a coalition of many world federalist organizations “working in various ways toward a civilized system of enforceable world law.” The organization has created a very helpful Consensus Report based on interviews with thirty-two prominent world federalists.

United Nations Association

<http://www.unausa.org>

The United Nations Association of the USA is the nation’s largest grassroots foreign policy organization and the leading center of policy research on the UN and global issues. UNA-USA offers the opportunity to connect with issues confronted by the UN and encourages public support for strong US leadership in the United Nations. UNA-USA has more than 20,000 active members in 175 chapters and divisions across the country.

Global Constitution Forum

<http://www.globalconstitutionforum.org>

The World Federalist Movement - Canada

<http://www.worldfederalistscanada.org>

Center for War & Peace Studies

<http://www.cwps.org>

Citizens for a United Earth

<http://www.c-u-e.org>

Vote World Government

<http://www.voteworldgovernment.org>

World Beyond Borders

<http://worldbeyondborders.org>

World Peace News

<http://www.worldpeacenews.org>

Civitatis International

<http://www.civitatis.org>

Home Rule Globally

<http://home.comcast.net/~home.rule.globally>

Consultative Assembly of the People's Congress

<http://ascop.editme.com/home>

Appendix B

Deck Chairs on the Titanic

By Tad Daley, J.D., Ph.D.

Kofi Annan's *High Level Panel for Change* failed to question the fundamental structure of the sixty-year-old UN Charter.

[Editor's note: This piece first appeared on <http://www.alternet.org> and <http://www.inthenationalinterest.com> in Dec 2004 and Jan 2005.]

It is often said incorrectly that the United Nations Charter, framed in San Francisco during the final year of the Second World War, 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, not unreasonably, was "how do we prevent another Adolph Hitler?" The idea at the core of their Charter was that the wartime allies—who became the Security Council's five permanent members—would act in concert to repel all such future aggressions.

But 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 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. (It is often forgotten that the Charter was drafted months before the world even learned of the existence of the atomic bomb). Few of these bear much resemblance to Wehrmacht Panzer divisions racing across the Polish border on the first day of September, 1939.

In this context it was 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 2. 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 slightly varying proposals for expanding the Security Council's membership from fifteen to twenty-four—six seats each for Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. That's it.

The UN's fiftieth anniversary year saw initiatives that proposed a wide range of dramatic changes in the structure of the UN system, 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 report—groups 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 groups and others during 1995.

UN reform has never been much a part of the progressive pantheon. It should be now—at least if we believe in basic notions of democratic political participation, and in giving a more direct voice in the affairs of the world to the peoples of the world . . . rather than letting all the decisions be made exclusively by “great power” governments. . . . It seems quite possible that the opportunity for further restructuring may not come again for—who knows?—perhaps another five or six decades. So consider some of the provocative proposals and fundamental questions that were, in the panel's report, conspicuous only by their absence:

- ◆ Is a small council of “great powers” the only possible mechanism for twenty-first century global governance? Is the San Francisco Charter the only possible kind of UN charter? What kind of UN system would we create if we were designing it from scratch today?

- ◆ Are we going to be stuck with the results of the Second World War forever until the end of time? What could be more anachronistic than a twenty-first century UN owned and operated by the five winners of a conflict that ended in the first half of the last century?
- ◆ If 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.
- ◆ Shouldn't the Arab and Muslim world so central to world politics today have some structural guarantee of permanent representation, rather than just sticking with traditional grade school definitions of geography?
- ◆ Should 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?
- ◆ How about at least modifying or limiting the veto? Even though it is rarely cast, veto calculations dominate virtually every decision the Security Council makes, because it is always necessary to get all five permanent members on board. To allow a single country to defy the whole rest of the world (e.g., when the vote to retain Boutros Ghali-Ghali as UN Secretary General in 1996 was fourteen-to-one in favor—and the one won) is to perpetuate the single most undemocratic institution in world politics today. (It's often taken as self-evident that the US "would never give up the veto," that is, our ability to prevent the rest of the world from doing something we don't want. But the veto allows other countries to stand in our way too. One can envision the US pursuing an initiative that might garner the support of ten or eleven or even fourteen

Security Council members. But if Russia or China or Britain or France stand opposed, the US is forced to choose between dropping the initiative, or pursuing it without Council authorization and in defiance of international law. This, of course, is precisely what happened in early 2003, when the US abruptly announced that it would drop its efforts to secure a new Security Council resolution authorizing a US invasion of Iraq.)

- ◆ Is the ineffectual General Assembly, scarcely mentioned in the panel's report, going to remain forever "one nation, one vote, and no power?" How about considering some kind of weighted voting (already used in both the international financial institutions and the EU)? Such a system could take into account not just population, but also financial contributions to the UN and other common international purposes. (Professor Joseph Schwartzberg of the University of Minnesota has performed elaborate mathematical analyses of how various alternative schemes of this kind might operate in practice.) 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 over war and peace matters?
- ◆ How about a global forum of non-governmental organizations, since national governments are hardly the only international actors in the twenty-first century?
- ◆ How 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.
- ◆ Even better, how about creating a directly elected "People's Assembly" to stand alongside the General Assembly? Professor Richard Falk of Princeton University and Professor Andrew Strauss of Widener University have written about this idea

in fora like Foreign Affairs magazine and the International Herald Tribune. Even if only advisory, this body would recognize that just as people in most democracies elect particular individuals to represent them at the local, regional, and national levels, so too might they do so at the global level. And we've already got a directly elected transnational assembly in at least one place—the European Parliament. Such a global people's assembly could open the gates to the emergence of transnational political parties—a historic step forward for democratic political participation.

