The Power Puzzle:

A Compilation of Documents and Resources on Global Governance

Edited by Carl Teichrib

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— Introduction —

"the creation of a **world currency**…
the establishment of an **international army**…
the development of an enforceable **world government**…"

For the average person, this type of talk resembles nothing more than "conspiracy theories." However, this "type of talk" isn't coming from conspiracy buffs, it's coming from the pages of hard to find federal, state, and provincial government documents; from some of the most influential pro-world government lobby organizations, from the highest positions within the Vatican, from the International Monetary Fund, and from the United Nations itself.

Gathered together in this conveniently bound volume is the find of a lifetime: a compilation of some of the most controversial and significant pro-world government documents, texts, briefings, and working papers – all retyped for clarity.

Thirty-eight individual items, accessed from both open and closed sources – both electronic and print – detail an "evidence" trail from 1914 until today. It's a trail that encompasses forgotten speeches, hushed agendas, internal papers, and controversial legislation. Besides the raw documents, each piece has a brief but vital commentary box that provides additional information on the organizations, time-frames, and larger contexts. This is an essential body of knowledge, not only for die-hard researchers, but for anyone who wants a greater understanding of world events and the behind-the-scenes shaping of our global society.

Major themes found in the documents include:

- The creation of a unified European super-state.
- The formation of a global political regime and a system of enforceable world law.
- The establishment of internationally commanded military and police forces.
- The rise of a world taxation scheme and the creation of single global currency.

This volume represents only a small portion of the available literature – literature that is often open to the public but rarely accessed by the public. Hence, where possible, bibliographical material is included in the commentary boxes.

And, as a bonus, over thirty quotes from leading internationalists can be found in the back section of this compilation, along with a detailed contact listing of over 110 influential organizations working in the field of international relations, global governance, and UN empowerment.

— Of Special Note —

- Misspellings are indicated by brackets; [sic] = "spelling incorrect."
- Many of the documents use the Canadian and/or European standards of spelling rather than the American; i.e., centre, neighbour, programme, organisation, defence, honour, globalisation, minimise, etc.
- All <u>underlining</u> and *italics* within the text are found in the original documents.
- All documents contain a single-sided border and end in a small black box. These have been placed as a visual aid and are not found within the original texts. Furthermore, some pages have a horizontal dividing line placed between adjacent items in order to separate the documents.
- Page spacing and font sizes are not the same as found in the originals. This change was necessary for clarity sake and because of spacing requirements.
- Page numbers found in square brackets represent actual page breaks in the original documents. Electronically generated documents are exempt from this. Page numbers found at the bottom center of each page represent the sequenced numbering for the entire volume.
- Regarding copyright: government documents used are exempt from copyright restrictions. In cases where copyright issues may be in effect, fair-use portions of the text are reprinted. Other materials emanating from non-governmental sources have been used which do not contain copyright limits, either because they are considered public domain (as found in public educational efforts or government consulting operations) or because they are internal use documents (such as memos and organizational governance statements).
- In-text square bracketed notes are editorial clarifications and are listed as such.
- Some documents and speeches are not reprinted in their entirety because of space restrictions. Example: the Canadian government document, *Toward A Rapid Reaction Capability For The United Nations*, has only one chapter and some of the concluding material reprinted. The actual document contains over 80 pages of English-language text and cannot fit in its entirety within this volume [Canadian government documents are published in English and French – the two official national languages].
- **IMPORTANT:** all pictures, graphics, logos, and accompanying text boxes are added to improve your understanding of the subject and to visually enhance the material. They are not found in the originals. **EXCEPTION**: the graph on page six – "Governmental Structure of the World Federation" – is the document *in itself*.

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The following short text is a portion of an October 18, 1914 New York *Times* article in which Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, discussed the idea of creating a united Europe in conjunction with a world federation as an anticipated outcome of World War I (known as the Great War).

While World War I is fast becoming a text-book memory, its impact led to the call for an international solution to the scourge of mass warfare. Hence, the Great War became the first truly international catalyst in the call for a "new world order" (Butler used this term on November 27, 1915 while addressing the Union League of Philadelphia). This call to internationalism still rings today.

For a collection of Butler's World War I speeches, see his book *A World In Ferment: Interpretations of the War for a New World* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918).

The United States of Europe

— Speech Expert —

What will be in substance a United States of Europe, a more or less formal federation of the self-governing countries of Europe, may be the outcome of the demonstrated failure of the existing national system to adjust government to the growth of civilization. The ending of the present war may see the rising of the sun of democracy to light a new day of freedom even for those of our transatlantic neighbors who now seem most remote from it…

…the time will come when each nation will deposit in a world federation some portion of its sovereignty for the general good. When this happens it will be possible to establish an international executive and an international police, both devised for the especial purpose of enforcing the decisions of the international court. ■

On the 23rd and 26th of February, 1915, the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and its House of Representatives, adopted H.R. #1226, which called for the formation of a world political system in light of the massive tragedy of World War I.

House Resolution No. 1226.

For the End of All War

Whereas, The incalculable cost and calamity of the European war have cause a strong public sentiment for the end of all war, therefore be it Resolved, That the general court of Massachusetts hereby respectfully requests the Congress of the United States to make a declaration in substance as follows;

The United States of America affirms the political unity of all mankind.

It affirms the supremacy of world sovereignty over national sovereignty.

It promises loyal obedience to that sovereignty.

It believes that the time has come for the organization of the world government, with legislative, judicial and executive departments.

It invites all nations to join with it in the formal establishment of the government.

Resolved, That this resolution be transmitted by the secretary of the commonwealth to the senior Senator and the senior Representative in the Congress form Massachusetts for presentation in their respective branches. ■

The following document was taken from the Programme of the Communist International, adopted by the Sixth World Congress, September 1, 1928, in Moscow, USSR. This Programme was exposed by Human Events in a 1946 document collection which was published under the title *Blueprint for World Conquest*.

The Ultimate Aim of the Communist International
— World Communism —

The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threatens to degrade and destroy the human race.

Communist society will abolish the class division of society, i.e., simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy in production, it will abolish all forces of exploitation and oppression of man by man. Society will no longer consist of antagonistic classes in conflict with each other, but will represent a united commonwealth of labor. For the first time in its history mankind will take its fate into its own hands. Instead of destroying innumerable human lives and incalculable wealth in struggles between classes and nations, mankind will devote all its energy to the struggle against the forces of nature, to the development and strengthening of its own collective might.

After abolishing private ownership in the means of production and converting them into social property, the world system of Communism will replace the elemental forces of the world market, of competition and the blind process of social production, by consciously organized and planned production for the purpose of satisfying rapid growing social needs. With the abolition of competition and anarchy in production, devastating crisis and still more devastating wars will disappear. Instead of colossal waste of productive forces and spasmodic development of society – there will be planned utilization of all material resources and painless economic development on the basis of unrestricted, smooth and rapid development of productive forces.

The abolition of private property and the disappearance of classes will do away with the exploitation of man by man. Work will cease to be toiling for the benefit of a class enemy: instead of being merely a means of livelihood it will become a necessity of life: want and economic inequality, the misery of enslaved classes, and a wretched standard of life generally will disappear; the hierarchy created in the division of labor system will be abolished together with the antagonism between mental and manual labor; and the last vestige of the social inequality of sexes will be removed. At the same time, the organs of class domination, and the State in the first place, will disappear also. The State, being he embodiment of class domination, will die out insofar as classes die out, and with it all measures of coercion will expire.

With the disappearance of classes the monopoly of education in every form will be abolished. Culture will become the acquirement of all and the class ideologies of the past will give place to scientific materialist philosophy. Under such circumstances, the

domination of man over man, in any form, becomes impossible, and a great field will be opened for the social selection and the harmonious development of all the talents inherent in humanity.

In Communist society no social restrictions will be imposed upon the growth of the forces of production. Private ownership in the means of production, the selfish lust for profits, the artificial retention of the masses in a state of ignorance, poverty – which retards technical progress in capitalist society, and unproductive expenditures will have no place in a Communist society. The most expedient utilization of the forces of nature and of the natural conditions of production in the various parts of the world; the removal of the antagonism between town and country, that under capitalism results from the low technical level of agriculture and its systemic lagging behind industry; the closest possible cooperation between science and technics [sic], the utmost encouragement of research work and the practical application of its results on the widest possible social scale; planned organization of scientific work; the application of the most perfect methods of statistical accounting and planned regulation of economy; the rapidly growing social need, which is the most powerful internal driving force of the whole system – all these will secure the maximum productivity of social labor, which in turn will release human energy for the powerful development of science and art.

The development of the productive forces of world Communist society will make it possible to raise the well-being of the whole of humanity and to reduce to a minimum the time devoted to material production and, consequently, will enable culture to flourish as never before in history. This new culture of a humanity that is united for the first time in history, and has abolished all State boundaries, will, unlike capitalist culture, be based upon clear and transparent human relationships. Hence, it will bury forever all mysticism, religion, prejudice and superstition and will give a powerful impetus to the development of all-conquering scientific knowledge.

This higher stage of Communism, the stage in which Communist society has already developed on its own foundation, in which an enormous growth of social productive forces has accomplished the manifold development of man, in which humanity has already inscribed on its banner: “From each according to his abilities to each according to his needs!” – presupposes, as an historical condition precedent, a lower stage of development, the stage of Socialism. At this lower stage, Communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birthmarks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The productive forces of Socialism are not yet sufficiently developed to assure a distribution of the products of labor according to needs: these are distributed according to the amount of labor expended. Division of labor, i.e. the system whereby certain groups perform certain labor function, and especially the distinction between metal and manual labor, still exists. Although classes are abolished, traces of the old class division of society and, consequently, remnants of the Proletarian State power, coercion, laws, still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality, which have not yet managed to die out altogether, still remain. The antagonism between town and country has not yet been entirely removed. But none of these survivals of former society is protected or defended by any social force. Being the product of a definite level of development of productive forces, they will disappear as rapidly as mankind, freed from the fetters of the capitalist system, subjugates the forces of nature, re-educates itself in the spirit of Communism, and passes from Socialism to complete Communism. ■

On March 11, 1941, the North Carolina House of Representatives unanimously passed House Resolution 338, Res. 24, which called for the organizing of the world's nations around a global form of government. The next day, the North Carolina Senate voted in favor of the Resolution with a vote of forty-five to five.

North Carolina
H.R. 338 Resolution 24
Declaration of the Federation of the World

Whereas, it is necessary at the present juncture of human affairs to enlarge the bases of organized society by establishing a government for the community of nations, in order to preserve civilization and enable mankind to live in peace and be free, the following principles and objectives are hereby enunciated in the Declaration of the Federation of the World:

Man, the source of all political authority, is a manifold political being. He is a citizen of several communities: the city, the State, the nation and the world. To each of these communities he owes inalienable obligations and from each he receives enduring benefits.

Communities may exist for a time without being incorporated but, under the stress of adversity, they disintegrate unless legally organized. Slowly but purposefully through the centuries, civilization has united the world, integrating its diverse local interests and creating an international community that now embraces every region and every person on the globe. This community has no government, and communities without governments perish. Either this community must succumb to anarchy or submit to the restraints of law and order…

The ceaseless changes wrought in human society by science, industry and economics, as well as by the spiritual, social and intellectual forces which impregnated all cultures, make political and geographical isolation of nations hereafter impossible. The organic life of the human race is at last indissolubly unified and can never be severed, but it must be politically ordained and made subject to law. Only a government capable of discharging all the functions of sovereignty in the executive, legislative and judicial spheres can accomplish such a task. Civilization now requires laws, in the place of treaties, as instruments to regulate commerce between peoples. The intricate conditions of modern life have rendered treaties ineffectual and obsolete, and made laws essential and inevitable. The age of treaties is dead; the age of laws is here…

History has revealed but on principle by which free peoples, inhabiting extensive territories, can unite under one government without impairing their local autonomy. That principle is federation, whose virtue preserves the whole without destroying its parts and strengthens its parts without jeopardizing the whole. Federation vitalizes all nations by endowing them with security and freedom to develop their respective cultures without menace of foreign domination. It regards as sacrosanct man's personality, his rights as an individual and as a citizen and his role as a partner with all other men in the common enterprise of building civilization for the benefit of mankind. It suppresses the crime of war by reducing to the ultimate minimum the possibility of its occurrence. It renders unnecessary the further paralyzing expenditure of wealth for belligerent activity, and

cancels through the ages the mortgages of war against the fortunes and services of men. It releases the full energies, intelligence and assets of society for creative, ameliorative and redemptive work on behalf of humanity. It recognizes man's morning vision of his destiny as an authentic potentiality. It apprehends the entire human race as one family, human beings everywhere as brothers and all nations as component parts of an indivisible community.

There is no alternative to the federation of all nations except endless war. No substitute for the Federation of the World can organize the international community on the basis of freedom and permanent peace. Even if continental, regional or ideological federations were attempted, the governments of these federation, in an effort to make impregnable their separate defenses, would be obliged to maintain stupendously competitive armies and navies, thereby condemning humanity indefinitely to exhaustive taxation, compulsory military service and ultimate carnage, which history reveals to be not only criminally futile but positively avoidable through judicious foresight in federating all nations. No nation should be excluded from membership in the Federation of the World that is willing to suppress its military, naval and air forces, retaining only a constabulary sufficient to police its territory and to maintain order within its jurisdiction, provided that the eligible voters of that nation are permitted the free expression of their opinions at the polls…

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring;

Section 1. That the General Assembly of North Carolina does hereby solemnly declare that all peoples of the earth should now be united in a commonwealth of nations to be known as The Federation of the World, and to that end it hereby endorses The Declaration of the Federation of the World as is specifically set forth in the preamble hereof, and makes said Declaration a part of this Resolution in the same manner as if same were recited herein, and requests the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in Congress from the State of North Carolina to introduce and secure the passage of a Resolution in the Congress of the United States, committing the United States to the acceptance of the principle of the Federation of the World and requesting the President of the United States to call an International Convention to formulate a Constitution for The Federation of the World, which shall be submitted to each nation for its ratification.

Sec. 2. That when the said International Convention is called, it be urged to select a territory for the seat of government for The Federation of the World, and that the nation in which the said territory is located be requested to withdraw its jurisdiction over this area and cede it to The Federation of the World for its Capital, with all the prerogatives and attributes of sovereignty, in order that there might be built in this area a City symbolic of world unity, adequate for the needs of the nations and worthy of the aspirations and destiny of mankind.

Sec. 3. That a copy of this Resolution be sent out each of the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in Congress from the State of North Carolina.

Sec. 4 That this Resolution shall be in full force and effect from and after its ratification.

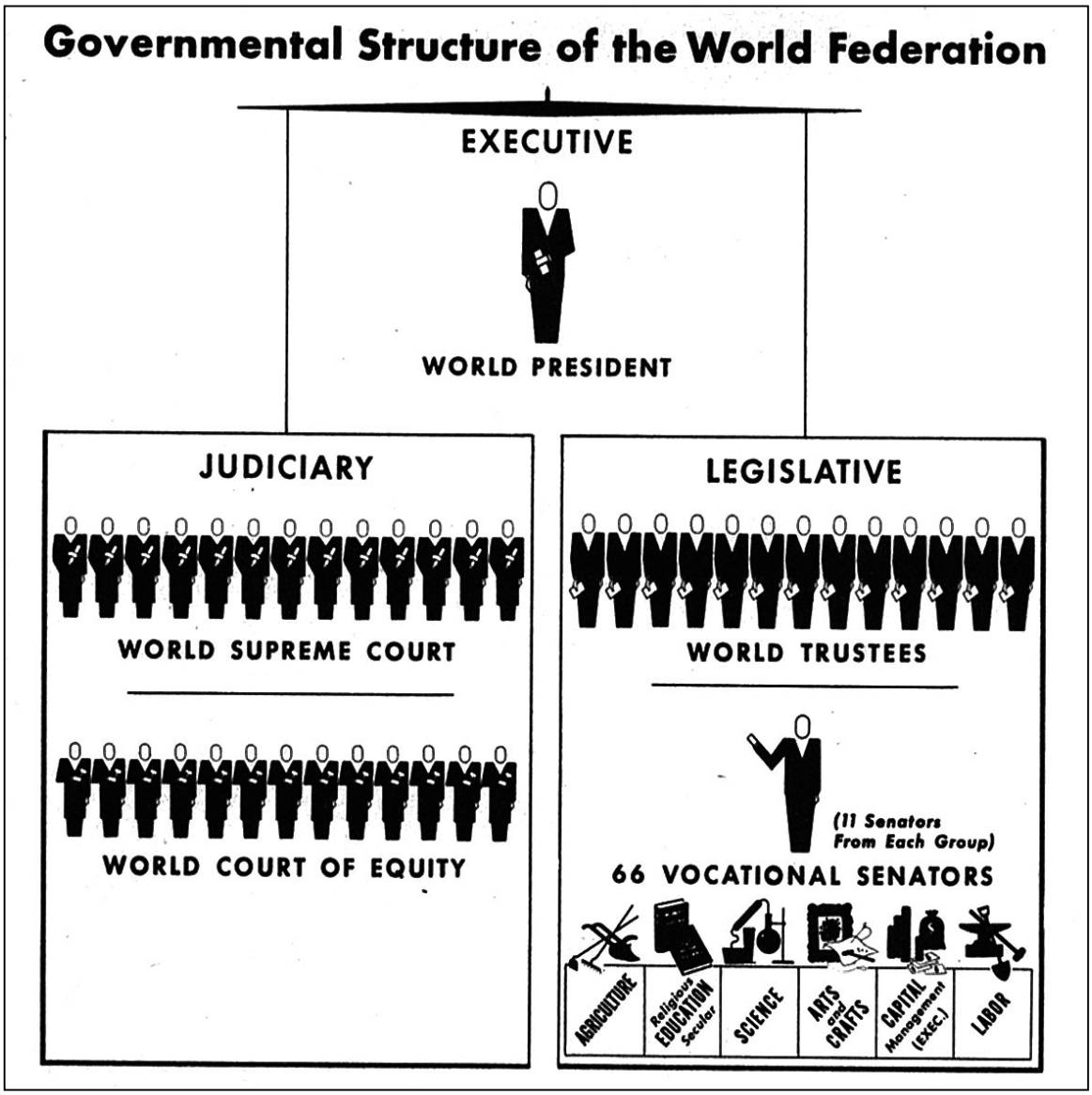
In the General Assembly read three times and ratified, this 13th day of March, 1941. ■

In 1942, Ely Culbertson published his "World Federation Plan." At that time Culbertson was known to millions of people as the originator of a contact bridge card game. Culbertson's real passion, however, was in the field of mass psychology, particularly as it related to the behavior of nations.

When the "World Federation Plan" was first printed, it created a real stir within elements of the US political and academic community. Hamilton Holt, former Executive Director of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, hailed the Culbertson's Plan as "a striking, original, realistic, and statesmanlike attempt." At Duke University, Professor Charles Ellwood called it "the most perfect machinery yet devised by the mind of man to prevent international wars." Other leading figures openly endorsed the proposal, and Culbertson's ideas were warmly accepted in World Federalist circles.

The following year, Culbertson published his book *Total Peace* (Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1943), elaborating on how an international military force could be structured under the authority of a World Federal Government.

The chart below was a supplemental aid used in explaining Culbertson's idea.



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As a 1945 special to the *New York Times*, the Declaration of the Dublin, New Hampshire Conference on World Peace was reprinted for dissemination to the general public. The following is a copy of that *New York Times* article, as re-released by the World Federalist Association of Northern California.

DECLARATION OF THE DUBLIN, N.H., CONFERENCE

DUBLIN, N.H., Oct 16 [1945] – Following is the majority report of the Dublin Conference on World Peace:

A conference of some fifty men and women, interested in world peace and world organization, met at Dublin, N.H., from Oct. 11 to 16, 1945 to consider the question of how best to remedy the weaknesses of the United Nations Organization. The conference was called on the invitation of Hon. Owen J. Roberts, who recently resigned as Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Hon. Robert P. Baas, former Governor of New Hampshire; Grenville Clark, lawyer, of New York, and Thomas H. Mahony, lawyer, of Boston and chairman of Massachusetts Committee for World Federation. Judge Roberts presided at the conference.

Whatever may have been the efficacy of the United Nations Organization for the maintenance of international peace before Aug. 6, 1945, the events of that day tragically revealed the inadequacy of that organization thereafter so to do.

The application of the atomic energy to welfare and impressive scientific evidence as to the consequences thereof have made the people of the world realize that the institution of war among nations must be abolished if civilization is to continue. The necessity of immediate action is urgent. There is not a moment to lose.

Problem of World-Wide Scope

The menace of total war is one of world-wide proportions, particularly in view of the present and future international tensions. The means of preventing war; of protection against it and of control of the major weapons by which it will be waged must also be of world-wide scope if our God-given human freedom and individual liberties are to be preserved and to be promoted.

It is almost axiomatic that there can be no peace without order and no order without law. There can be no world peace until there is a world order based upon principles of the limitation and pooling of national external sovereignty by all nations for the common good of mankind. The only effective means to create such a world order is to establish a world government and to delegate to it a limited but definite authority to prevent war and preserve peace.

Such a government should be based upon a constitution under which all peoples and nations will participate upon a basis of balanced representation which will take account of the natural and industrial resources and other factors as well as population. It cannot be based upon treaties establishing leagues of sovereign states in which the states retain unlimited sovereignty and act and vote as states – as in the United Nations Organization.

Since the moral law applies to nations as well as to men , and justice dictates the necessity of seeking the greatest good for the greatest number, such a world government must be a world federal government providing a minimum of centralized control in the

world government and a maximum of self-government in the separate nations. This means unity of action in those things necessary to survival and freedom of action to the separate nations in all other matters.

Believing that the mounting waves of distrust and fear that threaten mankind may engulf us in a war which, in this atomic age, would destroy civilization and possibly mankind itself; and being convinced that the United Nations Organization is wholly inadequate to prevent war, a large majority of the conference proposes.

That a world federal government be created, with closely defined and limited power adequate to prevent war and designed to restore and strengthen the freedoms that are the inalienable right of man. The specific measures proposed to attain this goal were embodied in the following resolutions:

First: That the implications of the atomic bomb are appalling; that upon the basis of evidence before this conference there is no presently known adequate defense against the bomb; and that there is no time to lose in creating effective international institutions to prevent war by exclusive control of the bomb and other major weapons.

Second: That the United Nations Charter, despite the hopes millions of people placed in it, is inadequate and behind the times as a means to promote peace and world order.

Third: that in place of the present United Nations Organization there must be a substituted a world federal government with limited but definite and adequate powers to prevent war, including power to control the atomic bomb and other major weapons and to maintain world inspection and police forces.

Fourth: that a principal instrument of the world federal government must be a world legislative assembly, whose members shall be chosen on the principle of weighted representation, taking account of natural and industrial resources and other relevant factors as well as population.

Fifth: that the world federal government should have an executive body, which should be responsible to the world legislative assembly.

Sixth: that the legislative assembly should be empowered to enact laws within the scope of the limited powers conferred on the world federal government, to establish adequate tribunals and to provide means to enforce the judgments of such tribunals.

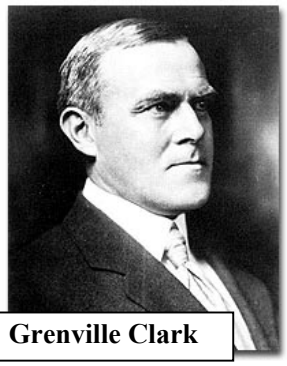
Seventh: that in order to make certain the constitutional capacity of the United States to join such a world federal government steps should be taken promptly to obtain a constitutional amendment definitely permitting such action.

Eighth: that the American people should urge their government to promote the formation of the world federal government, after consultation with the other members of the United Nations, either by proposing drastic amendments of the present United Nations Charter or by calling a new world constitutional convention.

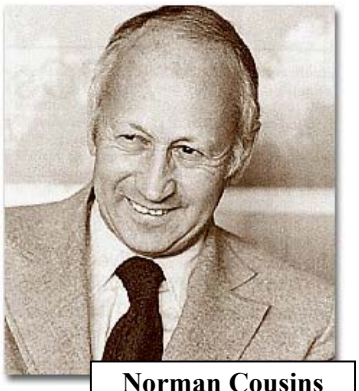
SIGNERS OF STATEMENT

The signers were: [Note: square information brackets are found in the WFA re-release]

Frank Altschul, New York, banker, director of Council on Foreign Relations.
Douglas Arant, Birmingham, Ala., Lawyer, formerly president of Alabama Bar Association and chairman of Committee on Bill of Rights of American Bar Association.
Hon. Robert P. Baas, Peterborough, N.H., former Governor of New Hampshire.


Grenville Clark

Henry B Cabot, Boston, Lawyer, chairman of "Committee of 1,000" on international organization.
Miss Marie J Carroll, Boston, research director, World Peace Foundation.
Grenville Clark, New York, lawyer, author of pamphlets and articles on world organization, secretary of the Dublin Conference.
Rev. Edward A Conway, Washington.
Norman Cousins, New York, editor of *Saturday Review of Literature*. [later became the third President of United World Federalists]


Norman Cousins

Edward W. Eames, headmaster, Governor Drummer Academy; president, New England Association of College and Schools.
Thomas K. Finletter, New York, lawyer, author, director of Americans United for World Organization [later became Secretary of the Navy].
Mrs. Richard T. Fisher, Boston, director Massachusetts Committee for World Federation.
Tom O. Griessemer, New York, executive secretary of Federal World Government, Inc. [later was a founder of the World Movement for World Federal Government (now W.F.M.)]
Conrad Hobbs, Boston, director Massachusetts Committee for World Federation.
Palmer Hutcheson, Houston, Texas, lawyer, member, American Bar Association, Committee on World Organization.
Thomas H. Mahony, Boston, lawyer, consultant at San Francisco, chairman of Massachusetts Committee for World Federation
J.A. Migel, New York, merchant, treasurer and director of Americans United for World Organization.
Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Washington, war correspondent and author.
Herbert F. Rudd, Durham, N.H., professor of philosophy, University of New Hampshire.
Richard B Scandrett Jr, New York, lawyer, writer and editor, member American Mission on German Reparations, 1945.
Louis B. Sohn, Harvard Law School.
Foster Stearns, Hancock, N.H., former member Congress, former member of United States Diplomatic Service.
Robert Wheelwright, Wilmington, Del., landscape architect, member executive board of Federal World Government, Inc.
Major Perkin Bass, AAF, Peterborough, N.H., lawyer
Lieut. Charles G. Bolte, New York, writer, veteran of British Army, chairman of American Veterans Committee.
Lieut. Kingman Brewster Jr. USNR, Cambridge, Mass. [later President, Yale University]
Sgt. Alan Cranston, AUS, Washington, D.C., foreign correspondent, author, "The Killing of

the Peace." [later became the second President of United World Federalists]
Lieut. Marshall Field Jr., USNR, Peterborough, N.H., lawyer
Lieut. Cord Meyer Jr., USMCR, Cambridge, Mass., writer on world organization, aide to Comdr. (now Captain)
Harold Stassen at San Francisco. [later became the first President of United World Federalists]
Lieut. Michael Straight, AAF, San Antonio, Texas, writer.
Lieut. Gray Thorn, AUS, New York, lawyer.

There were also present conferees in the uniform of the United States who, by reason of the fact alone, did not participate in the conclusions of the conference.

These resolutions and a full report of the conference are to be sent to the President, the Cabinet, all members of Congress and Governors of the forty-eight States and to the officials and the members of the United Nations Assembly.

While there was complete agreement upon on the necessity for world government, there was a small minority, which differed from the majority upon the matter of procedure and the timing of any steps to be taken. They reported as follows:

We do not join in the statement for these reasons:

1. We agree with the object and, with some reservations, with the structure of the organization envisaged in the resolutions. We think, however, that simultaneously with efforts to attain a world federal government, the United States should explore the possibilities of forming a nuclear union with nations where individual liberty exists, as a step toward the projected world government.

Owen J. Roberts A.J.G Priest Michael Williams
Stringfellow Barr Clarence K. Streit

In addition to those signing the majority and minority reports the following were present at some of the sessions:

Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, member of Foreign Relations Committee.
Louis Fischer, New York, writer and lecturer.
Charles W. Ferguson, Pleasantville, New York, editor, *Readers Digest*. [which later presented a digest of Emery Reves's *The Anatomy of Peace* over three issues]
John K. Jessup, New York, editor of *Life* and *Fortune*.
Lieut. Edward F. Mahony, AUS, Boston.
Donovan Richardson, Boston, managing editor, *Christian Science Monitor*.
Emery Reves, New York, publisher and author.
Winfield W. Riefler, Princeton, N.J., economist, professor at Institute for Advanced Study.
Beardsley Ruml, New York, chairman, Federal Reserve Bank of New York.
Henry D. Smyth, Princeton, N.J., Professor of Physics, Princeton University, author of official report "Atomic Energy for Military Purposes," 1945
Capt. Wayne D. Williams, AUS, Washington, lawyer, winner of 1944 Ross Medal of American Bar Association for essay on world organization.
William B. Ziff, Washington, publisher and author

It is expected many other invited to the conference, but unable to be present, will adhere to the majority report.

--THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1945 ■

The Swiss Europa Union Schweiz organized an international conference of European and world federalists in mid-September, 1946. The Union Fédérale, which considered itself part of the Federal Union – an organization which formed in 1938 to advance European and world union and which still operates today – also played a role in the conference. The outcome of this September 15-22 event was the "Hertenstein Program," an agenda which continues to influences various European federalist groups, and one that provides an important link between early European unification ideas and the larger concept of world government.

— The Hertenstein Programme —

September 22, 1946

1. A European Community on federal lines is a necessary and essential contribution to any world union.

2. In accordance with federalist principles which call for a democratic structure beginning at the base, the community of European peoples must itself settle any differences that may arise among its members.

3. The European Union is to fit into the framework of the UN Organisation as a regional union under Article 52 of the Charter.

4. The members of the European Union shall transfer part of their sovereign rights – economic, political and military – to the Federation which they constitute.

5. The European Union shall be open to all peoples that consider themselves European and conform to its fundamental rules.

6. The European Union shall define the rights and duties of its citizens in a declaration of European civil rights.

7. This declaration shall be based on respect for the individual and his responsibility towards the various communities to which he belongs.

8. The European Union shall be responsible for orderly reconstruction and for economic, social and cultural collaboration; it shall ensure that technical progress is devoted solely to the service of mankind.

9. The European Union is directed against no-one and renounces any form of power politics. It refuses to be an instrument in the service of any foreign power.

10. Within the framework of the European Union, regional unions based on agreements freely arrived at are not only permissible but desirable.

11. Only the European Union can ensure to all its peoples, small and great, their territorial integrity and the preservation of their own character.

12. By showing that it can solve the problems of its destiny in a federalist spirit, Europe will make its contribution to reconstruction and to the creation of a world community of peoples. ■

In early 1947, in Ashville, North Carolina, thirty US based organizations dedicated to advancing internationalism and global government met to overcome differences and unite in a single world-governmental lobby organization. After deliberations, a number of these groups merged and created the United World Federalists (UWF), a pre-curser to today's World Federalist Association – the most influential world government lobby group in the US.

The following short *Statement of Policy and Purposes* was drafted and circulated as a foundation point for the UWF.

Asheville Statement of Policy/Purposes

The United Nations headquarters, New York, circa mid-1960s.

We believe that peace is not merely the absence of war, but the presence of justice, of law, of order – in short, of government and the institutions of government; that world peace can be created and maintained only under world law, universal and strong enough to prevent armed conflict between nations.

Therefore, while endorsing the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a world community favorable to peace, we will work primarily to strengthen the United Nations into a world government of limited powers adequate to prevent war and having jurisdiction over the individual in those matters within its competence. ■

In 1947, world government advocates from around the world gathered at Montreux, Switzerland to discuss the goals of their movement, unify their activities, and strengthen their overall cause. The Montreux Declaration was released as a result of that conference.

The Montreux Declaration

August 23, 1947

We world federalists meeting in Montreux 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 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 world affairs.

3. Enforcement of world law directly on the individual whosoever 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 internal policing requirements.

5. Ownership and control by the world federal government of atomic development and of other scientific discovers capable of mass destruction.

6. Power to raise adequate revenues directly and independently of state taxes.

…….

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 world federal government. In the same way, the solution of technical, scientific and cultural problems which concern all 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 to the governments and parliaments, but also 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 actions as quickly as possible, so that we may take advantage of any new opportunities which present themselves to the federalist cause. One this 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.* ■

The following speech was given by Cambridge City politician, Miss F.L. Josephy, at the first Congress of the Union of European Federalists, held in Montreux, Switzerland from the 27th to the 31st of August, 1947. The importance of this speech is found in its linkages between the proposed creation of a world government and the formation of a European Union.

Speech by Miss F-L Josephy,

First UEF Congress, 1947

Being British I am not particularly interested in theory and not at all in philosophy. I am lost in the subtleties of integral federalism. In fact I am just Plain Jane Bull. I go at things like a bull at a gate and frequently behave, as my friends tell me, like a bull in a China shop.

