

Forcing Change



A First Hand Look: Setting the Agenda for World Order

Editor's NOTE: This edition of *Forcing Change* is exceptional, providing "first-person" coverage of an extraordinary "world government" event.

In July, Olivia Chance - my summer intern - and myself, had the opportunity to attend the 26th International Congress of the World Federalist Movement, the largest and one of the longest running pro-world government organizations in operation. This edition of *Forcing Change* details this event; the WFM agenda for the next few years, the organization's history and successes, and the role of this body in the quest for "world order."

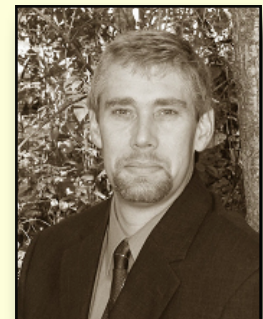
Olivia and I have written detailed reports about our WFM experience, and both start on page two. My suggestion is this: Read Olivia's essay first. When done, go to page 31, "Stepping Stones to Global Order," as this article gives you an important perspective on the victories of the WFM and the organization's importance in ensuring the success of the International Criminal Court and the Responsibility to Protect interventionist doctrine, used as justification for NATO's action in Libya last year. Then, return to page two where my essay begins, and continue through to the end.

When done, you will have gained insights that would be next-to-impossible to find anywhere else.

Forcing Change is pleased to give you a "first hand look."

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Carl Teichrib, Editor.

We Must Unite Before We Destroy Each Other: A First-hand Report on the World Federalist Movement

By Olivia Chance

Bio: Olivia Chance is currently pursuing a double major in Ancient Studies and Philosophy at Cornerstone University in Grand Rapids, Michigan. She has recently been invited to present papers at several local conferences and in April 2012 received the distinction of *Who's Who Among College Students*. Olivia was also inducted into The International Foreign Language Honor Society, Phi Sigma Iota, in the Fall of 2011 for her studies in Ancient Languages.

Imagine there's no country
It isn't hard to do,
Nothing to kill or die for,
And no religion too.
Imagine all the people
Living life in peace!
You may say I'm a dreamer,
But I'm not the only one.
I hope someday you'll join us,
And the world will live as one!
-John Lennon, *Imagine* (1971)

Lennon certainly wasn't the only one to imagine a world without national ties. People for centuries have imagined a one-world system where one's citizenship would be to the global community rather than a nation-state. One group in particular, the World Federalist

Adventures in One World: The Agenda of Internationalism

By Carl Teichrib (www.forcingchange.org)

Winnipeg, Manitoba - also known as "Winter-peg" - is jokingly described as a place with two distinct seasons: 13 months of winter, and six weeks of mosquitoes. As a Manitoba resident myself, I understand the sentiment behind this exaggerated description. Winnipeg, as nice as it can be in our short summer, is not known as an international destination.

But this year my provincial capital joined a prestigious list of prominent world-cities; Geneva, London, Oslo, Rome, The Hague, Washington D.C., Brussels, San Francisco, New Delhi, Copenhagen, and Tokyo. Each of these locations, and now Winnipeg, have been ground-zero for an important "world government" meeting.

From July 9-13, 2012, the University of Winnipeg hosted a globally-significant group of people. Delegates streamed in from around the planet, coming to debate and pass resolutions, vote-in new council members, and develop campaigns to further global governance. This was the 26th International Congress of the World Federalist Movement (WFM), the largest membership-based organization specifically designed to advance the idea of world government.

And I, along with a partner, attended this important event.

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Movement (WFM), has taken up the mantle of this dream, and between July 9-13, I was able to attend their 26th Congress and listen in on their plans to reach a new order where we “will live as one.”

As I am an Ancient History and Philosophy major, my nature dictates that I speak on what I know best rather than attempt to guess at what I know little of, and so in this essay I rely primarily on my personal experiences and the extensive amounts of pre-reformation literature in my repertoire, supplemented by my more limited research into modern politics.

Thus, I will begin with a review of the history of World Federalism, for the sake of myself as much as my readers, as well as the basic philosophy that roots the concept of “world unity,” followed by a look at what the movement is currently pursuing, culminating in an exploration into the ethical philosophy surrounding the path to world governance. My hope in this is to display the intriguing, and sometimes highly confusing, experiences I had while observing the 26th World Federalist Congress in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

A History of World Federalism in 2 Minutes or Less

The concept of a world government is not new. Throughout the history of the world there have been many groups and individuals interested in bringing together the nations of the world under a single authority. Particularly since the beginning of the modern age, there has been a growing interest and acceptance of the idea of a new world order. William Penn, Kant, American Founding Fathers, Churchill, and many others preached the need for world federation.

Although the history of the concept of world federation far predates the WFM, the beginning of this particular movement can be pinpointed to 1947, when several federalist groups, who all recognized the failure of the League of Nations to prevent World War II, merged to form the United World Federalists. In the same year they convened in Montreux, Switzerland, and the

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World Federalist Movement was born.¹ Today the movement includes 13 different member organizations in twelve countries, as well as 13 additional associated members in 11 countries.

The WFM, in particular the Canadian branch, boasts several successful initiatives, namely, the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). These two programs are “interconnected initiatives that seek to bring more order to the way in which the world responds to genocide and mass atrocity... seeking to prevent these crimes from, occurring altogether.”²

The ICC is a permanent, treaty based court system³ that tries individuals accused of “war crimes, crimes against peace, and crimes against humanity.”⁴ On March 14, 2012, Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, of the Democratic Republic of Congo, became ICC’s first successfully tried international criminal.⁵

R2P asserts that states have the “primary responsibility” for the protection of their population from crimes against humanity, but the international community has the “responsibility to assist” in fulfilling this requirement when states are unable, unwilling, or are acting in a way that violates this responsibility. Although R2P insists that the international community should seek to fulfill this responsibility by humanitarian and peaceful means, it also holds that “the international community must be prepared to take stronger measures, including the use of force through the UN Security Council.”⁶

The WFM Congress in session.
Picture: Campaign for a UN
Parliamentary Assembly.



Initiatives like those discussed above have been carried out successfully by the previous generation of World Federalist headed by political and religious “greats” like President of the WFM, Lloyd Axworthy, former Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs;⁷ Executive Director of the WFM, Bill Pace;⁸ and recently resigned council chair, James Christie, former Dean of the Faculty of Theology of The University of Winnipeg.⁹

Now, however, the organization is at a turning point as the older members retire or take advisory positions, and a new generation steps in to lead the movement. It is in this tumultuous atmosphere that the 26th World Federalist Congress was set.

World Federalism, What is it?

At the root of the federalist movement is a need for powerful centralized government. This starts at a national level and expands to a global level. Even as the American founding fathers, many of whom belonged to the Federalist party, attempted to produce checks and balances in the government, they realized that ultimately to have a strong government, “you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.”¹⁰ It was imperative to them that the government have the authority in itself to rule itself. World federalism is just a branching out of the ideas that form national federalism.

From my experiences and research, it appears that those working towards a world federation typically fall into one of two camps. The first wishes for nation-states to maintain a sense of being “free and independent states” while still banding together to “escape the international anarchy.”¹¹ Kant sums up this position well: “The league does not tend to any dominion over the power of the state but only in the maintenance and security of the freedom of the states itself and of other states in league with it...”¹²

The second camp provides a scarier, but more probable, outcome - one where sovereignty does not remain with nation-states but is transferred to an international authority. H.R. Nord, nicknamed “Mister Europe” for his help in founding the European Parliament and his push for a federal Europe, encapsulates this view in his three-part pamphlet series wherein he criticized the newly formed U.N. for its emphasis on “sovereign equality of states.” He noted that Europe

Why Winnipeg?

For those who live in Canada, the question arises: Why Winnipeg?

After all, in terms of a Canadian city with global reach, Winnipeg, Manitoba, isn’t considered on top of the list.

The answer lies with “who” in Winnipeg are World Federalists. Although members of the World Federalist community live in Manitoba’s capital city, a local chapter doesn’t exist. At the same time, at least two of the most influential leaders with the WFM call this city home.

1. Lloyd Axworthy, who is the current President of the University of Winnipeg. Axworthy is also the International President of the WFM.
2. James Christie, the former Dean of Theology at the UofW. Up until this summer, Christie has been the long standing Chair of the WFM Council.

cannot be safe from other threats like Hitler unless, “the different nations are prepared to surrender the dogma of absolute sovereignty to unite within a federal organization... [nations] should definitely surrender their sovereign rights to the federation regarding defense, foreign policy, international finance and exchange.”¹³

Ultimately the goal is that, “national armies will cease to exist. Just like foreign policy, defense will be completely under the control of the federal government.”¹⁴

This fits with what Arnold Toynbee said in 1931 during the Fourth Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations. Toynbee, an important figure in British foreign policy during the first half of the Twentieth Century, was a strong supporter of world federalism and *more*, a type of world-empire. Speaking of national sovereignty verses that of a world institution, Toynbee’s words are revealing,

“I will not prophesy. I will merely repeat that we are at present working, discreetly, but with all our might, to wrest this mysterious political force called sovereignty out of the clutches of the local national states of our world. And all the time we are denying with our lips what we are doing with our hands, because to impugn the sovereignty of the local national states of the world is still a heresy for which a statesman or a publicist can be perhaps not quite burnt at the stake, but certainly ostracised and discredited. The dragon of local sovereignty can still use its teeth and claws, when it is brought to bay. Nevertheless, I believe that the monster is doomed to perish by our sword. The fifty or sixty local states of the world will no doubt survive as administrative conveniences. But sooner or later sovereignty will depart from them. Sovereignty will cease, in fact if not in name, to be a local affair.”¹⁵

Unity vs. Mutual Destruction:

“We must unite before we destroy each other”

The above statement on unity or destruction echoed throughout the Congress in various forms, demonstrates the WFM’s other primary goal: peace through unity. This desire for peace is based on awareness that “man’s abuse of science and technology has brought humanity to the brink of disaster through the production of horrendous weaponry of mass destruction and to the brink of ecological and social catastrophe.”¹⁶

Looking back at the fear that pervaded the world during the Cold War, we see clearly that indeed our world faces a threat like never before: a threat of total annihilation via nuclear destruction. Even without an active war to remind us of this issue, we can never feel totally se-

cure if political bodies other than our own possess the ability to decimate us at any time, so we seek peace. For the federalist, peace is,

“Not merely the interim between wars, but it is the presence of order, produced by law, in turn produced by government. Peace is itself only a condition for the fulfillment of human potential, for the good life. When peace is established, then will come the great achievements of science and religion, modern industry and development, social planning and free enterprise, liberal education and the arts... it is a positive thing, an active social condition, chosen deliberately and consciously maintained. Peace is the presence of justice...”¹⁷

In this regard federalists are correct; Peace is an admirable goal, and as our world has entered into an era where we are faced with a growing threat of total world destruction, world federalism seems necessary. It is in this desire for peace that they should be applauded. But how do they wish to achieve this peace? Through law. Only through extensive bureaucracy could such peace be facilitated. There is a two-fold problem with this scheme though, the first involving biblical notions, the other political ones.