- ◆ Can we envision some sort of body that would not just represent parts of the whole, but endeavor to articulate the perspective of the whole, the transnational vital interest, the global public good? George F. Kennan, America's great centenarian sage, has floated 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. They would seek to nurture what the great psychologist Erik Erikson called an "all-human solidarity," what Kennan's Princeton colleague Robert C. Tucker calls an "ethic of specieshood," what Voltaire called "the party of humanity."

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 sixtieth anniversary year and put forth some ideas that might be explored further down the road? If politics, as every undergraduate knows, is the art of the possible, shouldn't panels such as this at least try to serve as a catalyst for expanding the parameters of political possibility?

Drive from San Francisco across the Golden Gate Bridge and turn left, and you will arrive before long at John Muir Woods, home of the oldest living things on Planet Earth. Walk along the path back into the forest for a few miles, and you will come across a

heavy metal and stone plaque set squarely into the earth. It's dated April 29, 1945—ten days before the surrender of Nazi Germany, more than three months before the atomic devastation of Japan, not yet three weeks since the death of arguably the greatest statesman of the age. The plaque says this: “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.”

Get back on the Golden Gate Bridge and cross back into San Francisco, then head East until you get to Washington, DC. Make your way to the Washington Mall and the Jefferson Memorial. There you will find these words: “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's time to seek some imaginative new architects. It's time to stop being held hostage by the designs of our barbarous ancestors. It's time to fashion a grown-up coat for the storms of the twenty-first century.

About the author: Tad Daley, who served as Issues and Policy Director for the presidential campaign of Congressman Dennis Kucinich, is Senior Policy Advisor for Progressive Democrats of America.

Appendix C

The World Federalist Movement: A Short History (With special reference to the role of California)

By Joseph Preston Baratta

[Editor's note: This material is reprinted with permission from a speech originally entitled "California in the History of the World Federalists' Movement." This talk was presented by the author at the annual luncheon of the Democratic World Federalists in San Francisco on April 3, 2005.]

Good afternoon, Ladies and Gentlemen. Greetings under your new name, Democratic World Federalists. I understand that your name change is a response to the abandonment of the name and apparently the ideal by the World Federalist Association, and to the formation of what is called Citizens for Global Solutions.

It is rare for me to have an opportunity to speak before an audience who, I assume, are friendly toward the ideal of a world federation. Our ultimate goal is a world of lasting peace, which means, not the interval between wars, but the presence of justice and liberty, which are the fruits of the rule of law established by government. Federation, then, is the necessary and, we think, practical means to the goal of world peace. In short, it means a constitutionally limited, democratically representative, world federal government, vested with powers by the peoples of the globe and their national governments to enact law reaching to individuals in order to abolish war. To use an old formulation by United World Federalists, "There is no peace without justice, no justice without law, and no law without government."

World federalists saw the *federal* form of world government as the most familiar and practical, since some thirty national federations have been established after the United States, and since a world federation would preserve the historic states while uniting them only for stated purposes, like the maintenance of peace and the regulation

of commerce. “Unity and diversity,” the motto of United World Federalists, has been the watchword.

I speak with some trepidation, because discussion of international organization or a higher form of government than that of historic states, like the United States of America, touches deep learned and instinctive feelings. I have learned that the idea of world federal government makes many people, not elated, but peculiarly angry. Only the young and those wizened by long experience see it as the hope of the world for permanent peace.

I once spoke to a Rotary Club and assumed that, because Rotary has an active international program, my audience would be interested in UN reform, including involvement by business people. They listened in stony silence and did not even applaud politely when I finished. Only later did I realize the depth of American hostility toward the United Nations. Something similar happened when I once spoke on the enforcement of human rights to a university audience.

So if I should fail to address your concerns, I hope you will make use of the question period following to see if I can really come to grips with what matters to you.

I am a historian of practical, political efforts to establish such a constitutionally limited world federation. I have just published a big book, *The Politics of World Federation* (Praeger, 2004). It comes in two volumes: *United Nations, U.N. Reform, Atomic Control* and *From World Federation to Global Governance*. It is a big book, but it deals with a big subject—the abolition of war by the creation of the rule of world law. The ideal is not too difficult to understand, but the practical achievement through a period of transition is the great difficulty. How do we get from here to there?

I decided that the best way to cast light on this problem was to write a critical, documented history of actual efforts to establish a world federation. The period principally traced is from the collapse of the League of Nations through World War II, to the creation of the United Nations Organization, the first use of atomic bombs, the formation of United World Federalists (UWF), the Cold War, and up to the present—that is, about 1935 to 2002. Readers will find,

I think, that the political conditions, though certainly opposed, were not so very different from those today. I also wished to lay bare the record of the courageous efforts and political ingenuity of the world federalists in order to help those in the future—people like you—to learn from mistakes and to find guidance for what will certainly be a long and fierce struggle. Harris Wofford, the founder of Student Federalists, called it “the revolution to establish politically the brotherhood of man.”