In other words, I am concerned only with practical matters – what we need; why we need it; how we are going to get it.

To my mind it is high time we sorted out the Exact Connection between World Federation and European Federation how they are interconnected and why they must be.

There is no good to argue here that the only answer to world war is world federation – and by that I mean the transfer to an elected world government of control over the relations that may lead to war and the weapons with which they are made. Nothing less will do. And that is why we are all World Federalists.

But World Federal Government, whether it comes sooner or later – and if it does not come soon it will be too late – must inevitably have only limited powers control over international relations, of the use of atomic power, of armed forces, of strategic bases, "et c'est tout." Nothing more is possible.

But in at least one war-torn area of the world that is not enough. Europe needs complete federation. Economic and political as well as defensive. It needs common law to defend the right of man, and common planning to ensure work, food, homes and security for all everywhere.

The danger of war for the world may be the atom bomb. For Europe the danger remains Germany – a strong Germany or a weak Germany, so long as it is an independent Germany. A weak Germany means economic ruin for all Europe. A strong Germany means political domination and eventually war for all Europe.

The only answer to the German problem is to integrate an industrially strong Germany into a United Europe. Today we are forcing a weak, starving and hopeless Germany towards another Hitler and another war. We are making the Germans hate democracy and are thus defeating our own ends, for the only Germany that other nations can live with is a democratic Germany.

Europe needs Germany and Germany needs Europe. With hope for the future through industrial revival and political federation the whole state of affairs in Germany would change overnight. With European economic planning the coal of Germany could be used to restore the whole of Europe; the industrial products of the West could be exchanged for the food grown in the East; European public works could bring prosperity and a rising living standard to Europe's poorer peoples; and – there would be a real possibility of getting Europe on her feet again.

All that is on one plane. World problems are on another. And there is no incompatibility between the two. When people say you cannot work for both at once, it is like saying because the British Government has put through an Act to give social security to all, the County of London cannot fix its own street-cleaning or lighting system; or because the Swiss Government controls the transport of the country, the town of Montreux cannot fix its own tram-fares. The things are on different levels. Both are necessary and both can be worked for at once. One is not a step towards the other. It is part, and an essential part, of the other.

Europe will be useful to and safe for the world only if it is united and prosperous.

That is why I stick to my Twin Aims policy – European Federation within a World Federal Government – that I advocated nearly a year ago to Luxembourg. And I still feel it gives the answer – if there is an answer – at the Russian question.

We must pursue an Open Door policy. We must work for World Federal Government preferably with Russia, but making it quite clear that we shall go on working for it even if at first it has to be without her. We must work for European Federation preferably including the countries of Eastern Europe, but making it quite clear that we shall go on working for it even if at first they cannot come in. In both cases the door will always be open, and if Russia is invited to cooperate at world level, there is no reason why she should object to Europe forming a single unit within the world scheme just as she does herself. As part of a world government there would be no further need for her to maintain her present position of aggressive defence.

For all these reasons I am delighted that the Movement for World Federal Government now has a large number of Europeans on its Council. I am delighted, too, that some of the World Federalists have stayed on to see how well the European Federalists are organising to achieve their goal. I hope we can now all go forward together.

We have all the theory and all the philosophy we need. We know why and how we intend to proceed – on the world plane by transforming UNO [Note: UNO stands for the United Nations Organization] and going ahead with the Peoples' Assembly plan; in Europe by integrating economics and justice.

What we need is action. Like M. Aaron with his "N'y a qu'a," I have a tribe that must be disposed of. My tribe is called the Buts. "I am a federalist of course, *but* what can I do about it?" "Of course, UNO as it is is useless, *but* do you really think it can be changed?" "I agree that national sovereignty is the root of our troubles, *but* you can't expect States to surrender it," and so on and so forth.

It is no use being a But. It is no use your coming here and listening to speeches and possibly even agreeing with them, and then going home and doing nothing about it. The peoples must be made federal-minded. They must be made to understand what federation would mean for them, and to demand it. They must be brought to the point where no member of parliament is safe and no candidate for parliament has a hope of being elected unless he includes federation in his programme.

And that is a task for all of us. We can all talk to our friends; we can all write challenging letters to our local papers, and keep up the correspondence as long as the editor will let us.

But first of all we must understand the need for federation ourselves. "Tout comprendre, c'est tout fédérer." ■

In 1949, California World Federalist President Alan Cranston and Executive Director Bob Walker, successfully lobbied both Democrats and Republicans, in both houses, to secure a resolution on US Constitutional changes and global government.

The following text has been re-released by the California branch of the WFA because of its historical significance.

1949 California House Resolution

WHEREAS, War is now a threat to the very existence of our civilization, because modern science has produced weapons of war which are overwhelmingly destructive and against which there is no sure defense; and

WHEREAS, The effective maintenance of world peace is the proper concern and responsibility of every American citizen; and

WHEREAS, The people of the State of California, while now enjoying domestic peace and security under the laws of their local, state and federal governments, deeply desire the guarantee of world peace; and

WHEREAS, All history shows that peace is the product of law and order, and that law and order are the product of government; and

WHEREAS, The United Nations, as presently constituted, although accomplishing great good in many fields, lacks authority to enact, interpret or enforce world law, and under its present Charter is incapable of restraining any major nations which may foster or foment war; and

WHEREAS, The Charter of the United Nations expressly provides, in Articles 108 and 109, a procedure for reviewing and altering the Charter; and

WHEREAS, The necessity for endowing the United Nations with limited powers rendering it capable of enacting, interpreting or enforcing world law adequate to prevent war, and guaranteeing the inalienable rights of freedom for every human being on earth and the dignity of the individual as exemplified by the American Bill of Rights, has been recognized in the California state conventions and platforms of both the Republican and Democratic parties; and

WHEREAS, Many states have memorialized Congress, through resolutions by their state legislatures or in referenda by their voters, to initiate steps toward the creation of a world federal government reserving to the nations and to the people those rights not specifically granted as necessary to the establishment and the maintenance of world law and order; and

WHEREAS, Several nations (Italy, India, France) have recently adopted constitutional provisions to facilitate their entry into a world federal government by authorizing a

delegation to such a world federal government of a portion of their sovereignty to endow it with powers adequate to prevent war; now, therefore be it

Resolved, By the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly, that application is hereby made to the Congress of the United States, pursuant to Article V of the Constitution of the United States, to call a convention for the sole purpose of proposing amendment of the Constitution to expedite and insure the participation of the United States in a world federal government, open to all nations, with powers which, while defined and limited, shall be adequate to preserve peace, whether the proposed charter or constitution of such world federal government be presented in the form of amendments to the Charter of the United Nations, or by world constitutional convention, or otherwise; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly is hereby directed to transmit copies of this application to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress, to the members of the said Senate and House of Representatives from this state, and to the presiding officers of each of the legislatures in the several states, requesting their cooperation. ■

At the end of World War II, a massive ground swell of support arose for the idea of expanding the United Nations into an effective world government. This short House Resolution is one case in point. According to the 1997 World Federalist Association *Activist Guidebook*, "Resolutions supporting world federation were sponsored in the 81st Congress by 22 Senators and 111 Representatives." (p.15, *Activist Guidebook*)

House Congressional Resolution #64, 81st Congress, 1949
United States of America

Resolved by the House of Representatives, (the Senate concurring), that it is the sense of the Congress that it should be a fundamental objective of the foreign policy of the United States to support and strengthen the United Nations and to seek its development into a world federation open to all nations with defined and limited powers adequate to preserve peace and prevent aggression through the enactment, interpretation and enforcement of world law. ■

United States Capital Building, home to the House of Representatives and Senate, Washington D.C.

The text below is taken from a 1949 UN Department of Public Information package titled "United Nations Study Kit No.1" – "Questions and Answers on the United Nations." This Q & A document addressed eight specific question regarding the world body; 1) What is the United Nations?, 2) Why have a United Nations?, 3) Who pays for the United Nations?, 4) What does the United Nations do?, 5) What has the United Nations done?, 6) How are the ILO, FAO, WHO and UNESCO part of the United Nations?, 7) Why not have a proper world government?, 8) What part can the people of the world play in the international organization?.

Due to space restrictions, only questions seven and eight are reprinted.

United Nations —Nations Unies

Department of Public Information
Research Section

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE UNITED NATIONS

[page 7]

7. <u>Why not have a proper world government</u>?

The United Nations is an association of equally independent and sovereign states. Each of these states ha agreed that certain obligations – those contained in the Charter of the United Nations – are to overrule any other obligations they may have. In becoming parties to conventions and other international agreements, they have further accepted limitations on their right to act just as they please.

<u>An advance on the League</u>

In the United Nations, Member States have gone further towards setting up a world government than they had done previously in the League of Nations; for example, in the League, all decision had to be unanimous; in the United Nations, all decisions may be taken by a majority (whether the majority is a simple one, as in the Economic and Social Council, or a qualified one, as in the Security Council). In its time, the League was a great advance in world government on anything which had happened before.

Limitations in the United Nations

Since its Members are sovereign and independent, however, the United Nations acts mainly in making recommendations to them; it cannot enforce its decisions. The only exception to this provided for in the Charter is in the case of action which may be taken by the Security Council to keep the peace. Recommendation by the United Nations have, of course, a strong moral force, based primarily on world public opinion, as has been shown when Member States have accepted and carried out recommendations with which they did not individually agree.

This is as far as Member countries have so far agreed to go. At present, it seems unlikely that they are ready to give up their independence to the extent of accepting decisions from a central world parliament which would overrule a national parliament and might be against the interests of the country concerned.

[pages 7-8]

Problems of world government

Before such a state of affairs can be reached, many steps will have to be taken. For example, countries at present, though equal from a legal point of view, are unequal in size, in population, in economic resources and in power. At present, each Member country has an equal vote in the General Assembly; the United States has one vote, so has Costa Rica. If decisions of the Assembly were, however, binding on all Members, many of the larger and more important countries would feel that they should have a larger say than the smaller ones in making these decisions. It would be necessary to agree on what this should be based; whether, for example, on population, on territory, on resources or on contributions to the organization. This is only one of the problems that would have to be decided. It is obvious that there are many others. For example, how would decisions be enforced; what steps, if any, could be taken if certain countries decided to withdraw from the organization because they disagreed with its decisions; how could world problems be dealt with if the organization did not include all countries in the world?

Steps toward world government

Although it will probably take some time before a full system of world government can come into being, more and more, questions are being considered on a world basis; not only political questions, but questions concerning food, housing, trade and money, etc. The interests of countries on these and other questions governed by international agreements are increasingly in number, with a corresponding decrease in those dealt with purely on a national level.

Side by side with this process is the development through the United Nations of new methods of international co-operation which may in time, if Members agree, tend to obscure the dividing line between what decisions are taken nationally and what may be taken internationally.

8. **What part can the people of the world play in the international organization**?

The United Nations is founded on public opinion. Its Member Governments represent the peoples of their countries; it is up to these peoples to see that their representatives know their opinions on the questions being discussed and in their speeches and voting in the United Nations carry out the wishes of those they represent. To do this, it is necessary to be informed about the United Nations and the matters which it is discussing.

To enable the public to be fully informed in these matters, the United Nations has set up a Department of Public Information. This Department tells the story of the United Nations through publications, radio programs and films. It makes information available to newspapers and news agencies, radio and press correspondents, lecturers, teachers and others who are prepared to tell the story. Moreover, the meetings of the United Nations are, in almost every case, open to the public.

[pages 8-9]

In addition to the influence which people can bring to bear on their government representatives, the Charter of the United Nations provides for more direct participation of individuals in the work of the United Nations, through the non-governmental organizations of which they are members. International non-governmental organizations and, in certain cases national non-governmental organizations (in agreement with the government of the country concerned), are granted consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The organizations granted consultative status are divided into three categories: (a), (b) and (c). In category (a) are placed those organizations which are concerned with most of the matters dealt with by the Council; category (b) contains those organizations concerned with only some of the Council's activities; category (c) contains organizations engaged for the most part in information activities. All these organizations can send observers to public meetings of the Council and may be invited to consult with a standing committee of the Council. In addition, organizations in category (a) may suggest items to be considered by the Council and may address the Council explaining these items. ■

This fascinating document is a transcribed speech made by Pope Pius XII while addressing the World Movement for World Federal Government, April 6th, 1951. For more information on the role of religious organization in the quest for world government, see the commentary box for Pope Paul VI's 1965 speech.

ADDRESS BY HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XII DURING AN AUDIENCE WITH DELEGATES OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE WORLD MOVEMENT FOR WORLD FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,

6 April 1951.

Pope Pius XII

We are very appreciative of the deference you have shown Us by this visit to the Vatican, and We have pleasure in addressing you members of the "World Movement for World Federal Government". We give you cordial greetings of welcome. Our warmest interest in the cause of peace in the midst of humanity so grievously tormented is well known to you. We have given frequent proofs of this interest. It is, moreover, inherent in Our mission. The maintenance or re-establishment of peace has always been and always will be the object of Our constant solicitude. And if, too often, the results have been far from the aims of Our efforts and Our acts, lack of success will never discourage Us, so long as peace does not reign in the world. Faithful to the spirit of Christ, the Church is striving and working with all her strength to that end; she does this by her precepts and by her exhortations, by her incessant action and by ceaseless prayers.

The Church is indeed a power for peace, at least in spheres where one respects and appreciates at their true value the independence and the mission which the Church holds from God; where one does not seek to make her the docile servant of political egoists and where she is not treated as an enemy. The Church longs for peace, she strives for peace, and her heart is always with those who, like her, desire peace and devote themselves to it. Also, she knows, and this is her duty, how to discern the true and the false friends of peace.

She desires it, and therefore she applies herself to the promotion of everything which, within the framework of the divine, natural and supernatural order, contributes to the assurance of peace. Your movement, Gentleman, has the task of creating an effective political organization of the world. There is nothing more in keeping with the traditional doctrines of the Church, or better adapted to her teaching on the rightful or unjust war, especially in the present world situation. An organization of this nature must, therefore, be set up, even if only to end the competitive rearming of nations, through which, for decades past, people have ruined and exhausted themselves in complete waste.

You, Gentleman, are of the opinion that in order to be effective, this world political organization should be of a federal nature. If you mean by this that the organization should not be bound to the wheels of some mechanical unification, here again you are in harmony with the principles of political and social life so firmly laid down and sustained by the Church. Indeed, no world organization could exist if it did not harmonize with human relations between men and between diverse people. Failing this, whatever might be its structures, it would be impossible for this organization to operate and to endure.

For this reason We are convinced that your first care should be to establish solidarity and restore these fundamental principles in every national and constitutional, economic and social, cultural and moral sphere.

At the present time in the national and constitutional sphere, the life of nations is everywhere disintegrated through the blind worship of numerical strength. It is the citizen who is the elector. But, as such, he is in reality nothing but one of the units, the total of which constitutes a majority or a minority, which the displacement of a few votes, or even of a single one would suffice to reverse. As far as the parties are concerned, he is considered only from the point of view of electoral values, for the support given through his voice, but there is no question as to the place and part he takes in his family and profession.

In the economic and social sphere there is no natural organic unit amongst producers, since quantitative utilitarianism, which is the sole consideration in the matter of cost price, is the only norm determining the sites of production and distribution of work; since it is the question of "class" which divides men artificially in society, and the standard is no longer that of co-operation within the professional community.

In the cultural and moral domain, individual liberty, freed from all ties, all rules, all objective and social values, is only in reality a devastating anarchy, especially in the education of the young.

Until one has strengthened the world political organization and placed it on this indispensable basis, there is a risk of it infecting itself with the deadly germs of mechanical totalitarianism. We would like to invite those who are thinking of applying this remedy, for example, to a world parliament, to reflect on this, particularly from a federalist point of view. Otherwise they would be playing into the hands of the forces of destruction from which our political and social order has already suffered too much; it would only lead to adding one more legal automaton to the many others which threaten to stifle the nations and to reduce man to the state of an inert instrument.

If, therefore, in the spirit of federalism it is not possible for the future political world organization, under any circumstances, to allow itself to enter into an unitary mechanism, it will only have an effective authority in so far as it safeguards and encourages everywhere the proper life of a sane, healthy human community – a society in which all its members concur together for the well-being of humanity in its entirety.

What a large amount of moral firmness, intelligent foresight and supple adaptation this world authority will have to possess, more than ever necessary in critical moments, when, in the face of malevolence, people of goodwill need to be supported by authority! After all our present and past trials, should we dare to say that the resources and methods of government and politics today are adequate? In truth, it is impossible to solve the problem of a world political organization without appealing to the experience of history, to a sane social philosophy, or even to some kind of vision from creative imagination.

There, Gentlemen, is a vast field of work, study and action. You have understood this and looked it squarely in the face; you have the courage to give yourself to this cause. We congratulate you. We would express to you Our wishes for your entire success and with all Our heart We will pray to God to grant you His wisdom and help in the performance of your task.

Asd-es
51159 ■

US State Department document 7727, released in 1961, outlines an amazing multi-point strategy to militarily empower the United Nations while weakening the sovereign structures of all countries, including the United States. This is a particularly striking document in light of the Soviet Union's general disarmament plans of 1959 and 1960, which essentially called for the same strategic three point program of national disarmament and United Nations military empowerment. However, due to the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 and other international tensions between the US and the Soviet Union, these "general and complete" disarmament programs became buried in the ensuing cold war arms race.

FREEDOM

FROM

WAR

THE UNITED STATES PROGRAM
FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE
DISARMAMENT IN A PEACEFUL
WORLD

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 7277
Disarmament Series 5
Released September 1961

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[title and opening information page-page 1]

Introduction

The revolutionary development of modern weapons within a world divided by serious ideological differences has produced a crisis in human history. In order to overcome the danger of nuclear war now confronting mankind, the United States has introduced at the Sixteenth General Assembly of the United Nations a *Program for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World.*

This new program provides for the progressive reduction of the war-making capabilities of nations and the simultaneous strengthening of international institutions to settle disputes and maintain the peace. It sets forth a series of comprehensive measures which can and should he taken in order to bring about a world in which there will be freedom from war and security for all states. It is based on three principles deemed essential to the achievement of practical progress in the disarmament field:

First, there must be immediate disarmament action:

A strenuous and uninterrupted effort must be made toward the goal of general and complete disarmament; at the same time, it is important that specific measures be put into effect as soon as possible.

[pages1-2]

Second, all disarmament obligations must be subject to effective international controls:

The control organization must have the manpower, facilities, and effectiveness to assure that limitations or reductions take place as agreed. It must also be able to certify to all states that retained forces and armaments do not exceed those permitted at any stage of the disarmament process.

Third, adequate peace-keeping machinery must be established:

There is an inseparable relationship between the scaling down of national armaments on the one hand and the building up of international peace-keeping machinery and institutions on the other. Nations are unlikely to shed their means of self-protection in the absence of alternative ways to safeguard their legitimate interests. This can only be achieved through the progressive strengthening of international institutions under the United Nations and by creating a United Nations Peace Force to enforce the peace as the disarmament process proceeds.

There follows a summary of the principal provisions of the United States *Program for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World.* The full text of the program is contained in an appendix to this pamphlet.

[pages2-3]

FREEDOM FROM WAR
THE UNITED STATES PROGRAM FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT IN A PEACEFUL WORLD

Summary

DISARMAMENT GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The over-all goal of the United States is a free, secure, and peaceful world of independent states adhering to common standards of justice and international conduct and subjecting the use of force to the rule of law; a world which has achieved general and complete disarmament under effective international control; and a world in which adjustment to change takes place in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

In order to make possible the achievement of that goal, the program sets forth the following specific objectives toward which nations should direct their efforts:

- The disbanding of all national armed forces and the prohibition of their reestablishment in any form whatsoever other than those required to preserve internal order and for contributions to a United Nations Peace Force;

- The elimination from national arsenals of all armaments, including all weapons of mass destruction and [pages3-4] the means for their delivery, other than those required for a United Nations Peace Force and for maintaining internal order;

- The institution of effective means for the enforcement of international agreements, for the settlement of disputes, and for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the United Nations;

- The establishment and effective operation of an International Disarmament Organization within the framework of the United Nations to insure compliance at all times with all disarmament obligations.

TASK OF NEGOTIATING STATES

The negotiating states are called upon to develop the program into a detailed plan for general and complete disarmament and to continue their efforts without interruption until the whole program has been achieved. To this end, they are to seek the widest possible area of agreement at the earliest possible date. At the same time, and without prejudice to progress on the disarmament program, they are to seek agreement on those immediate measures that would contribute to the common security of nations and that could facilitate and form part of the total program.

GOVERNING PRINCIPLES

The program sets forth a series of general principles to guide the negotiating states in their work. These make clear that:

[pages 4-5]

- As states relinquish their arms, the United Nations must be progressively strengthened in order to improve its capacity to assure international security and the peaceful settlement of disputes;
- Disarmament must proceed as rapidly as possible, until it is completed, in stages containing balanced, phased, and safeguarded measures;
- Each measure and stage should be carried out in an agreed period of time, with transition from one stage to the next to take place as soon as all measures in the preceding stage have been carried out and verified and as soon as necessary arrangements for verification of the next stage have been made;
- Inspection and verification must establish both that nations carry out scheduled limitations or reductions and that they do not retain armed forces and armaments in excess of those permitted at any stage of the disarmament process; and
- Disarmament must take place in a manner that will not affect adversely the security of any state.

DISARMAMENT STAGES

The program provides for progressive disarmament steps to take place in three stages and for the simultaneous strengthening of international institutions.

FIRST STAGE

The first stage contains measures which would significantly reduce the capabilities of nations to wage [pages 5-6] aggressive war. Implementation of this stage would mean that:

- **The nuclear threat would be reduced:**

  All states would have adhered to a treaty effectively prohibiting tile testing of nuclear weapons.
  The production of fissionable materials for use in weapons would be stopped and quantities of such materials from past production would be converted to non-weapons uses.
  States owning nuclear weapons would not relinquish control of such weapons to any nation not owning them and would not transmit to any such nation information or material necessary for their manufacture.
  States not owning nuclear weapons would not manufacture them or attempt to obtain control of such weapons belonging to other states.

A Commission of Experts would be established to report on the feasibility and means for the verified reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons stockpiles.

- **Strategic delivery vehicles would he reduced:**

Strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles of specified categories and weapons designed to counter such vehicles would be reduced to agreed levels by equitable and balanced steps; their production would be discontinued or limited; their testing would be limited or halted.

[pages 6-7]

- **Arms and armed forces would be reduced:**

The armed forces of the United States and the Soviet Union would be limited to 2.1 million men each (with appropriate levels not exceeding that amount for other militarily significant states); levels of armaments would be correspondingly reduced and their production would be limited.

An Experts Commission would be established to examine and report on the feasibility and means of accomplishing verifiable reduction and eventual elimination of all chemical, biological and radiological weapons.

- **Peaceful use of outer space would be promoted:**

The placing in orbit or stationing in outer space of weapons capable of producing mass destruction would be prohibited.

States would give advance notification of space vehicle and missile launchings.

- **U.N. peace-keeping powers would be strengthened:**

Measures would be taken to develop and strengthen United Nations arrangements for arbitration, for the development of international law, and for the establishment in Stage II of a permanent U.N. Peace Force.

- **An International Disarmament Organization would be established for effective verification of the disarmament program:**

Its functions would be expanded progressively as disarmament proceeds.

[pages 7-8]

It would certify to all states that agreed reductions have taken place and that retained forces and armaments do not exceed permitted levels.

It would determine the transition from one stage to the next.

- **States would he committed to other measures to reduce international tension and to protect against the chance of war by accident, miscalculation, or surprise attack:**

  States would be committed to refrain from the threat or use of any type of armed force contrary to the principles of the U.N. Charter and to refrain from indirect aggression and subversion against any country.

  A U.N. peace observation group would be available to investigate any situation which might constitute a threat to or breach of the peace.

  States would be committed to give advance notice of major military movements which might cause alarm; observation posts would be established to report on concentrations and movements of military forces.

SECOND STAGE

The second stage contains a series of measures which would bring within sight a world in which there would be freedom from war. Implementation of all measures in the second stage would mean:

- Further substantial reductions in the armed forces, armaments, and military establishments of states, including strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and countering weapons;

[pages 8-9]

- Further development of methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes under the United Nations;

- Establishment of a permanent international peace force within the United Nations;

- Depending on the findings of an Experts Commission, a halt in the production of chemical, bacteriological, and radiological weapons and a reduction of existing stocks or their conversion to peaceful uses;

- On the basis of the findings of an Experts Commission, a reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons;

- The dismantling or the conversion to peaceful uses of certain military bases and facilities wherever located; and

- The strengthening and enlargement of the International Disarmament Organization to enable it to verify the steps taken in Stage II and to determine the transition to Stage III.

THIRD STAGE

During the third stage of the program, the states of the world, building on the experience and confidence gained in successfully implementing the measures of the first two stages, would take final steps toward the goal of a world in which:

- States would retain only those forces, non-nuclear armaments, and establishments required for the purpose of maintaining internal order; they would also support and provide agreed manpower for a U.N. Peace Force.

[pages 9-10]

- The U.N. Peace Force, equipped with agreed types and quantities of armaments, would be fully functioning.

- The manufacture of armaments would be prohibited except for those of agreed types and quantities to be used by the U.N. Peace Force and those required to maintain internal order. All other armaments would be destroyed or converted to peaceful purposes.

- The peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations would be sufficiently strong and the obligations of all states under such arrangements sufficiently far reaching as to assure peace and tile just settlement of differences in a disarmed world.

[pages 10-11]

Appendix

DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT

THE UNITED STATES PROGRAM FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT IN A PEACEFUL WORLD

The Nations of the world,

Conscious of the crisis in human history produced by the revolutionary development of modern weapons within a world divided by serious ideological differences;

Determined to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war and the dangers and burdens of the arms race and to create conditions in which all peoples can strive freely and peacefully to fulfill their basic aspirations;

Declare their goal to be: A free, secure, and peaceful world of independent states adhering to common standards of justice and international conduct and subjecting the use of force to the rule of law; a world where adjustment to change takes place in accordance with the principles of the United Nations; a world where there shall be a permanent state of general and complete disarmament under effective international control and where the resources of nations shall be devoted to man's material, cultural, and spiritual advance;

Set forth as the objectives of a program of general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world:

(a) The disbanding of all national armed forces and the prohibition of their reestablishment in any form whatsoever other than those required to preserve internal order and for contributions to a United Nations Peace Force;

[pages 11-12]

(b) The elimination from national arsenals of all armaments, including all weapons of mass destruction and the means for their delivery, other than those required for a United Nations Peace Force and for maintaining internal order;

(c) The establishment and effective operation of an International Disarmament Organization within the framework of the United Nations to ensure compliance at all times with all disarmament obligations;

(d) The institution of effective means for the enforcement of international agreements, for the settlement of disputes, and for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

Call on the negotiating states:

(a) To develop the outline program set forth below into an agreed plan for general and complete disarmament and to continue their efforts without interruption until the whole program has been achieved;

(b) To this end to seek to attain the widest possible area of agreement at the earliest possible date;

(c) Also to seek – without prejudice to progress on the disarmament program – agreement on those immediate measures that would contribute to the common security of nations and that could facilitate and form a part of that program.

Affirm that disarmament negotiations should be guided by the following principles:

(a) Disarmament shall take place as rapidly as possible until it is completed in stages containing balanced, phased and safeguarded measures, with each measure and stage to be carried out in an agreed period of time.

(b) Compliance with all disarmament obligations shall be effectively verified from their entry into force. Verification arrangements shall be instituted progressively and in such a manner as to verify not only that agreed limitations or reductions take place but also that retained armed forces and armaments do not exceed agreed levels at any stage.

(c) Disarmament shall take place in a manner that will not [pages 12-13] affect adversely the security of any state, whether or not a party to an international agreement or treaty.

(d) As states relinquish their arms, the United Nations shall he progressively strengthened in order to improve its capacity to assure international security and the peaceful settlement of differences as well as to facilitate the development of international cooperation in common tasks for the benefit of mankind.

(e) Transition from one stage of disarmament to the next shall take place as soon as all the measures in the preceding stage have been carried out and effective verification is continuing and as soon as the arrangements that have been agreed to be necessary for the next stage have been instituted.

Agree upon the following outline program for achieving general and complete disarmament:

STAGE I

A. *To Establish an International Disarmament Organization:*

(a) An International Disarmament Organization (IDO) shall he established within the framework of the United Nations upon entry into force of the agreement. Its functions shall be expanded progressively as required for the effective verification of the disarmament program.

(b) The IDO shall have: (1) a General Conference of all the parties; (2) a Commission consisting of representatives of all the major powers as permanent members and certain

other states on a rotating basis; and (3) an Administrator who will administer the Organization subject to the direction of the Commission and who will have the authority, staff, and finances adequate to assure effective impartial implementation of the functions of the Organization.

(c) The IDO shall: (1) ensure compliance with the obligations undertaken by verifying the execution of measures agreed upon; (2) assist the states in developing the details of agreed further verification and disarmament measures; (3) provide for the estab- [pages 13-14] lishment of such bodies as may be necessary for working out the details of further measures provided for in the program and for such other expert study groups as may be required to give continuous study to the problems of disarmament; (4) receive reports on the progress of disarmament and verification arrangements and determine the transition from one stage to the next.

B. ***To Reduce Armed Forces and Armaments:***

(a) Force levels shall be limited to 2.1 million each for the U.S. and U.S.S.R. and to appropriate levels not exceeding 2.1 million each for all other militarily significant states. Reductions to the agreed levels will proceed by equitable, proportionate, and verified steps.

(b) Levels of armaments of prescribed types shall be reduced by equitable and balanced steps. The reductions shall be accomplished by transfers of armaments to depots supervised by the IDO. When, at specified periods during the Stage I reduction process, the states party to the agreement have agreed that the armaments and armed forces are at prescribed levels, the armaments in depots shall be destroyed or converted to peaceful uses.

(c) The production of agreed types of armaments shall be limited.

(d) a Chemical, Biological, Radiological (CBR) Experts Commission shall be established within the IDO for the purpose of examining and reporting on the feasibility and means for accomplishing the verifiable reduction and eventual elimination of CBR weapons stockpiles and the halting of their production.

C. ***To Contain and Reduce the Nuclear Threat:***

(a) States that have not acceded to a treaty effectively prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons shall do so.

(b) The production of fissionable materials for use in weapons shall be stopped.

(c) Upon the cessation of production of fissionable materials for use in weapons, agreed initial quantities of fissionable materials from past production shall be transferred to non-weapons purposes.

[pages 14-15]

(d) Any fissionable materials transferred between countries for peaceful uses of nuclear energy shall be subject to appropriate safeguards to be developed in agreement with the IAEA.

(e) States owning nuclear weapons shall not relinquish control of such weapons to any nation not owning them and shall not transmit to any such nation information or material necessary for their manufacture. States not owning nuclear weapons shall not manufacture such weapons, attempt to obtain control of such weapons belonging to other states, or seek or receive information or materials necessary for their manufacture.

(f) A Nuclear Experts Commission consisting of representatives of the nuclear states shall be established within the IDO for the purpose of examining and reporting on the

feasibility and means for accomplishing the verified reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons stockpiles.

D. ***To Reduce Strategic Nuclear Weapons Delivery Vehicles:***

(a) Strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles in specified categories and agreed types of weapons designed to counter such vehicles shall be reduced to agreed levels by equitable and balanced steps. The reduction shall be accomplished in each step by transfers to depots supervised by the IDO of vehicles that are in excess of levels agreed upon for each step. At specified periods during the Stage I reduction process, the vehicles that have been placed under supervision of the IDO shall be destroyed or converted to peaceful uses.

(b) Production of agreed categories of strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and agreed types of weapons designed to counter such vehicles shall be discontinued or limited.

(c) Testing of agreed categories of strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and agreed types of weapons designed to counter such vehicles shall be limited or halted.

E. ***To Promote the Peaceful Use Of Outer Space:***

(a) The placing into orbit or stationing in outer space of weapons capable of producing mass destruction shall be prohibited.

[pages 15-16]

(b) States shall give advance notification to participating states and to the IDO of launchings of space vehicles and missiles, together with the track of the vehicle.

F. ***To Reduce the Risks of War by Accident, Miscalculation, and Surprise Attack:***

(a) States shall give advance notification to the participating states and to the IDO of major military movements and maneuvers, on a scale as may be agreed, which might give rise to misinterpretation or cause alarm and induce countermeasures. The notification shall include the geographic areas to be used and the nature, scale and time span of the event.

(b) There shall be established observation posts at such locations as major ports, railway centers, motor highways, and air bases to report on concentrations and movements of military forces.

(c) There shall also be established such additional inspection arrangements to reduce the danger of surprise attack as may be agreed.

(d) An international commission shall be established immediately within the IDO to examine and make recommendations on the possibility of further measures to reduce the risks of nuclear war by accident, miscalculation, or failure of communication.