Those who follow Biblical teachings are aware that our own concept of human relations is based on commandments, whether from the Law in the Old Testament or the teachings of Christ in the New Testament. It is the definition of law that is presented by federalism that is unacceptable in Christian thought. Canadian poet and critic, Mark van Doren’s quote on law has been adopted into some World federalist literature. For them law is “merely the thing that lets us live in peace with our neighbors without having to love them.”¹⁸ This concept of human interaction is directly opposed to the charge given by Christ to “Love your neighbor as yourself.”¹⁹ In it, law has become the minimum standard for personal interaction and it is admittedly, “not as good as religious consciousness”²⁰ or moral imperative.

Instead of truly fixing the problems regarding mistrust and hatred of fellow human beings, this form of peace places law between individuals, providing a buffer zone. This sort of government follows the political ideals put forth by Rousseau, Hobbes, Locke and other political philosophers, where government is installed, in essence, only to keep persons from killing each other. Yet the minimalistic government set forth by some modern political theorists is not the one realized in the World Federalist Movement. The WFM reaches for the incorporation of all humanity into a global government and this requires not minimal interference, but maximal.

In the *Constitution for the Federation of Earth*, produced by an independent World Federalist offshoot known as the World Constitution and Parliament Association, we see this quite clearly. In article III, it grants certain powers to the hoped-for world government. In addition to preventing wars and personal conflict, it will “supervise disarmament,” “raise revenues and funds,” “regulate and conserve the water supply of earth,” “regulate the development and use of... the

natural resources of earth,” “operate... global communication services,” as well as define standards of education, measurements and currency.²¹

Although the WFM does not have a detailed constitution like the WCPA splinter group, the World Federalist Movement, through its many Resolutions, paints a management picture – a world carbon tax, a currency transaction tax, an International Court for the Environment, expanding “the rule of law” around the globe, and other measures that will inevitably add layers of governance.

Admittedly, many who are world federalists either don’t understand the need for such extensive government, or don’t wish to admit it. The federalist principle that “free people can freely enter into lasting yet limited political associations to achieve common ends and protect certain rights while preserving their respective integrities,”²² sounds much like the goal of Rousseau’s *Social Contract*, “to find a form of association which will defend the person and goods of each member with the collective force of all, and under which each individual, while uniting himself with the others, obeys no one but himself, and remains as free as before.”²³ But the best intentions of the Federalists appear to be quite the opposite in practice.



James Christie

Plato’s Republic: Democracy to Tyranny

For the WFM, democracy is the path to freedom and agreement among the various nation-states. “Democracy” is one word that I heard almost constantly during the week’s meetings. At its essence, the word means a group which makes decisions based on a primarily egalitarian system where each participant has a say in the decision making process. In the context of a system of governance, this “democracy” can take various forms, whether a one-to-one voting system for representation in a higher form of government, or a more simple personal participation in each decision made in one’s local principalities.

Ultimately democracy is the system of government that offers its citizens the highest level of independence and individuality. Plato, in his *Republic*, characterized a democracy thus:

“To begin with, are they not free? And is not such a city chock-full of liberty and freedom of speech? And has not every man license to do as he likes?... Possibly, this is the most beautiful of polities as a garment of many colors, embroidered with all kinds of hues, so this, decked and diversified with every type of character, would appear the most beautiful.”²⁴

This description of a democracy is indeed what we see today. Each man is given freedom to do as he likes, within the bounds of a lawful system that seeks to keep one man from infringing on the rights of his fellow men.

This intricate pattern of character and culture is one we can see very clearly in the world's democratic societies. Even the sensitivity to political correctness that pervades our culture is indicative of recognition of the various ideas, life goals, and customs that come with the growing globalization of our world. While this in itself is not a harmful thing, it does have its dangers, or ways in which it may be exploited.

Hardt and Negri, economic-political writers, speak on the "Triple Imperative of Empire,"²⁵ or the steps that Empire takes to establish its command. In the first, "Empire is blind to difference; it is absolutely indifferent in its acceptance."²⁶ By offering a blanket invite, everyone is welcomed into a peaceful order. But this peaceful order causes a vacuum of neutrality into which may be placed a universal value system. Whatever notion of right desired can be promoted in such a field. After this step has been accomplished, differences can finally be acknowledged, protected, and even celebrated, so long as they are "nonconflictual differences, the kind of differences we might set aside if necessary."²⁷ Finally, Empire seeks to incorporate these differences into an effective hierarchy that matches the structure of its endeavors.²⁸ Difference must be micromanaged and controlled in such a society and used only when it benefits all members.

Now, back to the characteristics of democracy and liberty. All of us have heard the saying, "Too much of a good thing, is a bad thing." And it is in excess of character that we see this most readily. If a man is courageous, we call him a hero, but if he does not have wisdom to temper his bravery, we call him foolhardy. A woman with a playful spirit is fun and puts people at ease, but if she is unable to ever be serious we might call her flighty. The same holds true with liberty. An individual who is free is inventive, productive, and self-sufficient, but with poor self-discipline, and faced with ineffective or questionable leadership, this person may become disenchanted with those in authority over them. Without laws to guide these freedoms, they could easily descend into anarchy. Plato fears that poorly ruled democracies will hold people who "chafe at the slightest suggestion of servitude."²⁹

Essentially the message here for us is that democracies are delicate things. They, happily, afford their citizens the most freedom but also require the most adept rulers to keep the society from devolving into anarchy, or in avoidance of chaos, tyranny.

In a global society this democracy is even more fragile, and as parts of it or the whole nears anarchy, it is essential that a force - a "protectorate" - step in to defend the people from the internal or external element that threatens them. People will surely give up freedom for the sake of safety. It is into this sort of society that we find ourselves today; a society that has already become globalized economically and culturally. Our democratic ideals have been stretched to the breaking point as more parts of the world - democratized and otherwise - witness riots,

power grabs, and substantial political shifting in their own homelands. The World Federalist Movement has offered a tantalizing prospect for protection and institution of law in the form of the ICC and R2P.

The fact that the WFM seems prepared with a protectorate at just this point in history is no coincidence. Bill Blaikie, former Member of Parliament and past Deputy Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, freely admitted that even as the movement seeks to perpetuate democracy, the world needed to be “protected from democracy.”³⁰ Those who believe that the global government proposed by the World Federalist will remain democratic are blind to the reality of the temptation of power and are unable to understand the nature of sovereignty. Sovereignty cannot be divided, and once there is a single source of power with no other authority above or equal with it, then can we really expect it to remain democratic?

Jean Francis Revel in his book *The Totalitarian Temptation* explains this phenomenon thus,

“Why submit to democratic decision making if one knows the ultimate Good and has a scientific theory that determines how a society must be managed? Democracy is based on uncertainty. If the people believe the leadership is in error, they can replace them with other leaders... thus the ability to convince others is the essential talent of a political man in democracy. But if those in power are convinced they hold the absolute Truth and represent the only legitimate political interest, inevitably they will consider it their right and duty to impose their truth by whatever means, no matter what the public may think, or better still, by preventing the public from thinking at all.”³¹

Despite their statements to the contrary, the democracy promoted by the WFM cannot be freeing because of the need to keep differences in check. World governance is not democracy at all; it is a form of management. And ultimately if a one-world government is created, as it sucks all sovereignty to itself, it inevitably will have no need for the consensus of people through democratic decision-making. Instead, it will have the power and means to install laws for the good of the whole, and we must hope those in charge are not tempted into tyranny.

Developments in World Federalism

Throughout the week of the WFM Congress, I attended meetings on the direction of world federalism, all attempting to set an agenda for the coming years. Although WFM past initiatives have been adopted as important steps in the global system, specifically the International Criminal Court and the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect, the world government “mountain-top” still awaits. And so discussions during the week centered on the various approaches that could be established to accomplish this tremendous goal. In a two-day session, “Pathways to

Global Democracy,” four options were presented and debated. These paths were as follows: transform the United Nations, integrate the regions, unite the democracies, and create a world constitution.

It was clear from the overall atmosphere of the congress that the approach most accepted by the World Federalists was the idea of UN reform. The main rallying-point that the WFM concerns itself with in regards to possible UN reform is the establishment of the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, touted because of the need for transparency and the correction of what they deem unfair voting and vetoing practices.

Transparency is a highly valued tenet of the WFM. In their 2009 statements on International Justice, Rule of Law and Human Rights, they state that, “the WFM supports transparency, good governance, and anticorruption practices globally.”³² Equality in representation is just as valued, for without it true democracy cannot be realized.

According to the WFM, one way to accomplish this transparency and equality in the UN is to adopt the proposed plan for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA). This assembly would be a collection of elected representatives from around the world. Its purpose: to assist the international community in overcoming global problems such as disease, poverty, and of course, war. Supposedly, this approach would give citizens more direct accessibility and influence over global decisions.³³ And if given a legal mandate, the UNPA would become the conduit for international law.