G. A. Borgese, the leading spirit of the University of Chicago’s Committee to Frame a World Constitution, used to say that a constitution, like his committee’s Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution, was a *myth*, in the sense of a “proposal to history,” for “a myth incorporates the faith and hope of its age, mediates between the ideal and the real, and calls the mind to action.” Similarly, the Constitution of the United States was a proposal to history, as was the Charter of the United Nations. My book is a history of the progress of the myth of a *more perfect* union for the world.

When the Cold War ended—officially in 1990 when President George H. W. Bush, at the signing of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, said the words, “The Cold War is over”—a great historic opportunity opened for rethinking and reorganizing our world. This opportunity may have been squandered, but I think not quite. UN reform is in the air; so is economic globalization. The European Union has just drafted a constitution. Democratic World Federalists have just formed in northern California!

Let me tell you something about California in the world federalist movement. In 1949, the San Francisco chapter of UWF led the most significant effort to pass a state resolution favoring US participation in a world federal government. It was known as the California plan. Some twenty-two states, historically, passed similar resolutions, but most of them were of the Robert Lee Humber or Massachusetts *non-binding* type. What made the California plan significant was that it was a deliberate exercise of Article V of the US Constitution, which provides that when two-thirds of both houses

of Congress or two-thirds of the *states* (thirty-two in 1949) propose an amendment, Congress must call a convention to amend the Constitution. Historically, all amendments to the Constitution have been composed by Congress and then submitted to the states, where three-fourths are necessary for ratification. The alternative method, whereby the states take the initiative, has never run to completion, but in some cases Congress has been moved to take up the amendment—most notably in the case of the Seventeenth Amendment providing for the direct election of senators, when twenty-eight of the required thirty-two states had demanded the convention (1912–13). Thus, state resolutions pursuant to Article V would be *binding*.

That was the theory of the California plan. The authors explained that Humber-type resolutions, though they had begun to build political support, “do not necessarily result in educating either the members of the legislature or their constituents, and such resolutions have no real impact at the national level. Their passage has resulted in no legal action, in no concrete step toward world government.” A new type of state resolution could both build the movement and advance toward the necessary goal. The authors admitted that world federation “seemed distant” to ordinary members, while action at the state level would give them a “concrete political objective”:

It will provide branches and chapters with a political task of great magnitude, the fulfillment of which will require the sustained effort of large numbers of individual workers. . . . This project contemplates the passage of the resolution only in response to an overwhelming public demand expressed by individual political action and by the action of a wide variety of interested organizations.

The California plan was not undertaken as a lone act of one UWF chapter but as the lead effort in a coordinated, *national plan*. The authors were Philip Amram (Washington), Dean Paul Shipman Andrews (Syracuse Law School), Henry B. Cabot (Boston), Grenville Clark (Dublin, NH), Robert Lee Humber,

Thomas Mahony, Robert C. Rand, Abraham Wilson (counsel to UWF), and others. They conducted a small constitutional debate about this amendment route. Was it necessary? Why? Legally, most admitted the president could negotiate reforms to the UN Charter or even a new world constitution, then present it to the Senate for ratification. "However, for political and psychological reasons," the majority concluded, "it would unquestionably make successful negotiation of the transformation of the UN into world government more likely if our Constitution were amended expressly to grant the President such powers. Such action would dispel all foreign and domestic doubt as to our constitutional capacity, and even more, our political willingness, to enter a world government.

The situation was not unlike that over the necessity of a bill of rights to the federal Constitution during the ratification debates in 1788: Although legally unnecessary, since the people had granted the national government no powers to interfere in their private lives, as a double guarantee and a warning to tyrants, a bill of rights was needed. As other counsel said in the circumstances of 1949, since a world constitution is more than another treaty, "I would doubt the political morality of making so great a change in our form of government without an amendment."

A model binding state resolution was carefully devised. Members were advised to prepare for an aroused opposition. It would be said, for instance, that foreign policy is the business of the President and the State Department, not the states; or that the resolution is an attack on the United Nations; or that it would be dangerous to hold a US constitutional convention, since delegates might not stop at amendments to bring the United States into a world government but attempt to completely overhaul the US government, abolish judicial review, reverse the ruling that corporations are persons, or "other horrible things." The answer to this was that the danger, which did exist, had to be run. In any case, ratification required approval of *three-fourths* of the states. The first state to introduce such a resolution was California.

The California plan, guided by attorney Stanley A. Weigel, accountant Bennet Skewes-Cox, carpenter Carl Broneer, executive

director Bob Walker, and California president Alan Cranston (soon to become second UWF president), passed in Sacramento in June 1949. Similar California-type resolutions passed in Maine, New Jersey, North Carolina, Florida, and Connecticut, and they were introduced in ten more states, including Massachusetts.

The legislative struggle in Sacramento was a desperate one, for the proposed resolution was soon perceived as no ordinary bill. I trace the whole story in my book. The political context explains what happened. The California plan was debated at the same time as the Congress of the United States held hearings on some ten world federalist bills, one of which, HCR-64, had attracted 111 cosponsors, including Mike Mansfield, Jacob Javits, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., Abraham Ribicoff, Christian A. Herter, John F. Kennedy, Gerald Ford, Charles Eaton, Peter Rodino, John M. Vorys, Henry Jackson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. Its companion in the Senate, SCR-56, attracted twenty-one, including Charles Tobey, Claude Pepper, Hubert Humphrey, Brien McMahon, B. Russell Long, Paul H. Douglas, and Wayne Morse. Senator J. William Fulbright supported a similar bill on European federation, as did Joseph McCarthy. Even Representative Richard Nixon supported a comparable bill known as the ABC plan.