G. ***To Keep the Peace:***

(a)States shall reaffirm their obligations under the U.N. Charter to refrain from the threat or use of any type of armed force-including nuclear, conventional, or CBR–contrary to the principles of the U.N. Charter.

(b) States shall agree to refrain from indirect aggression and subversion against any country.

(c) States shall use all appropriate processes for the peaceful settlement of disputes and shall seek within the United Nations further arrangements for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and for the codification and progressive development of international law.

[pages 16-17]

(d) States shall develop arrangements in Stage I for the establishment in Stage II of a U.N. Peace Force.

(e) A U.N. peace observation group shall be staffed with a standing cadre of observers

who could be dispatched to investigate any situation which might constitute a threat to or breach of the peace.

STAGE II

A. *International Disarmament Organization:*

The powers and responsibilities of the IDO shall be progressively enlarged in order to give it the capabilities to verify the measures undertaken in Stage II.

B. *To Further Reduce Armed Forces and Armaments:*

(a) Levels of forces for the U.S., U.S.S.R., and other militarily significant states shall be further reduced by substantial amounts to agreed levels in equitable and balanced steps.

(b) Levels of armaments of prescribed types shall be further reduced by equitable and balanced steps. The reduction shall be accomplished by transfers of armaments to depots supervised by the IDO. When, at specified periods during the Stage II reduction process, the parties have agreed that the armaments and armed forces are at prescribed levels, the armaments in depots shall be destroyed or converted to peaceful uses.

(c) There shall he further agreed restrictions on the production of armaments.

(d) Agreed military bases and facilities wherever they are located shall he dismantled or converted to peaceful uses.

(e) Depending upon the findings of the Experts Commission on CBR weapons, the production of CBR weapons shall be halted, existing stocks progressively reduced, and the resulting excess quantities destroyed or converted to peaceful uses.

C. *To Further Reduce the Nuclear Threat:*

Stocks of nuclear weapons shall be progressively reduced to the minimum levels which can be agreed upon as a result of the find- [pages 17-18] ings of the Nuclear Experts Commission; the resulting excess of fissionable material shall be transferred to peaceful purposes.

D. *To Further Reduce Strategic Nuclear Weapons Delivery Vehicles:*

Further reductions in the stocks of strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and agreed types of weapons designed to counter such vehicles shall be carried out in accordance with the procedure outlined in Stage I.

E. *To Keep the Peace:*

During Stage II, states shall develop further the peace-keeping processes of the United Nations[1] to the end that the United Nations can effectively in Stage III deter or suppress any threat or use of force in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations:

(a) States shall agree upon strengthening the structure, authority, and operation of the United Nations so as to assure that the United Nations will be able effectively to protect states against threats to or breaches of the peace.

(b) The U.N. Peace Force shall be established and progressively strengthened.

(c) States shall also agree upon further improvements and developments in rules of international conduct and in processes for peaceful settlement of disputes and differences.

STAGE III

By the time Stage II has been completed, the confidence produced through a verified disarmament program, the acceptance of rules of peaceful international behavior, and the development of strengthened international peace-keeping processes within the framework of the U.N. should have reached a point where the states of the world can move forward to Stage III. In Stage III progressive controlled disarmament and continuously developing principles and procedures of international law would proceed to [pages 18-19] a point where no state would have the military power to challenge the progressively strengthened U.N. Peace Force and all international disputes would be settled according to the agreed principles of international conduct.

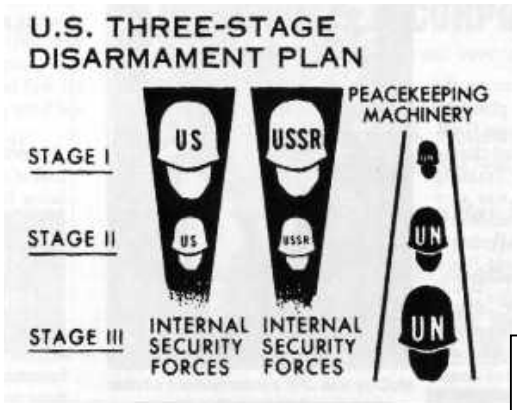
The progressive steps to be taken during the final phase of the disarmament program would be directed toward the attainment of a world in which:

(a) States would retain only those forces, non-nuclear armaments, and establishments required for the purpose of maintaining internal order; they would also support and provide agreed manpower for a U.N Peace Force.

(b) The U.N. Peace Force, equipped with agreed types and quantities of armaments, would be fully functioning.

(c) The manufacture of armaments would be prohibited except for those of agreed types and quantities to be used by the U.N. Peace Force and those required to maintain internal order. All other armaments would be destroyed or converted to peaceful purposes.

(d) The peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations would be sufficiently strong and the obligations of all states under such arrangements sufficiently far-reaching as to assure peace and the just settlement of differences in a disarmed world.



This diagram appeared in the 1963 *Second Annual Report to Congress* of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. It follows the basic premise of State Department document 7277.

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[page 19]

The following text is the complete speech given to the United Nations by Pope Paul VI, on October 4, 1965. In his address to the world body, Pope Paul clearly calls for an expanded UN role in global affairs – it's a candid and enlightening speech which demonstrates the hope of the Vatican for the creation of an international political authority, especially when taken together with Pius XII's 1951 World Federalist speech. Since then other Vatican officials, including Pope John Paul II, have openly praised the UN, the European Union, and various international institutions for their roles within the larger global governance context.

But the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church isn't the only religious voice calling for global governance – certain elements within Protestant circles have also expressed a desire to enlarge and empower the United Nations, as has other religions from around the world (the Bahá'í community is especially pro-world government). However, *as far as religious organizations go*, the Roman Catholic Church is the most important and powerful political player on the globe. No other "religious organization" comes remotely close to the political and economic clout of the Holy See.

HOLY FATHER'S TALK AT UNITED NATIONS
OCTOBER 4, 1965

As We commence Our address to this unique world audience, We wish to thank your Secretary General, Mr. Thant, for the invitation which he extended to Us to visit the United Nations, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of this world institution for peace and for collaboration between the peoples of the entire earth.

Our thanks also the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, who used such kind language in Our regard from the very day of his election.

We thank all of you here present for your kind welcome, and We present to each one of you Our deferential and sincere salutation. In friendship you have invited Us and admitted Us to this meeting; and it is as a friend that We are here today.

We express to you Our cordial personal homage, and We bring you that of the entire Second Vatican Ecumenical Council now meeting in Rome, and represented here by the Eminent Cardinals who accompany Us for this purpose.

In their name and in Our own, to each and every one of you, honour and greetings!

This encounter, as you all understand, marks a simple and at the same time a great moment. It is simple, because you have before you a humble man; your brother; and among you all, representatives of sovereign States, the least-invested, if you wish to think of him thus, with a minuscule, as it were symbolic, temporal sovereignty, only as much as is necessary to be free to exercise his spiritual mission, and to assure all those who deal with him that he is independent of every other sovereignty of this world. But he, who now addresses you, has no temporal power, nor any ambition to compete with you. In fact, We have nothing to ask for, no question to raise; We have only a desire to express and a permission to request: namely, that of serving you in so far as We can, with disinterest, with humility and love.

This is our first declaration. As you can see, it is so simple as to seem insignificant to this Assembly, which always treats of most important and most difficult matters.

We said also, however, and all here today feel it, that this moment is also a great one. Great for US, great for you.

For Us: You know well who We are. Whatever may be the opinion you have of the Pontiff or Rome, you know Our mission. We are the bearer [pages 1-2] of a message for all mankind. And this We are, not only in Our own personal name and in the name of the great Catholic Family; but also in that of those Christian brethren who share the same sentiments which We express here, particularly of those who so kindly charge Us explicitly to be their spokesman here. Like a messenger who, after a long journey, finally succeeds in delivering the letter which has been entrusted to him, so We appreciate the good fortune of this moment, however brief, which fulfils a desire nourished in the heart for nearly twenty centuries. For, as you will remember, we are very ancient; we here represent a long history; we here celebrate the epilogue of a wearying pilgrimage in search of a conversation with the entire world, ever since the command was given to us: Go and bring the good news to all peoples. Now, you here represent all peoples. Allow Us to tell you that We have a message, a happy message, to deliver to each one of you and to all.

1. We might call Our message a ratification, a solemn moral ratification of this lofty Institution. This message comes from our historical experience. As "an expert in humanity", We bring this Organization the suffrage of Our recent Predecessors, that of the entire Catholic Episcopate and Our own, convinced as We are that this Organization represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace. In saying this, We feel We are making Our own the voice of the dead and of the living; of the dead, who fell in the terrible wars of the past; of the living who survived those wars, bearing in their hearts a condemnation of those who would try to renew wars; and also of those living who rise up fresh and confident, the youth of the present generation, who legitimately dream of a better human race. And We also make Our own voice of the poor, the disinherited, the suffering, of those who hunger and thirst for justice, for the dignity of life, for freedom, for well-being and progress. The peoples of the earth turn to the United Nations as the last hope of concord and peace; We presume to present here, with their tribute of honour and of hope, Our own tribute also.

That is why this moment is great for you, also.

2. We feel that you are already aware of this. Hearken now to the continuation of Our message. It becomes a message of good wishes for the future. The edifice which you have constructed must never fall; it must be perfected, and made equal to the needs which world history will present. You mark a stage in the development of mankind, from which retreat must never be admitted but, from which it is necessary that advance be made.

To the pluralism of States, which can no longer ignore one another, you offer an extremely simple and fruitful formula of coexistence. First of all, you recognize and distinguish <u>the ones and the others</u>. You do not confer existence upon States; but you qualify each single Nations as fit to [pages 2-3] sit in the orderly congress of peoples. That is, you grant recognition, of the highest ethical and juridical value, to each single sovereign national community, guaranteeing it an honoured international citizenship. This in itself is a great service to the cause of humanity, namely, to define clearly and to honour the national subjects of the world community, and to classify them in a juridical

condition, worthy thereby of being recognized and respected by all, and from which there may derive an orderly and stable system of international life. You give sanction to the great principle that the relations between peoples should be regulated by reason, by justice, by law, by negotiation; not by force, nor by violence, not by war, not by fear or by deceit. Thus it must be. Allow Us to congratulate you for having had the wisdom to open this hall to the younger peoples, to those States which have recently attained independence and national freedom. Their presence is the proof of the universality and magnanimity which inspire the principles of this Institution.

Thus it must be. This is Our praise and Our good wish; and, as you can see, We do not attribute these as from outside; We derive them from inside, from the very genius of your Institution.

3. Your Charter goes further than this, and Our message advances with it. You exist and operate to unite the Nations, to bind States together. Let Us use this second formula: to bring the ones together with the others. You are an association. You are a bridge between peoples. You are a network of relations between States. We would almost say that your chief characteristic is a reflection, as it were, in the temporal field, of what our Catholic Church aspires to be in the spiritual field: unique and universal. In the ideological construction of mankind, there is on the natural level nothing superior to this. Your vocation is to make brothers not only of some, but of all peoples. A difficult undertaking, indeed; but this is it, your most noble undertaking. Is there anyone who does not see the necessity of coming thus progressively to the establishment of a world authority, able to act efficaciously on the juridical and political levels?

Once more We reiterate Our good wish: Advance always! We will go further, and say: Strive to bring back among you any who have separated themselves, and study the right method of uniting to your pact of brotherhood, in honour and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it. Act so that those still outside will desire and merit the confidence of all; and then be generous in granting such confidence. You have the good fortune and the honour of sitting in this assembly of peaceful community; hear Us as We say: Ensure that the reciprocal trust which here unites you, and enables you to do good and great things, may never be undermined or betrayed.

4. The inherent logic of this wish, which might be considered to pertain to the very structure of your Organization, leads Us to complete it with other formulas. Thus, let no one, inasmuch as he is a member of your union, be superior to the others: Never one above the other. This is the formula of [pages 3-4] equality. We are well aware that it must be completed by the evaluation of other factors besides simple membership in this Institution; but equally, too, belongs to its constitution. You are not equal, but here you make yourselves equal. For several of you, this may be an act of high virtue; allow Us to say this to you, as the representative of a religion which accomplishes salvation through the humility of its divine Founder. Men cannot be brothers if they are not humble. It is pride, no matter how legitimate it may seem to be, which provokes tension and struggles for prestige, for predominance, colonialism, egoism; that is, pride disrupts brotherhood.

5. And now Our message reaches its highest point, which is, at first, a negative point. You are expecting Us to utter this sentence, and We are well aware of its gravity and solemnity: not the ones against the others, never again, never more! It was principally for this purpose that the Organization of the Untied Nations arose: against war, in favour of peace! Listen to the lucid words of the great departed John Kennedy, who proclaimed, four years ago: “Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind”.

Many words are not needed to proclaim this loftiest aim of your Institution. It suffices to remember that the blood of millions of men, that numberless and unheard of sufferings, useless slaughter and frightful ruin, are the sanction of the pact which unites you, with an oath which must change the future history of the world: No more war, war never again! Peace, it is peace which must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind.

Gratitude to you, glory to you, who for twenty years have laboured for peace. Gratitude and glory to you for the conflicts which you have prevented or have brought to an end. The results of your efforts in recent days in favour of peace even if not proved decisive, are such as to deserve that We, presuming to interpret the sentiments of the whole world, express to you both praise and thanks.

Gentlemen, you have performed and you continue to perform a great work: the education of mankind in the ways of peace. The U.N. is the great school where that education is imparted, and we are today in the assembly hall of that school. Everyone taking his place here becomes a pupil and also a teacher in the art of building peace. When you leave this hall, the world looks upon you as the architects and constructors of peace.

Peace, as you know, is not built up only by means of politics, by the balance of forces and of interests. It is constructed with the mind, with ideas, with works of peace. You labour in this great construction. But you are still at the beginnings. Will the world ever succeed in changing that selfish and bellicose mentality which, up to now, has been interwoven in so much of its history? It is hard to foresee; but it is easy to affirm that it [pages 4-5] is towards that new history, a peaceful, truly human, history, as promised by God to men of good will, that we must resolutely march. The roads thereto are already well marked out for you; and the first is that of disarmament.

If you wish to be brothers, let the arms fall from your hands. One cannot love while holding offensive arms. Those armaments especially those terrible arms, which modern science has given you, long before they produce victims and ruins, nourish bad feelings, create nightmares, distrust and sombre resolutions; they demand enormous expenditures; they obstruct projects of union and useful collaboration; they falsify the psychology of peoples. As long as man remains that weak, changeable and even wicked being that he often shows himself to be, defensive arms, will, unfortunately, be necessary. You, however, in your courage and valiance, are studying the ways of guaranteeing the security of international life, without having recourse to arms. This is a most noble aim, this the people expect of you, this must be obtained! Let unanimous trust in this Institution grow, let its authority increase: and this aim, We believe, will be secured. Gratitude will be expressed to you by all peoples, relieved as they will then be from the crushing expenses of armaments, and freed from the nightmare of an ever imminent war.

We rejoice in the knowledge that many of you have considered favourably our invitation, addressed to all States in the cause of peace from Bombay, last December, to divert to the benefit of the developing countries at least a part of the savings which could be realized by reducing armaments. We here renew that invitation, trusting in your sentiments of humanity and generosity.

6. In so doing, We become aware that We are echoing another principle which is structural to the United Nations, which is its positive and affirmative high point; namely, that you work here not only to avert conflicts between States, but also to make them capable of working the ones for the others. You are not satisfied with facilitating mere

coexistence between nations; you take a much greater step forward, one deserving of Our praise and Our support – you organize the brotherly collaboration of peoples. In this way a system of solidarity is set up, and its lofty civilized aims win the orderly and unanimous support of all the family of peoples for the common good and for the good of each individual. This aspect of the organization of the United Nations is the most beautiful; it is its most truly human visage; it is the world's greatest hope; it is, We presume to say, the reflection of the loving earth – a reflection in which We see the message of the Gospel which is heavenly becoming earthly. Indeed, it seems to Us that here We hear the echo of the voice of Our Predecessors, and particularly of that of Pope John XXIII whose message of "Pacem in Terris" was so honourably and significantly received among you.

[pages 5-6]

You proclaim here the fundamental rights and duties of man, his dignity, his freedom – and above all his religious freedom. We feel that you thus interpret the highest sphere of human wisdom and, We might add, its sacred character. For you deal here above all with human life; and the life of man is sacred; no one may dare offend it. Respect for life, even with regard to the great problem of birth, must find here in Your Assembly its highest affirmation and its most reasoned defence. You must strive to multiply bread so that it suffices for the tables of mankind, and not rather favour an artificial control of birth, which would be irrational, in order to diminish the number of guests at the banquet of life.

It does not suffice, however, to feed the hungry; it is necessary also to assure to each man a life conformed to his dignity. This too you strive to perform. We may consider this the fulfillment before Our very eyes, and by your efforts, of that prophetical announcement so applicable to your Institution: "They will melt down their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-forks" (Is. II,4). Are you not using the prodigious energies of the earth and the magnificent inventions of science, no longer as instruments of death but as tools of life for humanity's new era?

We know how intense and ever more efficacious are the efforts of the United Nations and its dependent world agencies to assist those Governments who need help to hasten their economic and social progress.

We know how ardently you labour to overcome illiteracy and to spread good culture throughout the world; to give men adequate modern medical assistance; to employ in man's service the marvellous [sic] resources of science, of technique and of organization – all of this is magnificent, and merits the praise and support of all, including Our own.

We Ourselves wish to give the good example, even though the smallness of Our means is inadequate to the practical and quantitative needs. We intend to intensify the development of Our charitable institutions to combat world hunger and fulfil [sic] world needs. It is thus, and in no other way, that peace can be built up.

7. One more word, Gentlemen, Our final word: this edifice which you are constructing does not rest upon merely material and earthly foundations, for thus it would be a house built upon sand; above all, it is based on our own consciousness. The hour has struck for our "conversion", for personal transformation, for interior renewal. We must get used to thinking of man in a new way; and in a new way also of men's life in common; with a new manner too of conceiving the paths of history and the destiny of the world, according to the words of Saint Paul: "You must be clothed in the new self, which

is created in God's image, justified and sanctified through truth" (Eph. IV.23). The hour has struck for a halt, a moment of recollection, [pages 6-7] of reflection, almost of prayer. A moment to think anew of our common origin, our history, our common destiny. Today as never before, in our era so marked by human progress, there is need for an appeal to the moral conscious of man. For the danger comes, not from progress, nor from science – indeed if properly utilized, these could rather resolve many of the grave problems which assail mankind! No, the real danger comes from man himself, wielding even more powerful arms, which can be employed equally well for destruction or for the loftiest conquests.

In a word, then, the edifice of modern civilization must be built upon spiritual principles which alone can, not only support it, but even illuminate and animate it. To do this, such indispensable principles of superior wisdom cannot but be founded so, as you are aware, we believe upon faith in God. That unknown God of whom Saint Paul spoke to the Athenians in the Areopagus? Unknown by them although without realizing it they sought him and he was close to them, as happens also to many men of our times? To us, in any case, and to all those who accept the ineffable revelation which Christ has given us of Him, He is the living God, the Father of all men. ■

The following text is an excerpt from Thomas C. Schelling's reprinted piece in the massive four volume series, *The Strategy of World Order*, volume 3 (edited by Richard A. Falk and Saul H. Mendlovitz and published by the World Law Fund of New York, 1966). While this item is not an official document *per se*, it does offer us a window into the more "extreme thinking" that sometimes circulates within the international community.

Schelling was a member of the politically influential Council on Foreign Relations from the late 1950's until the early 1970's. He is a Distinguished Fellow of the American Economic Association, and has held a number of important academic posts. His books, lectures, and articles on military strategy and international affairs are recognized as paramount works within the field.

Excerpt from…

Strategy: A World Force in Operation

The three main kinds of military action that the force could take against a united country would be pain, conquest, and obstruction. By "pain" I mean sheer coercive damage. Nuclear or other weapons might be used to inflict civil damage at a rate sufficient to induce the government to change its mind and bend to the will of the international authority. By "obstruction" I mean military action designed to retard a country's rearmament, to make it more costly than the country could manage, to spoil it altogether or to impede it sufficiently to prevent a major threat to the security of other countries. This might be done either by selective bombing or by selective invasion and occupation of key facilities.

Activities aimed at causing confusion, revolt or the population, civil war, or *coup d' état* could come under any of these three headings but would, of course, involve other tactics.

It is not obvious that we should want a force, even were it charged with the most ambitious responsibilities, to have excellent capabilities to carry out those missions. We might prefer the international force itself (or the nations controlling its decisions) to be deterred by at least some prospect of difficulty or even failure. We might, in other words, want the force itself to be under strong incentive to consider military intervention only as a last resort.

Militarily we can distinguish at least three different kinds of deployment for the international strategic force. In one, strategic weapons and personnel would be kept in neutral territories – on the high seas, in special areas reserved to the international force (perhaps island bases), or perhaps distributed in enclaves in some politically acceptable proportions. Except for contingents that happen to be within the victim country, the international armed force would then be in the same [pages 682-682] position that national armed forces usually are with respect to war: to conquer they have to penetrate enemy territory.

In a second mode of deployment, forces could be kept deliberately within the countries that are most likely to be "enemies." This would mean keeping strategic forces within the larger industrial countries. It might include the option of moving more forces into a country toward which threats were being made or with which war was imminent. Moving extra forces into the Unite States or the Soviet Union would of course be a major political move and might be subject to restriction of access. The purpose of being within the country, other than ceremonial, would be to minimize the cost and delay of invasion, occupation, or selective destruction – i.e., of war. Particularly for non-nuclear invasion – a quick capture of strategic points in the country – mobile forces already within the country, properly distributed, might enhance the likelihood of quick success. The force could occupy Moscow more reliably with ground forces located thirty miles away than by relying on airborne troops in bad weather. An amphibious landing on the coast of Japan, France, or the United States would be harder than just moving troops already located within these countries.

The third mode of deployment – and it might look a little unmilitary – would be to put critically vulnerable parts of a country's economy and essential services directly into the hands of an international force. If the force can control the supply of water, electricity, fuel, transport, and communication to American, German, or Soviet cities, it might minimize strategic bombing, selective occupation, and other violence. To coerce a country, like the landlord who shuts off the utilities when a tenant refuses to move, the force could put on the squeeze by shutting down services. Rather than bomb electric power installations the force might press a key that sets off a charge of dynamite already installed.

If one really believed in the reliability and permanence of an international arrangement, such schemes for providing the authority with "hostages" might be more efficient, even more humane, than providing it with bombers and shock troops. One could even go further and let the force have a monopoly of critical medicines to use for bacterial warfare on a transgressor country. As soon as it starts an epidemic, it sends its medical units in to make sure that no one suffers who co- [pages 683-684] operates. Those who oppose it – military forces, government leaders, or anyone else – are without essential vaccines and must decide for themselves whether to stay at large and suffer or to surrender to be cured.

These gimmicks undoubtedly suffer from novelty, even from meanness, and would not be acceptable. They probably also go too far in assuming that the scheme is really for keeps. They give the international force too great an assurance of easy victory. The cards

should be stacked in favor of the international force, but not with complete reliability. The decision to intervene by force in a sovereign country should always be a hard one. Furthermore it is worth some extra cost to keep the forces of organized violence out of sight, in reserve, and confined to tradition. No matter how strongly the entire arrangement is opposed to military traditions, uniformed troops are likely to seem more civilized them schemes patterned on the "protection" rackets or a paternalistic big brother.

Nevertheless there may be something in the notion of "prior occupation," i.e., of having strategic forces already located where they can accomplish "strategic" missions by simple tactical means – throwing switches and using only the conventional weapons of armored infantry. ■

In 1970, United States President Nixon granted the United Nations special privileges and rights as a multilateral institution. These "privileges and immunities," affecting a wide array of diplomatic and legal positions, granted the UN unprecedented legal standing within the United States.

This Proclamation edition is from an electronic file.

UNITED NATIONS

TIAS 6900; 21 UST 1418

MULTILATERAL

Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the

United Nations

Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations February 13, 1946;

Ratification advised by the Senate of the United States of America, subject to reservations, March 19, 1970;

Ratified by the President of the United States of America, subject to said reservations, April 15, 1970;

Accession of the United States of America deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations April 29, 1970;

Proclaimed by the President of the United States of America July 9, 1970;

Entered into force with respect to the United States of America April 29, 1970.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

CONSIDERTING THAT:

The Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on February 13, 1946, the text of which is as follows:

Convention on the Privileges and Immunities

of the United Nations

ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE

UNITED NATIONS ON 13 FEBRUARY 1946

WHEREAS Article 104 of the Charter of the United Nations provides that the Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment [sic] of its purposes and

WHEREAS Article 105 of the Charter of the United Nations provides that the Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment [sic] of its purposes and that representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organisation shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organisation.

CONSEQUENTLY the General Assembly by a Resolution adopted on the 13 February 1946, approved the following Convention and proposal it for accession by each Member of the United Nations.

ARTICLE I

JURIDICAL PERSONALITY

SECTION 1. The United Nations shall possess juridical personality.

It shall have the capacity:

(a) to contract;

(b) to acquire and dispose of movable and movable property;

(c) to institute legal proceedings.

ARTICLE II

PROPERTY, FUNDS AND ASSETS

SECTION 2. The United Nations, its property and assets wherever located and by whomsoever held, shall enjoy immunity from every form of legal process except insofar as in any particular case it has expressly waived its immunity. It is, however, understood that no waiver of immunity shall extend to any measure of execution.

SECTION 3. The premises of the United Nations shall be inviolable. The property and assets of the United Nations, wherever located and by whomsoever held, shall be immune from search, requisition, confiscation, expropriation and any other form of interference, whether by executive, administrative, judicial or legislative action.

SECTION 4. The archives of the United Nations, and in general all documents belonging to it or held by it, shall be inviolable wherever located.

SECTION 5. Without being restricted by financial controls, regulations or moratoria of any kind,

(a) the United Nations may hold funds, gold or currency of any kind and operate accounts in any currency;

(b) the United Nations shall be free to transfer its funds, gold or currency from one country to another or within any country and to convert any currency held by it into any other currency.

SECTION 6. In exercising its rights under Section 5 above, the United Nations shall pay due regard to any made by the Government of any Member insofar as it is considered that effect can be given to such representations without detriment to the interests of the United Nations.

SECTION 7. The United Nations, its assets, income and other property shall be:

(a) exempt from all direct taxes; it is understood, however, that the United Nations will not claim exemption from taxes which are, in fact, no more than charges for public utility services;

(b) exempt from customs duties and prohibitions and restrictions on imports and exports in respect of articles imported or exported by the United Nations for its official use. It is understood, however, that articles imported under such exemption will not be sold in the country into which they were imported except under conditions agreed with the Government of that country;

(c) exempt from customs duties and prohibitions and restrictions on imports and exports in respect of its publications.

SECTION 8. While the United Nations will not, as a general rule, claim exemption from excise duties and from taxes on the sale of movable and movable property which form part of the price to be paid, nevertheless when the United Nations is making important purchases for official use of property on which such duties and taxes have been charged or are chargeable, Members will, whenever possible, make appropriate administrative arrangements for the remission or return of the amount of duty or tax.

ARTICLE III

FACILITIES IN RESPECT OF COMMUNICATIONS

SECTION 9. The United Nations shall enjoy in the territory of each Member for its official communications treatment not less favourable than that accorded by the Government of that Member to any other Government including its diplomatic mission in the matter of priorities, rates and taxes on mails, cables, telegrams, radiograms, telephotos, telephone and other communications; and press rates for information to the press and radio. No censorship shall be applied to the official correspondence and other official communications of the United Nations.

SECTION 10. The United Nations shall have the right to use codes and to despatch and receive its correspondence by courier or in bags, which shall have the same immunities and privileges as diplomatic couriers and bags.

ARTICLE IV

THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MEMBERS

SECTION 11. Representatives of Members to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conferences convened by the United Nations, shall, while exercising their functions and during their journey to and from the place of meeting, enjoy the following privileges and immunities:

(a) immunity from personal arrest or detention and from seizure of their personal baggage, and, in respect of words spoken or written and all acts done by them in their capacity as representatives, immunity from legal process of every kind;

(b) inviolability for all papers and documents;

(c) the right to use codes and to receive papers or correspondence by courier or in sealed bags;

(d) exemption in respect of themselves and their spouses from immigration restrictions, alien registration or national service obligations in the state they are visiting or through which they are passing in the exercise of their functions;

(e) the same facilities in respect of currency or exchange restrictions as are accorded to representatives of foreign governments on temporary official missions;

(f) the same immunities and facilities in respect of their personal baggage as are accorded to diplomatic envoys, and also

(g) such other privileges, immunities and facilities not inconsistent with the foregoing as diplomatic envoys enjoy, except that they shall have no right to claim exemption from customs duties on goods imported (otherwise than as part of their personal baggage) or from excise duties or sales taxes.

SECTION 12 In order to secure, for the representatives of Members to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conferences convened by the United Nations, complete freedom of speech and independence in the discharge of their duties, the immunity from legal process in respect of words spoken or written and all acts done by them in discharging their duties shall continue to be accorded, notwithstanding that the persons concerned are no longer the representatives of Members.

SECTION 13. Where the incidence of any form of taxation depends upon residence, periods during which the representatives of Members to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conferences convened by the United Nations are present in a state for the discharge of their duties shall not be considered as periods of residence.

SECTION 14. Privileges and immunities are accorded to the representatives of Members not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves, but in order to safeguard the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the United Nations. Consequently a Member not only has the right but is under a duty to waive the immunity of its representative in any case where in the opinion of the Member the immunity would

impede the course of justice, and it can be waived without prejudice to the purpose for which the immunity is accorded.

SECTION 15. The provisions of Sections 11, 12 and 13 are not applicable as between a representative and the authorities of the state of which he is a national or of which he is or has been the representative.

SECTION 16. In this article the expression "representatives" shall be deemed to include all delegates, deputy delegates, advisers, technical experts and secretaries of delegations.

ARTICLE V

OFFICIALS

SECTION 17. The Secretary-General will specify the categories of officials to which the provisions of this Article and Article VII shall apply. He shall submit these categories to the General Assembly. Thereafter these categories shall be communicated to the Governments of all Members. The names of the included in these categories shall from time to time be made known to the Governments of Members.

SECTION 18. Officials of the United Nations shall:

(a) be immune from legal process in respect of words spoken or written and all acts performed by them in their official capacity;

(b) be exempt from taxation on the salaries and emoluments paid to them by the United Nations;

(c) be immune from national service obligations;

(d) be immune, together with their spouses and relatives dependent on them, from immigration restrictions and alien registration;

(e) be accorded the same privileges in respect of exchange facilities as are accorded to the officials of comparable ranks forming part of diplomatic missions to the government concerned;

(f) be given, together with their spouses and relatives dependent on them, the same repatriation facilities in time of international crisis as diplomatic envoys;

(g) have the right to import free of duty their furniture and effects at the time of first taking up their post in the country in question.

SECTION 19. In addition to the immunities and privileges specified in Section 18, the Secretary-General and all Assistant Secretaries-General shall be accorded in respect of themselves, their spouses and minor children, the privileges and immunities, exemptions and facilities accorded to diplomatic envoys, in accordance with international law.

SECTION 20. Privileges and immunities are granted to officials in the interests of the

United Nations and not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves. The Secretary-General shall have the right and the duty to waive the immunity of any official in any case where, in his opinion, the immunity would impede the course of justice and

can be waived without prejudice to the interests of the United Nations. In the case of the Secretary-General, the Security Council shall have the right to waive immunity.

SECTION 21. The United Nations shall co-operate at all times with the appropriate authorities of Members to facilitate the proper administration of justice, secure the observance of police regulations and prevent the occurrence of any abuse in connection with the privileges, immunities and facilities mentioned in this Article.

ARTICLE VI

EXPERTS ON MISSIONS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

SECTION 22. Experts (other than officials coming within the scope of Article V) performing missions for the United Nations shall be accorded such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions during the period of their missions, including the time spent on journeys in connection with their missions. In particular they shall be accorded:

(a) immunity from personal arrest or detention and from seizure of their personal baggage;

(b) in respect of words spoken or written and acts done by them in the course of the performance of their mission, immunity from legal process of every kind. This immunity from legal process shall continue to be accorded notwithstanding that the persons concerned are no longer employed on missions for the United Nations;

(c) inviolability for all papers and documents;

(d) for the purpose of their communications with the United Nations, the right to use codes and to receive papers or correspondence by courier or in sealed bags;

(e) the same facilities in respect of currency or exchange restrictions as are accorded to representatives of foreign governments on temporary official missions;

(f) the same immunities and facilities in respect of their personal baggage as are accorded to diplomatic envoys.

SECTION 23. Privileges and immunities are granted to experts in the interests of the United Nations and not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves. The Secretary-General shall have the right and the duty to waive the immunity of any expert in any case where, in his opinion, the immunity would impede the course of justice and it can waived without prejudice to the interests of the United Nations.