As a side organization to the UN General Assembly, the UNPA would be “the manifestation and vehicle of a changed consciousness and understanding of international politics... a political catalyst for further development of the international system and of international law.”³⁴ The UN Parliamentary Association would allow internationally minded politicians to “sit with like-minded people, not simply those who are geographically connected to them.”³⁵ Initially this assembly would be purely consultative to organizations with more active authority, and would provide appropriate pressure on nation-states giving them “political space to do the right thing.”³⁶

Eventually though, the hope is that the UNPA would become an empowered governing body. Such a concept has been accepted by other regional parliamentary assemblies, including the Pan-African Parliament in 2007 and the European Parliament in 2011, the latter of which has made a formal statement to call on the EU council to,

“...advocate the establishment of a UNPA within the UN system in order to increase the democratic accountability and the transparency of global governance and to allow for greater public participation in the activities of the UN, acknowledging that a UNPA would be complementary to the existing bodies, including the Inter-Parliamentary Union.”³⁷

The Campaign for a UNPA reached its 1000th parliamentary endorsement in 2011, and those supporting the campaign represent over 100 countries.³⁸

Another approach is to perform an official “charter review.” In fact, this has been called for since the UN’s inception. For those who have not read the entire United Nations *Charter*, Article 109 dictates that a *Charter* review would be set within 10 years.³⁹ The United Nations was formed in 1945 and a review council was called as required in 1955, but no review date was solidified - nor has a date been confirmed since. Yet, article 109 is viewed as especially important to the world federalist community.

The reason this is such a significant issue is that an official *Charter* review opens the possibility to re-structure the United Nations in a way more aligned with world federalist goals. However, the historical context and justification for a review lies in the veto power of the Permanent Five (PF) members of the UN Security Council (China, Russia, United States, United Kingdom, and France).⁴⁰ At any point one of these countries can deny humanitarian or legal involvement even if other non-permanent or permanent members vote in favor of an action. Historically speaking, when other countries joined the UN they did so with the condition that the *Charter* be amended to include article 109, thereby leaving a backdoor open – a future opportunity to gain a more equitable voting system via the a review process. As a supporter of global democracy, the World Federalist Movement feels the Security Council has been unfair in the monopolizing of the veto power, and that the P5 is biased toward their own interests by neglecting the mandated review process.

For most of the week it was this “transforming the United Nations” approach that took precedence, involving charter review and parliamentary reform, so I anticipated a strong pro-review outcome from the Congress. After all, we had been subjected to several sessions on the topic, all members seemed well versed in the concepts, and some spoke of it almost with reverence. This was the “holy grail” of federalist pursuits – the legal pathway to world order. So I waited to see what their Charter review strategy would look like by the end of the week, and finally, the moment came. During the last session, right at the end of the meeting, a resolution was presented to the council. And... it was almost unanimously rejected.

Why would they reject the very thing they had been planning? I had, of course, been considering all the reasons such a project may or may not work, but I had never expected them to so vehemently oppose their own plan. The “holy grail” of world federalism was so visible! As they debated the resolution the words “Pandora’s Box” kept coming up, and in hearing the arguments about the merits and challenges of the resolution I realized what they meant. Of course the WFM ultimately wanted one of their “pathways to global democracy” to work, but the result of an article 109 *Charter* review was simply too risky. More could be lost in the process than gained, and today’s society and political culture could not be counted on to ensure a successful world federalist outcome. After all, the surrendering of sovereignty is still too unpalatable for

nation-states. If they pursued this course of action at the present time, it probably would result in an upset, and just like expert poker players, they weren't going to bet the whole bank on a hand they were unsure of winning.

The structural elements – like an “advisory” UN Parliamentary Assembly - could be put into place, but the “one historic tipping point” had to be waited for before the world would be ready for such a large jump. In the mean time they needed to work on smaller projects that “reform, but minimally effect sovereignty [and] that show that sovereignty may not be as great as it seems.”⁴¹



Of course, “UN reform” is simply a stepping-stone to the ultimate goal: world federation. The UN is nothing but a “stop-gap”⁴² and regional groupings are “temporary half-way houses -training grounds for... the global integration.”⁴³ But because nation-states resist the loss of sovereignty in an overall sense, it is imperative that the process work in manageable stages, posed more as a voluntary concession than a takeover.

In reading World Federalist literature, it became clear to me that a good portion of this movement completely understands the goal of the process: the dissolution of state sovereignty and the replacement of real-politics under a global authority. And yet, the majority of world federalists I met at the Congress are really genuine people with admirable intentions. They desire world peace, respect human rights, and resist war. Yet they seemed unaware of what their pursuit leads to. Rousseau has an excellent section on how sovereignty cannot be split. It must reside in one location. And so there is no way, once a world governing body is set up, that nation-states can maintain their independence. Once such an organization is established, not even rule of law can keep it in check.

As Thomas Hobbes declared,

“...law neither makes the sovereign, nor limits his authority; it is might that makes the sovereign and law is merely what he commands. Moreover since the power that is the strongest clearly cannot be limited by anything outside itself, it follows that sovereignty must be absolute and illimitable; ‘it appeareth plainly that the sovereign power... is as great as possibly men can be imagined to make it.’⁴⁴

This is, of course, what we call “totalitarianism pure and simple.”⁴⁵

War Games: Waiting for a War

As I listened to the various sessions on United Nations reform, International Justice, or Pathways to Global Democracy, I was struck by the glaring contradiction that echoed throughout the week. The concept, “we must unite before we destroy each other,” was repeated in multiple forms in almost every session by various high-standing leaders of the WFM. And this is quite possibly the phrase that exemplifies the mission of world federalism, because at the movement’s root it is “not trying to build a utopia; rather it is urgently trying to prevent world-wide disaster.”⁴⁶ Yet in every meeting where these words were uttered, an antithetical call was also issued, the hope of war.

Not that the desire for war was ever expressively stated, but allusions to the need for such a disaster were scattered throughout the meetings. Those at the World Federalist Congress were very aware that other great alliances, such as the League of Nations and the United Nations, were the direct result of a war. And as their imagined global parliamentary system is a “third attempt at world order,”⁴⁷ it is understandable that they expect and need another globally significant war to produce the kind of international government they envision.

This underlying need for crisis has been in their literature from the beginning, including *The Anatomy of Peace* by Emery Reves, the “godfather” of the modern World Federalist community.⁴⁸ It was also expressed by Jean Monnet, commonly considered the father of modern Europe, when he said, “People only accept change when they are faced with necessity, and only recognize necessity when a crisis is upon them... crises are opportunities.”⁴⁹

This opportunistic spirit has perpetuated in federalist thought until now, when all of us present at the Congress were told by Bill Blaikie that we are, “waiting for that one historic tipping point.”⁵⁰ It will be at that “tipping point” when world government will seem more acceptable to the now hesitant nation-states, for it will seem more necessary to ensure human survival.

I can’t help but view this with horror and confusion: Horror at the thinly veiled hope for crisis, and confusion at the mixed message this sends. When I first heard the phrase, “we must unite before we destroy each other,” I thought of the different times in history when unity between municipalities was achieved. As stated previously, the UN and League of Nations were formed after a war. The United States as it exists today is the product of warfare, including the Civil War, which almost destroyed the country. And European unification was built on the ashes of World War II. Indeed, it is hard to find a unified



Bill Blaikie

body that did not come together either as an outcome of crisis or in anticipation of the threat of one. And so I scoffed at the notion that the world could unify before it destroyed itself. But as the week unfolded and I heard more and more references to the need for a crisis in order to unify, I realized that the leaders of the World Federalist Movement - Blaikie, Axworthy, Pace and others - were very aware of the same issue I was: In our efforts to unite, we may have to destroy each other.

Conclusion

The week I spent observing the 26th World Federalist Congress was certainly eye opening. I learned many things about the concept of world governance, the United Nations, and more – including the deeper, underlying issues that are seldom thought about by the average citizen on the street. Strangely enough, I grew to like many of the individual World Federalist members, and I learned to appreciate their genuine desire for peace in the world. Even so, I saw the dark side of the movement in their need for a crisis to institute their plans, and I became increasingly aware of the slippery slope underlying a “world democracy.”



Lloyd Axworthy

In its past the WFM has achieved many significant steps toward world unity through the work of Axworthy, Pace, Christie and others, but the movement is at its own tipping point. Almost all of the individuals present under the age of 35 were elected to the council during the final days of the Congress, and this will surely change the flavor of the organization. In talking to some of the younger members it seemed a few were more in favor of nation-state sovereignty, while others sided with the establishment players. This potential split-mentality in the new council may hinder their momentum, or it may cause a change in their policies. Either way the WFM is experiencing change and challenges as a new generation inherits their work.

I, for one, will be watching until their next Congress, with concern and anticipation. **FC**

This *Forcing Change* report was put together by Olivia Chance, a student at Cornerstone University, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Endnotes:

- ¹ World Federalist Movement website. "About Us," accessed July 21, 2012. <http://www.wfm-igp.org/site/about>
- ² Cinq-Mars, Evan. "RtoP and the ICC: Complementarity in Prevention, Assistance and Response." *World Federalist News* (2012): 8.
- ³ Treaty referenced here is based on the Rome Statute, ratified by 121 nation-states as of July 1, 2012. For more information on this treaty please see <http://untreaty.un.org/cod/icc/statute/rome.htm> where it is posted in its entirety.
- ⁴ International Criminal Court, "About the Court," Accessed July 21, 2012. www.icc-cpi.int/Menus/ICC/About+the+Court
- ⁵ Cannock, Matthew. "ICC First Verdict: Thomas Lubanga Dyilo." *World Federalist News* (2012): 10.
- ⁶ International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect website. "Introduction to the Responsibility to Protect," <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/about-rtop>
- ⁷ Lloyd Axworthy has also served as the President of the UN Security Council from 1999-2000 and is currently the President of University of Winnipeg.
- ⁸ Bill Pace has served as the Convener of the ICC since its creation, he is also co-founder of the R2P initiative, as well as serving on various UN boards regarding international law, justice, and human rights.
- ⁹ James Christie is co-vice President of the Canadian Council of Churches and since stepping down at the 26th World Federalist Congress as their Council Chair, he is serving in an advisory capacity for the WFM.
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- ¹⁷ Baratta, Joseph P. *Strengthening the United Nations*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987. 3&14
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- ²⁴ Plato. *The Republic*. Book 8. Sec. 557b-c.
- ²⁵ "Empire" is both the title of Hardt and Negri's book and the term ascribed to the economic force uniting our world.
- ²⁶ Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000. 198
- ²⁷ Ibid, 199.
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- ²⁹ Plato. *The Republic*. Book 8. Sec. 563d
- ³⁰ Blaikie, Bill. UN Parliamentary Reform, Plenary Session #1. 26th World Federalist Congress. July 10, 2012.
- ³¹ Revel, Jean-Francois. *The Totalitarian Temptation*. Translated by David Hapgood. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1977. 39-40.
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- ³³ See various quotes at www.unpacampaign.org/documents/en/QUOTATIONS.pdf
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- ³⁷ European Parliament, June 2011.
- ³⁸ Brummel, Andreas. "Global Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly Continues on All Continents." *The Federalist Debate*, 25, no. 2 (2012): 47-48.
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- ⁴¹ Pathways to Global Democracy Session #1. 26th World federalist Congress. July 11, 2012.
- ⁴² Thomson, Watson. *Turning Into Tomorrow*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1966. 112.
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Adventures in One World, continued from page 2.**The World Federal...?**

The “World Federalist Movement” isn’t exactly a household name. Even among the research community critical of internationalism, it seems little serious attention has been paid to this group. Books have been written exposing the one-world designs of the United Nations, the power of the global banking community, the influence of the Council on Foreign Relations, the secretive Bilderberg gatherings, and the high-strangeness of the mysterious Order of the Skull and Bones. But the World Federalist community?