Such activity at state and national levels lifted world federation from an ideal of poets and dreamers to the *political plane*. But at a time of the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty and recognition that the world had entered a Cold War, it provoked intense patriotic opposition, led by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Daughters of the American Revolution. The heavy guns of McCarthyism and anticommunism were not yet deployed, yet the VFW and DAR were quite sufficient to snuff out the daring little world federalist movement. Even before the Korean War, which almost everyone, including most UWF leaders, took as proof of the aggressive nature of the Soviet Union and its satellites, the states began to rescind their federalist resolutions. California's was lost by May 1950.

Nevertheless, Stanley Weigel summed up what had been learned:

The Sacramento battleground marked gains of a high order to

UWF of California and UWF nationally. Our relatively new and amateur organization took on the strongest professional and semi-professional political forces in the second largest state of the nation, giving them the fight of their lives. The process brought to light the hidden resources of a band of enlightened men and women genuinely devoted to sound principles, high principles. . . . In the acid test and white heat of a political fight (and what is our mission if it is not political?), . . . champions of UWF have to do too much explaining of a cause which is essentially simple, sound and grounded in American ideals.

To make intelligible this activity of the California world federalists and to bring my story up to the present, I must give you a brief capsule history of the movement. There have been proposals to establish peace by the union of states going back well before Immanuel Kant in *Perpetual Peace* (1795). But all such proposals were not strictly *federalist*. Kant himself, for instance, proposed only a *confederation* of free and independent republics. The League of Nations, established after the Great War in 1919, can be seen as a triumph of the idea of a confederation or association of sovereign states. But after the League began to fail in confrontation with Imperial Japan, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany in the 1930s, Clarence Streit, a *New York Times* reporter in Geneva, thought through what would be really necessary to establish peace—a federation of the democracies—and he published the book that started the movement, *Union Now*, in 1939.

Streit calculated that such a union—starting with the Atlantic democracies of the United States, Great Britain, and France—would have a preponderance of power to overawe the fascist states and thus avoid war. But a union was much too difficult to negotiate in the atmosphere of 1939. Nevertheless, in an incident often forgotten, Winston Churchill, in the darkest hour of the defeat of France on 16 June 1940, proposed an Anglo-French union to maintain a joint war against Hitler. This proposal, though rejected by the Paul Reynaud government for fear of the destruction of Paris, nevertheless became the inspiration for Jean Monnet's project to establish

the first European Community in 1951.

When the United States was brought into the Second World War in 1941, President Roosevelt formed the Advisory Committee on Post-War Foreign Policy, led effectively by Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, and that committee drafted the United Nations Charter in secret. As the historian of the committee Harley Notter reports, they considered two alternatives: one, cooperation, as in the discredited League, and two, federation which seemed premature. By the Moscow conference of 1943, it was clear that neither Stalin nor Roosevelt nor Churchill were willing to accept anything stronger than an organization of sovereign states, and the veto provision, protecting the absolute sovereignty of the Big Three (later Five), was tacitly agreed to.

After D-Day in June 1944, Grenville Clark, a great figure in the emerging federalist movement, was sent home by the Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, with the injunction:

What you should do is go home and try to figure out a way to stop the next war and all future wars. Think of what war will be in twenty-five years. It is intolerable.

Clark then began his work, which led to guidance of United World Federalists and to his and Harvard professor of law Louis B. Sohn's monumental book of systemic UN reform, *World Peace through World Law*.

The Charter of the United Nations was then duly amended, debated, and signed—but with the great power veto intact—in this city of San Francisco in the spring of 1945. The delegates were not aware of the development of atomic bombs. The UN, then, was designed for an old world where nations did not possess nuclear weapons for the conduct of diplomacy and war.

The atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki then mobilized the federalists with a desperate sense that, unless nuclear weapons were brought under control by a world government, humanity was doomed in the next general war. The atomic scientists raised the cry, "One World or None!" Mortimer Adler, of the Committee to Draft a World Constitution at the University of

Chicago where the first sustained nuclear reaction was achieved, said that world government could not wait for 500 years but had to be established in *five*, for by 1950, if the Soviet Union acquired the weapon, humanity would be doomed in a nuclear holocaust. Albert Einstein, whose equation $E = mc^2$ had brought the atomic age into existence, emerged as a humane and eloquent champion of the necessity of world government. He once said, "The only way to think of human destiny today is in political terms."

The United States then made in June 1946 a most historic offer to surrender this ultimate weapon to an international Atomic Development Authority. The offer, made in the new UN, was called the Baruch plan. World federalists did not appreciate this plan. They were divided between the popular World Federalists and the more elite Americans United for World Government, and they wasted precious time in rivalries about the ideal through all 1946. So they failed to support the Baruch plan, and even the atomic scientists became dispirited. The plan was a dead letter by December 1946.

The federalists had hardly united in UWF in early 1947 when President Truman announced the new policy of containment of communism, which amounted to a rejection of the ideal of a more perfect union and a reversion to great power politics. The Soviets responded in the fall with the organization of the Cominform. The Cold War began. The pattern of rearmament looked like the beginning of World War III. It only remained "cold" because of mutual fears of nuclear annihilation. The Truman doctrine and Marshall plan were followed by the Czech coup, the introduction of the Deutsche mark by the Berlin blockade, the fall of China by the North Atlantic Treaty. The United States entered into a permanent entangling alliance with Europe.