ARTICLE VII

UNITED NATIONS LAISSEZ-PASSER

SECTION 24. The United Nations may issue United Nations laissez-passer to its officials. These laissez-passer shall be recognized and accepted as valid travel documents by the authorities of Members, taking into account the provisions of Section 25.

SECTION 25. Applications for visas (where required) from the holders of United Nations laissez-passer, when accompanied by a certificate that they are travelling [sic] on the business of the United Nations, shall be dealt with as speedily as possible. In addition, such persons shall be granted facilities for speedy travel.

SECTION 26. Similar facilities to those specified in Section 25 shall be accorded to experts and other persons who, though not the holders of United Nations laissez-passer, have a certificate that they are travelling [sic] on the business of the United Nations.

SECTION 27. The Secretary-General, Assistant Secretaries-General and Directors travelling [sic] on United Nations laissez-passer on the business of the United Nations shall be granted the same facilities as are accorded to diplomatic envoys.

SECTION 28. The provisions of this article may be applied to the comparable officials of specialized agencies if the agreements for relationship made under Article 63 of the Charter so provide.

ARTICLE VIII

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

SECTION 29. The United Nations shall make provisions for appropriate modes of settlement of:

(a) disputes arising out of contracts or other disputes of a private law character to which the United Nations is a party;

(b) disputes involving any official of the United Nations who by reason of his official position enjoys immunity, if immunity has not been waived by the Secretary-General.

SECTION 30. All differences arising out of the interpretation or application of the present convention shall be referred to the International Court of Justice, unless in any case it is agreed by the parties to have recourse to another mode of settlement. If a difference arises between the United Nations on the one hand and a Member on the other hand, a request shall be made for an advisory opinion on any legal question involved in accordance with Article 96 of the Charter and Article 65 of the Statute of the Court. The opinion given by the Court shall be accepted as decisive by the parties.

FINAL ARTICLE

SECTION 31. This convention is submitted to every Member of the United Nations for accession.

SECTION 32. Accession shall be effected by deposit of an instrument with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the convention shall come into force as regards each Member on the date of deposit of each instrument of accession

SECTION 33. The Secretary-General shall inform all Members of the United Nations of the deposit of each accession.

SECTION 34. It is understood that, when an instrument of accession is deposited on behalf of any Member, the Member will be in a position under its own law to give effect to the terms of this convention.

SECTION 35. This convention shall continue in force as between the United Nations and every Member which has deposited an instrument of accession for so long as that Member remains a Member of the United Nations, or until a revised general convention has been approved by the General Assembly and that Member has become a party to this revised convention.

SECTION 36. The Secretary-General may conclude with any Member or Members supplementary agreements adjusting the provisions of this convention so far as that Member or those Members are concerned. These supplementary agreements shall in each case be subject to the approval of the General Assembly.

This Convention appeared the *Journal of the General Assembly*, I, No. 34 (7 March 1946), pages 687-693: and in document A/43, annex I, pages 5-15. [Note: Footnote in the certified text]

By its resolution of March 19, 1970, the Senate of the United States of America, two-thirds of the Senators present concurring, gave its advice and consent to the ratification of the Convention subject to the following reservations:

(1) Paragraph (b) of section 18 regarding immunity from taxation and paragraph (c) of section 18 regarding immunity from national service obligations shall not apply with respect to United States nationals and aliens admitted for permanent residence.

(2) Nothing in Article IV, regarding the privileges and immunities of representatives of Members, in Article V, regarding the privileges and immunities of United Nations officials, or in Article VI regarding the privileges and immunities of experts on missions for the United Nations, shall be construed to grant any person who has abused his privileges of residence by activities in the United States outside his official capacity exemption from the laws and regulations of the United States regarding the continued residence of aliens, provided that:

(a) No proceedings shall be instituted under such laws or regulations to require any such person to leave the United States except with the prior approval of the Secretary of State of the United States. Such approval shall be given only after consultation with the appropriate Member in the case of a representative of a Member (or a member of his family) or with the Secretary-General in the case of any person referred to in Articles V and VI;

(b) A representative of the Member concerned or the Secretary-General, as the case may be, shall have the right to appear in any such proceedings on behalf of the person against whom they are instituted;

(c) Persons who are entitled to diplomatic privileges and immunities under the Convention shall not be required to leave the United States otherwise than in accordance with the customary procedure applicable to members of diplomatic missions accredited or notified to the United States.

The Convention was duly ratified by the President of the United States of America, subject to the said reservations, on April 15, 1970, and the instrument of accession was deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations on April 29, 1970;

It is provided in the Final Article of the Convention that the Convention shall come into force as regards each Member on the date of deposit of each instrument of accession;

Pursuant to that Article, the Convention came into force for the United States of America subject to the aforesaid reservation on April 29, 1970;

Now, THEREFORE, I, Richard Nixon, President. of the United States of America, proclaim and make public the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations to the end that it shall be observed and fulfilled with good faith on and after April 29, 1970 by the United States of America and by the citizens of the United States of America and all other persons subject to the jurisdiction thereof.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have signed this proclamation and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the city of Washington this ninth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred seventy and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-fifth.

RICHARD NIXON

By the President:

U ALEXIS JOHNSON

Acting Secretary of State ■

Richard Nixon

U. Alexis Johnson

The following text is a portion of West Germany's Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt's speech before the United Nations. Due to the length of the speech, only the last half has been reproduced here.

This speech, along with a number of other Germany-UN related documents, can be found in a compilation released by the Press and Information Office of the Federal [German] Government in 1977, titled *The Federal Republic of Germany Member of the United Nations* [ISBN 3-87748-306-2].

Speech Excerpt…

Federal Chancellor, Herr Willy Brandt,

before the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, 26 September 1973

Federal Chancellor Herr Willy Brandt

The United Nations – built in response to the challenges of an almost total world war – is the mirror of an age-old dream of mankind. That dream closely matches the hopes of eternal peace cherished by the nations.

But the members having some thirty years of UN training here know at least as well as we newcomers that 1945 did not see the start of the millennium; unfortunately the United Nations has not –at least not yet – crystallized into the nucleus of a world government.

And yet, mankind has brought into this Assembly of Nations not only its good will but also many of its problems. There is not a member nation that left its history at home when it came here, indeed did not find its identity confirmed to some extent in this unwieldy design for a republic of nations.

I perceive here a convergence of the perspectives of all continents. To comprehend and to respect the diversity of life and its system, to enable it to present itself freely, to set up standards to that end which are binding for all – this seems to me the mandate of the United Nations for civilization. That is our hope.

[pages 181-182]

It is this very diversity which gives us the right to speak of a 'world society'. It is bound up in the tension between equal sovereignty and mutual dependence in this one, troubled world.

Some of the criticism directed at the United Nations sounds bitter and cynical, is filled with almost jubilant pessimism, as if it stemmed from a secret hope that the weaknesses of the Organization would refute the idea and the purpose. But setbacks in pursuit of an ideal do not necessarily prove that that ideal is wrong but often merely that the road to it could be better.

In this respect, many of the goals the Organization has set itself have not been achieved. I want to say this in all frankness. But we also know that this Organization was able to prevent a great deal of misery, misfortune and death.

Here in this institution arguments of reason and morality have time and again and

untiringly been proclaimed, arguments which have prohibited a step into the abyss. The United Nations is not a clinic where our peoples can be cured of their neuroses by patient world doctors. Yet it can help create more solidarity among nations.

That solidarity is the fundamental requirement of a world society, and it is the prerequisite to its survival.

I am not speaking of the utopian realm of the equality of all nations and all men. But anyone who has never dreamt this dream of equality knows little of the will for justice which, beyound [sic] all barriers of continents, race and religion, is perhaps the true binding power among us humans.

There is solidarity, but not enough of it. I ask for more sympathy for the victims of armed conflicts that threaten to break out anew in this or that corner of the world. But neither should we forget the victims of non-war which sometimes can be just as brutal.

On the road to world citizenship we must practise [sic] solidarity. We shall not be able to speak of a humane world order until the principle of justice is universally understood.

Without any addition and without any reservation I declare that we condemn racism as inhuman and as the cause of the most terrible crimes. Our own history has been a bitter experience on that score.

Moreover, those who take their place in this Assembly must also adopt a position on the moral aspects of international coexistence even when their own national interests are not directly affected. In this process they come face to face with two recognised principles both of which serve the cause of peace:

The first is the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others. The other is the principle of the universality human rights. Not only states but also individual citizens can invoke the fundamental rights embodied in the United Nations Charter. It is peace that benefits if people and information can move as freely as possible across boundaries.

I would add that if we speak our mind on violations of individual human rights, on the suppression of the freedom to express critical opinions, on the artificial barriers [pages 182-183] at national frontiers to the exchange of people and information, the decisive criterion for that attitude will not be whether the offender is an ally or one with whom we have friendly contractual ties, or whether it is a less friendly power. What matters is that we do not remain indifferent on these questions – even if some details should be hard to assess.

A policy of peace, solidarity and renunciation of force is indivisible. The conflict in South East Asia had not yet burnt itself out, the smouldering [sic] conflict in the Middle East has not yet been diffused. In both cases the main thing is that those concerned should talk, not shoot.

I wish to stress our interest in a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

My Government shares the hope that the international community will not relinquish the possibilities of mediation. It also feels that it is primarily direct peace talks between the Arab countries concerned and Israel that will best secure a balance of the elementary interests on both sides.

The struggle for peace, the fight against misery require us to recognize that in the one world we live in our fate is after all indivisible. Here, too, mankind is therefore under compulsion to establish solidarity. Where else than in this United Nations Organization should we be able to discuss freely new forms of vital co-operation?

No nations should live at the expense of another. Anyone who refuses to accept this principle is instrumental in our having to pay dearly for it.

National egoism is no shield. On the contrary, it is an obstacle to that very solidarity which, in the last resort, is the best guardian of natural and legitimate national interests as well.

We should not speak of "young" and "old" nations. It is more realistic to distinguish between young and old nationalisms.

Ours, in Europe, are old, although a century or two are only a couple of short breaths in history. But believe me, the wild dream that the destiny of a nation can be fulfilled only in unbridled nationalism has in our case completely faded away. We learnt from painful experience that here have to be more rational, more reliable forms for the lives of nations – and that such forms actually exist: the system of good-neighbourliness.

The countries of Western Europe have resolved to establish the first regional community that is more than a classical alliance and at the same time does no imply that its members subject themselves to a set of ideological rules. Our aim is to achieve in this decade the union of our economies, our currencies, our social systems and our foreign policies, and – as dictated by the signs of our time – of our security.

The membership of the Federal Republic which I represent also strengthens the presence of Europe in the United Nations. We are sure it will also be of benefit to others.

The Western European Community can become an example of economic achievement and social balance. It establishes itself as a power without imperial pretensions. The European Union will be a power of peace and will be outward-looking.

[pages 183-184]

The Federal Republic of Germany had declared in its constitution its willingness to transfer sovereign rights to supra-national organizations and it has placed international law above national law and made it directly applicable. This expresses the realization that the sovereignty of the individual and of nations can only be secured in larger communities, that the meaning and fulfilment [sic] of history can no longer be attributed to the nation-state.

Thus I end my speech with a plea: let us all together be on our guard against making a taboo of a concept which I regard as perhaps the most dubious legacy of European history: nationalism, which has claimed millions and millions of human lives, and under whose banner fertile country has been devastated, thriving cities destroyed, people exterminated, and a whole civilization – our own – nearly swept away.

Europe has ceased to pretend that it is the measure of things for the rest of the world. But it has occasion to warn the nations of the world about the great error which almost brought about its destruction: negative nationalism. We have to a large extent shaken off that hypnosis.

The nation no longer finds its security in isolated sovereignty. In actual fact isolation creates dependencies which have ceased to have anything to do with enlightened sovereignty. We need the larger community which gives us peace, security and hence freedom.

That is perhaps not yet "the world free from war", not yet "the worldwide rule of reason" enunciated by the President of the United States on 26 June 1945 after the proclamation of the United Nations Convention in San Francisco's opera house. But mankind must not allow itself to become paralyzed in the face of gigantic, seemingly insoluble problems. What we need now is a programme of new confidence in man's abilities. ■

The following World Federalist Association Statement of Goals and Beliefs was first adopted in March 1983, amended April 1985 and September 1989, and further amended and adopted by the WFA Board of Directors on April 20th, 1997. This document can be found in the 1997 WFA *Activist Guidebook*, on pages 10 and 11.

As the US arm of the World Federalist Movement, an *internationally* influential pro-world government lobby organization, the WFA works to promote global governance concepts through educational tools, legislative lobbying, and by directly interfacing with key political figures. Both the WFM and the WFA have played important roles in the creation of the International Criminal Court, the quest to empower the UN, the Hague Appeal for Peace, the UN Millennium Forum, and other significant global governance power plays. [Note: bold text in the original.]

WFA STATEMENT OF GOALS & BELIEFS

The goal of the World Federalist Association is the abolition of war, the preservation of a livable and healthy global environment, and the promotion of a just world community through the development of enforceable world law. Achievement of that goal requires the establishment of a **democratic federal world government** with powers adequate to

- keep the peace,
- prevent environmental degradation and depletion of resources essential to human life,
- protect individual human rights,
- and assist in the promotion of a just world community.

In such a federation, international conflicts would be resolved by political and judicial means rather than by violence, while national governments would continue to manage their own internal affairs. World-level crimes would be defined by statute, and persons who broke those laws would be tried and punished by world criminal courts.

AMPLIFICATION

World federation is not a new or radical idea. It is simply an extension to the global level of the federal principle which is now used in many nations. That principle was adopted by those who framed the U.S. Constitution, thereby providing thirteen states – actually thirteen small, independent nations – with an effective federal government. Those states replaced the inadequate Articles of Confederation with the Constitution. Similarly, the nations of today need to transform the present weak United Nations system into – or replace it with – a truly effective global institution or family of institutions having the authority to maintain world peace and to resolve conflicts among nations, and the capacity to promote a more just world society.

We believe that a world federation should be given adequate powers to abolish war by keeping disputes between nations from erupting into war, and to deal with those other urgent global problems that clearly are not manageable by nations acting separately in an ungoverned world. Those problems include air and sea piracy, terrorism, narcotics trade, pollution that crosses national boundaries, and management of non-national areas: the oceans, the polar regions, and outer space. Such a federation must have limited but

adequate sources of revenue. It must be able to enforce decisions on the individual lawbreakers in preference to making war on the lawbreaker's nation or causing suffering to innocent citizens through embargoes. It must have an equitable system of representation. It must be able to banish all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. It must be able to establish a world peacekeeping force which would replace national military establishments capable of conducting international war. At the same time any infringement on human rights by the world government must be prevented by a federal Bill of Rights.

As steps towards achieving our goal, World Federalists support efforts to reform and strengthen the UN system and/or to hold a convention to draft a world federal constitution, and also efforts to create new global institutions such as the International Seabed Authority and a World Disarmament Authority. In addition, in order to bring the world closer together, we support efforts to strengthen programs – international, national and regional – to resolve conflicts peacefully, to protect the global environment, to promote respect for human rights, and to raise the living standards of the world's people. We also seek to gain acceptance of the concept that each individual is a citizen of the world as well as a citizen of his or her own city, state, and nation.

While the precise details of the world federation we seek remains to be determined, we agree that the decision-making structure must be controlled by the will of the people rather than by entrenched rulers. The United Nations and any world federation should encourage the development of democracy in every country.

We seek to join with others in the United States and throughout the world in raising the consciousness of the human family to the idea that war can be abolished and greater justice achieved through enforceable world law. We must work together to persuade national leaders to accept world federation before it is too late. Unless immediate steps are taken toward a lawful world, the hostile anarchy which now exists among powerfully armed by non-lawabiding national states will lead to further mass violence that may well prove to be irreversible, and that could even lead to the destruction of human civilization. ■

Logo of the World Federalist Association, the US arm of the international World Federalist Movement.

Campaign for Global Change

World Federalist Association

The World Federalists of Canada produced a thirty-three page consultation document on "common security" late in 1985. A number of the document's most important common security concepts have found their way into Canadian foreign policy actions, especially as it relates to the creation of a UN military/police structure and the International Criminal Court.

Only the title page and pages iii to vi of the WFC document have been reproduced.

The Common Security Alternative: Canadian Strategies to Transform the War System

A Brief for Submission to

The Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations

December, 1985

By
World Federalists of Canada
46 Elgin St., Ottawa, Ont. K1P 5K6
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Presented by:
Dieter Heinrich

[title page – skip to page iii]

TRANSITION STRATEGIES TOWARD A COMMON SECURITY WORLD ORDER

- Renewed commitment of all states to use available institutions to avert, repress or contain all use of national force in international relations, as far as the competence of those institutions will allow.
- Pursuit of broad agreements of principle among states to affirm the will to work toward common security and eventual world federation.
- Agreements of substance among parties to make small modifications to the existing institutions of the U.N system in the direction of common security, such as a concordat restricting use of the Security Council veto, establishment of preventive peace-keeping forces, etc.

- Establishment of continuing forums for negotiating further stages in the development of global common security institutions.
- Progressive widening of areas of jurisdiction in which states make commitments to be bound by international process.
- Establishment of new international institutions of due process among regional and/or other groups of states.
- Increasing expansion of responsibility, and widening of competence of, common world institutions.

[pages iii-iv]

COMPENDIUM OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1-1: That the paramount consideration in the framing of Canadian foreign policy be that it strive to do everything Canada can do as a country to end the Cold War and the war system.

2-1: That Canada affirm the goal of common security and the evolution of a world federation to be the guiding vision and long-term objective of Canadian foreign policy.

2-2: That a five year target be set to bring government expenditures on common security to a level equal to government expenditures on national military defense.

3-1a: That Canada work toward the establishment of a Peacemakers Association of Nations comprised of states ready and willing to manage their own relationships through federation, and pursue security through mutual, staged disarmament and simultaneous creation of an integrated international security force.

3-1b: That Canada pursue the establishment of a Peacemakers Association of Nations with the small states of the Commonwealth in particular.

3-2: That Canada seek membership on the Special Committee on the Charter of the U.N. and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization.

3-3: That Canada sponsor a proposal for a U.N. Continuing Conference on World Security which would continue meeting until a treaty establishing improved legal and institutional mechanisms for the peaceful settlment [sic] of international disputes is achieved.

3-4: That Canada support the proposal for an International Satellite Monitoring Agency under the auspices of the U.N., and declare also its willingness to provide funding as well as data from possible future Canadian military surveillance satellites.

3-5: That Canada propose the creation of a U.N. peace-keeping force that would be available at the request of any one state party to a dispute to prevent an outbreak of war; and, further, that such a U.N. force be made up of individuals recruited directly to the

U.N., as proposed by the Parliamentarians for World Order, rather than be composed of national contingents on loan to the U.N.

3-6: That Canada should lend all possible support to the creation of a Permanent Commission on Good Offices, Mediation and Conciliation under the Secretary-General.

3-7: That Canada work toward an agreement among the permanent powers to voluntarily refrain from using their veto in the following cases:

- ascertaining facts
- dispatching observers (with host country acceptance)
- functions of the Secretary-General in dispute settlement
- where a permanent power is party to a dispute
- adoption of resolutions calling for ceasefire, separation of armed forces, withdrawal behind borders
- admission of new members
- establishment of subsidiary organs

[pages iv-v]

3-8a: That Canada support in principle the formation of a Second U.N. Assembly made up of non-governmental representatives.

3-8b: That Canada sponsor a General Assembly resolution calling for a U.N. Experts Group to study the proposal for a Second U.N. Assembly in detail.

3-9: That Canada sponsor a U.N. Resolution on a Global Referendum on Mutual and Verifiable Disarmament.

3-10: That Canada endorse the proposal of the Soviet Union for a World Space Organization and explore the best means of advancing the proposal.

3-11a: That Canada promote discussion and negotiation on U.N. weighted voting by seeking an on-going deliberative process in an appropriate forum, perhaps one constituted especially for the purpose.

3-11b: That Canada propose more equitable U.N. weighted voting schemes, such as the Binding Triad, as part of a package deal which would include off-setting benefits to the countries of the South.

3-11c: That Canada initiate a study to thoroughly review the U.N. and advise on charges Canada should seek in the context of an eventual charter review conference.

3-12: That Canada advocate the creation of an International Criminal Court with responsibility for adjudicating international crimes of violence.

3-13: That Canada ratify the Law of the Sea Treaty and set an international example of compliance with its provisions.

3-14a: That Canada continue to provide all possible support to the Contadora process, including peace-keeping.

3-14b: That Canada promote within the Contadora process the idea of a regional mediation facility and/or a regional court for the peaceful resolution of conflicts according to law.

3-14c: That Canada support in whatever way possible, including financial, the proposals of Vinicio Cerezo, president of Guatemala, for a Central American parliament to strengthen co-operation with the region.

3-14d: That Canada increase the credibility of its diplomatic presence in Central America by opening an embassy in Nicaragua.

4-1: That Canada pursue a general NATO declaration of no first-use of nuclear weapons, tied to negotiations aimed at mutually defensive deployments consistent with no first-use.

4-2: That Canada support a nuclear weapons freeze at the U.N.

4-3: That Canada urge, using all the diplomatic resources at its disposal, that the U.S. match the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing and begin serious negotiations for the verification of a permanent and comprehensive test ban. In the even that the Soviet moratorium expires before the U.S. has reciprocated, Canada should urge that the U.S. subsequently announce its own unilateral moratorium, urging the Soviet Union to reciprocate.

[pages v-vi]

4-4: That Canada suspend further testing of the cruise missile.

4-5a: That Canada undertake a study to determine the environmental consequences that would result from a theoretically 100 per cent successful missile defense of North America using the technologies envisioned by the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative.

4-5b: That Canada step up its efforts to work for a ban on all weapons for use in space, such effort to include also initiatives aimed at achieving an agreement prohibiting anti-satellite weapons.

4-6: That Canada let it be known that it will never allow its North to be used for the purpose of strategic defense while the ABM treaty remains in force.

4-7: That Canada renegotiate into our NORAD agreement the clause specifically excluding Canadian involvement in ballistic missile defense.

4-8: That Canada consider joining Europe's Eureka program for research into the peaceful uses of outer space. ■

The following World Federalist Association document, "A Strategy for the Nineties," was adopted by the WFA Board of Directors on April 30th, 1989. This document can be found in the 1997 WFA *Activist Guidebook*, p.11-12.

World Federalist Association

A STRATEGY FOR THE NINETIES

The World Federalist Association is working to transform the United Nations into a world federation with powers adequate to maintain world peace, to protect the global environment and to promote economic and social justice, and to increase respect for human rights.

To reach that goal, the United Nations must be restructured and strengthened so that it has the authority, power, and funding to fulfil [sic] the great purpose to which it was dedicated in San Francisco in the last months of World War II. To achieve this United Nations of tomorrow, we must strongly, but not uncritically, support the efforts of the United Nations to deal with the pressing problems of today. However, our major concern is to restructure and strengthen the United Nations.

Our objective is a United Nations World Federation in which all human beings are free from the threat of war, enjoy a decent standard of living in a healthy environment, and have an opportunity to develop their capacities to the fullest. In contrast, today we live in a world in which war, or the threat of war, is a grim reality. It is a world in which millions suffer from hunger or sickness or ignorance, or are discriminated against because of their race or color or sex or religious or political beliefs. It is a world in which the environment is gravely threatened, a world in which a trillion dollars are spent each year on arms while only some six billion dollars a year are spent on the whole United Nations system.

A restructured United Nations must have the power to keep the peace and to promote justice. United Nations peace officers must be able to apply world law to individual lawbreakers, whether tax dodgers, terrorists, drug traffickers or invading generals. The United Nations must also have a backup Peace Force to deal with unusual threats to peace. No nation should have armed forces or weapons larger or more powerful than are required for internal peace.

The new UN must have a more equitable system of representation and decision making.

A restructured United Nations must have substantial & reliable sources of revenue. Rather than depending on contributions from national governments, United Nations financing should come from such sources as taxes on international commerce, travel and postage, subject to strict controls.

Although peace requires a much stronger United Nations, the powers of a United Nations World Federation must be checked and limited. This can and must be done in many ways, e.g., by adding a Bill of Rights to the Charter, by incorporating the Universal Declaration of Rights into the Charter, by providing a balance among UN institutions, executive, legislative, and judicial, and especially by insuring that national governments and the private sector remain strong and healthy. A key principle of the restructured

United Nations must be a proper division of power between the central authority, the member states, and the people.

We believe that a United Nations Review Conference should be called under Article 109 to consider and adopt a package of amendments along the lines which we have indicated. However, if that amendment package falls short of adoption, a responsible body should draft a new and more adequate United Nations Charter and submit that new Charter to national governments or their people for ratification.

We believe the American people and the people of the world will support a bold and imaginative approach to the job of restructuring the United Nations. The need for and the values of a restructured United Nations must be proclaimed through the media, public education, the political process, civic and professional organizations and concerted efforts of dedicated individuals and groups.

We invite men and women everywhere to join us in the important work of persuading the American people – and the people of all countries – of the urgent need to restructure and strengthen the United Nations. ■

The following text is a small sampling from the World Environment Energy and Economic Conference, October 17-20, 1990, held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. This conference – which brought in over 3000 delegates and was jointly hosted by UNESCO, the Manitoba Provincial Government, and the International Council of Associations for Science Education – had for its theme, "Sustainable Development Strategies and the New World Order."

Jim Bohlen, a delegate from the Greengrass Institute, gave a presentation titled "Towards A Global Green Constitution." The text below is only one portion of his WEEEC contribution, and can be found on pages 15 and 16 of the official WEEEC report, *Sustainable Development for a New World Agenda*.

Excerpt from the WEEEC Final Report, Chapter 2…

Towards A Global Green Constitution

The debate has been prompted by evidence that the survival of the planet is in doubt. The issues are not about if a global politics is necessary. The question is how do we achieve binding agreements in Law complete with effective programs for applying sanctions against non-compliance that would oblige each nation, regardless of size, to abide by a set of principles that are required to guarantee the survival of life on this earth. Perhaps we will find that there is no other alternative to a system of rigid controls that some would equate to a police state. Unfortunately, in order to save the planet from biocide, there have to be very powerful constraints from doing the 'wrong' things. The constraints must transcend national boundaries, be world-around and enforceable. There would be a need for an agency for preventing eco-vandals from acting unilaterally.

Enforcement agencies would need the power to act without being invited by the offending nation. Therefore, there needs to be an agency that is acceptable to all nation

states on the planet. We can probably accept the fact that there will always be one or more nations that will not go along but there must be effective sanctions in place. If sanctions do not work, then physical occupation and the installation of a World Trusteeship would be imposed upon the offending nations. This need not be a feared legislative measure, for once in place nations considering violations would be deterred just from the 'knowing' that they will not be tolerated. Offenders would face collective [pages 15-16] opposition of the other nations. The principle is that no one nation would be more powerful than the coalition of nations that would oppose any abrogation of a Global Survival Law.

Basic Objectives

The Constitution would need to be the world-around political expression of a radical new value system; values that ensure a sustainable society rather than economic opportunity. It means an end to governments having arbitrary power to act unilaterally. Instead, governments would come to power that could most effectively formulate national policy implications of a Global Green Constitution.

Jurisdiction

The UN would be a signator and take responsibility for the global commons such as offshore fisheries, seamounts, Antarctica, any lands not in National inventories, and transboundary [sic] movement of fresh water, air, and space.

Nation states would each be signators [sic] and take responsibility for the impacts of industrial and commercial activities that occur within territorial boundaries. A Global Environmental Congress having Constitutional authority and responsibility would inspect and determine the degree of compliance of each signator nation. Where abrogation persistently occurs this Congress could initiate appropriate sanctions.

Doing It

A massive and persuasive educational effort is required to develop a global perspective among the people of each nation state. Each nation's degree of dedication to educating the people would be the first indication of green government. The education process would centre on the need for a Global Green Constitution. It would emphasize security of person as well as planet. Eventually, a public referendum would be held in each nation state with the objective of obtaining a simple majority in favour of enshrining a Global Green Constitution. Those nation's governments where a majority have declared for a Global Green Constitution in referendum vote would indicate that they are prepared to attend a Global Green Constitutional Congress. The Constitutional document that emerges from the Congress would be distributed to the people of each nation and ratification would be sought by holding another national referendum. Every nation's government would ultimately be a signator to the Global Green Constitution. Obligation to do so would come from grass roots pressure within democratic societies. Less democratic nations or dictatorships would be brought on side through sanction, as have against South Africa, for example.

Timing

The Global Green Constitution, ratified by the people of all nations, would be in place by the last day of the year 2000. Its adoption would enable people everywhere to enter the 21st century on an optimistic note (with apology to those who measure time by a different calendar).

Chances for Success

If a referendum vote were to be taken now, prior to an intensive education program, the effort would fail. It will require five years of education to bring about a universal understanding that we will either live in one world or none. Utopia or Oblivion is our choice. The Global Green Constitution ought to stimulate the world's nation states to move in the direction of sustainability by osmosis, if not purposefully.

It is my opinion that a Global Green Constitution is necessary. However, if the same objectives can be achieved without having to enshrine another set of Laws to regulate human activity, then so much the better. As matters stand now, from the perspective of being involved in coping with the global nature of the problem we are facing, I can only visualize a Global Green Constitution that has legal standing and the collective support required to enforce compliance. What I hope to achieve by presenting this paper to educators, government representatives, and interested persons is the planting of a SEED from which, hopefully, an initiative will develop that will be nurtured and in turn sown about the globe and rooted everywhere. ■

In May 1992, the Senate of the State of Massachusetts passed a resolution which strengthened the call for US participation in a world central government.

Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Toward U.S. Participation in a World Federal Government

Memorializing the Congress of the United States to initiate the constitutional procedures to enable the United States to participate in a representative world federal government.

Whereas, global tranquility requires an international body elected on a representative basis from among world governments; and

Whereas, the establishment of such a body may require amendments to the constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations; and

Whereas, Article V of the constitution empowers the Congress of the United States to propose amendments to the constitution; now therefore be it

Resolved, that the Massachusetts Senate calls upon the Congress of the United States to propose amendments to the constitution of the United States which will enable participation in a representative world federal government; and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the clerk of the Senate to the President of the United States, the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and the members thereof from the commonwealth. ■

In 1995, the Canadian federal government released a major document detailing a plan to create a United Nations controlled "Rapid Reaction" military/civilian police force. The document – titled *Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability For The United Nations* – was distributed to various national governments and global political organizations, and was met with great enthusiasm by the international community.

Late in 1996 the government of Canada, along with a number of European nations, agreed to train and arm such a UN force on their own. The ideas found in this 1995 report, and in other government contributions, came together in the formation of SHIRBRIG – the United Nations Stand-by Forces High Readiness Brigade, now headquartered in Denmark [see the next document in this volume]. SHIRBRIG has already been used in at least two African nations.

The following portion of *Towards A Rapid Reaction*…, chapter six, is reprinted in its entirety. Moreover, a major section of the "Acknowledgement" page has also been reproduced, naming names and giving titles to those who were most intimately involved.

Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability For The United Nations was published by the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs in conjunction with Canada's Department of National Defence.

TOWARDS A RAPID REACTION CAPABILITY FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

CHAPTER SIX

A VISION OF THE FUTURE: THE LONG-TERM PROSPECTS FOR RAPID REACTION

"The fact that the theoretically best solution is not at present politically feasible does not mean that the system must simply muddle on indefinitely in its present condition. A great deal can be achieved without constitutional change, by changes in such salient features as geography, legal mandates and behaviour."

Sir Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, 1993.

Balancing Pragmatism and Vision

The focus of this report is on identifying practical proposals to enhance the UN's rapid-reaction capability in the short to medium term, given the current and foreseeable political and financial conditions of the UN system. These conditions do not preclude innovation. Indeed, most of the recommendations of the report call for significant changes in the way the UN conducts peace operations. But current conditions, especially on the financial side, define the parametres within

which options can be considered practical. Simply put, the ideal may not be practical in light of various constraints binding today's UN.

The search for the practical, however, should not stifle vision. Current conditions are not immutable. In conducting this study, we have therefore sought to strike a balance between pragmatism and vision, placing emphasis on what is feasible under current and foreseeable conditions, while seeking to engage the debate on what may be desirable in the longer term.

The recommendations already outlined are practical and realizable under present or foreseeable political and financial conditions. They may prove insufficient, however, in remedying all of the deficiencies in the UN's capacity to react rapidly. Clearly, the first step is to implement these ideas before embarking upon more far-reaching schemes which may in the end prove unnecessary. Ultimately, whether further action is required will depend upon the perceived gravity of the outstanding problems, as well as the cost and effectiveness of measures needed to rectify them. Because reform may prove to be a slow process, it is relevant now to begin longer-term thinking about logical next steps.

In looking ahead, this chapter addresses four separate issues. The first is the question of how new, advanced technologies can be placed at the service of the UN both to increase effectiveness and also to reduce costs, mainly those associated with the deployment of personnel. The second issue is increasing the supply of specialized components of a rapid-reaction capability, especially civilian police, where demands have become especially acute. The third concern is the viability of a UN Standing Emergency Group. Lastly, the chapter looks at financial issues and the need for the UN to secure an independent source of revenue over the long term.