Besides a few passing mentions in the exposé literature, those who monitor global governance have largely overlooked the WFM.

Ironically, it’s not easy finding a detailed, published history from the perspective of the Movement itself. Much has been written endorsing or advancing the concept of world federalism,¹ and a few first-hand accounts have surfaced, providing an important if fragmented personal perspective. Cord Meyer’s book, *Facing Reality: From World Federalism to the CIA*, is one first-person example; Meyer was a United States special assistant to the United Nations Charter Conference in 1945, became the first president of the United World Federalists, and then joined the Central Intelligence Agency where he eventually held the position of Assistant Deputy Director of Plans (second in command of global clandestine operations).² But the only in-depth, published account of the World Federalist community that I have found is Joseph P. Barranta’s two-volume survey titled *The Politics of World Federation* - originally priced at \$150!³

Although the World Federalist community appears low-profile today, it has played an indelible role in the quest for world government. I witnessed this in a most unusual manner in 1999 while attending a national World Federalist event in Dallas, TX. There, somebody had set-up a television and VCR in the hallway, and at one point in the day I found myself seated with Federalists watching tapes of Cliff Kincaid and Phyllis Schlafly, two authors who write and speak on the dangers of global governance. Neither individual mentioned the World Federalists by name, but both detailed aspects of the United Nations empowerment agenda, and one of them framed this as a back-door approach to world government. Immediately, a boisterous World Federalist standing behind me shouted, “That’s us. We’re the conspiracy!”

There is a paradox in this boast. If it is a conspiracy, World Federalists represent the “conspiracy of an idea” versus a secretly guarded, closed-loop system. Why? Because World Federalist organizations operate on a membership model, drawing funds and political leverage from their numbers. In other words, it’s a relatively transparent operation; tax returns are filed, director names are listed, campaigns are public, motives are discernible. H.G. Wells would have referred to this as part of “the Open Conspiracy” - a religious-like, “creative organizing movement” of various and enlightened groups who are loyal to world organization, exerting their worldview through education and propaganda.⁴

Wells [pictured on right], who was a long time promoter of world government and global technical management, conceived of a world-order revolution taking place through organizational stages, from small groups advancing to complex organizations, and centralizing as like minded bodies assimilate - finally, “attempting to swallow up the entire population of the world and become the new human community.”⁵



Something to ponder: In considering a systemic world change, as envisioned by a dedicated group, is it possible that an “open approach” may be more fruitful than a closed operation? Granted, organizations using a secretive or semi-closed approach would celebrate victories, especially in the influencing national elites. However, closed organizations run the risk of eventually arousing public suspicion, mistrust, or push-back. On the other hand, an “open group” may successfully function for decades - permeating governmental, academic, and social strata - without experiencing significant public discord; because *it is open, it is accessible, it is democratic*, and therefore *non-threatening*. Globalist organizations using this “open” methodology act as a repository for world order ideas, and as society shifts, the group presents issue-specific campaigns to meet the demand for change, with an eye remaining on the bigger prize.

In many ways the World Federalist Movement fits this description. Today it is virtually unknown by the general population, yet the Movement celebrated its 65th anniversary this year. In those decades, the WFM has been a primary actor in openly framing global agendas, while remaining structurally unscathed when a campaign experiences a public-relations setback. Furthermore, its openness lends authenticity, generating support and endorsement from peers, and allowing other groups to network within its more narrow campaign programs. This dynamic was observable at the Winnipeg WFM Congress as letters of congratulations came from UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and former UN leader Kofi Annan.

Ban Ki-moon:

“Your Movement has a crucial role to play in helping the United Nations and people everywhere to build the future we want... we in the United Nations know we can succeed only when we work with our partners in common cause. That is why we attach great importance to our constructive engagement with the World Federalist Movement, and it is why we look forward to many more years of cooperation.”⁶

Kofi Annan:

“I send my special greetings to your President, Lloyd Axworthy, and General Secretary, Bill Pace who, together with hundreds of civil society actors, supported the establishment of the International Criminal Court and the adoption of the Responsibility to Protect norm. These are just two of the many ways your Movement has worked to advance peace and security, the rule of law and human rights. I wish you all every continued success in your important work.”⁷

Success they have had (See “Stepping Stones to Global Order” on page 31), and the WFM is presently gearing up to re-energize old campaigns and advance new ones. But before we examine the outcome of the 26th WFM Congress, we need to briefly dive into the history of this Movement. Why? Because the World Federalist community, arguably more than any other group, frames the backstory to the biggest of ideas: world government.

From the Ashes of War

Dreams of world federation pre-dates the Great War (World War I), but it was during World War II when the movement gained serious traction. This is not hard to understand. Consider what transpired during that period; London suffered the Blitz, Western Europe was crushed, Eastern Europe and Russia became a mass graveyard, conflict washed over the Mediterranean Basin, the Middle East shook, blood flowed from Manchuria to the Philippines, Japanese cities vanished, and the planet’s oceans became deadly hunting grounds. No place seemed immune from the hand of war - a “world order” crisis was playing out, and as the old cliché goes: “global problems require global solutions.”

The League of Nations, birthed in 1919, had failed to prevent the most devastating war in human history. As Europe and Asia reeled, noted authors such as Ely Culbertson, Scott Nearing, and Emery Reves fueled interest in a hoped-for world government,⁸ and newspapers and magazines from the day touted the need for an international authority. A new global arrangement was necessary, one that would surpass the ineffective League of Nations, and federalism would have to lead the way.

This federalist perspective was outlined in Clarence Streit’s 1939 book, *Union Now*, which hit US bookstores in a major way in 1940, quickly becoming a best-seller.⁹ *Union Now* recommended combining the democratic Western nations with the federalist model of the United States, thereby creating an “inter-democracy federal union.” By limiting participating nations to a select group of democracies, and their colonies - as opposed to waiting for universal federalism - he believed a nucleus world government could rapidly emerge. Streit’s ideas caught the imagination of leaders and laypeople alike, spawning new organizations and feeding the desire for world peace through world order. Joseph Baratta explains that *Union Now* was “the book which started the world government movement.”¹⁰

In 1941 a sequel was released, *Union Now With Britain*, calling on Americans and Britons to form an embryonic world government by joining the British Commonwealth with the United States. This union, according to Streit, would combine “two great instruments,” British-birthed representative government and American federalism, thus creating “the Great Republic, the Commonwealth of Man.” After all, “No others have done so much to bring about world government as we Americans and British have.”¹¹ Many other personalities extolled global government as the answer to world war.

Haridas Muzumdar, the US-spokesman for Mahatma Gandhi, bridged the American federalist experiment with “world peace” and the “World State.” In his acclaimed book, *The United Nations of the World*, he celebrated the signing of the Atlantic Charter in Washington DC, recognizing that this document - laying the ground work for the coming United Nations - was the “cornerstone of the world order of tomorrow.”¹²



Clarence Streit on the cover of *Time* in 1950. That year, Mr. Streit was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his work on world federation.

“We are on the threshold of a new world order. It is appropriate that the beginnings of the Commonwealth of the United Nations of the World should have been made in Washington. The United Nations of the World - the U.N.W. - is the logical culmination of the work of the Founding Fathers, of George Washington and his co-workers, who established the United States of America...

...Let us hold fast to the idea that the United Nations of the World shall be the logical extension of the United States of America both in function and in pattern.”¹³

By late 1940, two years before Muzumdar’s book was circulated, there was enough literature on the subject that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace published a 17-page bibliography aptly titled *The New World Order* - a “select list of references on regional and world federation; together with some special plans for world order after the war.”¹⁴ The majority of the texts listed would have been considered “new releases.” Similarly, when historian Baratta published his 300+ page bibliography on UN Reform and World Federalism in 1987, it contained a significant amount of entries from the War years.¹⁵

Church denominations too were enamored with the idea of world government. In the early 1940s, John Foster Dulles chaired a special commission of the Federal Council of Churches meant to spur-on the faith community in supporting the creation of an international order.¹⁶ Pulling together seminary presidents and eminent Christian professors, the Commission to Study the

Bases of a Just and Durable Peace - also known as the Dulles Commission - worked to link Dulles' aspiration of world federalism with the grass-roots leverage of clergy. Commission reports were widely distributed, such as *A Just and Durable Peace*, a collection of recommendations for "an organized world government."¹⁷ One controversial suggestion was "an international force, possessed of such overwhelming strength that no would-be aggressor would dare to challenge it."¹⁸ Dulles himself called the report "a short resume of some concrete proposals for a new world order."¹⁹ Over 450,000 copies were distributed.²⁰

Martin Erdmann, author of *Building the Kingdom of God on Earth* - a detailed review of church support for world order from 1919 to 1945 - explains that Protestant churches across America were "urged to get behind the Commission's programs calling for an end to U.S. isolationism and for the establishment of a world organization..."²¹ The Commission's outreach campaign was extensive; booklets, study guides, newspaper advertisements, magazine articles, public lectures, mass distribution of Commission statements, and more. Erdmann writes, "Dulles set all levels of mass propaganda in motion to publicise the idea of American participation in some form of world organization."²²

Other church bodies were hard at work rallying public support for a "new world order," including the Methodist Council of Bishops, the Northern Baptist Convention, and the Congressional Church. In fact, after the Methodist "Crusade for a New World Order" overwhelmed the White House with letters demanding a world authority, President Franklin D. Roosevelt responded in writing to the Crusade leaders, thanking them for "transforming public opinion."²³ World federalism was preached from the pulpit, and many in the pews were soaking it up.