So the world federalists found themselves united at the worst possible time. The opportunity had been in 1942-43, not 1947-50. The grand alliance of the victorious democracies, liberal and socialist, as Stalin called his system, had broken up. Federation, as a logical step after the weakness of the UN was revealed in the dawn of atomic energy, became to most people, in the public and the government, simply unthinkable. Nevertheless, world federalists,

as in California in 1949, struggled in principled dissent to the rearmament that they regarded as only a temporary solution to the problem of security. Real security lay, they said, in establishing the rule of law.

But UWF had to retreat, perhaps to return to the struggle at another day. In a notorious “top-down decision” of January 1951, Cranston, Cord Meyer, Henry B. Cabot, C. Maxwell Stanley, and the UWF leadership decided to liquidate the field program, fire old chapter organizers like Vernon Nash, discard the tough-minded *World Government News* for a house organ, and concentrate, so they said, on lobbying with top-level officials in the US government. The chapters withered on the vine in the face of VFW slurs on their loyalty. The student movement melted away, never to return. Membership declined from a high of 47,000 to 10,000 and then to 5,000. When the Vietnam War developed, UWF failed to rise to leadership of the antiwar movement, avoiding “political” issues and awaiting the day when all war could be abolished.

The refusal to take on the big issues of war and peace and the consequential loss of *élan* throughout the movement explain the repeated failures to increase membership, take advantage of management studies, raise substantial funds, pass significant legislation, maintain a library or research program, build up a serious journal, merge with SANE, or take on the leadership of the peace movement during the Vietnam War. The ultimate consequence was the loss of UWF’s *prestige* within the peace movement. It failed to anticipate and lead effective resistance to the Vietnam War as a practical political step to abolishing all war. The world spirit moved on. UWF itself, worn and weary, collapsed in 1975 (World Federalists, USA, in 1969, was merely a name change), but out of the ashes, like the phoenix, arose under Walter Hoffmann’s leadership the World Federalist Association (WFA), a 501(c)3 nonprofit educational organization, and the Campaign for UN Reform (CUNR), a political action committee (1976).

Another name change and apparent abandonment of the unmarketable ideal led to Citizens for Global Solutions in 2004.

What are the lessons of the history of this brave and visionary world federalist movement, which felt the accelerations of history, saw the ultimate necessity of establishing a federal government of the world, yet could not prevail against the politics of nationalism and, now, imperialism? *Atomic fear* has proved an inadequate motivator. People will not be frightened into union. Nationalist politicians will better exploit fear to lead the people back into ready and familiar expedients like military preparedness and a big defense department. What federalists need is a bright, positive vision of peace. People must *love* the idea of a world republic. There is *plenty of time* to think, plan, and work for a better world. “No time!” is the same old argument of atomic fear.

The old battles between the universalists and the Streitists, the democrats and the weighted voting advocates, the minimalists and the maximalists, and the UN reformers and the peoples’ convention activists have been resolved. Now there is widespread agreement, even among internationalists who shrink from federalism, in favor of beginning with the liberal democracies, accepting weighted voting of some sort, providing for maximal powers affecting both peace and justice, and working for a transition through gradual UN reform.

A *gradual* approach is best. It is untrue that there is *One World or none!* How did we survive the Cold War? Beware of the poverty of theory. History shows the way. We must preserve the national states as subordinate authorities to a union even as we guide them to unite to enact a common rule of law. UN reform achieved by persuasion is preferable to projects of sudden world revolution.

As Jean Monnet used to say, for the hard work of uniting sovereignties humanity will not act until faced by a *crisis*. Thomas Jefferson said much the same when he wrote, in a famous document, “All experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than they are to right themselves by changing the forms to which they are accustomed.” The world now is faced by a massive crisis, symbolized by the threat of nuclear war, economic depression, ecological collapse, new pandemics, terrorism from the global South, and all the problems of the global *problématique*, beyond the powers of single nations to solve. At the

moment, it is only a crisis of the mind. Until there is another disaster on the scale of World War II, demonstrating the failure of the old ways of the sovereign state system, we probably cannot expect great achievement.

There is a large literature now available to guide activists and to hold up as well considered plans. That was lacking in the movement of the 1940s. Two of the best plans are the minimalist World Peace through World Law of Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn (1958) and the maximalist Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution of the Chicago committee under Robert M. Hutchins and G.A. Borgese (1948). In Europe, the best model is the Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union of Altiero Spinelli, which passed the European Parliament in 1979 by a vote of 237 to 31 (with forty-three abstentions). If you would know what world federalism means, these are the books to read.

Moreover, there is a large literature in many languages about world federalism. In a survey of mine years ago, I found such works from *seventy-two nations*. Outside of the USA, Canada, and Western Europe, the countries that have produced the most works on world federation are, in this order: India, Japan, and Mexico. It has not been an *American* movement.

The *people* everywhere must become involved in this movement. It is a mistake to think one can have an influence at the top without a mass following. Politicians need to see that the people are ready to undertake the responsibilities of world citizenship no less than to enjoy the benefits. Probably the Declaration of Human Rights needs to be complemented by a declaration of *duties*, as Lucile Green proposed in her *People's Declaration of Human Responsibilities*. Similar declarations of duties were proposed by the delegates to the French National Assembly in 1789 and by the Chicago committee in their draft world constitution in 1948. We need to organize not so much in Washington, as in every city on earth, in Boston and in San Francisco, in order to build the constituency for the national and international changes we contemplate. Democratic World Federalists here in San Francisco is a good sign, as is the Coalition for a Strong UN in Boston.