[pages 55-56]

Advanced Technologies for Peace Operations

The application of advanced technologies to the field of peace operations offers considerable potential benefits to the UN. In many cases, new technologies would enhance the UN's effectiveness on the ground and its capability to react more rapidly to crisis. In other cases, there is substantial potential to reduce the costs of peace operations, by using technologies which could play a greater role in peacekeeping operations are: surveillance technologies, communications equipment and enhanced information management systems. Each category offers significant long-term potential to improve the UN's ability to carry out advanced planning and to establish an operation on the ground quickly.

To some extent, advanced technologies have already been applied successfully to peace operations. Aerial surveillance technologies were used in UNEF, and both fixed and rotary-wing aircraft have provided this service in several missions since the 1950s. Ground-sensor systems have also been used on occasion, such as in the non-UN Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai. Currently state-of-the art technologies far exceed these earlier techniques and offer substantial advantages to the UN. The use of AWACS technology has demonstrated its utility in the area of monitoring no-fly zones in the former Yugoslavia, and analogous capabilities are available for maritime operations. An attractive technology for a variety of peace operations is aerial reconnaissance of ground activity. Access to satellite capability through national means and by way of private sector cooperation may have great strategic potential and could prove crucial to a functioning early-warning system.

At the operational and tactical level, Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System (J-STARS) technology would be a key asset for Heads of UN Missions and Force Commanders. The technology available today would permit Force Commanders to have access to satellite imagery in real time. The ability to locate, identify and monitor virtually all vehicular movement throughout a theatre of operations has obvious applicability to monitoring, surveillance and control missions. Such a capability could be augmented through a more extensive use of a wide range of portable ground sensor systems, including night vision equipment.

The right combination of communications and information management technologies represent an indispensible [sic] component of reliable, effective command and control systems. Command, Control, Communications, Computer and Intelligence systems (C4I) would incorporate the full range of strategic an tactical communications networks, together with data processing capabilities and real-time information transfer. Most such "packages" area available with a number of training and simulation programs which would greatly strengthen the UN's ability to develop training programs and conduct widely-dispersed training sessions. A training system linking the growing network of national peacekeeping training centres to the UN and national units could be instrumental in this process.

Advanced technologies cover a multitude of fields, and their potential applications to peace operations would need careful evaluation on a case-by-case basis. However, they have the potential to affect the work of the UN system at every level studied in this report. For example, communications and other technologies which assist in early [pages 56-57] warning would be applicable at the political and strategic levels, while improved surveillance capabilities could be applied at both the strategic level, with appropriate "down links" to the UN Secretariat, and also the operational and tactical levels, in order to monitor local movements and activities within a theatre of operations. To some degree, surveillance technologies and information management systems could be integrated into an organization-wide system to enhance contingency planning, logistics preparations and the management of a significantly decentralized operation between the Secretariat and Field Missions. Communications technologies might be a key to the successful devolution of responsibility and authority within a global UN system which currently suffers from excessive centralization.

Over the long term, the acquisition of advanced technologies for the UN in peace operations faces two major, related obstacles: political and financial. On the political side, a number of UN Member States are bound to be wary of systems and equipment designed for advanced surveillance, intrusion detection, early warning and enhanced analytical capabilities, even if similar systems are already part of the national inventories of neighbours or adversaries. Some of these systems, even those available commercially, might be considered too "intrusive" for use by an inter-governmental organization. Even if these political hurdles can be overcome, acquisition of these capabilities faces enormous financial obstacles. A number of studies have contended that here are "real cost savings in terms of manpower...when compared to traditional methods of peacekeeping",[35] but the costs of some systems are well beyond the foreseeable capacity of the UN. Financial considerations, in fact, go beyond the purchase price of individual items, since advanced technological systems usually require extensive supporting infrastructure, including a qualified management structure.

A prudent, long-term approach to these issues would focus initially on the acquisition of advanced communication/information management systems for UN headquarters and the field. These would be "secure" systems which could readily be

linked electronically to a variety of national systems provided to the UN under memoranda of understanding. The UN could then build upon this base, adding a variety of cost-effective "operational" elements, depending upon the nature of the UN's current peace operations, possibly by way of the Standby Arrangements System, under agreements with Member States similar to current practice with respect to personnel and conventional equipment.

Given the virtually limitless technological options available and the potential costs of technology, any program to investigate the acquisition of such capabilities must be highly disciplined. There are key questions which will demand firm answers. Can the use of advanced technology increase the effectiveness of peace operations? Can it reduce overall costs? Which technologies are appropriate for the UN? What is the "value-added" of these systems both at headquarters and in the field? How would new technologies help the UN in moving more rapidly in response to crisis? These questions raise the issue of the management infrastructure required to employ these types of systems effectively. It is worse than useless to embark upon an expensive program of equipment acquisition if the information which these systems yield goes unanalyzed or underutilized. The current financial crisis of the UN argues that many of these issues are best dealt with over the long term, despite the possibilities of [pages 57-58] incremental steps in the short to medium terms. Moreover, extensive analysis of needs, costs and benefits will be essential, followed by the development of a carefully-prepared implementation strategy.

The challenge of mobilizing the long-term benefits of advanced technologies has been repeatedly addressed by many UN Member States. The techniques which could be used to improve peace operations are widely known and understood in many quarters. What is now required is a method to harness this knowledge for the long-term benefit of the UN's peace operations.

22. The Secretary-General, in cooperation with Member States, should establish a High-Level Group of Technological Experts to study the potential application of advanced technologies to strengthen the UN's effectiveness in peace operations and its capacity to react more rapidly to crisis situations.

Securing the Civilian Components of Rapid Reaction

One of the most important differences between the military and civilian units in peace operations is their relative abilities to launch operations quickly. Whereas most military forces are trained and equipped for relatively rapid deployment, and can even enhance their readiness standards over time, the civilian side suffers from a number of inherent problems. The most significant problem is that civilians are generally drawn from pools of individuals who occupy positions with domestic responsibilities. In order to take up positions in international operations, they generally have to secure their releases, and sometimes find others to take up their duties. In some cases, the process takes months. While this might seem to be a problem for which there are adequate short to medium term solutions, addressing the real deficiencies on the civilian side of peace operations will require long-term approaches.

Some UN Member States have responded to these difficulties by forming small rapid-reaction teams, particularly in the humanitarian assistance and natural disaster areas, composed of governmental or non-governmental personnel, which can be put at the

service of the UN or its agencies within hours. These teams have been particularly useful in getting a UN presence on the ground quickly in the case of emergencies and providing first-hand information for the humanitarian assistance or disaster relief operations which are to follow. The availability of these teams from a number of national governments has also meant that the UN does not have to recreate this capability, at great cost to the UN or other agencies. But in other situations the UN has been less fortunate. In Rwanda, for example in 1994, almost none of the civilian units slated for UNAMIR showed up in Kigali within four months of the creation of the operation, virtually closing off work on the political, legal and human rights sides of the operation.

The UN has attempted to remedy some of these shortages. In the case of mission legal advisers, it has instituted an in-house training program in the UN"s Legal Adviser's Office which will result over time in a roster of candidates who might be available on short notice for peace operations. As UN employees, they are releasable for duty upon a decision of the Secretary-General, thus avoiding the problems of national [pages 58-59] authorization. The humanitarian agencies also have personnel available to join peace operations, albeit in small numbers. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, in recognition of the importance of the human rights components in several peace operations, began in 1994 to strengthen the support offered by the UN's Centre for Human Rights to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. These are small but useful steps in the direction of finding medium-term solutions to the problems of the civilian side of peace operations.

The most problematic area in past peace operations has been civilian police. The UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) suffered from a number of deficiencies in the way that the civilian police component was mounted, as well as in the uneven quality of police units. The UN learned important lessons from this operation which it applied in subsequent operations, including in UNPROFOR in the former Yugoslavia and UNMIH in Haiti. Although the UN currently has more than 1,800 civilian police deployed in various peace operations, it has never been able to secure the numbers of high-quality civilian police personnel required for peace operations. This persistent problem can only be remedied over the long-term through the development and training of the UN's own civilian police units, building a corps of international civilian police which can be supplemented, when needed, by national contributions.

The most obvious advantage of a permanent, standing UN civilian police unit is reliability. The UN would not have to seek national contributions to peace operations, or at least contributions of current orders of magnitude. It would not have to await the lengthy domestic processes of each Member State before a critical mass of police forces is assembled. Moreover, in remedying what has thus far been a key problem of the UN's civilian police sector, a permanent force could be trained to the high standards which the UN should demand of these units. How large a force might be required, how it would be recruited and trained, how it would be deployed, or how it could be divided to cover a number of current operations would be questions demanding a great deal of consideration over the short to medium term before the UN embarked upon what would admittedly be a relatively costly option.

The UN could begin by bolstering those units in DPKO responsible for civilian police, with a view to building capability standards and training packages. It could then move to the recruitment of small numbers of trainers, who could be devoted mainly to the types of training missions in which UNMIH has been involved in Haiti. It could, over time and drawing on the expertise of Member States, duplicate on the civilian police side the work which the UN Training Assistance Teams have begun to undertake on the

military side. Because the civilian police components of peace operations have not been as large as the military components, the development of a permanent, standing UN police force could be an option developed at less cost than a comparable military option. As long as the UN remains in difficult financial circumstances, however, this is a long-term option, with a considerable amount of work in the short to medium terms prior to its full development.

23. The Secretary-General, in conjunction with interested Member States, should examine the technical feasibility of establishing over the long term a permanent, standing civilian police capability within the UN Secretariat, capable of rapid deployment in appropriate operations.

[pages 59-60]

A UN Standing Emergency Group

The Vanguard Concept outlined earlier is based on standby arrangements for nationally-based units linked to a UN operational headquarters. Over the long term, and as the utility of an operational headquarters becomes evident, it would be logical to establish additional, regionally-based operational headquarters. The presence of regional headquarters would provide for greater flexibility and reduce the time required for deployment in respective regions. The effectiveness of such a system would be increased by narrowing the scope of contingencies planned by each headquarters and fostering greater technical and political understanding of the environment in which a UN operation might be deployed. Regional headquarters would also facilitate a closer working relationship with regional organizations, which often play critical roles in various aspects of the international response to a crisis.

24. Consideration should be given, over the longer term, to the establishment of additional, regionally-based operational-level headquarters, once a first operational-level headquarters has been established and its performance and usefulness have been assessed.

As noted, reliability is a central principle of rapid reaction. At present, there is no absolute assurance that nationally-based units will be immediately available at the behest of the UN. In 1995, the Secretary-General acknowledged that "a considerable effort has been made to expand and refine stand-by arrangements but these provide no guarantee that troops will be provided for a specific operation".[36] The problem of reliability in the supply of national units poses a significant obstacle to a rapid UN response to crisis. Governments are sometimes reluctant to release their forces for UN duty, for a variety of reasons. Even when Governments are disposed to concur in participation, the process of seeking authorization is often slow. Although these delays can never be eliminated, they can be reduced in a number of ways. One way is to address specific operational concerns which inhibit states from agreeing to the deployment of their forces in specific operations. The second is by enhancing procedures for participation through a variety of measures, like joint training and exercises, which increase troop-contributor confidence and thus foster participation.

Ultimately, however, a UN rapid-reaction capability can be truly reliable only if it no longer depends on Member States of the UN for the supply of personnel for peace

operations. If the UN is to build a rapid-reaction capability which is fully reliable, the challenge in years ahead will be to develop its own personnel, independent of state authority. The idea of a standing UN force is as controversial as it is old. It has been studied most recently by the Government of the Netherlands, which produced a technical report establishing the general validity of the idea of a UN rapid-deployment brigade. Nevertheless, it is apparent that no broad or even significant international support, much less consensus, currently exists for talking such a step in the short to medium term. Although current lack of support argues against expending political capital in pursuit of this option, it is not an argument against the idea in itself. As Nobel Laureate Dr. John C. Polanyi has noted:

> Fire departments and police forces do not always prevent fire or crime, yet they are now widely recognised as providing an essential service. Similarly, a rapid reaction capability may confront conditions beyond its capacity to control. This [pages 60-61] should not call into question its potential value to the international community. It is a civilized response to an urgent problem.[37]

If short to medium-term options prove inadequate, and as the political landscape evolves, it may be worthwhile to explore how such a force might be established and the many issues that surround consideration of such an unprecedented step. This section develops the idea of a UN Standing Emergency Group. While this is an evolutionary approach, it in no way precludes the possibility of faster, more dramatic innovations in peacekeeping, should international consensus develop in this direction.

The foundation of a permanent, UN standing force, or UN Standing Emergency Group, would be the establishment of a UN Rapid-Reaction Base. Such a multinational base would begin by housing an operational headquarters, the tasks of which might be: forecasting detailed contingency plans; coordinating civilian and military aspects of operational planning; confirming standing operational procedures; developing arrangements for equipment procurement and stockpiling; establishing readiness and training standards; promoting interoperability, and refining training curricula and courses for both military and civilian elements. The base would provide a single facility at which the elements of the UN's rapid-reaction capability could gradually be consolidated.[38]

Once a functioning base had been established, military and civilian units from participating UN member states could be assigned to the UN base for a period of about two years. Although these units would remain under national authority and would require national authorization to be deployed, they would train collectively under the direction of the Secretary-General. Working together at a common base should also increase confidence in multinational operations, thereby diminishing some potential national concerns over the deployment of stand-by contingents. Consolidating standing elements at the base would provide the UN with a core capability at relatively high states of readiness, ensuring the UN of a relatively reliable response to crisis situations. Common basing offers the best way of enhancing cohesiveness among national military and civilian units and advancing national training and professional development objectives. Deployment of a force composed of national contingents pursuant to a Security Council decision and national authorization would be more rapid than deployment from dispersed national locations.

Common basing need not be an exorbitantly expensive endeavour for either the UN or participating Member States, as participating countries would simply be relocating existing national units, subject to recall in the event of national requirements. As they

would remain under national command, national authorities would retain primary responsibility for their administration, pay and benefits. For the UN, cost-sharing might be arranged on a basis slightly less taxing than that of field operations, in which the UN frequently assumes responsibility for incremental costs, transportation of national elements to and from the site, operation and maintenance costs, as well as the provision of accommodation and allowances.

To ensure the availability of sufficient personnel for all foreseeable operations, there would need to be considerable redundancy of capabilities. This would also provide the UN with options for the selection of national contingents to serve in regions having particular political, ethnic, cultural or religious sensitivities. At this [pages 61-62] stage in the development of a standing UN capacity, the base headquarters would ensure that there were at least two deployable mission headquarters capable of assuming operational control in a peacekeeping mission. The deployable military elements assigned to each mission headquarters would include a variety of capabilities, including deployable civilian elements, providing the UN with well-trained military and civilian units for most contingencies.

Contingency plans would need to identify the resources required to provide lift capabilities at short notice. Major Member States, such as the United States and Russia, who are uniquely placed to provide strategic air and sea lift, might be requested to provide contingency planning teams and operational units to the UN base. The UN could then negotiate a detailed stand-by arrangement or memorandum of understanding that ensured the prompt availability of strategic lift on short notice.

In order to tackle the fundamental issue of reliability in a UN response to crisis situations, consideration must eventually be given to moving beyond common basing of national units to the concept of a UN Standing Emergency Group, under the exclusive command and control of the Security Council and the Secretary-General. The size and general structure of this rapid-reaction capability would largely remain as described above, with a standing headquarters, at least two deployable mission headquarters and accompanying units and support personnel. By drawing on qualified personnel from national units to serve as the basis for this UN Standing Emergency Group, the UN would have a highly competent nucleus for the training and development of new recruits.

As professional volunteers develop into a cohesive UN force, they can assume responsibility for some of the riskier operations mandated by the Council but for which troop contributors have been hesitant to contribute. UN volunteers offer the best prospect of a completely reliable, well-trained rapid-reaction capability. Without the need to consult national authorities, the UN could cut response time significantly, and volunteers could be deployed within hours of a Security Council decision. As the 1995 Commission on Global Governance noted, "The very existence of an immediately available and effective UN Volunteer Force could be a deterrent in itself. It could also give important support for negotiation and peaceful settlement of disputes. It is high time that this idea – a United Nations Volunteer Force – was made a reality." No matter how difficult this goal now seems, it deserves continued study, with a clear process for assessing its feasibility over the long term.

It should be acknowledged that the concept of a standing UN force is an expensive option. The study of a UN Rapid Deployment Brigade by the Netherlands concluded that a unit of some five thousand persons might involve a cost to the UN of some US$380 million annually.[39] The recent study of the Independent Working Group on the Future of the United Nations, concluded that a force of 10,000 might involve annual costs of some US$500 million with a one-time start-up cost of US$500 million.[40] Although these are

expenses beyond the current capacity of the UN, there might be a time when they can be accommodated in the framework of a coherent peace and security program within the UN. In the meantime, the option, including its costs, should continue to be studied.

[pages 62-63]

25. The Secretary-General could examine the political and technical feasibility of establishing a small UN Standing Emergency Group. As a first step, the Secretary-General could solicit views on this concept and report accordingly to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Financial Issues

Over the long term, the UN will need a rapid-reaction capability which is both effective and reliable. Effectiveness can be established in many ways, and earlier chapters have developed a number of potentially useful ways to achieve this objective. Reliability, however, is a more difficult proposition. As long as sovereign states retain the right to decide on the deployment of their national units, there will never be complete assurance that a UN force can meet an urgent situation on time or with sufficient capacity. As we consider the future of the UN over the long-term, therefore, it makes sense to continue debate on how we can better equip the UN so that it can have the permanent, standing capabilities it needs to meet reasonable requirements.

Financial issues will continue to be a key element of that debate. As long as the UN remains wholly dependent for its financing on Member States, some of whom have huge arrears in payment, the UN will never have the resources essential to doing its job. It will continue to be trapped by the paradoxical situation that it cannot do its job without resources, but it cannot acquire the needed resources until it demonstrates its ability to perform more effectively. A number of ideas for securing an independent source of revenue for the UN have been advanced. Some have been widely discussed, including a tax on currency transfers and a surcharge on airline tickets. There has been some technical debate about the likely revenues to be generated and the systems which are required to ensure the collection of money. But none of these ideas has commanded much international support. Moreover, as a report of the InterAction Council noted, "all such innovations will need full public support and care should be taken to avoid an erosion of the present level of general support for the United Nations. Eventually, a specific facility with appropriate decision-making and voting procedures might need to be established to administer and apportion the funds thus raised to the various programmes – and not financing everything the United Nations is doing today or intends to do."[41]

UN peace operations must be based on sound financing. The current situation is clearly untenable. For that reason, the idea of generating independent revenues for the UN continues to be attractive and should merit further study, notwithstanding current obstacles. An independent source of revenue, while undoubtedly posing political and technical difficulties, is the best way of assuring a stable funding based for an Organization whose work is crucial to international stability. A process should be put in place to consider the many proposals which have been put forward in this area and to assess next steps. It is important that the momentum towards finding imaginative solutions to the UN's financial problems not be lost.

[pages 63-64]

26. **The Secretary-General, in conjunction with Member States, should encourage continued international discussion of seeking alternative funding for the UN system, in order to place the Organization on a more stable financial basis, and should consider the appointment of a high-level expert group, reporting to the General Assembly, to examine possible future sources of financing.**

The United Nations was created to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." Within that vision, we must seek to develop the best means of equipping the UN to perform its tasks. Over the long term, the UN needs to acquire a reliable, effective capacity to respond to crisis situations. As we consider the future of the UN, the focus should be on thinking about the possible security needs of the international community into the next millenium [sic] and on developing the capabilities which can enable the UN to meet those needs in effective ways.

[end page 64]

[Note: "Recommendations" start half-way through page 67. Further note: the round bracketed page number after each recommendation is found in the original and acts as a reference point within the document.]

Recommendations

This report has arrived at the following recommendations, spanning the short, medium and long terms, which we have described more fully in chapters five and six:

1. In order to build upon current practice and institutionalize a formal consultative process involving nations contributing to an operation, the UN Secretariat and Security Council members, Member States should establish a Troop Contributors Committee for each peace operation.

Member States should also establish a Troop Contributors Forum, comprised of leading or major troop-contributing nations, which would meet periodically to review general peacekeeping issues of an operational nature and provide a formal voice to troop contributors. (Page 38)

2. Member States of the UN should build on the already established practices of convening informal groups of "friends" to address specific geographic situations and as one way of providing advice to the Security Council or the Secretary-General. (Page 39)

[pages 67-68]

3. The UN should move toward the creation of a unified budget for peace operations, which would place the financing of current operations on a more coherent, predictable and reliable basis. (Page 40)

4. Member States should establish a Peace Operations Subcommittee of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ), made up of financial experts from Ministries of Defence. (Page 40)

5. The Secretary-General should be given financial authority to expend funds at various phases of an operation:

(i) authority should be provided to expend from the Peacekeeping Reserve Fund up to US$10 million per mission for contingency planning and preparatory activities at the pre-implementation and pre-mandate phases, under provisions for unforeseen and extraordinary expenses, where the Secretary-General attests to a potential threat to international peace and security;

(ii) authority to expend funds should be increased to US$50 million once the Security Council has authorized a mission but prior to consideration by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ);

(iii) in urgent situations, authority should be granted toe expend out of the Peacekeeping Reserve Fund a certain percentage of a mission budget, possibly in the order of 50 per cent, upon budgetary approval of the ACABQ but prior to authorization by the Fifth Committee and the General Assembly;

(iv) following approval of a mandate by the Security Council and the budget by the ACABQ, which permits the expenditures of up to US$50 million, assessment notices for this peace operation should be issued immediately to Member States to facilitate prompt payment. (Page 41)

6. Member States and the Secretary-General should work toward the adoption of a set of financial regulations which would permit the UN to function adequately in a crisis situation. These regulations would involve the delegation of responsibility and commensurate authority to appropriate senior UN officials (Under-Secretaries-General, Special Representatives and Force Commanders) to facilitate the effective implementation of peace operations. (Page 42)

7. The funding of the revolving Peacekeeping Reserve Fund for current operations should be increased to US$300 million from the current $150 million, by way of assessed contributions from Member States, and interest revenue should be retained in the Fund. (Page 42)

8. The Secretary-General should continue to refine the early-warning capabilities of the Secretariat, concluding additional agreements between the UN and Member States to share information. He should ensure that the early-warning capabilities which already exist within the UN system and related organizations are effectively pooled and that Member States and regional organizations have access to this material. (Page 43)

[pages 68-69]

9. Member States and the Secretary-General should work toward the development of an "early-warning alert" system, which would draw potential crisis situations to the attention of the Secretary-General and the Security Council and initiate contingency planning, or at least initial "contingency thinking," within the Secretariat. (Page 44)

10. The Secretary-General should continue the process of strengthening the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, including through loans and secondments from Member States, with the objective of establishing an effective political and military central staff for peace operations; Member States should be encouraged to assist in these efforts.

The Office of Military Advisor should be strengthened to enable it to execute fully the advisory functions assigned to this office.

In order to provide better and more continuous military advice to members of the

Security Council, the Military Adviser should institute a system of informal, regular meetings with the military advisers of all Member States of the Security Council. (Page 46)

11. In conjunction with Member States, the Secretary-General should develop rosters of senior military commanders who might serve as Force Commanders in UN operations and bring these officers to UN headquarters for periodic discussions abut contingency planning, mandates, operational guidance, the integration of humanitarian and human rights concerns into peacekeeping operations, and lessons learned from past operations. (Page 46)

12. The United Nations, as it develops generic and mission-specific contingency plans, should work on standing contractual arrangements with suppliers, either Member States or the non-governmental sector, for the provision of strategic movement and works as well to flesh out the "peacekeeping services agreements" concept with UN Member States.

The UN should also develop packages of equipment for generic missions, including equipment necessary for support of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, and work toward the acquisition/lease and pre-positioning of appropriate types and quantities of such equipment, or enter into a supply agreement with Member States for the provision of this equipment from National Reserves. (Page 47)

13. The Secretary-General and Member States should continue to refine and strengthen the Standby Arrangements System, with special emphasis on the ability of Member States to meet specific readiness targets for potential service in rapid-reaction operations. (Page 48)

14. The Secretary-General should be encouraged to use new techniques, such as the peacekeeping services agreement concept, to facilitate more rapid deployment of missions and more effective administrative and logistic support for deployable missions. (Page 48)

[pages 69-70]

15. In order to develop a pool of expertise to assist the UN in responding to urgent situations, Member States should explore the advance identification of personnel with expertise in relevant areas who could be seconded into the UN Secretariat for short-term assignments. (Page 49)

16. The Secretary-General, in conjunction with interested Member States, should establish a permanent UN operational-level headquarters, which would be a standing, fully-deployable, integrated, multinational group of approximately 30 to 50 personnel, augmented in times of crisis, to conduct contingency planning and rapid deployment as authorized by the Security Council.

To ensure multidimensionality, the headquarters should contain a significant civil affairs branch with linkages to the key humanitarian and other agencies and the non-governmental sectors. (Page 51)

17. The operational-level headquarters should be tasked to undertake genetic contingency planning when early-warning mechanisms are triggered as well as liaison with regional organizations and agencies, and a wide variety of training objectives. (Page 51)

18. The United Nations should develop a vanguard concept which would link the operational-level headquarters with tactical elements provided by Member States to the Secretary-General through the standby arrangements system. (Page 52)

19. The Secretary-General and Member States should consider organizing standby units into multinational "capability components", corresponding to function (observation force, humanitarian assistance force, ceasefire monitoring force, etc.) with appropriate training and exercising to enhance readiness. These capability components might include some of the newer tasks of multidimensional operations (natural disaster relief, humanitarian emergencies), working in close conjunction with other sectors of the UN and non-governmental organizations. (Page 52)

20. Member States should work with the United Nations to ensure the availability of qualified civilian personnel, in such areas as civilian police, human rights, legal advisors, election observers, etc., to serve in peace operations.

Member States should be invited to sponsor training sessions leading toward the creation of rosters of experts for urgent missions. (Page 53)

21. The Secretary-General, in cooperation with Member States, should develop a set of generic and mission specific training standards and "type" curricula applicable to all troop contributing nations. Member States with standby arrangements with the Secretary-General should provide the UN with annual training summaries outlining the training activities undertaken and proposed for those units identified in the standby arrangement system. (Page 54)

22. The Secretary-General, in cooperation with Member States, should establish a High-Level Group of Technological Experts to study the potential application of advanced technologies to strengthen the UN's effectiveness in peace operations and its capacity to react more rapidly to crisis situations. (Page 58)

[pages 70-71]

23. The Secretary-General, in conjunction with interested Member States, should examine the technical feasibility of establishing over the long term a permanent, standing civilian police capability within the UN Secretariat, capable of rapid deployment in appropriate operations. (Page 59)

24. Consideration should be given, over the longer term, to the establishment of additional, regionally-based operational-level headquarters, once a first operational-level headquarters has been established and its performance and usefulness have been assessed. (Page 60)

25. The Secretary-General could examine the political and technical feasibility of establishing a small UN Standing Emergency Group. As a first step, the Secretary-General could solicit views on this concept and report accordingly to the General Assembly and the Security Council. (Page 63)

26. The Secretary-General, in conjunction with Member States, should encourage continued international discussion of seeking alternative funds for the UN system, in order to place the Organization on a more stable financial basis, and should consider the appointment of a high-level expert group, reporting to the General Assembly, to examine possible future sources of financing. (Page 64)

[pages 71-72]

The Conduct of the Study: Acknowledgements

This study was a joint effort of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Department of National Defence, with the collaboration of other interested agencies of the Government of Canada, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Canadian International Development Agency. Following the address of Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs to the 49th United Nations General Assembly on 23 September 1994, a Senior Steering Group was appointed to guide the course of the study. A Core Group was also formed to oversee directly the preparation of background materials and the production of initial papers. Over the course of ten months of research and writing, members of the Steering Group and the Core Group devoted considerable time to consultations with other governments, with inter-governmental organizations and with the non-governmental community. While the Government of Canada is responsible for the recommendations contained in the study, we wish to express appreciation to the many governments, individuals and organizations who played a part in the preparation of this report. We are especially indebted to officials of the United Nations, who followed this study closely, despite their many other obligations at an exceptionally busy and important time in the history of UN peace operations.

In order to help the Government of Canada in the preparation of its report, an International Consultative Group was created, chaired by Sir Brian Urquhart of the Ford Foundation and Dr. John C. Polanyi, Nobel Laureate of the University of Toronto, and consisting of experts drawn from governments, inter-governmental organizations, academic institutions and non-governmental organizations. The full membership of the International Consultative Group is as follows:

Sir Brian Urquhart (co-chair)	Scholar in Residence, Ford Foundation (UK)
Dr. John C. Polanyi (co-chair)	Department of Chemistry, University of Toronto (Canada)
Dr. Mats Berdal	Research Fellow, International Institute of Strategic Studies (Norway)
LGen. Cevik Bir	former Commander, UNOSOM II (Turkey)
M. Jocelyn Coulon	Journalist, *Le Devoir* (Canada)
Prof. David Cox	Department of Political Studies, Queen's University (Canada)
Dr. Cathy Downes	Senior Research Officer, New Zealand Defence Force (New Zealand)
Ambassador Robert Fowler	Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York (Canada)
Mgen. Gunther Greindl	Director, International Activities, Ministry of Defence (Austria)

[pages 72-73]

Mr. Paul Koring	European Correspondent, *The Globe and Mail* (Canada)
M. Bernard Kouchner	président, Association pour Action Humanitaire (France)
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MGen. (ret'd) Clive Milner	former Commander, UNFICYP (Canada)
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LGen. (ret'd) Satish Nambiar	former Commander, UNPROFOR (India)
Dr. Alexander Nikitin	Director, Centre for Political and International Studies (Russia)
Prof. Masashi Nishihara	Director, First Research Department, National Institute for Defence Studies (Japan)
Ambassador Robert Oakley	former US Special Envoy to Somalia (U.S.A.)
LGen. (ret'd) Tadhg O'Neill	former Chief of Defence Staff (Ireland)
Mr. Olara Otunnu	President, International Peace Academy and Former Foreign Minister (Uganda)
Ambassador Hernan Patiño	Ambassador to the Organization of American States (Argentina)
Mr. Geoffrey Pearson	former Ambassador to the Soviet Union (Canada)
Prof. Adam Roberts	Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, Oxford University (United Kingdom)

Dr. Robert Siekmann	T.M.C. Asser Instituut (The Netherlands)
Dr. Janice Gross Stein	Department of Political Science, University of Toronto (Canada)
Mr. James Sutterlin	Yale University, former Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General (U.S.A.)
Prof. Josiane Tercinet	Université Pierre Mendès France (France)

[Note: Endnotes listed below are found on page 78 of the official report.]

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35. Government of Canada, Overhead Remote Sensing for United Nations Peacekeeping, April 1990.

36. Supplement to An Agenda For Peace, para.43.

37. Noted in the Report on the International Conference on a United Nations' Rapid Reaction Capability, Montebello, Québec, April 7-8, 1995, p.2.

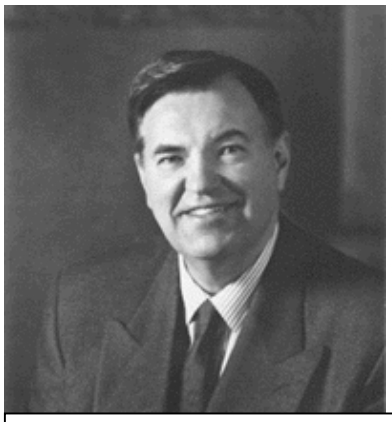
38. In a preliminary examination by the Study Group of one possible option such a headquarters might involve 200 military personnel exclusive of infrastructure and other support staff. The headquarters would also have a civilian component of approximately 85.

39. A UN Rapid Deployment Brigade, Government of the Netherlands (The Hague), April 1995, p.18.

40. The United Nations in Its Second Half Century, p.46.

41. The InterAction Council, The Future Role of the Global Multilateral Organization, June 1994, p.19. ■

David M. Collenette, Minister of National Defence during 1995, co-signer and official sponsor of the report, *Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability For The United Nations*.



André Ouellet, Minister of Foreign Affairs during 1995, co-signer and official sponsor of the report, *Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability For The United Nations*.

The following one page document is the *Letter of Intent* officially establishing the United Nations Stand-by Forces High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG), the UN's own quasi-military/police unit and operational headquarters under UN command.

This *Letter of Intent* was signed in Denmark, December 15th, 1996, by the Ministers of Defence for Austria, Canada, Denmark, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Sweden.

LETTER OF INTENT

CONCERNING COOPERATION ON THE MULTINATIONAL UNITED NATIONS STAND-BY FORCES HIGH READINESS BRIGADE

Considering that the United Nations is facing changes in activities related to the maintenance of international peace and security,

Supporting the efforts to consolidate and improve the United Nations Stand-by Arrangements System,

The Undersigned:

Note the Report by the Working Group on a Multinational United Nations Stand-by Forces High Readiness Brigade dated 15th of August 1995, concerning the establishment of a multinational brigade-size force at high readiness, composed of contributions to the UN Stand-by Arrangements System.