Leading public personalities also spoke in favor of world government. Albert Einstein rubbed shoulders with world federalists as he repeatedly called for a world government to end war, and after World War II, Winston Churchill often stressed the need for an international authority; "an authoritative, all-powerful world order is the ultimate aim toward which we must strive," something he termed an "effective World Super-Government."²⁴ Former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts was a supporter of world federalism, and Sumner Welles - US Under Secretary of State and chief planner for the United Nations under FDR - was a member of a US world federalist enterprise.

Recognizing this broad push during those crucial years, it's no surprise that this period witnessed the birth of numerous membership-based "world government" organizations. And these entities were not static. Public lectures, letter campaigns, and membership drives capitalized on the underlying public anticipation. Some groups, like the Americans United for World Organization and the World Government Association, met with the US State Department in the lead-up to the creation of the United Nations.²⁵

In August 1947, at Montreux, Switzerland, world government organizers held a conference on the future of the movement. The result was the Montreux Declaration, which birthed the World Movement for World Federal Government (WMWFG), calling on "the peoples of the world to join us in our work," and stating: "We world federalists affirm that mankind can free itself for-

ever from war only through the establishment of a world federal government.”²⁶ Although the ultimate goal was the establishment of a world government based on six structural targets (See sidebar: Six WMWFG Goals), the Declaration noted the importance of regionalism,

“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.”²⁷

Arranged as a type of umbrella body for the World Federalist community, the WMWFG membership high-point was in the early 1950s when it had “52 national organizations and another 21 associated organizations.”²⁸ At the time, the WMWFG enjoyed a heightened level of acclaim. Its core was comprised of notable personalities, including British Member of Parliament Henry Osborne and Nobel Peace Prize recipient, Lord Boyd Orr. And at its 4th Congress, held in Rome, Italy, WMWFG leadership met with Pope Pius XII [pictured on right], who openly supported the organization’s work.



“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, if only to end the competitive rearming of nations...”²⁹

In 1956 the WMWFG changed its name to the World Association of World Federalists, and in 1994 changed to its current form, the World Federalist Movement, albeit with no shifts in policy or goals. Today, the WFM works with a number of national world federalist groups. In my country it’s the World Federalist Movement - Canada, which is now contemplating a name change. In the United States the national body was first known as the United World Federalists (UWF), which was birthed through a merger of five national groups in 1947. By 1950 the UWF had close to 50,000 members. Later the organization changed its name to World Federalists, USA., and then “worn and weary,” it collapsed in 1975. However, the following year it was revised as a 501(c)3 nonprofit educational organization, the World Federalist Association, with a legally separated political action committee, the Campaign for U.N. Reform.³⁰ In 2004 these separate yet overlapping groups joined to become the Citizens For Global Solutions.

Japan too has a WFM member body, as does the Dominican Republic, and India has two organizations. In England the Federal Union represents the British branch, and Belgium, Norway,

Denmark, Switzerland, and the Netherlands all host WFM groups. Active WFM leaders are also found in France, Germany, Italy, and Israel. World federalist and global governance entities associated with the WFM include the Ugandan World Federalists, Democracia Global in Argentina, the Nigerian-based Pan-African Reconciliation Centre, the World Citizens Association of Australia, One World Trust, and the Union of European Federalists - an historically important euro-federalist body with 19 member organizations.

Birthered in the ashes of war, the World Federalist community - 65 years later - still upholds world government as the final goal.

Winnipeg Outcomes

Observing what transpired at the WFM Congress in Winnipeg was important, for it allowed us an “inside” picture of the world government agenda. In turn, you too are given a panoramic view, *as no media covered the event*.

Listed below are gleanings from the Congress: Old campaigns to be maintained, existing campaigns to be invigorated, and new projects to be floated before the international community. And one proposal, the “Holy Grail of World Government,” that failed to be accepted by the WFM Congress.

NOTE: Please see “Stepping Stones to Global Order” on page 31, as it details how the World Federalist Movement was-and-is the principle back-stage actor behind the International Criminal Court and the “Responsibility to Protect” intervention doctrine.

Re-Energizing the Old

International Criminal Court: It was noted that the ICC is the first meaningful experiment whereby world law trumps national law. Moreover, with ICC now in force, it was explained that the next step would be to push for universal ratification. At this point 120 nations have signed into the ICC - a significant achievement. But once the ICC has been ratified by an overwhelming majority of countries, then it will truly become a universal player with universal jurisdiction, opening new vistas for world governance.

Future expectations include:

1. Universal ratification and universal jurisdiction.
2. Expand the meaning of “crimes of aggression” to include gender-based and sexual crimes, and anything that would be considered a manifest violation of the United Nations Charter.
3. Embedding ICC “crimes of aggression” within national law, thereby subsuming a country’s judicial structure within the context of an international legal order.

Responsibility to Protect: R2P is a new doctrine that justifies the use of international force within the affairs of a nation during civil-unrest, especially where the potential to commit crimes against humanity are considered high. NATO and UN involvement in Libya during 2011 was justified under R2P.

Now that the World Federalist community has successfully lobbied for R2P, and as the doctrine is recognized by the WFM as a “game changer” on the road to global governance, the following was noted.

- 1) R2P needs to be strengthened as the “new international norm.” The meaning is clear: R2P should be pursued as a standardized intervention tool by the dominant global actors (UN, NATO, African Union, etc).
- 2) Lloyd Axworthy, the main driver behind R2P, talked about “un-bundling” the package. Currently, the justification for R2P rests on allegations of genocide. However, it is hoped that R2P could be unbundled from this narrow interpretation and attached to a host of other “global problems,” particularly the environment and world poverty.

Author’s NOTE: In *Forcing Change* and on radio programs I have communicated about R2P being a type of “Pandora’s Box.” On the pretext of good intentions - the goal of ending horrific crimes against humanity - it opens up to something else. The back-story goal of R2P is straight forward; World Federalism through United Nations empowerment.

Existing Campaigns to Strengthen

United Nations Parliamentary Assembly: For years the World Federalist community has been trying to energize the movement towards a World Parliament. To this end, WFM has a tight partnership with Andreas Bummel’s Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. At the 26th WFM Congress it was agreed to strengthen this cause. One idea was to bring on-board the mayors of world cities and municipal leadership in the support of the UNPA goal.

It was also suggested that the UNPA could start as a type of voluntary consulting body that’s attached to the UN General Assembly or the European Parliament. In this capacity, the UNPA could act as a pressure body to coach national governments toward progressive global goals. Moreover, if a volunteer UNPA could be created, then a future world crisis may present a “tipping point” opportunity, allowing the UNPA to take the stage as a legitimate global authority. Even if this doesn’t occur, the UNPA could be sold as a stabilizing force in global governance.

Bill Blaikie, a World Federalist and former Deputy Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, put this leveling factor into perspective.

“We have global governance now whether we like it or not, its just that it’s not democratic and it’s operating under a particular paradigm that puts the rights of investors and capital on one side - very high up the moral hierarchy - and the rights of workers and the environment very low on the moral hierarchy. So what

we want, is, if we're going to have global governance then we need to have global governance that is balanced and takes all these things into account, and I see the formation of the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly as one of the ways in which we can bring about that kind of balancing.”³¹

Global Governance: In the promotion of global governance, the WFM has long advocated reforming the United Nations system, particularly the Security Council veto process. Other efforts at WFM-global governance capacity building include pursuing regional federalism, and a start to this endeavor would be to pursue WFM accreditation in all regional organizations (African Union, ASEAN, etc), thereby ensuring a World Federalist voice in regional integration.

UNEPS: Although the idea of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service was not widely discussed, it was embedded in a Commission resolution that was passed by the Congress. Without going into too much detail, UNEPS is a World Federalist proposal to create a United Nations rapid reaction military unit that could deploy in emergency conflict situations. Its purpose would be to intervene in potential genocide situations and other possible human rights violations at the national level. Essentially, the UNEPS would become the military arm of the United Nations, empowered through the R2P mandate. The idea of a UNEPS has circulated for years, but was boosted in 2006 when the WFM published its aptly titled report, *A United Nations Emergency Peace Force: To Prevent Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*.

New Projects and Developments

Manifesto for a Global Democracy: This is a new *Manifesto* project put forward by Argentina's Democracia Global, whose Vice President, Fernando Iglesias, is now the new WFM Council Chair. Already the document has found favor with a small but influential group of academic signers, including Richard A. Falk and Noam Chomsky. The *Manifesto* calls for the democratization of global governance, including the development of a World Parliament through the UNPA. The importance of the *Manifesto* is this: It will be used as a WFM rallying banner for the creation of “global democracy” coalitions, bringing social justice organizations into the mix, student unions, faith groups, and other members of civil society - and whether these network partners know it or not, when they advance the cause of “global democracy,” they will be strengthening the call for World Federalism.

International Environmental Agencies: At the Congress, Working Commission # 4 - “Global Environmental and Economic Governance” - tabled a resolution that included a number of recommendations for the creation of international environmental agencies.

1) To support and lobby for the development of an International Environmental Court, built on the existing model of the International Criminal Court.

- 2) The establishment of a supranational Democratic Climate Decision Making System.
- 3) Support for the outcome agenda of the UN Rio+20 summit, which took place earlier in the summer. Although Rio+20 was considered a wash by most organizations, the WFM recognized two important points in the outcome document:

First, the call to develop a High-Level intergovernmental political forum on sustainable development, established through the UN General Assembly.

Second, to reform the United National Environment Programme into “the leading global environmental authority that sets the global environmental agenda.” UNEP would become in practice, if not in name, the United Nations Environment Agency.