Federalism has been a movement in the center. The old distinction between left and right, communism and capitalism, is *passé*. The new distinction is between adherents of national sovereignty versus those of the sovereignty of man, the tribe vs. humanity, an anarchy of states vs. world federalism. We *have* happened upon, as Harris Wofford said, humanity's greatest revolution, the revolution to establish politically the brotherhood of man. *Education* will take us only so far; there is no escaping that a movement to unite the family of man is *political*. World federation is not the goal. It is only the *means* to the end. The goal is peace with justice. There are far more models of working federations than the United States of America, or Canada, or Mexico, or Switzerland, or Germany, or Russia, or Nigeria, or Malaysia. As Abraham Lincoln said at the crisis of the American Union, "We must disenthral ourselves." We today are living in a world constitutional crisis. We have entered a period of creative world statesmanship in which the better governed world of the future may look as different from the historic national federations as those federations looked from the confederations and monarchies that preceded them. The European Union may be the best model.

The Bahá'í faith, which developed in Iran after 1844, is the only religion that teaches as a point of doctrine that world peace can practically be achieved by a political union or federal world government. Such a government will abolish war by the familiar instrument of the rule of law, which Bahá'ís call the Lesser Peace. But world federation will provide the minimal political, economic, and social order for the full realization of the potentialities of every human being, that is, for the perfection of religion, which they call the Most Great Peace. We are working for the *Lesser Peace*. Sokka Gakai International of Japan now articulates similar views. When the oneness of humanity is established on a working basis, then the great work of education, science, democratic politics, industry, business enterprise, sport, art, and religion will begin to triumph. World federation achieved by nonviolent agreement will be a long, *long* struggle. We should organize for the long struggle. Remember that the nation state is relatively young, dating it from the Peace of

Westphalia (1648) or from the French Revolution (1789). International organization is younger, dating it from the International Telegraphic (now Telecommunications) Union (1865). World federation is youngest (1939). Its partial realization, European federation, began to form only in 1951. Those who support this movement by their efforts or their money should not expect early success.

The right order of magnitude of what we should do is given by Grenville Clark's proposal in the early 1950s to establish, with Ford Foundation money, about a dozen centers for the study of world law in the principal surviving civilizations on earth. This proposal was nearly defeated when Secretary of State John Foster Dulles objected that such centers would interfere with his conduct of the foreign policy of the United States. But one such center was established—Robert M. Hutchins' Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California. A comparable measure was Jean Monnet's Action Committee for a United States of Europe, which drew retired and prospective national premiers like Guy Mollet and Helmut Schmidt and leaders of major labor unions and political parties to issue timely, practical proposals leading up to the Treaty of Rome in 1957.

It is time to reconsider the project, never taken up, of founding a world federalist political party. Like the Republican party in 1856, which aimed to put slavery on a course of ultimate extinction, a federalist party would aim to make world federal government an objective of US foreign policy. Such a party would raise up new leaders, face squarely the necessity of acquiring political power, give ordinary members something to do, and constrain the movement to offer the public the whole range of measures antecedent to such an ultimate political objective. Such a party would have to link up with similar parties abroad. How else can we achieve *politically* the union of man?

So, in conclusion, am I hopeful? I am, though my hopes as I go through life are repeatedly dashed. I have concluded I am an idealist. As George Santayana said, "An American is an idealist at

work on matter.” I love America. I look on this country, formed of immigrants, and see an image of the diverse and well governed world of tomorrow. World federation is *logical*. It stands at the culmination of a long historical progress, as humanity has united larger and larger groups under one government, from the clan to the modern state. It is consistent with the *ideals of the American Revolution*, if we can return those ideals—a “decent respect for the opinions of mankind,” and respect for “the Law of Nations”—to the working of our government. “My country, right or wrong,” said Carl Schurz at a dark time in 1898. “When right, to be kept right; when wrong to be put right.”

I have felt immense joy at finding the historic world federalists, and at tracing their sincere efforts to establish world peace under world law. My method of helping to advance the cause, consistent with the long term, is to write books and to speak like this in order to restore the idea of world federation to *respect* in the academic and public community. For me, politics remains in the future.

I am currently much distressed that President Bush has appointed John Bolton as US ambassador to the UN. Bolton has already said that the United Nations should be reconstituted with the United States as the sole veto power. I welcome the challenge. He is providing the crisis we need. Our alternative is to transform the UN into a representative world republic, on the federal model pioneered by the United States. We propose that it be vested with powers to enact law to solve common global problems and thus inaugurate a just peace.

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Notes

Introduction

1. Michael Collopy, *Architects of Peace: Visions of Hope in Words and Images*. Novato, CA: New World Library, 2000, p.36.
2. Alan Avert, "The Use of Force, Legitimacy and the UN Charter," *The Interdependent*. Spring 2003, vol. 29, no. 1, p.9.
3. See "The Baruch Plan for World Government" by Peter Myers, 2001; update 2004, <http://users.cyberone.com.au/myers/baruch-plan.html>.

Chapter 1

1. See *2/15: The Day the World Said No to War*. Oakland, Calif.: AK Press, 2003.
2. See "World Government Web," at <http://www.worldservice.org>.