Recognise that such a brigade would enhance the United Nations' rapid deployment capability.

Express their firm support for a Multinational United Nations Stand-by Forces High Readiness Brigade, hereinafter called SHIRBRIG, and their intention to co-operate amongst themselves to establish and maintain the SHIRBRIG.

Acknowledge that the SHIRBRIG will only be employed on a case-by-case basis, in a manner safe-guarding national sovereignty considerations, on deployments of up to 6 months duration in peacekeeping operations mandated by the Security Council under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations, including humanitarian tasks.

Intend to initiate the establishment of a permanent Planning Element of the SHIRBRIG from the 1st of January 1997, and to use their best efforts to have an initial operational and logistical capacity in the Brigade from the 1st of January 1998.

Express their firm support for the establishment of a Steering Committee which will serve as an executive body for oversight and policy guidance of both the SHIRBRIG and the associated Planning Element.

Recognise that they may jointly invite additional Member States of the United Nations to sign this Letter of Intent. ■

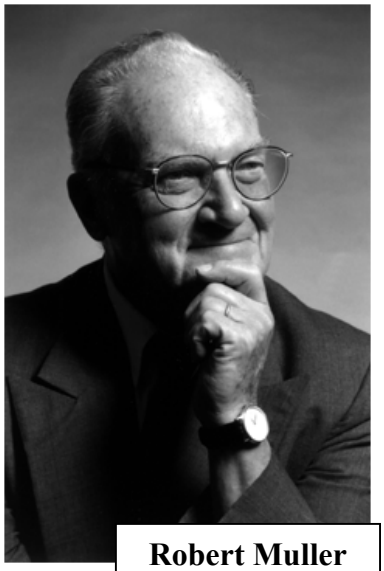
During April 4-5, 1997, a Vancouver-based educational organization hosted the Global Citizenship 2000 Youth Congress. The keynote speaker for the event was Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations and long-time UN official (he was personally involved in helping create eleven of the UN's specialized agencies). On April 5th, Muller spoke to the students, educators, and delegates about the need to generate ideas that would aid in transforming the world. Below are excerpts from that speech.

Global Citizenship 2000 Youth Congress

Speech excerpts by Robert Muller

Now, this question of the religion has pre-occupied me since the beginning when I joined the UN and I have written a whole book about it called *New Genesis: Shaping a Global Spirituality*…

I attacked this problem because I thought it was one of the damaging affairs of the world, because of the religions of very fundamentalists – you cannot change an inch. They have total truth. And of course the truth that was given by Jesus, by Mohammad, by these emissaries from outer space, they were really basic truths. And they were so great that the cosmos almost incarnated itself. This is why Jesus said, "I am the incarnation of the divine." And the Indigenous people, they called it "Great Spirit." So there was always this fighting to get the message from the outer universe to give us confidence and to tell us how to behave. This is why practically all the religions have a great contribution to make to the mystery of life…The only trouble is that their followers, the disciples, they created around these spiritual messages a religion…I recommend that all religions should work together and get together…



Robert Muller

Let me tell you, when you have an idea which you consider fundamental and good for humanity, sooner or later you can implement it. So I was invited to the World Parliament of Religions. And I made a speech there which was so well received by all the participants that the idea of creating a United Religions like the United Nations was promoted during the World Parliament of Religions.

And then during the 50th anniversary of the United Nations in San Francisco, we launched again the idea of United Religions, and at the end of June there would be a meeting of 200 people from various religions in San Francisco to draft and to give birth, in San Francisco, to a United Religion…I almost cannot believe it that they listened to me! I will be the father of the United Religions! But I never gave up…

To create a United Europe took forty six years. To get the United States together took ten years. And to get the world together and abolish the passports might take also ten or twenty years. In these ideas I have six fundamental ways of getting to a United World. I'm going to work with each of them.

I am asking now that either the United Nations would be tremendously strengthened, or create a United States of the world…Or let us take the European Union now, as a model which is better than the United Nations, for a United World. Or let us take all the World

Federalists together to create a World Federation. Or let us create regional units, the European Union, an American Union, which I've been pushing too – and this is how you got the trade agreement between the US and Canada. And then we'll take the five continents and the five continents, if they're united, will create a World Union. That's another one…

We should do it by regions instead of cutting things across. I would like to have a Pacific Community, an Atlantic Community. The military are doing it. Why don't we do it as a peacemaker? I would like to have a Pacific Community with all the countries around the Pacific. An Atlantic Community around the Atlantic. I would like to have an Artic Community, an Antarctic Community, the desert countries…The great rivers of [the] Amazon should be practically one region where the people should be [with] nature.

So you have to work on all of this. You have a fantastic future. Just come up with an idea. ■ [Note: both bracketed words in the above sentence have been added for clarity].

The following short text is a small portion of the 1997 World Federalist Association *Activist Guidebook*, Section I – Principles, p.7-8.

World Federalist Association
So how do we Abolish War and Achieve World Federation?

At least six different strategies promoted by World Federalists for achieving the goal of a world federal government may be considered.

Short-term Goals

1. Reinterpretation of the present UN Charter and adoption of UN resolutions that have authority to make and enforce laws.
2. Individual UN actions to make and enforce laws by amending the UN Charter under Article 108 of the Charter.

A Democratic World Federation through Restructuring the UN

3. A Conference called under Article 109 of the UN Charter, to restructure the Charter to empower the UN to make and enforce laws.
4. A new UN Charter proposed from outside the UN that would empower the UN to make and enforce laws, which would be submitted to national governments or their peoples for ratification.

A Democratic World Federation through a World Constitution Convention

5. A World Constitution produced by a World Convention called by national governments, which would be submitted to national governments for ratification.
6. A World Constitution produced by a World Convention called through a worldwide peoples' referendum. ■

EarthAction International, a global environmental and pro-global governance advocacy group, published their "Call For A Safer World" in the late 1990's. This "Call…" was circulated throughout various United Nations affiliated events and offices, global environmental and educational forums, and through its massive network of supporting organizations. Following this "Call" is the EarthAction background informational text dated March, 1998.

Call For A Safer World

WE ARE ENTERING A NEW MILLENNIUM, yet all our hopes for the future could be lost if we fail to solve our global problems of war, poverty, environmental degradation and the abuse of human rights.

AS CITIZENS OF ONE PLANET, we unite our voices on behalf of a better future for the world's children, and for the Earth itself. We are people from different countries and cultures, but we share a conviction greater than all our differences: that by working together we can build a just, peaceful and sustainable world.

WE CALL ON THE WORLD'S GOVERNMENTS to take the following steps to build a more effective and democratic United Nations system, through which humanity can cooperate to safeguard our common future:

I. Strengthen The UN's Capacity For Preventive Diplomacy to ensure that the United Nations acts in good time to help resolve dangerous conflicts before blood is shed.

II. CREATE A UN RAPID DEPLOYMENT BRIGADE able to respond immediately to genocide, aggression or natural disasters.

III. ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT able to prosecute any individual for genocide, war crimes, international aggression or other crimes against humanity.

IV. LAUNCH A PROCESS OF BALANCED, WORLD-WIDE DEMILITARIZATION, including the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, with an international agency to verify compliance with disarmament agreements.

V. ESTABLISH A REPRESENTATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL able to make binding decisions to protect the planet without waiting for unanimous agreement among all the world's governments.

VI. ESTABLISH A DIRECTLY-ELECTED PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY WITHIN THE UN to ensure democratic accountability in international decision-making and in the expenditure of UN funds.

VII. RAISE MONEY through fees on global pollution or on international currency transactions, to fund these initiatives for UN reform, to protect the global environment, and to meet the basic needs of the world's citizens for food, clean water, shelter, education, family planning and health care.

WE CALL ON OUR GOVERNMENTS AND COMMIT OURSELVES to give the highest priority to the challenge of building a safer world.

March 1998

Call for a Safer World

— Background Information —

The *Call for a Safer World* contains seven proposals which, taken together, could transform the ability of the UN to help solve global problems. Here is a brief explanation of each proposal.

1. United Nations Preventive Diplomacy

The time to prevent armed conflict is before it starts. Once blood has been shed, passions run high and it is extremely difficult to bring the fighting to a halt. Yet too often, dangerous conflicts are ignored by the international community until they explode into violence.

Highly-trained United Nations negotiators should be dispatched automatically whenever a dangerous conflict arises, without waiting for the permission of national governments or of the parties to the conflict, to help seek agreed solutions before violence breaks out.

2. A UN Rapid Deployment Brigade

In some cases, however, even the best preventive diplomacy will fail. The United Nations needs a permanent force of volunteers, recruited as individuals, ready to go immediately to areas of conflict to prevent killing and to protect innocent people. To be effective, such a force needs to be trained, armed and authorized to arrest anyone engaged in aggression or murder. The dispatch of such a force could be in the hands of the Secretary-General, the General Assembly or the Security Council, but should not be subject to veto by the great powers on the Security Council or by the parties to a conflict.

A UN Rapid Deployment Brigade may in some situations be able to operate without weapons. It could also provide invaluable assistance with disaster relief.

Many of those involved in efforts to stop the violence in Bosnia or Rwanda believe that if UN forces had been deployed quickly as the killing began, with a strong mandate to arrest anyone engaged in murder, the catastrophes in those countries could have been avoided.

3. An International Criminal Court

The best deterrent against genocide and other crimes against humanity is to make those responsible for such crimes individually accountable for their actions.

Today, many of the world's leading murderers are either still in power in their countries, or are living in luxurious exile. So long as political and military leaders can get away with the kind of mass murder we've seen in Rwanda, Bosnia, Iraq, Cambodia and so many other places, such crimes are likely to continue.

An International Criminal Court needs to have an independent prosecutor who can investigate, and if appropriate prosecute, any individual—including a head of government—suspected of genocide, international aggression, war crimes or other crimes against humanity. For the Court to be fully effective, as the experience of the current ad hoc tribunals for Rwanda and former Yugoslavia has shown, the international community should also have a stronger capacity to bring to trial individuals accused of crimes against humanity.

4. Demilitarization

To build a peaceful world, we need a United Nations which can more reliably keep the peace, and we must also steadily reduce the levels of armaments. Today, humanity continues to waste more than US$800 billion a year on armies and weapons—an amount comparable to the entire combined income of everyone in Latin America.

Nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction should be eliminated altogether. Otherwise, it is all too likely that they will one day be used through accident, madness, terrorism or the escalation of a crisis. Conventional weapons should be reduced through world-wide, across-the-board annual percentage reductions in all major categories of weapons.

If nations are to have the confidence to demilitarize, they must be sure that their neighbours and adversaries are doing likewise. For any disarmament agreement, the United Nations should verify and ensure compliance.

5. An Environmental Council

The current system for making decisions on the protection of the global environment, known as decision-making by "consensus", involves waiting until almost 200 national governments are agreed before global action is taken. It is hardly surprising that the threats to the planet outstrip our international response. Imagine trying to make decisions in your country if all members of the national legislature had to agree before anything got done.

The existing United Nations Security Council, charged with keeping the peace, has two attributes that are urgently needed to protect the global environment. First, decisions are made by roughly two-thirds majority vote among its fifteen members. Second, its decisions are binding on all member states of the United Nations.

We need a globally representative Environment Council with comparable powers (but without the veto for powerful countries that so often undermines the Security Council.) This could be achieved by creating a new body, or by transforming an existing institution at the UN, such as the Commission on Sustainable Development, the Trusteeship Council or the UN Environment Programme. Its mandate could be confined to the protection of the global commons which are beyond national jurisdiction—the atmosphere and oceans—or to the protection of the global environment more generally. Decisions of the Environment Council could be subject to approval by the General Assembly and by a People's Assembly once it is established.

To help ensure compliance with it's decisions, an Environmental Council should be combined with an expanded environmental role for the World Court, and with the possibility of penalties for governments that ignore international environmental standards.

6. A Directly-elected People's Assembly Within The United Nations

Today, for the first time in history, a majority of the world's people are free to express their opinions and to vote in multiparty elections. Yet the system of global governance that we have now is far from being a model of democracy. If the United Nations is to fulfill its potential, the spread of democracy must include our global institutions.

This could be advanced by creating a democratic chamber within the UN system. A People's Assembly could, together with the existing General Assembly made up of national governments, play a major role in decision-making on the global environment,

sustainable development, peace and human rights. A People's Assembly could also provide democratic oversight of the expenditure of UN funds, including new global revenues.

Such a body would best be made up of directly elected representatives. Or, like the early European Parliament (now directly elected), it could begin with members of national parliaments. A system of representation could be devised to ensure that small nations would not be overwhelmed by a handful of large countries.

A People's Assembly at the UN would bring three great benefits:

- Being directly accountable to the public, it would enable ordinary people to be far more involved than they are today in deciding the fate of our planet. As ever more important decisions are being made internationally, it is crucial to strengthen at the global level the democratic accountability that we consider so important at the national and local levels.
- It would increase the democratic legitimacy of the United Nations, which is essential if the UN is to assume new roles in protecting the planet. Few people would want to invest greater decision-making powers in a body that is largely bureaucratic in nature, and only indirectly accountable to the public.
- It would introduce representatives at the UN whose primary responsibility would be the protection of the whole planet, whereas most national representatives are employed by governments to represent national interests.

7. Global Money For Global Needs

The near-bankruptcy of the UN, the shrinking funds for helping the world's poorest citizens, and the lack of resources for priorities such as renewable energy and forest protection, show clearly that resources on the scale necessary to meet global needs are unlikely to come from national budgets alone.

This is not surprising, as solving global problems of war, poverty and environmental degradation is not in reality a top priority for most national governments.

Some governments have urged that, to generate resources for global priorities, fees should be levied for uses of the "global commons" (the atmosphere, the oceans and outer space). Fees on global pollution—for example, a global "carbon tax" on the carbon dioxide emissions which contribute to global warming—would both raise funds and help to discourage damaging activities.

Another revenue source proposed by some governments would be a small levy on international currency transfers. For example, a levy of just 0.05 of one percent on international currency transfers could generate approximately US$150 billion a year, as well as helping to calm the volatile currency markets.

The fees would be levied by national governments, but the proceeds devoted to global priorities through the UN system.

In a world where we depend on each other more than ever before, we need a more effective and democratic United Nations to protect the long-term interests of humanity as a whole. Those shared long-term interests include a life-giving planet, an end to war and hunger, and the protection of basic human rights. The seven proposals contained in the Call for a Safer World, once implemented, would go far towards creating the United Nations that we need. ■

In the late 1990's, the Canadian Parliament debated over being the first country to officially adopt an international tax on currency transactions, known as the Tobin Tax. While this global tax didn't (and doesn't) actually exist, the debate in the Parliament – and its eventual "yes" motion – greatly strengthened the call for international taxation. Now, many other countries, along with the United Nation and the European Union, are looking at the feasibility of creating a world tax scheme. Moreover, on March 23, 1999, the Canadian Parliament passed a resolution to endorse and adopt the Tobin Tax as an important part of the international community. The vote was 164 for, 83 against.

The following is a small sampling of the 1998 parliamentary debate regarding the Tobin Tax. Take special note of Lorne Nystrom's larger agenda for the creation of this tax. Nystrom is a member of the New Democratic Party, which is a member of the Socialist International – a global organization of socialist political parties with the aim of creating a new socialist world order. See the October 2003 Socialist International document in this book.. Note: the square bracketed [*English*] is in the original.

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CONTENTS

Wednesday, October 28, 1998

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BUSINESS

[*English*]

TAX ON FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS

Hon. Lorne Nystrom (Regina—Qu'Appelle, NDP) moved:

That, in the opinion of this House, the government should show leadership and enact a tax on financial transactions in concert with all OECD countries.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I have consulted with all parties and I understand there is unanimous consent for the following motion:

I move:

That the motion be amended by removing the words "all OECD countries" and replacing them with the following: "the international community".

The Acting Speaker (Mr. McClelland): Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the amendment?

Some hon. members: Agreed.

(Amendment agreed to)

The Acting Speaker (Mr. McClelland): Debate is on the motion as amended.

Hon. Lorne Nystrom: Mr. Speaker, I thank the House for the unanimous consent to make that change which reflects a broader consensus in the country and in the House.

The purpose for this private member's motion today, which is one of the few votable motions in the House, is to start a debate on a new idea which in many ways is an old

idea. It was first suggested by James Tobin, an economist who won the Nobel prize in 1992. He suggested in 1981 that in order to bring some regulation or order to the international financial marketplace in currency transactions there be enacted a very small foreign currency transaction tax. This has to be done in concert with the world community. One country by itself cannot do it. This would bring some semblance of order to what we are seeing in the world today.

The secondary purpose of the motion would be to use the funds to establish in part an international development fund which would be useful for many projects around the world. I will get into that a little later on.

The time has come when we have to start looking at new ideas as to how we work toward the common good not just in this country but around the world. Dr. Tobin made the suggestion a number of years ago. The idea is to impose a very small tax on foreign currency transactions. The idea being talked about now by most people around the world is a tax of .1%. In other words, one dollar on every thousand dollars of foreign currency transactions. If we buy a condo for $100,000 that would be a $100 transaction tax.

I want to give the House some idea of the magnitude of what we are talking about. In the 1970s the daily trading in the world in foreign currency was about $17 billion. Today it is about $1.3 trillion. It is a figure so large it is impossible to even imagine. To give a comparison the trade in goods and services around the world annually, 365 days of the year, of all countries is $4.3 trillion and the currency exchange is $1.3 trillion a day. That is a lot of money.

The consequences of this is that there is a feeling among a lot of people that nation states have given up a lot of sovereignty to what we sometimes call the boys in red suspenders as they speculate on currency around the world.

Talking about this at this time is really appropriate because much of the world is in recession and many people are predicting a worldwide depression. We have seen the tremendous effect on currency around the world and the effect on Canadian currency. We have seen the problems in southeast Asia, in places like Thailand and which have spread to other countries in that part of the world, to Japan and Russia, which is now basically without a government and in total chaos. The problem is spreading into Brazil and parts of Latin America.

A large part of it is because of the rapid movement of short term capital seeking a place to maximize its return. This is being done at the flick of a computer key when billions are moved, as I said $1.3 trillion every day.

Are we as a country powerless or do we want to assert our sovereignty and try with our fellow people around the world to come up with a method of bringing some order to the turmoil that exists today in terms of international currency markets? I think the answer is yes.

The Governor of the Bank of Canada was before the finance committee last night. We have had the Minister of Finance before the finance committee last night. They both talked about trying to bring some order to the currency markets around the world. This is one idea I think we should be looking at in terms of trying to bring some of that order.

One of the consequences of technological change and of globalization as we see it today has been the demise in the power of the nation state. I do not thing there is any denying that. But that opens up new opportunities in terms of how we govern ourselves as the

human race. I believe that many of the things we used to do nationally as nation states and country by country we will have to in the future start doing internationally as the borders become more and more erased right around the world.

When we look at the attack on social programs around the world, the environmental problems around the world, the lack of real sovereignty in terms of monetary policy country by country, I think we realize we have to do something about these in common cause with other people around the world. That opens up an exciting vision of the world of tomorrow, a new vision where people regardless of the colour of their skin, regardless of where they live, work together toward a common cause and a common good.

One way of doing it is for the first time to have a small tax on financial transactions applicable around the world. That is one thing we should look at. Private members' hour is the time to do this where we can all vote freely of our party whips and party discipline to say yes or no to the idea. This motion does not bind the government. It says that in the opinion of this House, the government should show leadership and enact a tax on financial transactions in concert with the international community.

The Minister of Finance has made public statements where he is interested in principle in the concept of a Tobin tax. He looked at this very seriously in 1995 at the G-7 conference in Halifax. He had papers commissioned on the Tobin tax at that time.

One of the reasons the Minister of Finance became rather pessimistic on this in the last year or so was that he did not think it would fly because of the government position in Britain and the government in Germany, two big countries in Europe.

In the last year there has been a change in government in both those places. In Britain it is now Tony Blair and the Labour Party and as of three weeks ago in Germany there was the election of Mr. Schroeder and the Social Democrats. In both cases they are governments open to examining the possibility of the Tobin tax to see whether we can work out some method of making this a feasible part of a new world order and new world vision.

It could be an exciting time for our country and our parliament. We should ask the Minister of Finance to take the lead on this very important issue for the world of tomorrow.

As I said, this has been debated before. It began with Mr. Tobin, the economist who won the Nobel prize. It was talked about in October 1987 during the stock market crash around the world. It was also debated in 1984 when the peso in Mexico collapsed, causing a tremendous exodus of capital from that country. The result of that exodus of capital was a tremendous amount of hardship and poverty for the ordinary Mexican person.

The excess capital around the world seeking a safe haven and seeking to make money, although much of that money is going to the United States, has once again precipitated a debate. This is another reason we should be looking at it.

I want to give three examples of the so-called Tobin tax. First, I say to some of my friends who are concerned about tax issues that it is a very small tax; .1% is what is being talked about, maybe even less than that. This would have virtually no impact whatsoever on long term investment in the world, long term investment that is needed in developing and developed countries alike. It would be so small that it would not affect long term investment.

On the other hand, it would deter short term speculation, money that moves into a market for a few minutes, a few hours or a few days and moves out of that market after it makes a short term amount of money on a small margin. This money is sort of slushing back and forth around the world and is operating on very small margins. The effect of this is that it creates great distortions in national economies like Mexico, Brazil or what is happening in Russia today. It even affects us where our dollar is weaker than it should be because a lot of dollars are going to the United States to seek refuge.

It would not have an impact on long term investment but it would bring some semblance of order to the world community and to the boys in red suspenders who are trading currency back and forth like a gigantic casino around the world that affects working people in every country.

It would bring more stability for exporters, importers, investors and the government in terms of planning budgets, public policies and monetary policies of nation states right around the world. It would bring more stability because that great volatility of the casino economy would be tempered to a certain degree.

Finally, as I said, it would reduce the power of the speculators and increase the power of national governments to do more things in their countries and to be able to share increased power through international bodies and organizations. That is the main reason for the so-called Tobin tax, the tax on international transactions.

The second reason for the motion is to raise revenue for worthy projects around the world. This is the secondary objective but it is still a very important objective. Many times we have world disasters and there is a great deal of difficulty trying to raise money for those world disasters. The United States is now in a great debate in terms of what the Americans should pay in terms of a stipend to the United Nations to keep it going, a debate between the Republicans and the Democrats, between the office of the president and Congress.

I remember the disaster in Chernobyl, the great disaster with the reactor in Ukraine and the time it took to get funding and money to help the victims and do the clean-up. There are many purposes the money could be used for in terms of development around the world.

I think of the whole issue of jobs, the economy and the millions of people being thrown out of work now because of what is happening in many parts of the world. Some money could be used for employment and jobs. Some money could be used for peacekeeping, for the mines issue, for medical research and for environmental research and funding. There are many uses for this money.

I will give a few examples. If there were a 0.1% Tobin tax on foreign currency transactions, that would raise, in 1995 dollars, $176 billion U.S. That is a lot of money. A Tobin tax of 0.003% would be enough money to fund United Nations peacekeeping around the world. It could fund the project initiated in large part by our Minister of Foreign Affairs on land mines. There are many worthy causes around the world.

One of the consequences would be the establishment of a global village which would have a common good amongst all nations of the world. There would be a strengthening of international organizations. The United Nations would become a meaningful world government and would share things with national governments around the world. There could be permanent international peacekeeping forces. There are many things that could be done.

How would this be implemented? There are a number of ways of doing it. The International Monetary Fund could be reformed to do it or the World Bank could be reformed to do it. My preference would be a new international financial agency to administer the Tobin tax.

Who would collect the tax? National governments would collect the tax around the world.

The time has come for this country to consider taking leadership in a new idea, in a new vision that seeks to bring some order to the chaos we see around us every day. This cuts across political lines. I differ from time to time with colleagues in other parties, the Reform Party or the government. However, I know from talking to people in the Reform Party, the Liberal Party the Bloc Quebecois and the Progressive Conservative Party that there is a great deal of concern in all of our constituencies.

People feel helpless and hopeless by what they see happening in the stock market today and by what they see happening to our dollar. People were scared last August when the dollar started to plummet and the bank rate went up twice. People are concerned about what is happening in Brazil. Thailand was one of the most successful countries in the world a year or so ago. The Asian tigers were held up as an example of how to run an economy. They were virtually running it on very small debts. All of a sudden it started to tumble down like a deck of cards.

An hon. member: It brought down some of my stocks.

Hon. Lorne Nystrom: It probably brought down some of the member's stocks. I am sure the member for Souris—Moose Mountain will be a very enthusiastic supporter of this motion.

This motion would empower people. It would give back some sovereignty to people through their national governments and through world agencies. Rather than just the law of the jungle with a few people on computers trading on the futures market, the currency markets and the stock markets around the world, it would have a great impact on the lives of so many people.

I want to ask the House to take this motion seriously. It does not say that we should do this by ourselves. Of course we cannot do this by ourselves. It does not say that we should do it along with Zimbabwe and Peru and five or six small countries. It says that we should do it in concert with the international community. To make it work the United States has to be there, the Republic of Germany has to be there, France has to be there, Britain and many of the bigger countries in the world that form the OECD or the G-7 have to be there.

Change only comes if we pursue an idea. Canada is a highly respected country in the world. Canada could start talking about this idea with the new governments in Europe and France. In France there has been a new government in the last year, led by Lionel Jospin of le Parti socialiste français. There are new governments in France, Germany and Britain. With new governments around the world, perhaps we can make some headway. If we do not do this we are going to continue becoming more and more impotent in terms of exercising the power and the sovereignty that people around the world should have.

I look forward to listening to the debate. We should put aside party differences and get behind an idea whose time I think has come. ■

The following document is a private memo circulated to members of the World Federalist Association during their 1999 Fall convention, which was held in downtown Dallas, Texas.

Note: the original document was formatted as a *single page*. However, because of spacing requirements, it was necessary to allow the text to bump onto a second page.

Further note: The acronym "ICC" stands for "International Criminal Court." Not only does this memo demonstrate the larger plans of World Federalists and the United Nations, it gives insight into the work of the World Federalists as an inside agency working to create the International Criminal Court. After reading this document, it should be evident why World Federalists consider the ICC "their baby."

Memo: **To WFA Colleagues at Dallas October 14-17, 1999**
From: Mike Kronisch

At the State of the World Forum in San Francisco on October 6th, one session was on the topic, *The United Nations in Ten Years-in 100 Years*. Halfway through, I started wondering: Why wait 100 years or even 10? So much has happened in just the last 18 months! We have learned a great deal about creating structures for peace. None of these ideas is original. I have simply put them together in light of what has been happening so rapidly. Feedback would be greatly appreciated!

A Democratic UN Federation by 2010: Using the Lessons of 1787 as Repeated in the Proposed ICC

Executive Summary:

Background: Article 109 (1) of the UN Charter provides that any amendment must be approved by two thirds of the members including each of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Nonetheless, review of recent history demonstrates that UN empowerment and charter change are possible.

By-passing the Veto: Because the "Big Five" opposed creation of a permanent ICC, WFM Executive Director, Bill Pace, suggested to a group of Caribbean Presidents that they should take the matter to the General Assembly. They did, and a long series of preparatory conferences culminated I the 1998 meeting in Rome where by a vote of 120 to 7, the majority agreed on a Statute for the ICC which would become operative when the Treaty is ratified by 60 nations. The US voted against approval but the Clinton administration continues to work for US support and eventual ratification.

The Philadelphia/ICC Precedent: At Rome in July 1998, the 120 nations replicated what had occurred in Philadelphia in July 1787. The Articles of Confederation were clear: no amendment would be valid without agreement by each of the 13 states. Therefore, the founders decided that they would not "amend" but write a new document. All 13 states would be welcome, but none would be given the power of a veto. Ratification by #9 would be sufficient. They believed that given time, none of the 13 would choose to stay out of the new federation.

Timing: This is the "Open Moment" that Norman Cousins predicted! The Pinochet matter, the creation of the Temporary Tribunals for former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, the proposed permanent ICC, the indictment of Milosovic, and the events in Kosovo and East Timor have had a tremendous impact on those who follow international developments. News of the UN is not only in every daily newspaper, but is usually found on the front page. Schopenhauer's Stage Two has arrived: our idea is being violently opposed not just by the militia and hate groups but by Senator Jesse Helms, Pat Buchanan and the Reverend Pat Robertson. (See Robertson, *The New World Order*, introduction.) There has been no better opportunity since 1945. Let's not let it slip by!

How to do it: (1) Let's discuss the proposal in Dallas and later in Washington to combine the brilliant ideas of John Logue (who has seen this as the only approach since 1947) and Tad Daly (who sees it as something for the long term future) into a current WFA Campaign for New UN Charter to be launched in the year ????

(2) We (John Anderson, Glenn Olds, Walter Cronkite, Louis B. Sohn, Alan Cranston, Saul Menlovitz, Tad Daly, Ved Nanda, Bill Pace, Dick Hudson, our Advisory Board members and allies in the WFM, CICC, EU and countless others we net-work with) must identify and motivate leadership in the General Assembly to propose an Article 109, General Conference, which will be planned to result in a veto-free New UN Charter with the federal structures it needs.

(3) We should be whispering this open secret to every Year 2000 candidate for national office.

(4) Let us combine to work on the incremental approach (e.g., the four points of our present Campaign to end Genocide) and meanwhile launch this proposal either privately, or publicly or in sequence. ■

William (Bill) Pace, Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement.

Walter Cronkite has long been called the "most trusted man in America." Yet there is a side to Mr. Cronkite that few have seen – it's his candid endorsement for world government.

In 1999, Mr. Cronkite received the World Federalist Association Norman Cousins Global Governance Award. Attendees at the acceptance banquet included United Nations First Lady Nane Annan, Ed Bradley of *60 Minutes*, actor and actress Michael Douglas and Catherine Zeta-Jones, Senator Alan Cranston (former WFA President), journalist Lesley Stahl, and numerous staff and upper-level officials from the World Federalist Association. First Lady Hillary Clinton, unable to attend, sent a video feed congratulating and praising Cronkite for fighting for "the way it could be."

Below is the complete and official text as sent from WFA headquarters to its membership. Interestingly, one version of this speech omits Cronkite's open bashing of the "religious right wing." This "altered" version was circulated at the United Religious Initiative/WFA meeting in Washington DC, November 13, 1999.

World Federalist Association

1999 Norman Cousins Global Governance Award

On October 19, 1999

Acceptance Remarks by Walter Cronkite

(Extemporaneous Remarks Excluded)

I am greatly honored to receive this Norman Cousins Global Governance Award for two reasons:

First, I believe as Norman Cousins did that the first priority of humankind in this era is to establish an effective system of world law that will assure peace with justice among the peoples of the world.

Second, I feel sentimental about this award because half a century ago Norman offered me a job as spokesman and Washington lobbyist for the World Federalist organization, which was then in its infancy.

I chose instead to continue in the world of journalism. For many years, I did my best to report on the issues of the day in as objective a manner as possible. When I had my own strong opinions, as I often did, I tried not to communicate them to my audience.

Now, however, my circumstances are different. I am in a position to speak my mind. And that is what I propose to do.

Those of us who are living today can influence the future of civilization. We can influence whether our planet will drift into chaos and violence, or whether through a monumental educational and political effort we will achieve a world of peace under a system of law where individual violators of that law are brought to justice.

[pages 1-2]

For most of this fairly long life I have been an optimist harboring a belief that as our globe shrank, as our communication miracles brought us closer together, we would begin to appreciate the commonality of our universal desire to live in peace and that we would do something to satisfy that yearning of all peoples. Today I find it harder to cling to that hope.

For how many thousands of years now have we humans been what we insist on calling "civilized?" And yet, in total contradiction, we also persist in the savage belief that we must occasionally, at least, settle our arguments by killing one another.

While we spend much of our time and a great deal of our treasure in preparing for war, we see no comparable effort to establish a lasting peace. Meanwhile, emphasizing the sloth in this regard, those advocates who work for world peace by urging a system of world government are called impractical dreamers. Those impractical dreamers are entitled to ask their critics what is practical about war.

It seems to many of us that if we are to avoid the eventual catastrophic world conflict we must strengthen the United Nations as a first step toward a world government patterned after our own government with a legislature, executive and judiciary, and police to enforce its international laws and keep the peace.

To do that, of course, we Americans will have to yield up some of our sovereignty. That would be a bitter pill. It would take a lot of courage, a lot of faith in the new order.

But the American colonies did it once and brought forth one of the most nearly perfect unions the world has ever seen.

The circumstances were vastly different, obviously. While the colonies differed on many questions, at least the people of the colonies were the same Anglo-Saxon stock. Yet just because the task appears forbiddingly hard, we should not shirk it.

We cannot defer this responsibility to posterity. Time will not wait. Democracy, civilization itself, is at stake. Within the next few years we must change the basic structure of our global community from the present anarchic system of war and ever more destructive weaponry to a new system governed by a democratic UN federation.