International Economic Governance: WFM Working Commission #4 recommended the following action items regarding the global economy,

- 1) Full transparency in all international financial transactions.
- 2) Introducing an international financial transaction tax - something the World Federalist community has been advocating for a very long time. According to Working Commission 4, the money collected would be used to strengthen international institutions, ie., the United Nations, and could be channeled into achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals.
- 3) Advocating the closure of global tax havens.
- 4) The development, under the United Nations, of a systematic standardization of corporate taxes at the international level as a means to minimize capital flight.

Working Commission 4 also noted the importance of the European crisis, for it has shown “that monetary union requires the development of federal political institutions.”

Religion and World Order: James Christie, the outgoing WFM Council Chair and former Dean of Theology at the University of Winnipeg, issued a letter-style report to the Congress. In recognizing the Arab Spring and the role of religion he penned the following: “Federalism and federalists had best prepare for a dialogue with world religions - especially Islam - for the sake of a vibrant, hitherto unimagined global democracy.”

The One That Got Away

As the Winnipeg Congress wound down, one major resolutions was tabled, what I dub the “Holy Grail of World Government.” Put forward by Mahmoud Sharei, a member of the San Francisco Democratic World Federalists, his well-worded resolution called on the WFM to pressure the United Nations towards a legally constituted UN Charter review. Under Article 109, Paragraph 3 of the Charter, there is a special provision that opens the door for a complete review of the United Nations back-bone document, the Charter. This review, which was to happen in 1955, *never happened*. It remains in place, waiting to be acted on.

The World Federalist Movement has historically recognized the power of Article 109, knowing that if successfully engaged, it paves the way to legally re-configure the United Nations into a Federal World Government. There it is: A legal provision to re-build the United Nations from the ground-up - a gateway, if you will, to the new world order. As long as everyone involved plays their cards right.

And that's why the resolution tabled in Winnipeg didn't pass. It's not that the Congress disagreed with the detailed work of Mahmoud, who did an excellent job in laying out a roadmap to a Charter review campaign. Rather, it was repeatedly said by WFM members that to pry open Article 109 was to open "Pandora's Box." Once in play, it could not be guaranteed that a World Federalist outcome would be secure. Instead, they realized that a Charter review may just as easily swing the other direction - dissolution of the United Nations.

The timing isn't yet right to pursue the Holy Grail.

Conclusion

The 26th WFM Congress in Winnipeg was important in that it set the world government agenda for the next three to five years. And it was important that I, and my partner, attended this event. In doing so, and therefore presenting this report, you have been given an advance notification as to the key campaigns and issues that will be leveraged in the near future. In a real sense, you have just received an "intelligence briefing" - a tool you can use to analyze world events and hot-button global topics.

This doesn't mean you'll hear the words "World Federalism" when watching or reading the news, but when you encounter the International Criminal Court or R2P - or other ideas like the United Nations Emergency Peace Service - you will have a far better understanding of the larger reality behind the headlines.

And when the world passes the "tipping-point," however that may look or feel, you won't be surprised to find that the structure for an "international authority" is already in motion. It already is, and has been, for 65 years.

It's just a matter of timing. *FC*

Carl Teichrib is editor of *Forcing Change*, a monthly journal on world change issues examined from a Christian perspective (www.forcingchange.org).

Endnotes:

¹ My own library collection attests to the fact that much has been written endorsing or advancing world federalism. However, a better sense of the size and scope of the literature comes from Joseph P. Baratta's extensive bibliography on United Nations reform and world federalism, published by Greenwood Press in 1987. This work is over 300 pages long, not including the Author Index, and is titled *Strengthening the United Nations: A Bibliography on U.N. Reform and World Federalism*.

² See Cord Meyer, *Facing Reality: From World Federalism to the CIA* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1980).

³ World Federalist, Ronald J. Glossop, gives a review of Baratta's work on the Democratic World Federalist website, http://dwfed.org/pp_baratta.htm. For more on the history of the World Federalist community, see Joseph Preston Baratta, *The Politics of World Federalism*, 2 Volumes (Praeger Publishers, 2004). Both volumes are in the *Forcing Change* research library.

⁴ H.G. Wells, *The Open Conspiracy: Blue Prints for a World Revolution*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1928). Wells' promoted the open conspiracy as a loose movement of like-minded and influential world citizens, birthing global order through the conditioning of society.

⁵ Ibid, p.163.

⁶ Ban Ki-moon, Message to the World Federalist Movement on its 65th Anniversary, Winnipeg, Canada, 9-13 July 2012. Letter on file.

⁷ Kofi Annan Message to the World Federalist Movement on the occasion of the 65th Anniversary. Letter circulated to the Winnipeg WFM Congress, 2012. Document on file.

⁸ Clarence K. Streit's book *Union Now* created waves on both sides of the Atlantic. Streit called for a federal union of the democracies as the basis of world government.

Haridas T. Muzumdar's *The United Nations and the World* (1942/1944) advocated a "Commonwealth of the United Nations of the World." As he wrote in Chapter 1: "We are on the threshold of a new world order."

Ely Culbertson's *Total Peace* detailed a world federation system upheld by regional federations, complete with an international military force comprised of fighting units allocated from national members.

Scott Nearing connected social engineering with the creation of a unified global community, and the emergence of the world man, in his book *United World*.

Emery Reves, considered the modern philosophical father of the world federalist community, published *The Anatomy of Peace* in 1945/46. This work was a strong call for a world federal system, and was endorsed by many leading personalities, including Owen J. Roberts and Albert Einstein.

⁹ *Union Now* was first privately distributed in 1938 to 300 influential people. It went through seven editions by 1949.

¹⁰ See Joseph Preston Baratta, *Strengthening the United Nations: A Bibliography on U.N. Reform and World Federalism*. (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1987), p.26.

¹¹ Clarence K. Streit, *Union Now With Britain*. (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1941); for "Commonwealth of Man," see page 50. For US-UK "world government," see page 124.

¹² Haridas T. Muzumdar, *The United Nations of the World* (New York, NY: Universal Publishing House, 1942/1944), pp.26.

¹³ Ibid, pp.18, 23.

¹⁴ *The New World Order*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Bibliography No.10, Dec., 12, 1940. Most of the items in this bibliography were published the same year the bibliography was compiled.

¹⁵ Joseph Preston Baratta, *Strengthening the United Nations: A Bibliography on U.N. Reform and World Federalism*. (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1987).

¹⁶ See, *A Just and Durable Peace: Data Material and Discussion Questions*, published by The Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1941.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.21.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.44.

¹⁹ Ibid, p.5 - Forward by Dulles.

²⁰ Martin Erdmann, *Building the Kingdom of God on Earth: The Churches' Contribution to Marshal Public Support for World Order and Peace, 1919-1945* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2005), p.210.

²¹ Ibid, p.247.

²² Ibid, p.251.

²³ Ibid, p.267.

²⁴ Winston Churchill, "United Europe," speaking on May 14, 1947, Albert Hall, London UK, as published in *Churchill Speaks, 1897-1963: Collected Speeches in Peace and War* (New York, NY: Barnes & Nobles, 1980, edited by Robert Rhodes James), p.913.

²⁵ See Dorothy B. Robins, *Experiment in Democracy: The Story of U.S. Citizen Organizations in Forging the Charter of the United Nations* (New York, NY: The Parkside Press, 1971).

²⁶ The complete Montreux Declaration can be found on pages 12 and 13 of *The Power Puzzle: A Compilation of Documents and Resources on Global Governance*, edited by Carl Teichrib, and accessible through the Forcing Change website (www.forcingchange.org).

²⁷ Ibid, p.13.

²⁸ Joseph Preston Baratta, *The Politics of World Federation: From World Federalism to Global Governance*, Volume 2 (London, UK: Praeger, 2004), pp.445-446.

²⁹ The complete text of Pope Pius XII's speech to the World Movement for World Federal Government is printed in *The Power Puzzle: A Compilation of Documents and Resources on Global Governance*, edited by Carl Teichrib, 2004 (This collection of documents can be downloaded in the membership section of *Forcing Change*: www.forcingchange.org). This meeting between the WMWFG and Pius XII occurred on April 6, 1951, and in reading the text, it's evident that this meeting took place in the Vatican itself.

³⁰ Joseph Preston Baratta, *The Politics of World Federation: From World Federalism to Global Government*. (London, UK: Praeger 2004), p.514.

³¹ Quote extracted from the author's audio recording of July 10 WFM Congress side event on the UNPA.

STEPPING STONES TO GLOBAL ORDER:

65 Years of World Federalist Victories

By Carl Teichrib (www.forcingchange.org)

The World Federalist community has not yet achieved the high-goal of world government, at least not in the way members are hoping for. However, we are living in the age of global governance. A paradox?

In 1997, I heard this “world government” predicament explained to a small gathering of Federalists and members of Streit’s Association to Unite the Democracies during a meeting in Chicago. Nari Safavi, then President of the World Federalist Association of Chicago and a member of the national board, explained it this way,

“To the idea of a world government, World Federalists nowadays basically respond that the world government is already here. When you look at organizations such as the World Trade Organization or the IMF or... the World Bank; what are these? These are instruments of global governance. World government is here, but we just don’t have any voice in them... if we want to have a Federation to be democratic, we need to have people’s representation...”¹

Nonetheless, the World Federalists have had a number of successes on the road to world order, including the International Criminal Court. This fact alone demands we take the movement seriously. The following points represents a few of its victories over the past 65 years;

- World federalists and their supporters played a role in the creation of the United Nations.²
- Euro-federalists and world federalist organizations and personalities were active in the idea of European unification,³ and today federalists are involved with the promotion of deeper fiscal integration as a solution to the euro-crisis.⁴
- In the 1940s and early 1950s, World Federalists introduced US state resolutions and referenda in support of world government, international law, and world federalism. Many of these resolutions and referenda had substantial political support. Non-binding world government resolutions passed in North Carolina, New Jersey, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Alabama, Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Utah, Oklahoma, New Hampshire, Florida, Georgia, Missouri, North Dakota, Massachusetts, Arkansas, Washington, Oregon, Colorado, and Kentucky. Binding resolutions were passed in California, Maine, North Carolina, Connecticut, and New Jersey.⁵
- A small mountain of World Federalist resolutions were submitted to the US Congress and Senate. These texts introduced a number of interlocking world government ideas; a program for international economic cooperation, creation of a world republic and the United State of Europe,

resolutions to strengthen the United Nations and give it a “world police force,” Regional Security, an Atlantic Union, World Federation, etc. Less than a handful of the generally weaker resolutions passed. However, these texts implanted the concept within the political framework of the United States. Therefore, it’s not surprising that some resolutions, such as HCR-64 of 1949, “World Federation,” had 111 co-sponsors, including John F. Kennedy and Gerald R. Ford.⁶

- World Federalists “spearheaded the movement to establish the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.”⁷ This speaks volumes about the ACDA, which, as a separate federal agency on disarmament issues, placed the idea of a UN global military force in the foreign policy environment of the United States. Birthed in the early 1960s, the ACDA has since been absorbed by the US State Department. **NOTE:** For a timeline on the development of a world military force concept, including the ACDA, see the February 2012 edition of *Forcing Change*.