Chapter 2

1. See "Reinventing International Institutions," by Tad Daley at http://www.dwfed.org/pp_reinventing.html.

Chapter 4

1. This phrase is quoted from "Ten Ways to Democratize the Global Economy" a useful document produced by the activists at Global Exchange (see <http://www.globalexchange.org>).
2. See <http://www.troydavis.org/writings.html>.
3. See Lucile Green, *Journey to a Governed World*. Berkeley, CA: The Uniquist Foundation, 1991.
4. A pictorial history is presented at <http://www.worldcitizens.org/awchistory.html>.
5. See <http://www.sf-pa.org/history.htm>.
6. See <http://www.worldcitizens.org/awcbranches.html>.

7. See Errol Harris, *One World or None: Prescription for Survival*. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993, pp 91-108.
8. Some critics of the one world democracy approach suggest that proposals for proportionate representation of the worlds' people could prove dangerous in that cultures at lesser stages of consciousness evolution would gain substantial voting power. But it should be noted that the backward pull of less evolved cultures on the new world polity would be more than compensated for by the wisdom embodied in any global constitution. The US constitution embodied the best ideas of a vanguard of evolved political thinkers whose consciousness levels were far above the residents of the new nation; this scenario can only be expected to be the case with the coming global constitution, that will no doubt (1) feature high standards for membership in the federation, (2) be marked by some sort of "Great Compromise" such as that which led to the model of our bicameral Congress, and (3) include many other offsetting features such as the example of the House of Counselors in the WCPA constitution. But the question of the evolution of culture and "integral theory" remains a crucial one for students of global democracy. In this connection see *A Theory of Everything: An Integral Vision for Business, Politics, Science and Spirituality* by Ken Wilber (Shambhala, 2001) and <http://www.ikosmos.com>.
9. See Glen Martin, *Century Twenty-One: The Manifesto for Humanity*, Institute on World Problems: Radford, VA, 2003. This document was ratified by the Provisional World Parliament at its seventh session.
10. See Richard Falk and Andrew Strauss, *Nation Magazine*, "Toward a Global Parliament," September 23, 2003, p. 29. It should be noted that the views of Falk and Strauss have evolved as to the best tactical approach to creating a world legislature. At first they were of the opinion that civil society could create the world parliament on its own along with the assistance of some governments who would only play an unofficial supportive role. More recently, as reflected in the *Nation*

Magazine article cited above, they have argued that about twenty to thirty governments would probably be needed to write a treaty to create the body; in this latter approach, the role of civil society would be to campaign to get these governments to assume such a role. Strauss stated in an email to the authors on May 5, 2005 that “relying on a limited number of governments in this way seems to us the more likely approach for a variety of reasons including financial and logistical challenges and the political difficulty of getting civil society to act in a sufficiently unified way to create the parliament. Whichever of the two ways the parliament is created, I think you accurately paraphrase how we believe that it can start from humble origins to become an important global institution.”

11. See Richard Falk and Andrew Strauss, “Globalization Needs a Dose of Democracy,” in *International Herald Tribune*, October 5, 1999. Also see “Toward Global Parliament,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2001 at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20010101faessay4255/richard-falk-andrew-strauss/toward-global-parliament.html>.
12. Falk and Strauss, *Nation Magazine*, op.cit.
13. Falk and Strauss, *Nation Magazine*, op.cit.
14. See Joseph E. Schwartzberg, “Overcoming Practical Difficulties in Creating a World Parliamentary Assembly,” in *A Reader on Second Assembly and Parliamentary Proposals*. Saul H. Mendlovitz and Barbara Walker (Editors), Center for UN Reform Education, May 2003, p. 88.

Chapter 5

1. Emery Reves, *The Anatomy of Peace*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishing, 1945.

Chapter 6

1. The Binding Triad concept was proposed some years ago by Richard Hudson, a journalist who had covered the UN for twenty years. His proposal would amend Article 13 of the United Nations Charter with the purpose of radically altering

the UN's decision-making process. It would enable the UN's General Assembly to make decisions by passing resolutions which become binding as global law when they receive concurrent majority votes based on three factors:

- (1) one-nation-one-vote (the same as now)
- (2) population
- (3) contributions to the UN budget

In other words, a binding world law could be adopted by the General Assembly provided that the law had the support of most of the world's nations, nations representing most of the world's population, and nations representing most of the political/economic/military influence in international affairs. (See <http://www.cwps.org> for more information)

Chapter 7

1. See "Einstein on Peace and World Government," by Sanderson Beck at <http://www.san.beck.org/GPJ23-Einstein.html#1>.
2. Helen Caldicott, *The New Nuclear Danger: George W. Bush's Military-Industrial Complex*. New York: The New Press, 2002, p.3.

Chapter 8

1. Christopher Flavin, *State of the World 2002: A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002, p.130.
2. See Richard Heinberg's *The Party's Over: Oil, War and the Fate of Industrial Societies* (Canada: New Society Publishers, 2003) and Mike Ruppert's *Crossing the Rubicon: The Decline of the American Empire at the End of the Age of Oil* (Canada: New Society Publishers, 2004).
3. See "The Tropical Rainforest" at <http://www.geocities.com/dragonhua28/rainforest.htm>.
4. For more on population see "World Overpopulation Awareness" at <http://www.overpopulation.org>.
5. Christopher Flavin, *State of the World 2002: A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society*.

New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002.