[pages 2-3]

I suppose I'm preaching to the choir here. So let's not talk generalities but focus tonight on a few specifics of what the leadership of the World Federalist Movement believe must be done now to advance the rule of world law.

For starters, we can draw on the wisdom of the framers of the US Constitution in 1787. The differences among the American states then were as bitter as differences among the nation-states in the world today.

In their almost miraculous insight, the founders of our country invented "federalism," a concept that is rooted in the rights of the individual. Our federal system guarantees a maximum of freedom but provides it in a framework of law and justice.

Our forefathers believed that the closer the laws are to the people, the better. Cities legislate on local matters; states make decisions on matters within their borders; and the national government deals with issues that transcend the states, such as interstate commerce and foreign relations. That is federalism.

Today we must develop federal structures on a global level. We need a system of enforceable world law – a democratic federal world government – to deal with world problems.

What Alexander Hamilton wrote about the need for law among the 13 states applies today to the approximately 200 sovereignties in our global village:

"To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties in the same neighborhood, would be to disregard the uniform course of human events, and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages."

Today the notion of unlimited national sovereignty means international anarchy. We must replace the anarchic law of force with a civilized force of law.

Ours will neither be a perfect world, nor a world without disagreement and occasional violence. But it will be a world where the overwhelming majority of national leaders will consistently abide by the rule of world law, and those who won't will be dealt with effectively and with due process by the structures of that same world law. We will never have a city without crime, but we would never want to live in a city that had no system of law to deal with the [pages 3-4] criminals who will always be with us.

Let me make three suggestions for immediate action that would move us in a direction firmly in the American tradition of law and democracy.

1. Keep our promises: We helped create the UN and to develop the UN assessment formula. Americans overwhelmingly want us to pay our UN dues, with no crippling limitations. We owe it to the world. In fact, we owe it as well to our national self-esteem.

2. Ratify the Treaty to Ban Land Mines, the Law of the Sea Treaty, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Convention to Eliminate All forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Most important, we should sign and ratify the Treaty for a Permanent International Criminal Court. That Court will enable the world to hold individuals accountable for crimes against humanity.

3. Consider, after 55 years, the possibility of a more representative and democratic system of decision making at the UN. This should include both revision of the Veto in the Security Council and adoption of a weighted voting system for the General Assembly. The World Federalists have endorsed Richard Hudson's Binding Triad proposal. George Soros, in his recent book, "The Crisis of Global

   Capitalism" has given serious attention to this concept which would be based upon not only one-nation-one-vote but also, on population and contributions to the UN budget. Resolutions adopted by majorities in each of these three areas

would be binding, enforceable law. Within the powers given to it in the Charter, the UN could then deal with matters of reliable financing, a standing UN Peace force, development, the environment and human rights.

Some of you may ask why the Senate is not ratifying these important treaties and why the Congress is not paying our UN dues. Even as with the American rejection of the League of Nations, our failure to live up to our obligations to the United Nations is led by a handful of willful senators who choose to pursue their narrow, selfish political objectives at the cost of our nation's conscience.

[page 4-5]

They pander to and are supported by the Christian Coalition and the rest of the religious right wing. Their leader, Pat Robertson, has written that we should have a world government but only when the messiah arrives. Any attempt to achieve world order before that time must be the work of the Devil!

This small but well-organized group, has intimidated both the Republican Party and the Clinton administration. It has attacked each of our Presidents since FDR for supporting the United Nations. Robertson explains that these Presidents were and are the unwitting agents of Lucifer.

The only way we who believe in the vision of a democratic world federal government can effectively overcome this reactionary movement is to organize a strong educational counteroffensive stretching from the most publicly visible people in all fields to the humblest individuals in every community. That is the vision and program of the World Federalist Association.

The strength of the World Federalist program would serve an important auxiliary purpose at this particular point in our history. There would be immediate diplomatic advantages in just the world knowledge that this country was even beginning to explore the prospect of strengthening the UN.

We would appear before the peoples of the world as the champion of peace for all by the equitable sharing of power. This in sharp contrast to the growing concern that we intend to use our current dominant military power to enforce a sort of pax Americana.

Our country today is at a stage in our foreign policy similar to that crucial point in our nation's early history when our Constitution was produced in Philadelphia.

Let us hear the peal of a new international liberty bell that calls us all to the creation of a system of enforceable world law in which the universal desire for peace can place its hope and prayers.

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

The following document is an internal working paper from the United Nations Millennium Forum (May 22-26, 2000), Thematic Working Group Six – the body of individuals responsible to formulate the Forum's strategy towards United Nations empowerment. This particular discussion paper focused on finding monetary solutions in order to fund the UN and its various programs and agencies. Each point below represents a divergence from the present way in which the UN is funded. The brief but important paragraph on *Special Drawing Rights and Currency* and the section on *Global Taxes and Fees* is of particular note

United Nations Millennium Forum

Theme Six Working Group: Strengthening and Democratizing the United Nations and International Organizations

6.2 Funding the United Nations and UN System Organization

The United Nations and the UN System suffer from a deep financial crisis. The UN's regular budget of $1.2 billion (about 3% of the budget of the City of New York) is far too small and unpaid assessments are dangerously in arrears. The UN's peacekeeping budget (currently about $2 billion, compared to $850 billion spent annually for the world's military budgets) is not nearly large enough to support serious peacekeeping operations and adequate headquarters support. Almost all UN system agencies and funds (whose joint budgets amount to about $7 billion) have suffered from budget cuts and reduced voluntary contributions from member states in recent years. As a result, the UN has been forced to cut back vital activities for peace, health, refugee aid, human rights, the environment and other vital needs.

1. *Substantial Increases for the Regular and Peacekeeping Budgets*

The UN cannot carry out its many urgent tasks without substantially more resources and more staff for the regular budget. This budget could be doubled immediately, to very good effect. The UN's budget problems have also had a serious negative effect on peacekeeping, where the current budget crisis is even deeper. If all states would pay their peacekeeping dues as a matter of law, United Nations peacekeeping would be enormously strengthened and could be expanded to meet the many pressing needs.

2. *Payments on Time, in Full and without Conditions*

Member payments of regular budget assessments should be strictly payable by January 31st, in full and without any conditions. Strict penalties should accrue to late payments. We not with alarm that the United States currently owes $1.78 billion for its regular budget and peacekeeping assessments and arrears (about twice as much as all other member states combined) and is the only country that openly withholds dues on political grounds.

3. *Simplification of Assessment System*

The assessment system should be simplified so that each member state pays contributions based on its share of global GNP in the previous year. No caps, floors or

special adjustments should be made to this rule, in the interest of simplicity, clarity and fairness.

4. *Penalize and Eliminate Arrears*

Arrears cannot be allowed to accumulate or to continue for a long period. Members' arrears should be penalized according to a rising set us [sic] strictures. First, all arrears beyond a full year from the due date should be charged at a penalty rate of interest. Arrears that are still due at the end of the second year should be charged interest at an even higher rate, lead automatically to loss of vote in the General Assembly (re-interpreted Article 19) and possibly also trigger a loss of some or all privileges in the organization like elected offices, right of Security Council membership or veto, etc.

4. *Create Robust Reserve Funds* [Note: point number typo in the original – the number should be 5. The mistake has been left as it appears in the original paper]

The UN must have far more adequate reserve funds. At present, it has two small reserve funds totaling about $200 million. In future, the UN must be provided with reserve funds of at least $1 billion, as the Secretary General has requested, for both the regular budget and the peacekeeping accounts, allowing funding flexibility and instant funding of urgent peacekeeping missions. Such reserve funds could be built up over a ten-year period on a basis of assessment.

5. *Authorize Borrowing*

To supplement its reserve funds, the UN should be permitted to borrow funds (including bond-issuing). Borrowing could help the organization meet temporary cash flow needs or longer-term mortgage-type requirements such as funding urgent building repairs.

6. *Raise Budgets of Agencies and Funds*

Most agencies and funds have recently suffered cuts in their budgets, especially UNDP [Note: the UNDP stands for the United Nations Development Programme], an agency that play's a key coordinating role for the UN presence in most developing countries. These budgets must be substantially raised if the UN system is to be able to respond effectively to the many challenges it faces. A doubling of their budgets with special strengthening in some neglected areas like the environment could fulfill many urgent tasks and mandates.

7. *Shift towards Assessments over Voluntary Funding by Member States*

Voluntary contributions by member states are always welcome, but the UN system depends far too much on voluntarily funding for key activities and emergency programs like relief and refugee aid. Voluntary funding can fall far short of needs and may be sacrificed to less important priorities or military spending at the national level. Ad hoc voluntary funds are particularly prone to failure. Though set up to meet real needs and concerns, they tend to attract only the most minimal contributions. To correct this, the UN should move to steadily broaden its assessments and narrow the program areas depending on voluntary contributions. At the same time, voluntary contributions for supplemental programs would always be welcome.

8. *Cautious and More Democratic Approach to Private Funding Strategy*

Really, the UN and its system organizations have tried to overcome falling income from member states by tapping charitable private voluntary funds – especially

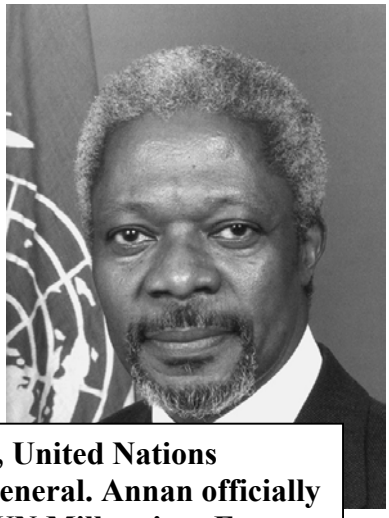
from wealthy individuals, foundations and corporations. Such sources should be tapped cautiously, as dependence on them could undercut the intergovernmental decision-making process. Multiple sources of revenue have advantages, as the case of UNICEF demonstrates, and the UN should consider appeals to ordinary citizens and citizen organizations for direct contributions. But the UN should concentrate on improving its income from alternative international public sources.

9. ***Special Drawing Rights and Currency***

The UN should consider the use of Special Drawing Rights as a source of funding. The UN also might consider the issuance of international currency.

10. ***Create Global Taxes and Fees***

UN discussion of global taxes and fees has been stifled by the threat of funding cutoff by a single member state. This blackmail must be rejected and the UN must vigorously explore the possibilities of alternative funding from such sources, as has been proposed by many member states and NGOs. The UN should set up expert groups and begin the necessary intergovernmental negotiations towards establishing such revenue sources, which could include fees for the commercial use of the oceans, fees for airplane se of the skies, fees for the use of the electromagnetic spectrum, arms export taxes, fees levied on foreign exchange transactions [Note: this is known as the Tobin Tax], and a tax on carbon content of fuels. Many other proposal exist. New taxing and revenue-raising instruments would have to be accompanied by strong new means of oversight, based on further democratization of the UN system. ■



Kofi Annan, United Nations Secretary General. Annan officially opened the UN Millennium Forum.

Photo taken inside one of the special working sessions of the UN Millennium Forum.

The following is an International Monetary Fund announcement for a one day conference (November 8, 2000) on creating a single world currency. The proceedings of this event, which incorporates approximately twenty pages of text, can be found on the IMF website. Note: bold text and italics in the original.

One World, One Currency: Destination or Delusion?

Wednesday, November 8, 2000, 3:00-4:30 p.m.
International Monetary Fund
IMF Auditorium, Red Level, (R-710)
700 19th Street, N.W.

As perceptions grow that the world is gradually segmenting into a few regional currency blocs, the logical extension of such a trend also emerges as a theoretical possibility: a single world currency. If so many countries see benefits from currency integration, would a world currency not maximize these benefits?

The dollar bloc, already underpinned by the strength of the U.S. economy, has been extended further by dollarization and regional free trade pacts. The euro bloc represents an economic union that is intended to become a full political union likely to expand into Central and Eastern Europe. A yen bloc may emerge from current proposals for Asian monetary cooperation. A currency union may emerge among Mercosur members in Latin America, a geographical currency zone already exists around the South African rand, and a merger of the Australian and New Zealand dollars is a perennial topic in Oceania. Arguments can persuasively be made on both sides of the issue:

- The same commercial efficiencies, economies of scale, and physical imperatives that drive *regional* currencies together also presumably exist on the next level – the *global* scale. Why not maximize the benefits for all through a single currency for the ultimate geographical unit – the world?

- The smaller and more vulnerable economies of the world – those that the international community is now trying hardest to help – would have most to gain from the certainty and stability that would accompany a single world currency.

Or, conversely:

- The travails of the euro since its introduction last year are a stark reminder of the dangers of corralling different and divergent economies into a single currency, however advanced they may be. True single-currency candidates require international replication that is not found among real, functioning, market economies.

- Under a single regional currency, normal cyclical movements in a country's macroeconomic indicators suddenly become threats to regional stability that must be muffled or suppressed, irrespective of their self-correcting impetus or the economic signals they are transmitting.

These and other issues will be addressed by three panelists at this forum:

Robert Mundell, Professor of Economics at Columbia University in New York, is known as the father of the theory of optimum currency areas. He has written extensively on the history of the international monetary system and played a significant role in the founding of the euro. He won the 1999 Nobel Prize for Economics.

Maurice Obstfeld, Professor of Economics at the University of California, Berkeley, has interests in international finance and economics and has served as a consultant for the IMF, the World Bank, the European Commission, and several central banks.

Paul Masson, senior advisor, IMF Research Department, has modeled the credibility of monetary policy, studied aspects of European integration, and written on exchange rate regimes and, most recently, on a project for a West African currency area.

The forum will be moderated by **Alexander Swoboda**, senior policy advisor at the IMF Research Department, whose brief includes work on the new architecture of the international monetary and financial system and on exchange rate regimes. ■

In early 2001, an interesting House Resolution was tabled in the US Congress. HR 938 called for the establishment of a United Nations commanded and controlled rapid reaction military force. Not surprisingly, the World Federalist Association and the Campaign for UN Reform (a WFA linked lobby group) strongly supported this Bill.

Below is the text of House Resolution 938. Following this text is the complete list of Congressional cosponsors. H.R. 938 eventually made its way to the House Committee on International Relations, but it never became public law.

HR 938 IH

107th CONGRESS
1st Session
H. R. 938

To enhance the capability of the United Nations to rapidly respond to emerging crises.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
March 8, 2001

Mr. MCGOVERN (for himself, Mr. HOUGHTON, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. FRANK, and Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations.

A BILL

To enhance the capability of the United Nations to rapidly respond to emerging crises.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the 'United Nations Rapid Deployment Act of 2001'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds the following:

(1) The December 1999 United Nations 'Report on the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda' indicates that in April 1994, the United Nations Security Council failed to deploy 5,500 United Nations peacekeepers to Rwanda within two weeks of the initial violence, thereby allowing the conflict to escalate. The six-month estimated cost of the deployment would have been $115,000,000. Instead, the genocide consumed 800,000 lives along with $2,000,000,000 in humanitarian aid.

(2) The April 2000 report of the United Nations Secretary General, 'We the Peoples, The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century', states that only member nations of the United Nations can fix the structural weakness of United Nations peace operations. The report compares the current system for launching peacekeeping operations to a volunteer fire department that has to find fire engines and the funds to run them before starting to douse any flames. The present United Nations system relies almost entirely on last minute, ad hoc arrangements that guarantee delay, with respect to the provision of civilian personnel even more so than military personnel. Availability and readiness of forces is very unpredictable and constraints on resources preclude rapid deployment.

(3) In August 2000, the specially-appointed panel on United Nations Peace Operations issued its findings. Known as the 'Brahimi Report' (A/55/305; S/2000/809), the report concludes that 'few of the basic building blocks are in place for the United Nations to rapidly acquire and deploy the human and material resources required to mount any complex peace operation in the future'. These building blocks include a standing police corps, a reserve corps of mission leadership, a sufficient stockpile of equipment, and arrangements for recruitment of civilian personnel. Furthermore, the report encourages member nations to enter partnerships with one another in the context of the United Nations Stand-by Arrangements System (UNSAS). These partnerships would form the basis for Rapid Deployment Brigades (RDBs), which would develop the operational capabilities to fully deploy 'traditional' peacekeeping operations within 30 days of the adoption of an authorizing Security Council resolution and to fully deploy 'complex' peacekeeping operations within 90 days of the adoption of an authorizing Security Council resolution.

(4) Former United States Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke, speaking before the United Nations Security Council on November 15, 2000, stated that '[u]nless we move decisively on meaningful peacekeeping reform, those that threaten peacekeepers across the globe may draw the conclusion that the UN lacks the will, the cohesion and even the capability to perform its essential peacekeeping function'.

(5) Both the nations of Europe and the United States have recognized the value and need for rapidly deployable combat units in response to a full spectrum of contingencies, including peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, low-intensity conflicts, and full-scale warfare. The European Union has proposed forming a standing police force and rapid deployment brigades as part of the European Defense Force, and in the United States, the Department of Defense is establishing interim brigade combat teams as part of the overall Army transformation strategy.

(6) The United States' veto power in the United Nations Security Council gives it the capacity to halt the deployment of United Nations forces if the deployment is not in the national interests of the United States.

SEC. 3. ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED NATIONS RAPID DEPLOYMENT POLICE AND SECURITY FORCE.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT– The President shall direct the United States representative to the United Nations to use the voice, vote, and influence of the United States to urge the United Nations –

(1) to establish a United Nations Rapid Deployment Police and Security Force (UNRDPSF) that –

(A) is rapidly deployable under the authority of the United Nations Security Council;

(B) should be able to deploy within 15 days of a United Nations Security Council resolution to establish international peace operations;

(C) is limited to a maximum deployment of six months for any given mission;

(D) should be deployed only when the United Nations Security Council determines that violations of human rights, breaches of the peace, or the failure to restore the rule of law, requires rapid response to ensure adherence to negotiated agreements to prevent or end hostilities;

(E) should be composed of at least 6,000 volunteers who train together and are appropriately equipped expressly for international peace operations, including civilian policing; and

(F) should be given the authority to protect itself, execute negotiated peace accords, disarm combatants, protect civilians, detain war criminals, restore the rule of law, and to carry out other purposes as detailed in United Nations Security Council resolutions;

(2) to recruit personnel to serve in the Force; and

(3) to provide equitable and reliable funding for the Force.

(b) DEFINITION – In this section, the term 'international peace operations' means any operation carried out under a United Nations Security Council resolution.

SEC. 4. ESTABLISHMENT OF RAPID DEPLOYMENT BRIGADES.

In order to promote the development of human and material resources for United Nations peacekeeping operations as recommended by the August 2000 Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (A/55/305; S/2000/809), commonly known as the 'Brahimi Report', the President –

(1) shall direct the Secretary of State and the United States representative to the United Nations to encourage the member nations of the United Nations to enter into partnerships with one another, in the context of the United Nations Stand-by Arrangements System (UNSAS), to form the basis for Rapid Deployment Brigades, which would develop the operational capabilities to fully deploy 'traditional' peacekeeping operations within 30 days of the adoption of a Security Council resolution and 'complex' peacekeeping operations within 90 days of the adoption of a Security Council resolution; and

(2) shall direct the Secretary of Defense to undertake a study, not later than six months after the date of the enactment of this Act, to determine the advisability of and the feasibility of using interim combat brigade teams as part of Rapid Deployment Brigades as described in paragraph (1).

SEC. 5. REPORT ON UNITED NATIONS RAPID DEPLOYMENT.

Not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall prepare and transmit to the Congress a report on –

(1) the status of negotiations to establish a United Nations Rapid Deployment Police and Security Force (UNRDPSF) in accordance with section 3;

(2) the status of United States activities to encourage member nations of the United Nations to establish Rapid Deployment Brigades in accordance with section 4(1); and

(3) the results of the study conducted under section 4(2).

Cosponsors to H.R. 938

Rep Allen, Thomas H. - 3/13/2001 [ME-1]

Rep Baca, Joe - 11/8/2001 [CA-42]

Rep Baldacci, John Elias - 5/23/2002 [ME-2]

Rep Baldwin, Tammy - 3/29/2001 [WI-2]

Rep Berman, Howard L. - 3/13/2001 [CA-26]

Rep Blumenauer, Earl - 11/28/2001 [OR-3]

Rep Brown, Sherrod - 6/28/2001 [OH-13]

Rep Capuano, Michael E. - 3/15/2001 [MA-8]

Rep Clay, Wm. Lacy - 3/20/2001 [MO-1]

Rep Cooksey, John - 7/31/2001 [LA-5]

Rep Coyne, William J. - 6/5/2001 [PA-14]

Rep Cummings, Elijah E. - 5/23/2001 [MD-7]

Rep Davis, Danny K. - 11/15/2001 [IL-7]

Rep DeGette, Diana - 3/29/2001 [CO-1]

Rep Delahunt, William D. - 5/10/2001 [MA-10]

Rep Eshoo, Anna G. - 5/10/2001 [CA-14]

Rep Fattah, Chaka - 3/20/2001 [PA-2]

Rep Filner, Bob - 5/10/2001 [CA-50]

Rep Frank, Barney - 3/8/2001 [MA-4]

Rep Greenwood, James C. - 12/18/2001 [PA-8]

Rep Hastings, Alcee L. - 4/9/2002 [FL-23]

Rep Hilliard, Earl F. - 9/6/2001 [AL-7]

Rep Hinchey, Maurice D. - 11/8/2001 [NY-26]

Rep Hoeffel, Joseph M. - 4/25/2002 [PA-13]

Rep Honda, Michael M. - 8/2/2001 [CA-15]

Rep Houghton, Amo - 3/8/2001 [NY-31]

Rep Jackson, Jesse L., Jr. - 4/30/2002 [IL-2]

Rep Jackson-Lee, Sheila - 8/1/2001 [TX-18]

Rep Johnson, Eddie Bernice - 5/10/2001 [TX-30]

Rep Kaptur, Marcy - 3/20/2001 [OH-9]

Rep Kucinich, Dennis J. - 8/2/2001 [OH-10]

Rep Lantos, Tom - 3/13/2001 [CA-12]

Rep Leach, James A. - 7/31/2001 [IA-1]

Rep Lee, Barbara - 5/10/2001 [CA-9]

Rep Lewis, John - 3/8/2001 [GA-5]

Rep Lofgren, Zoe - 8/1/2001 [CA-16]

Rep McKinney, Cynthia A. - 5/10/2001 [GA-4]

Rep Meeks, Gregory W. - 9/6/2001 [NY-6]

Rep Millender-McDonald, Juanita - 3/8/2001 [CA-37]

Rep Miller, George - 7/30/2001 [CA-7]

Rep Morella, Constance A. - 4/4/2001 [MD-8]

Rep Olver, John W. - 3/20/2001 [MA-1]

Rep Payne, Donald M. - 7/31/2001 [NJ-10]

Rep Pelosi, Nancy - 3/8/2001 [CA-8]

Rep Sawyer, Tom - 5/23/2001 [OH-14]

Rep Schakowsky, Janice D. - 3/13/2001 [IL-9]

Rep Slaughter, Louise McIntosh - 4/9/2002 [NY-28]

Rep Tierney, John F. - 5/10/2001 [MA-6]

Rep Towns, Edolphus - 7/24/2001 [NY-10]

Rep Udall, Mark - 6/7/2001 [CO-2]

Rep Waters, Maxine - 11/28/2001 [CA-35]

Rep Watson, Diane E. - 1/24/2002 [CA-32]

Rep Watt, Melvin L. - 11/28/2001 [NC-12]

Rep Waxman, Henry A. - 4/4/2001 [CA-29]

Rep Woolsey, Lynn C. - 3/20/2001 [CA-6]

Rep Wynn, Albert Russell - 4/4/2001 [MD-4] ■

The European Federalist Movement is an organization dedicated to promoting regional super-national government structures as part and parcel of a federated world government. This "contribution" was distributed at the Genoa Social Forum (July 2001), an event which brought together advocates of political world socialism.

A United Europe for a United World
A contribution by the European Federalist Movement to the debate on global democracy at the Genoa Social Forum, 14-22 July 2001.

A Different World Is Possible With A World Federal Government

A different organization of the world's economic and political activities is necessary to face the big challenges that involve all the peoples living on earth. In particular, supranational democratic institutions should be able to control the process of globalization in order to rebalance the distribution of world welfare: only 20% of the world population benefits 83% of the whole planet resources.

Disarmament, the issues of sustainable development of economics, the drop of the international debts of poor countries, the taxation of financial transactions – to name only a few of the very well known challenges we have to deal with – demand a democratic institution representing all the citizens of the world and all continental associations (EU, AU, NAFTA, ASEAN, MERCOSUR, ASEAN, UA).

The application of the Federalist principle of subsidiarity at all levels means a distribution of political and institutional powers that, starting from local regions, could arrive to the entire world. Democracy, in fact, can't stop at the level of national governments but must reach supranational institutions. Federalism may guarantee unity in diversity because it allows the maintenance of local cultures and, at the same time, the common management of world challenges. Only in a pluralistic society peace and stability can be found.

Thanks to the principle of "global governance", which according to UN's definition, means governance without the presence of a world government over single states, the leaders of national governments meet to discuss about the issues involving the common interests of humankind, signing a final declaration that doesn't bind anyone because they are without the power of applying sanctions for it.

"Governance" is a mystification that justifies the maintaining of the national sovereignty. Instead, globalization process has to be ruled through the institution of a power supported by all the citizens of the world.

A world democratic government is not only necessary but possible.

Those who are not critics about the national state institutions and search solutions only at a national level ends up playing the game of conservatism. The true revolutionary aim is to create a World Federal State. In a world federation people from all over the world could act on the base of a common right in order to face together the issues of global interdependence: the mass poverty of the so-named third world countries, the international massive emigrations, the defense of the environment and the ecological conversion of polluting technologies, the fight against business monopolies and the international financial speculation, the international disarmament and peace.

The different social and cultural sources of all the organizations that have subscribed the Genoa Social Forum represent a great richness and a positive signal in a more and more politically uninvolved and selfish society. Together with the Genoa Social Forum we are proceeding a step further on respect to the Seattle movement. This means that from the simple protest we are now moving toward the formulation of proposals that represent a necessary and possible alternative to the model imposed by institutions such as G8, WTO, WB that take decisions concerning the lives of all citizens in the world without having democratic legitimacy.

The United Nations, with a federal reform, could constitute the beginning of a world democratic government.

Civil society must become the main actor of its own destiny counterbalancing the economic globalization with the democratic globalization of human rights and politics. ■

Late in October 2003, the Socialist International – a worldwide organization that promotes global socialism and networks with a wide range of national political parties – released their Declaration of São Paulo, which calls for global governance structures to be established through a strengthened and empowered United Nations.

North American political parties that hold full membership in the Socialist International include, USA – the Democratic Socialists of America, and the Social Democrats USA; Canada – New Democratic Party [which holds power in the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan]; Mexico – Party of Democratic Revolution and the International Revolutionary Party.

According to the New Democratic Party national website, "Today, parties affiliated to the Social International form the governments or are in government coalitions in most member states of the European Community. They include the United Kingdom, Germany, France, the Netherlands and Sweden."

XXII Congress of the Socialist International
São Paulo, 27-29 October 2003

— Declaration of São Paulo —

1. The Socialist International, the global movement of social democratic, socialist and labour parties, holding its XXII Congress in São Paulo at the invitation of the Partido dos Trabalhadores, calls on all socially and politically progressive people and organisations to come together in a global coalition to promote a new world order based on a new

multilateralism for peace, security, sustainable development, social justice, democracy, respect for human rights and gender equality.

2. The intense globalisation process, of markets and economies as well as technology, communications and cultural exchange, has accelerated for some the creation of wealth and increases in productivity and trade — but at an unacceptable cost: the widening of the gap between rich and poor countries, and between rich people and poor people in countries of both the North and the South.

At the same time, the world is witnessing ever greater threats to peace, the emergence and deepening of regional conflicts, the possible connection of terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction, the revival of religious fundamentalism, exacerbated nationalism, increasing racist and xenophobic attitudes and all forms of discrimination.

3. The current system of global governance, established in the aftermath of the World War II, needs reform to be able to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Neoconservatives are attempting to exploit the situation to dismantle all forms of global governance, to minimise the role of the United Nations, to undermine multilateral institutions, to promote unilateralism and the consecration of the market, and to impose the will of the powerful to decide the future of mankind.

We need to improve the work of the international community, to modernise and strengthen multilateral institutions to further our collective interests. The International is steadfastly working to mobilise all the world's progressives to define and implement a comprehensive strategy for sustainable development and reform of the global system of governance. The goal is to shape globalisation so that it provides opportunity for all, making world markets work for everyone and to establish an effective system of multilateral governance, based on the rule of law and a more balanced, more just architecture of international relations, with a reformed and modernised United Nations as its cornerstone.

As was the case after World War II, a new vision is needed based on the enforcement of international law, more effective regulation of world markets and more democratic, accountable and efficient global institutions to formulate and carry out policies on behalf of people everywhere.

4. The international community must be able to act to preserve and enforce peace, promote security and guarantee respect for fundamental human rights, including their full enjoyment by women and girls, wherever they are threatened or under attack. Intervention, however, must be based on clear evidence and criteria, as well as adherence to international law that combine respect for both the sovereignty of nations and the sovereignty of their citizens, and must be carried out in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations.

The International therefore believes that reform of the United Nations cannot be delayed any longer and will continue to be strongly engaged in the process. Achieving lasting peace and security requires that the United Nations Charter be updated to meet today's new challenges, and that the Security Council be reformed to make it more representative, democratic and responsive.

5. Peace is not simply the absence of war, but the result of international relations that are well managed and coordinated on the basis of fairness, justice and a commitment to the common good. This is particularly important when addressing the growing threat of terrorism.

The condemnation of terrorism must be unconditional. There can be no excuses, for nothing, not even the poverty and injustice endured by so many people today, can justify terrorist acts.

However, confronting terrorism cannot come at the cost of sacrificing freedom and human rights, or through the double standard of supporting so-called friendly dictatorships. It must also be remembered that justice, social cohesion and cultural and religious tolerance remain important factors in promoting peace and stability at the local, national and global levels, and for making it more difficult for terrorists to recruit desperate people into their groups.

6. The global divide between poverty and wealth has reached intolerable proportions and the mounting pressure on natural resources makes the current model of globalisation unsustainable. Social inequality is worsening and undermining the stability of societies in more and more countries. And while the percentage of the world's population living in absolute poverty is declining, the number of people struggling to survive in such poverty has never been higher, as nearly three billion people now live on less than two dollars per day**,** most of them being women.

At the same time, the benefits of expanding global trade and foreign direct investment remain mostly in the North. For hundreds of millions of workers, basic labour and social rights remain a distant dream and a privilege of those in wealthy nations. Most people in the world lack any form of social protection, while a small minority in many poorer countries enjoy enormous wealth.

The Socialist International therefore believes that a central challenge for our world today is to make it possible for developing countries to catch up, but without endangering the global ecological balance. This must be the basis of a global program for sustainable development in three dimensions — economic, social and environmental.

7. For the Socialist International a comprehensive and balanced strategy for sustainable development must be based on a New Global Deal, which would require that:

- developing countries improve their integration in the global economy, build their national capacity in institutional, economic, technological and educational terms, fight against poverty, improve working conditions as well as the access of women to the labour market, and control major ecological imbalances.
- developed countries open their markets to exports from developing countries, encourage good investment in poorer parts of the World to enhance more balanced development, strengthen cooperation and increase financial aid to developing countries and move toward sustainable consumption and production patterns in ways that preserve social cohesion.

The Socialist International recognises that positive elements for a new global agenda already partially exist in:

- the Millennium Development goals adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2000
- the Monterrey Consensus that agreed in early 2002 a commitment to improve financial instruments for development
- the Plan for Sustainable Development adopted at the World Summit in Johannesburg in 2002
- the Development Round of negotiations in international trade launched in Doha in 2001, with a commitment to focus more on developing countries.

  These positive elements should be fully supported. Nonetheless, efforts to fulfil [sic] these commitments have been frustrated because:

- development goals have been pushed aside with the argument that security concerns must be given priority
- narrow self-interest continues to undermine the Doha Development Round, most recently in Cancún, where egoism and the drive to protect markets in developed countries, particularly for agriculture, led to a collapse of negotiations
- not enough progress has been made on changing the so-called Washington Consensus, and developing countries have not yet been given a powerful enough voice in the Bretton Woods institutions that remain unable to adequately respond to development challenges or manage financial crises and economic downturns.