- In the 1970s, the world federalist community “helped rally public support for the Law of the Sea Treaty, SALT II, and funding for the International Development Association.”⁸

- The World Federalist Association was active at the 1992 UN Rio Earth Summit, and worked to create the Commission on Sustainable Development.⁹

- In the spring of 2000, the World Federalist Movement was the energizing force behind the United Nations Millennium Forum. World federalists were part of the executive and accreditation structure, played a lead part in agenda development, and worked as a guiding hand throughout the event.¹⁰

But two campaigns hold special significance, for they demonstrate how the World Federalist community can ferment real change.

Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

R2P is a new doctrine of international intervention in the affairs of a nation. At its core, it stipulates that if a country cannot halt, turns a blind eye, or directly contributes to internal and gross violations of human rights, particularly genocide, then the world community has the “Responsibility to Protect” those citizens in duress. R2P was the doctrine that justified NATO’s action against Libya in 2011, and is now being considered in the Syrian civil war.

R2P takes the moral high-ground, as no sane person wants genocide. In fact, I respect the work of Gregory H. Stanton, who laboured for a short time as director of the World Federalist Association’s “Campaign to End Genocide.” His difficult task in raising public awareness about genocide is not something I will downplay. Mr. Stanton was one the first Westerners to enter the Cambodian killing fields and document the excavation of mass human graves, an experience that shook him deeply. In my view, genocide - and democide in particular (“death by government”) - is one of the most horrific trademarks of the Twentieth Century.

That said, it behooves us to consider that R2P serves a bigger purpose: Enlarging the power-base of global governance.

The World Federalists have long supported a world military force under the auspices of an empowered United Nations (see the “One World, One Force” series in *Forcing Change*). R2P is an extension of this idea.

Without going into the long history of “One World, One Force,” here’s a brief timeline showing the relatively recent involvement of the World Federalist community with the R2P concept.

1992: In early December, the World Federalist Association held a conference on “Rethinking Basic Assumptions About the United Nations” at Racine, Wisconsin. Here, it was declared that “A State cannot be allowed to commit genocide even against its own citizens.” But the question of national sovereignty repeatedly arose. Two items of note emerged from the event.

A) “We need to begin enunciating a new doctrine of humanitarian intervention. We need to be able to try to achieve some kind of global consensus... that established governments do not have a political and moral entitlement to turn the territory within their borders into a free-fire zone... while the international community remains paralyzed.”¹¹

B) To formulate a project to study “the origins, the evolution, and the future of sovereignty with a particular emphasis on the restricting effect it has had on the U.N.”¹²

Conference attendees included members of the United Nations Association, the UN Department of Political Affairs, the US Institute for Peace, and the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Others were major academic figures such as Richard A. Falk (now the UN Special Rapporteur on Palestinian Human Rights), Benjamin B. Ferencz (former Nuremberg War Crimes Prosecutor), and Saul Mendlovitz (World Order Models Project).

1995: The Canadian Government publishes a ground-breaking report, *Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability for the United Nations*. This document recognizes that “challenges to international peace and security since the end of the Cold War have primarily been from within states rather than between them.”

Recommendations were far reaching, and if followed through in their entirety, the report stated that the UN Security Council could “dare to be bold in an era in which UN intervention, even in intra-state disputes, is no longer abnormal.” The most extensive game-changing suggestions emerged from Chapter Six: The development of a UN Rapid Reaction military force and the implementation of a global currency transfer tax to pay for it. This chapter was written by a member of the World Federalist Movement of Canada.



1999: Greg Stanton, a US State Department staffer who drafted UN Security Council resolutions, is approached by the World Federalist Association and asked to initiate the Campaign to End Genocide, as it would “serve to advance the World Federalist Association’s pro-UN agenda.”¹³ To this end, Stanton pulled together a multi-national coalition. However, due to internal issues within WFA leadership, Stanton resigned and formed a new body, the International Campaign to End Genocide.

While the WFA Campaign floundered, the irony is that it cemented the idea of humanitarian intervention as an approach to world federalism. The WFA project called for an effective International Criminal Court, the creation of an “effective early-warning system... to alert the U.N. Security Council to potential ethnic conflict and genocide,” the reformation of the UN Security Council, the establishment of a United Nations Rapid Reaction military force, reliable funding for UN operations, and a public awareness component.

In a WFA briefing paper, Stanton wrote, “The Campaign’s headquarters location in Washington, D.C. permits it to influence U.S. foreign policy, a key to forceful humanitarian intervention when genocide threatens.”¹⁴

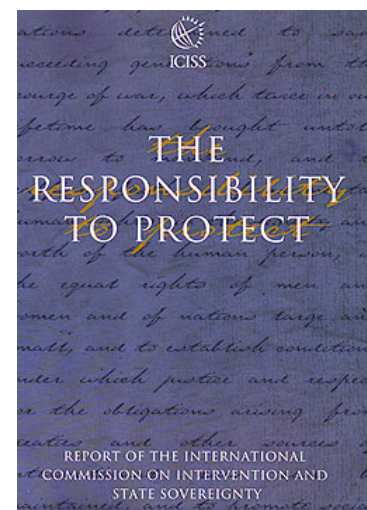
2000: Llyod Axworthy, in the capacity of Canada’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, discusses with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan the question of international intervention and humanitarianism. These talks lead to an announcement in the UN General Assembly: The creation of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). With funding from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, along with the governments of Canada, the United Kingdom and Switzerland, the ICISS begins the process of evaluating the role of national sovereignty and the prospects of international intervention.

Furthermore, Axworthy is interviewed in the April 2000 edition of *Mondial*, the publication of the World Federalist Movement of Canada, where he promotes the R2P principle. Talking about the idea of a UN rapid reaction military force, Axworthy stated, “We have pressed this all along, but we also have been offset by UN politics in some other countries.”¹⁵

2001: ICISS publishes its anticipated report, *The Responsibility to Protect*. This document set the tone and scope of the R2P doctrine, and caused debate and discussion within the United Nations and in the halls of government.

In Canada, Lloyd Axworthy, receives the World Federalist Movement of Canada “Peace Award” for his work on the International Criminal Court and R2P.

2002: At the behest of the Canadian government, the World Federalist Movement begins a consultation process regarding on ICISS report, becoming “actively involved in reaching out to NGOs and other civil society actors...”¹⁶



2003: WFM launches a new campaign, the *Responsibility to Protect - Engaging Civil Society* project. This campaign is based on three pillars: 1) Awareness raising and building advocacy through meetings, publications, and dialogues. 2) Strengthening the acceptance of R2P at the international level by promoting R2P language in United Nations statements and resolutions, and obtaining endorsements by regional organizations. 3) Promoting R2P implementation by national, regional, and UN governmental actors.

2005: Thanks to the campaign work of the World Federalist Movement, R2P is officially adopted at the United Nations World Summit. Although the R2P concept is placed in the World Summit text, it holds a tenuous position. Much work will be required to solidify R2P among member countries. The World Federalist community and like-minded groups begin the process of coalition building and lobbying.

2006: An independent R2P Coalition is formed to “convince the American people and its leaders to embrace the norms of the Responsibility to Protect as a domestic and foreign policy priority.” The second plank is to convince “our political leadership that the US must join the International Criminal Court.” And the third and final plank is the creation of a “standing international police force to arrest atrocity crimes indictees.” The R2P Coalition Steering Committee is made up of key global players, including Gareth Evans, the ICISS co-chair, and William Pace, Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement.¹⁷

Exploring another side of the issue, the World Federalist Movement publishes *A United Nations Emergency Peace Service*, a report outlining proposals for an independent United Nations Rapid Reaction military force under the label, Emergency Peaces Service (UNEPS). This global intervention service would focus on genocide prevention and crimes against humanity. Although the R2P doctrine is not explained in the report, the principle is woven throughout the UNEPS proposal, justifying why the United Nations needs its own standing military option.

2008: A new R2P organization is created; The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, made up of members from the ICISS, UN personnel, and academic leaders. The World Federalist Movement is a partner, and Lloyd Axworthy and Kofi Annan are listed as Patrons.

2009: The World Federalist Movement forms its own global R2P network, pushing governments to strengthen the United Nations as the main R2P player. The International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICR2P) is housed in WFM headquarters in New York City. In terms of civil society reach, the ICR2P is arguably the effective coalition.

2011: NATO and the United Nations use R2P to justify military intervention in Libya. Côte D'Ivoire also experiences an R2P action in their civil war, an action that, by its nature, pits the international community on one side of the conflict. Nevertheless, in both cases many lives have probably been saved - an admiral outcome. At the same time, three political issues cannot be ignored.

A) The international community has interfered within a nation's internal environment, definitely taking sides in a civil affair. Repercussions and unintended consequences may emerge, including internal political backlash, swapping one "strong man" for another, deepening civil divisions and setting the stage for future reprisals, and the strong possibility of the new government being targeted as a puppet of international and Western powers.

B) R2P becomes an accepted instrument in the global governance tool chest, leading to more R2P actions, potentially in expanded and questionable ways as the tool is more often considered and justified (a fact bore out in the WFM Winnipeg Congress).

C) R2P becomes what it was meant to be - a stepping stone to World Federalism through United Nations empowerment. See the next point below.

2012: At the WFM Congress in Winnipeg, Lloyd Axworthy speaks about "unbundling" R2P from its present narrow context and attaching it to other global issues, including the environment and world poverty. R2P is recognized as a "game changer."