6. See the UNFPA website:
<http://www.unfpa.org/support/friends/34million.htm>.
7. See <http://www.overpopulation.org>.
8. Patricia Reaney, "London Britain has record number of HIV diagnoses in 2002," *Reuters*. Nov. 29, 2002.
9. Gaylord Nelson, *Beyond Earth Day: Fulfilling the Promise*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002, p.48.
10. Jeremy Rifkin, *The Hydrogen Economy*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher, 2002, p.5.
11. See "Deaths, Disturbances, Disasters, and Disorders in Chicago" at http://www.chipublic.org/004chicago/disasters/heat_waves.html.
12. Jeremy Rifkin, *The Hydrogen Economy*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher, 2002. p.134.
13. See the "Global Greens Charter, Canberra 2001" at <http://www.global.greens.org.au/charter.htm>.
14. Gaylord Nelson, *Beyond Earth Day: Fulfilling the Promise*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002, p.49.

Chapter 9

1. See "China to Be the World's Second Largest Oil Consumer" at <http://test.china.org.cn/english/environment/80145.htm>.

Chapter 10

1. Stephanie Strom, "Gates Aims Billions to Attack Illnesses of World's Neediest," in *New York Times*, July 13, 2003.
2. See "Health, Wealth, and Bill Gates," on the *Bill Moyer Show*, PBS, May 9, 2003, <http://www.pbs.org>.
3. See important alternative views on the causes of 9/11 at <http://www.911truth.org> and <http://www.insidejob-911.com>.

Chapter 11

1. See “Current Numbers” by the Center for Immigration Studies at <http://www.cis.org/topics/currentnumbers.html>.

Chapter 12

1. See <http://www.fas.org>.
2. See “A Day Without the Pentagon” by the War Resisters League at <http://www.warresisters.org/q&a.htm>.
3. Clyde Prestowitz, *Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions*. New York: Basic Books, 2003, p.26.
4. *Ibid.*, p.167
5. *Ibid.*, p.168
6. See “Environmentalists Against War,” at <http://www.EnvirosAgainstWar.org>.
7. Richard Heinberg, *The Party's Over: Oil, War and the Fate of Industrial Societies*. Canada: New Society Publishers, 2003.
8. Gaylord Nelson, *Beyond Earth Day: Fulfilling the Promise*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002, p.75.
9. See “Panama: ‘Operation Just Cause’—The Human Cost of the US Invasion” by Physicians for Human Rights at http://www.phrusa.org/research/health_effects/humojc.html.
10. See “Environmentalists Against War,” at <http://www.EnvirosAgainstWar.org>.
11. Josie Glausiusz, “A Green Renaissance for the Sahel,” in *Discover Magazine*, January 2003, vol.24, no.1, p.66.

Chapter 13

1. See <http://www.fas.org>.
2. Arianna Huffington, *Pigs at the Trough: How Corporate Greed and Political Corruption Are Undermining America*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2003, p.20.

3. Ibid., p.96. Also, for documentation about trillions of dollars missing from the US Treasury, and collusion of US government officials with the private and corporate insiders who have enriched themselves, see <http://whereisthemoney.org>.

Chapter 14

1. Christopher Flavin, *State of the World 2002: A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002, p.131.
2. The Bahá'í religion, which took origin from within Islam in the nineteenth century, is one outstanding example of the kind of advanced religious beliefs that could be considered to be commensurate with a planet governed by enforceable global law. This religion has always promoted progressive social change on a global level, including gender and race equality, universal human rights, and especially democratic world government. Also, unlike many religions, Bahá'ís embrace the findings of science and teach the essential unity of all religions.

Similar but perhaps even more advanced teachings that may also be considered suitable for the coming epoch of planetary civilization are offered in a lesser-known twentieth century “revelation” called *The Urantia Book*, first published in 1955. (In the text, “Urantia” is purported to be the name of our planet.) Now translated into multiple languages, this unique book presents an eloquent argument for the innate sovereignty of humankind and the need for democratic world government. These teachings are attributed to Jesus Christ as one part of a lengthy section entitled “The Life and Teachings of Jesus.” Here for example is one representative excerpt from its critique of national sovereignty: “It is not a question of armaments or disarmament. Neither does the question of conscription or voluntary military service enter into these problems of maintaining world-wide peace. If you take every form of modern mechanical armaments and all types of explosives away from strong nations, they will fight with fists, stones, and clubs as long as they cling to their delusion of the

divine right of national sovereignty. War is not man's great and terrible disease; war is a symptom, a result. The real disease is the virus of national sovereignty." [See paper 134, sections 4-6.]

3. See <http://www.911truth.org>: Findings of a poll by Zogby International showed that half of New Yorkers believe US leaders had foreknowledge of impending 9/11 attacks and "consciously failed" to act.

Chapter 15

1. Greenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, *World Peace through World Law*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.
2. See "A Day Without the Pentagon" by the War Resisters League at <http://www.warresisters.org/q&a.htm>.

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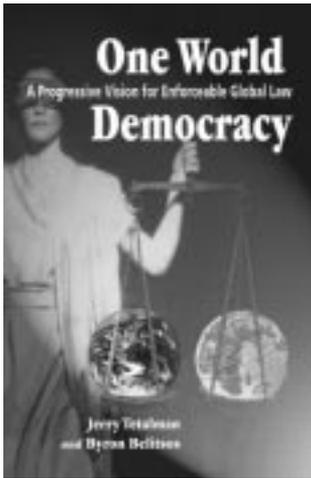


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