The Socialist International recognises that the obstacles to more balanced global economy and a more just world are more political than technical and therefore must be overcome through political efforts. The International therefore embraces a global agenda for sustainable development that includes the following ten points, all crucial for guaranteeing that globalisation works for all:

- **i)** International trade as an engine for growth and employment must include unhindered access to markets in the developed world for exports from developing countries, especially agricultural and other labour-intensive products**,** also taking into account that most of farmers are women.
- **ii)** The current digital divide must be turned into international digital opportunities for all, men and women. Knowledge is becoming the main source of wealth, but can also be the main source of inequalities. Developing countries therefore must leapfrog into the digital economy and the North should help them by launching an inclusion plan for the developing world involving public-private partnerships and technological transfers.
- **iii)** Turning sustainable development into growth opportunities, by fostering ongoing and undertaking new initiatives to promote environmentally sustainable development in agriculture, energy and transport, and tapping into the employment opportunities this would create.
- **iv)** Adopting a fresh approach to development policies that would combine new trade opportunities, incentives for foreign investment, promoting entrepreneurship, building national productive capacity and social infrastructure

and increasing accountability. In developing countries**,** the stabilisation policies should allow greater fiscal flexibility for investment and enhanced spending, particularly on education, health and social development. At the same time, debt relief must be accelerated and development aid expanded**,** as decided in the UN (0.7% of GNP), in connection with a concerted poverty reduction strategy.

- **v)** Instituting better regulation, accountability and supervision of financial systems to enhance the prospects for sustainable growth and development.
- **vi)** Investing in people by raising educational levels and providing training for all and incorporating advanced teaching techniques to guarantee the most skilled work force possible. Information technologies should play a key role in improving the quality of education and creating new employment opportunities.
- **vii)** Providing adequate and efficient quality healthcare for all with special attention to women and women's reproductive rights which should be protected from any kind of intimidation. Access to life-saving and essential medicines must be a priority in order to combat contagious diseases worldwide.
- **viii)** Fostering employability and a more skilled and versatile work force through active labour market policies that would include efforts against all forms of discrimination and providing greater assistance and training for the working poor to upgrade their skill levels. A safety net for social protection has proved to be crucial for people struggling to adapt to change. Specific strategies are needed for the informal economy. Better integration policies and better cooperation between host and origin countries are necessary to humanise migration flows.
- **ix)** Tackling drug related crime and money laundering by strengthening international cooperation with shared responsibility, reducing both supply and demand**,** involving civil society in preventing and treating drug use and providing technological and trade support to alternative productions in poor countries.
- **x)** Placing greater emphasis on the provision of global public services, especially with regard to sanitation, health care, child care facilities, education, employment promotion and environmental protection. The principle of public service cannot be sacrificed to the consecration of the market. Tax systems should also be adapted to promote better public services and a new global tax should be created to fund the global public goods.

8. For the Socialist International, the following mandates represent a clear test of the political will to ensure a fairer and more just global economy and where the gender perspective should also be included.

- The cancellation of the debt of the poorest countries, subject to minimum conditions of good governance and going further than the ineffective HIPC programme.
- The unilateral opening of markets in the developed world to exports from the poorest countries.
- The establishment of a Committee and a Fund against Hunger, within the United Nations System, as proposed by President Lula.

- A radical change of policy on agricultural subsidies in Europe, the United States and Japan, putting an end to this unacceptable distortion of markets that remains one of the principle obstacles to development in the South.

- The abolition of offshore tax havens, which constitute not only a fiscal injustice but are also — through lack of regulation, transparency and accountability — a key factor in the financing and proliferation of terrorism, drug trafficking, trafficking in women and organised crime, and provide shelter for non-democratic regimes to escape from punishment for their corrupt behaviour.

- A substantial increase in public development assistance, which continues to fall unacceptably short of previously agreed targets. The support to the World Fund for Solidarity which was recently adopted by the United Nations General Assembly.

- A sustained international commitment to rectifying the great scandal of our time — the situation in Sub-Saharan Africa. That region is not only the principle victim of the adverse effects of globalisation, but it also remains excluded from the benefits, while being abandoned to war, poverty, hunger, debt and death. The NEPAD initiative begun by a number of African countries, which links development to respect for democracy and good governance, deserves much stronger support than it has received thus far.

9. Critical to the prospects for worldwide sustainable development is a deep transformation of governance at all levels — international, regional, national and local — including:

- Better governance through greater transparency and accountability and a higher quality of political decision-making and policy formulation, including stronger women participation. At least one third should be female politicians.

- Enhanced participation of the various stakeholders of the civil society.

- More extensive interaction between national and international levels of governance, particularly through the process of regional integration

10. With regard to reform of governance at the global level, the Socialist International is deeply committed to working for:

- The establishment of a UN Security Council on the Economy, Society and the Environment — in effect, a Council for Sustainable Development — that would coordinate sustainable development on a global scale, push forward effective responses to inequality and financial volatility and promote economic growth and job expansion. This Council, composed in much more representative terms than the current Security Council, should be entitled to make the main choices regarding the coordination of the multilateral organisations in the financial, economic, social and environmental areas. This Council would hold meetings at different levels, including annual summits of heads of state and government together with the top managers of international agencies and organisations.

- Reform of the Bretton Woods system and revision of the Washington consensus to include greater democratic control of international institutions, better

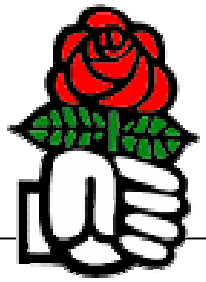
representation of the developing world and rules of conditionality that take into account not only financial stability and market liberalisation, which should be applied more leniently, but also the economic and social needs of national

populations. A world financial authority should have real supervisory and regulatory powers, enabling it to guarantee the transparency of financial markets through compliance with effective codes of conduct.

- The strengthening of international environmental governance, building on existing institutions, the United Nations Environment Programme, and establishing a World Environment Organisation, WEO, to promote the implementation of existing agreements and treaties such as the Kyoto Protocol, draft new ones, formulate policy and compile reliable information on the actual state of the world's environment.
- A greater role and stronger intervention capability for the International Labour Organisation.
- A new equilibrium in the way economic, social and environmental issues are addressed by international institutions, rooted in a more democratic, transparent and balanced process. The WTO, the ILO and the new WEO should work together to ensure that trade is both free and fair, to reject new forms of protectionism, to preserve cultural identity and diversity and to enforce core labour standards and promote sustainable development policies worldwide.

11. The Socialist International views regional integration as a key instrument to promote sustainable development, combine social cohesion with competitiveness and shape a better architecture of international relations. As the experience of the European Union indicates, regional integration cannot be limited simply to free trade. It must integrate political, social, economic and environmental dimensions, so that open inter-regionalism can become a powerful tool for achieving better global governance. In this context, the SI fully supports the efforts to promote integration in Latin America in all the referred dimensions, also as an instrument to consolidate democracy and overcome conflict.

12. Humanity has reached a crossroads. The present world order, marked by unilateralism, disrespect for human rights, social injustice and unequal development is reaching its limit. Building a New World Order based on multilateralism, democracy, respect for human rights and sustainable development is therefore necessary and increasingly demanded by citizens of nations both women and men, throughout both the North and South. The Socialist International is committed to the enormous political work required to build a better world and calls on all progressive and democratic women and men to join in the effort through a truly global alliance. ■



Official logo of The Socialist International

The following item is a text calling for a World Parliament workshop to be held at the World Social Forum, January 19th, 2004, in Mumbai, India. This particular "world parliament" event was hosted by Movimento Federalista Europeo, a member organization of the World Federalist Movement.

TOWARDS A WORLD PARLIAMENT:

Let's create a network for global democracy from below

DATE, TIME AND VENUE:

19 January 2004. 9:00 AM - 12:00 PM
Venue: D111 - Location: Mumbay, WSF

GOALS OF THE ACTIVITY :

Define a common project for a World Parliament and create a coalition of global civil society movements to pursue this objective.

SUMMARY OF THE CENTRAL ISSUES :

Lets build a glocal [sic] democracy from below through the implementation of federalism, at all level, as an instrument to achieve representative, participatory and equal democracy to allow people to control the globalization process.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM:

This workshop will focus on proposals for a World Parliament.

Nicola Vallinoto activist of the World Federalist Movement (www.wfm.org) will present a document titled "Globalization and World Parliament" written by Prof. Lucio Levi. There will be a panel of international speakers and a free debate. The international review *The Federalist Debate* (www.federalist-debate.org) will be presented and distributed. Contributors are welcome.

SPEAKERS:

Introduction: **Nicola Vallinoto**, Italy

Intervents [sic] by:

- **James Arputharaj**, Sri Lanka, World Federalist Movement
- **Dick Burkhart & Mona Lee**, Usa, Bike for Global Democracy
- **Dr. Sichendra Bista**, Nepal, eParliament.org
- **Dr. Carmo D'Souza**, India, Lecturer in Goa
- **Jagdish Gandhi**, India, City Montessory School
- **Rufo Guerreschi**, Italy, Sammondano
- **Mikael Nordfors**, Norway, Vivarto Co-operative
- **Germa Pelayo**, France, Forum for a World Parliament
- **Rasmus Tenberger**, Germany, The Global Democracy Experiment ■

Power Puzzle Quotes:

A Short Chronological List of 20th Century Quotes On Internationalism and World Government

1. **…in recent times the wars of the nations and their political disputes have resulted in the evolution of a recognized code of universal and impartial justice as applied to the governments of the world.**
— John W. Foster [US Secretary of State, 1892-93], *A Century of American Diplomacy* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1900), p.3.

2. **The international organization of the world already has progressed much farther than is ordinarily understood…this organization has advanced inconspicuously, but by leaps and bounds.**
…the time will come when each nation will deposit in a world federation some portions of its sovereignty for the general good. When this happens it will be possible to establish an international executive and an international police, both devised for the especial purpose of enforcing the decisions of the international court.
— Nicholas Murray Butler [President, Columbia University, recipient of the 1933 Nobel Peace Prize]. Interview printed in the New York *Times*, October 18, 1914. As published in Butler's anthology, *A World in Ferment: Interpretations of the War for a New World* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), p.34-36.

3. **I am for world-control of production and of trade and transport, for a world coinage, and the confederation of mankind. I am for the super-State…**
— H.G. Wells [author, historian] "Cosmopolitan and International," editorial, 29-12-1923, *A Year of Prophesying* (Ryerson Press, n.d.), p.86.

4. **International government, it should be emphasized, is not a thing still to be created; it exits now and the United States is a party to it.**
— William S. Culbertson [Council on Foreign Relations, original member of the US Tariff Commission], "Conferences – A Flexible Method, Following American Precedents," *Ways to Peace* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p.83.

5. **…peace, in the political sense of the word, that is, the ending of war, can only be established by bringing the whole world under the reign of law, through the creation of a world state, and that until we succeed in creating a federal commonwealth of nations, which need not, at the start, embrace the whole earth, we shall not have laid even the foundation for the ending of the institution of war upon earth.**
— Lord Lothian [pioneer of European unification, member of the Milner Group, influential in British foreign policy during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference], "Pacifism in not Enough," speech made in 1935. As reprinted in *Readings in World Politics*, Volume 3 (American Foundation for Political Education, 1952), p.14.

6. **To organize world government soundly we must turn to the peoples most advanced and experienced politically, and this too turns us to the democracies.**
— Clarence K. Streit [father of the Atlantic Union plan which laid the groundwork for NATO], *Union Now* (Harper Brothers, 1940), p.63. Supporters of Streit's plan included George Marshall, Harry Truman, Charles De Gaulle, Robert Schuman, and John F. Kennedy.

7. **When all "blueprint" schemes are eliminated, the United Nations remain as a practical going concern, a real international organization forged out of hard necessities and subjected to the most exacting of practical tests. Here we have already a real association of nations, a sound basis from which the ultimate world order will evolve.**
— Arthur C. Millspaugh [early member of the Council on Foreign Relations], *Peace Plans and American Choices* (Brookings Institute, 1942), p.45.

8. **We must support the United Nations; it is all we have. We support it, not because it can guarantee peace, but because it is a highly tentative first step toward world government and world law.**
— Robert Maynard Hutchins [Committee to Frame a World Constitution, President of the University of Chicago], "The Constitutional Foundations for World Order," 1947. Reprinted in *Readings in World Politics*, Volume 3, p.31.

9. **The creation of an authoritative, all-powerful world order is the ultimate aim towards which we must strive. Unless some effective World Super-Government can be set up and brought quickly into action, the prospects for peace and human progress are dark and doubtful.**
But let there be no mistake upon the main issue. Without a United Europe there is no sure prospect of world government. It is the urgent and indisputable step towards the realisation of that ideal.
— Winston Churchill [Prime Minister of Great Britain], "United Europe," speech at Albert Hall, London, May 14, 1947. See, *Churchill Speaks, 1897-1963: Collected Speeches in Peace and War* (Barnes & Noble, 1980/98), p.913.

10. **…exactly four months after Hitler invaded Poland, I made clear my belief that, when the war ended, the United States must take full share in the responsibilities of a new world order – "a stable and enduring world order under law." This goal obviously meant a world organization.**
— Cordell Hull [longest running US Secretary of State, best known as the Father of the United Nations], *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, Volume 1 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1948), pp.731-732.

11. **…the establishment of a single government for the whole world, might be realized in various ways: by the victory of the United States in the next world war, or by the victory of the USSR, or, theoretically, by agreement. Or – and I think this is the most hopeful of the issues that are in any degree probable – by an alliance of the nations that desire an international government…I think we should admit that a world government will have to be imposed by force.**
— Bertrand Russell [famous philosopher, author, advocate of internationalism], "The Future of Mankind," as published in Russell's anthology, *Unpopular Essays* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1950), pp.52-53.

12. **We, today, are faced with the infinitely more difficult problem of uniting a world which has never yet been united, but which has now reached a point where it must unite – either by the common consent of its divided peoples, or by conquest.** [p.2]
…The important thing is to get on with the job of transforming the United Nations Charter into some form of World Constitution acceptable to the majority of mankind as a foundation upon which to build. [p.122]
— James P. Warburg [global financier, Council on Foreign Relations], *Faith, Purpose and Power: A Plea for a Positive Policy* (Farrar Straus, 1950), pp.2, 122.

13. **…a scientific world society cannot be stable unless there is a world government.**
— Bertrand Russell [eminent philosopher, important advocate of internationalism], *The Impact of Science on Society* (Simon and Schuster, 1953), p.104.

14. **The United Nations is not a country club or a fraternal order. It should exist for the purpose of defining the obligations of nations and enforcing them.**
— Norman Cousins [editor of *Saturday Review*, President of the World Federalist Association], *In Place of Folly* (Harper and Brothers, 1961), p.121.

15. **First there is a great need to increase enormously the educational and propaganda work of World Government…**
Somehow we have got to get more and more people seriously considering the prospect of World Government…
— Hugh Gaitskell [British Member of Parliament, Labour Party leader], "An Eight Point Programme for World Government," 1962. Reprinted in *The Strategy of World Order*, vol. 1 (World Law Fund, 1966), p120.

16. **The UN, in fact, cannot be more than a stop-gap. The real goal is world federation.**
—Watson Thomas [member of the New Europe Group], *Turning Into Tomorrow* (Philosophical Library, 1966), p.113.

17. **In terms of foreign policies, world peace must in the long run radically transform all foreign politics into world domestic politics…Some central world political organization, a "world government,"**
however federative and limited in its rights, seems to me absolutely essential.
— Carl-Friedrich von Weizsacker [German physicist, philosopher] "A Sceptical Contribution," a contribution to *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (Free Press, 1975), p.148.

18. **World order would not necessitate the elimination of nation-states. Nor does it presume a world federal system, although federalism is one of the possible models. Nor would it necessarily mean that all nations would function with the same system of internal government. What it would mean is that central functions would transfer from national levels to the planetary level, e.g., peace-keeping, transnational ecological protection, regulation of world trade and of an integrated monetary system, regulation of the uses of the seas, and some global taxation.**
— Gerald and Patricia Mische [founders of the Global Education Associates, leading futurists], *Toward A Human World Order* (Paulist Press, 1977), p.64.

19. **A new consciousness is also emerging from a growing awareness in the West of the wisdom of the Eastern world-view. Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism and Shinto, while they differ in many respects, portray the world as a multi-dimensional, organically interrelated eco-system of which man is one of many inter-dependent parts. Perhaps we can learn through them to see the world whole, as it really is, and together – West and East – begin to build the foundations of a new world order.**
The most urgent item on the planetary agenda is to set the limits of freedom and order in supra-national, global affairs. A constitution for the world is needed which combines the achievements of both hemispheres: that is, constitutional limitations and a bill of rights from the West and a spacious world-view from the East.
— Lucile Green [World Federalist advocate, signer of *The Constitution for the Federation of Earth*, founder of the Action Coalition for Global Change], from a talk presented in 1977 titled "U.N. Sunday," given at the First Unitarian Church, Berkeley, California. As reprinted in her memoirs, *Journey to a Governed World* (The Uniquest Foundation, 1991), pp.34-35.

20. **It would be ridiculous if the first era of planetary interdependence were to find the world without a unitary framework of international relations. With all its imperfections the United Nations system is still the only incarnation of the global spirit. It alone seeks to present a vision of mankind in its organic unity.**
— Abba Eban [Israeli Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vice President of the UN General Assembly], *The New Diplomacy: International Affairs in the Modern Age* (Random House, 1983), p.286.

21. **This great struggle for global transformation encompasses normal politics, but it is also far broader than any strictly political experience, resembling more the emergence of a new religion or civilization on a global scale…**
— Robert J. Lifton [distinguished professor and author] and Richard A. Falk [renowned professor and influential expert on world law], "Obtain the Possible: Demand the Impossible," *Toward Nuclear Disarmament and Global Security* (Westview Press, 1984), p.700.

22. **We have seen that humankind is not simply moving in a vicious killing cycle; it is on an upward climb toward completing the governmental structure of the world. We are inspired by our great progress toward planethood.**
— Benjamin B. Ferencz [Prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials] and Ken Keyes, Jr., [author and lecturer], *Planethood* (Vision Books, 1988), p.141.

23. **…it has taken the events in our own wondrous and terrible century to clinch the case for world government…**
…Each world war inspired the creation of an international organization, the League of Nations in the 1920s and the United Nations in the '40s…
…the cold war also saw the European Community pioneer the kind of regional cohesion that may pave the way for globalism. Meanwhile, the free world formed multilateral financial institutions that depend on member states' willingness to give up a degree of sovereignty. The International Monetary Fund [IMF] **can virtually dictate fiscal policies, even including how much tax a government should levy on its citizens. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade** [now known as the World Trade Organization] **regulates how much duty a nation can charge on imports. These organizations can be seen as the protoministries of trade, finance and development for a united world.**
— Strobe Talbott [former Deputy Secretary of State under Pres. Clinton, former director of the Council on Foreign Relations, former Editor-at-Large for *Time*, currently President of the Brookings Institute], "The Birth of a Global Nation," *Time*, July 20, 1992.

24. **Mankind's problems can no longer be solved by national governments. What is needed is a World Government.**
This can best be achieved by strengthening the United Nations system. In some cases, this would mean changing the role of UN agencies from advice-giving to implementation. Thus, the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] **would become the World Ministry of Agriculture, UNIDO** [Industrial Development Organization] **would become the World Ministry of Industry, and the ILO** [International Labour Organization] **the World Ministry of Social Affairs.**
In other cases, completely new institutions would be needed. These would include, for example, a permanent World Police which would have the power to subpoena nations…
— Jan Tinbergen [leading economist and Nobel Prize recipient], "Global governance for the 21st century," special contribution to the United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (UNDP, 1994), p.88.

25. **Being a remarkable model of a new world order, much better than the UN, the European Union should help the world and create a Commission or group of eminent thinkers to offer a plan for the transformation of the United Nations into a true World Union.**
— Robert Muller [UN high official], *2000 Ideas For A Better World*, idea 4, 1994. Fascicle One released in 1997.

26. **…a prosperous united world representing a true New World Order can only be attained step by step. While we are still far from world government, we must first focus on [the] essential issues that work in that direction.**
— Jean Richardot [senior UN Secretariat official], *Journeys For A Better World* (University Press of America, 1994), p.350.

27. **With the end of the titanic ideological struggle** [Cold War]**, the main obstacle to a World Government has been removed. Many steps have already been, and are being, taken toward it.**
— Joseph Rotblat [Pugwash founder, Nobel Prize recipient], "It's Time to Rethink the Idea of World Government," *Global Report*, Center for War/Peace Studies, Spg/Smr 1996.

28. **While endorsing the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a world community favorable to peace, we will work primarily to strengthen the United Nations into a world government…**
— *World Federalist Association Activist Guidebook*, 1997, Section I, p.15.

29. **In my view the codification, administration and enforcement of international law must become one of the principle functions of the United Nations in the period ahead.**
— Maurice Strong [UN Under-Secretary General], *Where On Earth Are We Going?* (Knopf, 2000), pp.329-330.

30. **Obviously the goals of global management cannot be achieved all at once, in a single leap…it is necessary to approach this goal step by step, to try to enhance the role of existing institutions and encourage coordination of the efforts of various governments. Above all, we are thinking about the United Nations.**
— Mikhail Gorbachev [former leader of the Soviet Union, founder of the Gorbachev Foundation and Green Cross International], *On My Country and the World* (Columbia University Press, 2000), p.227.

31. **The Planetary Age is distinguished by the shaping of a human universe, jointly bound in a common fate made evident by the growing interdependence between nations…The Planetary Age is now upon us.**
— H.E. Rodrigo Carazo [former President of Costa Rica], "Spiritual Values are Perpetual and Everlasting," *Renewing the United Nations and Building a Culture of Peace: A Report from Assembly 2000* (Interreligious and International Federation for World Peace, 2000), p.130.

32. **There should be no doubt that world federation is in this planet's future…The purpose of world federation is normally presented as world peace through world law. That is true as far as it goes, but the promise is far greater. The promise of world federation is a new world civilization.**
— Peter Bailey [former World Bank employee and member of the World Federalists of Canada], "The Future of World Federation," *Mondial*, November 2001, p.7.

33. **We are world citizens…We believe our duty in the 21st century is to establish the world democracy.**
— Toshio Suzuki [founder World Government Institute of Japan], "On the World Party Constitution," *Voice for World Government*, 2003, p.5.

Power Puzzle Players:
Influential Non-Governmental Organizations in the Great Game of Globalization

Note: This does not include formal government agencies. Moreover, this listing is only a partial representation of the many NGO's which exert influence upon global affairs.

Further note: this list does not contain official European Union, United Nations, NATO, or major banking/financial institutions or government agencies. Such a listing, including a more comprehensive rundown of prominent NGOs, would constitute a book on its own. Hence, only a select group of NGOs are listed. And while these organizations may take different approaches and philosophies to their work – even being in opposition to one another – each of these groups play an important role as a lobbying and policy shaping force within the realm of world affairs, regionalism, and/or global governance.

Further note: some foundations and corporate trusts which have been particularly active in global issues have also been included in this list.

Academic Council on the United Nations System
Wilfrid Laurier University
75 University Avenue West
Waterloo, ON
N2L 3C5
Canada

Action Coalition For Global Change
55 New Montgomery Street, Suite 219
San Francisco, CA 94105
USA

Association Of World Citizens
55 New Montgomery Street, Suite 224
San Francisco, CA 94105
USA

Association of World Federalists
PO Box 3410
Colchester, CO7 60X
UK

Association To Unite The Democracies
Hall Of States, Suite 524
444 North Capitol Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
USA

Atlantic Council of the United States
910 17th Street NW, Suite 1000
Washington, DC 20006
USA

Bahá'í International Community
Suite 120
866 United Nations Plazza
New York, NY 10017
USA

Better World Campaign
1225 Connecticut Avenue, NW
4th Floor
Washington, DC 20036-1868
USA

Boston Research Center for the 21st Century
396 Harvard Street
Cambridge, MA 02139
USA

Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20036
USA

Campaign For UN Reform
420 7th Street SE, Suite C
Washington, DC 20003
USA

Canadian Council of Chief Executives
90 Sparks Street, Suite 806
Ottawa, ON
K1P 5B4
Canada

Canadian Institute of International Affairs
205 Richmond Street West, Suite 302
Toronto, ON
M5V 1V3
Canada

Caritas Internationalis
Palazzo San Calisto
00120 Vatican City

Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs
Merrill House, 170 East 64th Street
New York, NY 10021-7478
USA

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
USA

Carnegie Foundation
Carnegieplein 2, 2517 KJ
The Hague
The Netherlands

The Catholic European Study and Information Centre
Rue du Cornet 51
B-1040 Brussels
Belgium

Centre for European Policy Studies
1 Place du Congrés
1000 Brussels
Belgium

Center for Strategic and International Studies
1800 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006
USA

Center for UN Reform Education
1160 Hamburg Turnpike
Wayne, NJ 07470-5084
USA

Center for War/Peace Studies
180 West 80th Street, Suite 211
New York, NY 10024
USA

Citizens for Global Solutions
[a new organization formed by the merger of the World Federalist Association and the Campaign for UN Reform. It effectively replaces the World Federalist Association.]

CIVICUS
PO Box 933, Southdale
Johannesburg, 2135
South Africa

Club of Budapest International
Secretary-General
Breitscheidstr. 8 (Bosch Area)
D-70174 Stuttgart
Germany

Club Of Rome
Rissener Landstr. 193
22559 Hamburg
Germany

Coalition for the International Criminal Court
[see the World Federalist Movement listing]

Committee for a Workers' International
PO Box 3688
London, E11 1YE
UK

Commission of the Bishops Conferences of the European Union
42, rue Stevin
B-1000 Brussels
Belgium

The Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions
70 E. Lake Street, Suite 205
Chicago, IL 60601
USA

Council on Foreign Relations
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York, NY 10021
USA

Danish Institute of International Affairs
Nytorv 5
DK-1450 København K
Denmark

EarthAction
30 Cottage Street
Amherst, MA 01002
USA

Earth Charter USA
2100 "L" Street, NW
Washington, DC 20037
USA

European Consortium For Political Research
University of Essex
Colchester
CO4 3SQ
UK

The European Institute
5225 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20015-2014
USA

The European Movement
International Secretariat
Square de Meeûs, 25
B-1000 Brussels
Belgium

European Union Studies Association
415 Bellefield Hall
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
USA

European Youth Forum
Rue Joseph II straat 120
B-1000 Brussels
Belgium

The Federal Trust
7 Graphite Square
Vauxhall Walk
London, SE11 5EE
UK

Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017
USA

Foundation for Democracy in Africa
1612 K Street NW, Suite 1104
Washington, DC 20006
USA

Franciscans International
PO Box 104
1211 Geneva 20
Switzerland

The German Marshall Fund of the United States
1744 R Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
USA

Global Education Associates
475 Riverside Drive, #1848
New York, NY 10115
USA

Global Environmental Action
Nippon Press Center
Building 8F, 2-2-1
Uchisaiwaicho, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo, 100-0011
Japan

Global Policy Forum
777 UN Plaza, Suite 7G
New York, NY 10017
USA

Global Security Institute
300 Broadway, Suite 26
San Francisco, CA 94133
USA

Gorbachev Foundation of North America
Renaissance Park
1135 Tremont Street
Boston, MA 02120-2178
USA

Green Cross International
160a, rte de Florissant
1231 Conches/Geneva
Switzerland

The Halifax Initiative
153 rue Chapel Street, Suite 104
Ottawa, ON
K1N 1H5
Canada

Henry L. Stimson Center
11 Dupont Circle NW, 9th Floor
Washington, DC 20036
USA

Institut français des relations internationales
27, rue de la Procession
75740 Paris Cedex 15
France

InterAction Council
3-16-13-706, Roppongi
Minato-ku
Tokyo, 106-0032
Japan
[offices in Vienna, Berlin, Melbourne]

International Crisis Group
149 Avenue Louise
Level 24
B-1050 Brussels
Belgium

International Institute for Strategic Studies
Arundel House
13-15 Arundel Street
Temple Place
London, WC2R 3DX
UK

International Institute For Sustainable Development
161 Portage Avenue East, 6th Floor
Winnipeg, MB
R3B 0Y4
Canada

International Paneuropean Union
Karlstraße 57
D-80333, München
Germany

International Peace Academy
777 United Nations Plaza, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10017-3521
USA

International Peace Bureau
41, Rue de Zurich
CH-1201 Geneva
Switzerland

International Political Science Association
1590, av. Docteur-Penfield, bureau 331
Montreal, QC
H3G 1C5
Canada

International Relations and Security Network
c/o Center for Security Studies
ETH Zentrum LEH
CH-8092 Zurich,
Switzerland

International Socialist Organization
PO Box 16085
Chicago, IL 60616
USA

Inter-Parliamentary Union
5, chemin du Pommier
Case postale 330
CH-1218 Le Grand-Saconnex/Geneva
Switzerland

Inter-Religious and International Federation for World Peace
155 White Plains Road, Suite 204
Tarrytown, NY 10591
USA
[a Sun Myung Moon political body; other Moon groups include the Summit Council for World Peace, the Women's Federation for World Peace, and the Youth Federation for World Peace.]

IUCN
The World Conservation Union
Rue Mauverney 28
1196 Gland
Switzerland

Mennonite Central Committee United Nations Office
866 UN Plaza, Suite 575
New York, NY 10017
USA

Millennium Institute
2200 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 650
Arlington, VA 22201-3357
USA

Movimento Federalistsa Europeo
Via Porta Pertusi, 6
I-27100 Pavia
Itlaly

The North-South Institute
55 Murray Street, Suite 200
Ottawa, ON
Canada
K1N 5M3

One World Trust
House of Parliament
London, SW1A 0AA
UK

Parliamentarians for Global Action
211 East 43rd Street, Suite 1604
New York, NY 10017
USA

Pax Christi International
Rue du Vieux Marché aux Grains, 21
B-1000 Brussels
Belgium

Prince of Wales International Business Leaders Forum
15-16 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park
London, NW1 4QP
UK

Professors World Peace Academy
2285 University Avenue W., Suite 200
St. Paul, MN 55114
USA
[a Sun Myung Moon organization]

Pugwash – US Office
American Academy of Arts and Sciences
136 Irving Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
USA

Registry of World Citizens
66 blvd Vincent Auriol
75013 Paris
France

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund
437 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022-7001
USA

The Rockefeller Foundation
420 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10018
USA

Royal Institute of International Affairs
Chatham House
10 St James's Square
London, SW1Y 4LE
UK

Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies
Whitehall
London, SW1A 2ET
UK

Socialist International
Maritime House, Old Town, Clapham
London, SW4 0JW
UK

The Stanley Foundation
209 Iowa Avenue
Muscatine, IA 52761
USA

State of the World Forum
The Presidio, Building 992
PO Box 29434
San Francisco, CA 94129
USA

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
Signalistgatan 9
SE-169 70 Solna
Sweden

Toda Institute
15-3 Samon-cho
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160-0017
Japan

Trilateral Commission
1156 Fifteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
USA

Union of European Federalists
Chaussée de Wavre 214d
B-1050 Bruxelles
Belgium

United Nations Association in Canada
Suite 900, 130 Slater Street
Ottawa, ON
K1P 6E2
Canada

United Nations Association of the United States of America
801 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10017
USA

United Nations Foundation
1225 Connecticut Avenue, NW
4th Floor
Washington, DC 20036
USA

United Religions Initiative
PO Box 29242
San Francisco, CA 94129
USA

World Affairs Councils of America
1800 K Street NW, Suite 1014
Washington, DC 20006
USA

World Business Council for Sustainable Development
4, chemin de Conches
1231 Conches-Geneva
Switzerland

World Citizen Foundation
211 East 43rd Street, Suite 905
New York, NY 10017
USA

World Conference on Religion and Peace
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA

World Constitution and Parliament Association
8800 West 14th Avenue
Lakewood, CO 80215
USA

World Council of Churches
150 route de Ferney
P.O. Box 2100
1211 Geneva 2
Switzerland

World Federation of United Nations Associations
United Nations, Room DC1-1177
New York, NY 10017
USA

World Federalist Association
418 Seventh Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003
USA

World Federalist Movement
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA
[the WFM office is also being used as the headquarters for the Coalition for the International Criminal Court]

World Federalist Movement – Belgium Section
50 Corniche Verte
B-1150 Brussels 15
Belgium

World Federalists of Australia
G.P.O. Box 4878
Sydney, NSW 2001
New South Wales
Australia

World Federalists of Canada
207-145 Spruce Street
Ottawa, ON
K1R 6P1
Canada

World Future Society
7910 Woodmont Avenue
Suite 450
Bethesda, MD 20814
USA

World Government Institute
1-158 Nakakanasugi Matsudo City
Chiba Prefecture, 270-0007
Japan

World Policy Institute
New School University
66 Fifth Avenue, 9th fl.
New York, NY 10011

World Presidents' Organization
110 South Union Street, Suite 200
Alexandria, VA 22314-3351
USA

World Resources Institute
10 G Street NE, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20002
USA

World Service Authority
1012 14th Street, NW
Suite 205
Washington, D.C. 20005
USA

Worldwatch Institute
1776 Massachusetts Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20036
USA

World Wide Fund for Nature
Avenue du Mont-Blank
CH-1196 Gland
Switzerland

Young European Federalists
JEF Europe
European Secretariat
Chaussée de Wavre 214d
B-1050 Brussels
Belgium

Young Presidents' Organization
Hickok Center
451 S. Decker Drive
Irving, TX 75062
USA