International Criminal Court

Like world federalism, the idea of an International Criminal Court harkens back to the Great War, but in a similar vein it wasn't until World War II - specifically the Nuremberg trials - when the concept became embedded in our modern international community. Benjamin B. Ferencz, the US Army lead prosecutor at the Einsatzgruppen Trial, later used his Nuremberg experience to rally the ICC cause - which had its start after the tribunals, but soon got lost in the background of the Cold War. However, when the ICC concept re-emerged in the 1970s, due in large part to Ferencz's prior advocacy, it did so with the support of the World Federalist community. This was understandable: Ferencz himself had become a voice for world federal government.

Here's a brief Federalist/ICC timeline:

1971: Joseph A. Clark, president of the World Federalists, USA., writes about how the ICC could be used to shift sovereignty away from nations in favor of a world government,

"Still another approach is to advance step by step toward global governance, using the UN but without trying to amend the Charter... let the UN establish new agencies such as an International Criminal Court. By means of these voluntarily funded functional agencies, national sovereignty would be gradually eroded until it is no longer an issue. Eventually a world federation can be formally adopted with little resistance."¹⁸

1975: Benjamin Ferencz publishes his book, *Defining International Aggression*, which argues for an international criminal court as a tool for world peace and order.

1980: Benjamin Ferencz publishes his two-volume work, *An International Criminal Court: A Step Toward World Peace*.

1985: In December, the World Federalist of Canada issues a paper to the Canadian parliament Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations, recommending the government "advocate the creation of an International Criminal Court with responsibility for adjudicating international crimes of violence."¹⁹

1989: On April 30th, the World Federalist Association issues *A Strategy for the Nineties*, calling for UN peace officers to "apply world law to individual lawbreakers, whether tax dodgers, terrorists, drug traffickers or individual generals." Furthermore, the United Nations International Law Commission, at the behest of Caribbean Member States, agrees to open the ICC idea.

1992: The International Law Commission begins the drafting process for an International Criminal Court statute. In December, the World Federalist Association met in Racine, Wisconsin to "rethink basic assumptions about the United Nations." Some conference participants were skeptical of ICC effectiveness, but it was generally agreed that the Court was necessary to "hold individuals accountable to international law."²⁰ This same year, Bryan F. MacPherson of the World Federalist Association releases his monograph, *An International Criminal Court: Applying World Law to Individuals*. This report is published by the Center for UN Reform Education.

1994: The World Federalists of Canada initiate the Canadian Network for an International Criminal Court, bringing together 180 members of the NGO community, academics, Members of Parliament, and staffers from the Department of Foreign Affairs and National Defense. This network becomes the Canadian clearing house for ICC information.

1995: Now that the International Law Commission has a treaty proposal on the table, a number of national governments - including the United States and China - object to the establishment of the ICC. In February, the World Federalist Movement convenes an informal meeting with like-minded non-governmental organizations, and the NGO Coalition for an International Criminal Court is born (CICC). William Pace [pictured on right], Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement, is placed in charge of the CICC. To facilitate its operation, the WFM houses the CICC at its headquarters in New York City, where it is staffed and funded by Federalists. Moreover, in recognizing that the United States government will likely push-back on the project, the World Federalist Association funds and staffs a Washington-based working group to lobby the nation's capitol. The task of the Washington group is to, "work with the Administration toward a United States position in UN negotiations which would result in effective support of the Court by the United States..."²¹ Intensive advocacy work takes place by the CICC, the Washington group, and the Canadian network.



1996: As reported by the CICC, Adriaan Bos, UN chairman of the ICC Preparatory Committee, found that in 1996, no nations had “indicated they oppose the establishment of an ICC. This fact is an indicator of the important progress achieved in a short period of time.”²² This was a barometer of the lobbying success of the CICC, which was fast gaining new partner organizations.

1997: The CICC works together with like-minded governments in developing the guiding principles for the International Criminal Court. Over 450 organizations are now part of the CICC.

1998: In March, William Pace arrives in Ottawa to meet with the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy. Noting the treaty process was “bogging down over technicalities,” it was hoped “the Canadian government would take on the role of catalyst.” Having a major Western government acting in this capacity was essential, as the Rome Diplomatic Conference on the ICC was to be held in June.

Lloyd Axworthy explains what happened next,

“At the outset we enlisted the support of the prime minister [PM] and other ministers to set the subject as a diplomatic priority. The PM, especially, could be of real value by advancing the court during his various summit encounters. Using our own diplomatic net, and employing special envoys and members of Parliament, we made representations in many national capitals, supported regional seminars and sought endorsements at international gatherings. I undertook a series of conversations with other foreign ministers, we ran a public campaign involving speeches at such places as the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, and we set up a trust fund to help pay for poorer countries to travel to the Rome conference.”²³

The Rome Conference to establish the ICC started on June 15, and the CICC had the largest delegation - nearly 500 members. For five long weeks William Pace and his team lobbied government representatives, engaged in back-channel negotiations and coalition-building with smaller countries, and conducted an on-the-fly information campaign that equipped their partners in other parts of the world to lobby their home front more effectively. In the last minutes of the last day of the Conference, the nail-biting final vote took place: 120 countries voted in favor, 7 against, and 21 abstained.



The headline on the August edition of the CICC *Monitor* simply reads: “**WE WON!**”

From that point on, Pace and the World Federalists tirelessly worked with government representatives to ensure the Rome treaty obtained the 60 ratifications needed to launch the ICC. On April 11, 2002, the last ratification took place, and on July 1, 2002, the Rome Statute entered

into force. That day, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan met with Mr. Pace and members of the Coalition to celebrate a hard-won victory for world order.

NOTE: In closing this section of the report, two points have to be noted:

- 1) An understandable measure of self-congratulations exists in the World Federalist community. They know if it wasn't for their involvement, the Court would not likely exist today.
- 2) When I attended the WFM Congress in Winnipeg, the ICC was described as the most important mechanism for global governance since the creation of the United Nations.

The WFM has learned numerous lessons from their successes. And the most valuable is the power of networking. *FC*

Carl Teichrib is editor of *Forcing Change* (www.forcingchange.org).

Endnotes:

¹ United Peoples Advocates and Global Virtual Assembly, World Peace Conference, November 7-9, 1997, Chicago, IL. Audio recordings from this event are in the author's library/archive. For more on this particular conference, see Volume 2, Issue 5 of *Forcing Change*.

² See footnote #5.

³ See the "History" page on the official website of the Union of European Federalists (www.federalists.eu). Speaking of three fathers of a united Europe - Adenauer, De Gasperi, and Schuman - we read the following in R.W. Keyserlingk's book, *Fathers of Europe*: "Integration into a federated system, along political, economic and military lines, involving the sacrifice of absolute national sovereignty, was their objective." (p.137).

⁴ Personnel from The Spinelli Group and the Union of European Federalists have been instrumental in this push for tighter integration - particularly through the work of Andrew Duff, president of the UEF and member of The Spinelli Group. In fact, a recent resolution on fiscal unionization was initiated by Duff and supported by 108 MEPs from the federalist inter-group within the European Parliament. This resolution passed, and is now in the hands of the European Commission. See, "Spinelli MEPs welcome decisive vote on Fiscal Union," The Spinelli Group, www.spinelligroup.eu/2012/07/04/spinelli-meps-welcome-decisive-vote-on-fiscal-union. See also the press release from the Union of European Federalists, "Federalists urge decisive action by Heads of Government and plan long term for the European Parliamentary elections," 11 June 2012.

⁵ Joseph Preston Baratta, *The Politics of World Federation: From World Federalism to Global Government*. (London, UK: Praeger 2004), Appendix G.

⁶ Ibid., Appendix H.

⁷ *WFA Activist Guidebook* (Washington DC: World Federalist Association, 1997), Section I, p.16.

⁸ Ibid., p.16.

⁹ Ibid., p.16.

¹⁰ The author of this report attended the UN Millennium Forum as an accredited individual participant.

- ¹¹ *Rethinking Basic Assumptions About the United Nations* (Washington, DC: World Federalist Association, 1993, conference summary report), p.14.
- ¹² Ibid, p.15.
- ¹³ Gregory H. Stanton, "The International Campaign to End Genocide: A Review of Its First Five Years," Genocide Watch, www.genocidewatch.org/reviewoffirstfiveyrs.html.
- ¹⁴ *The Campaign To End Genocide*, Dr. Gregory Stanton, World Federalist Association. Briefing letter on file.
- ¹⁵ Donna Lindenberg, "Care needed on East Timor," *Mondial*, April 2000, p.9.
- ¹⁶ *Civil Society Perspectives on the Responsibility to Protect: Final Report*. (New York, NY: World Federalist Movement, April 30, 2003), p.9.
- ¹⁷ See the R2P Coalition mission statement and structure, <http://r2pcoalition.org>.
- ¹⁸ Quoted in Joan Veon's report, "The International Criminal Court: Armageddon set in Utopia," The Women's International Media Group, www.womensgroup.org/3ICCREPO.html
- ¹⁹ World Federalists of Canada, *The Common Security Alternative: Canadian Strategies to Transform the War System*, submitted to The Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations, December 1985, p.v.
- ²⁰ *Rethinking Basic Assumptions About the United Nations* (Washington, DC: World Federalist Association, 1993, conference summary report), p.13.
- ²¹ "About the WICC," USA for the International Criminal Court, World Federalist Association - Citizens for Global Solutions, <http://usaforicc.org/wicc/about.html>.
- ²² William Pace, "Serious Progress Achieved at ICC PrepCom," *The International Criminal Court Monitor*, Issue 1, July/August 1996, p.1.
- ²³ Lloyd Axworthy, *Navigating a New World: Canada's Global Future* (Toronto, ON: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), pp.202-203.

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MANIFESTO FOR A GLOBAL DEMOCRACY



NOTE: The *Manifesto For A Global Democracy* is a new initiative put forward by Democracia Global, an organization based in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Democracia Global, a partner with the World Federalist Movement and the Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, has three main goals:

- 1) To democratize international institutions, 2) Create a South American Union,
- 3) The eventual formation of a world parliament.

Fernando A. Iglesias, Vice President of Democracia Global and the new Council Chair of the World Federalist Movement, introduced the *Manifesto* at the 2012 WFM International Congress. After much positive discussion about the document, the WFM voted to officially endorse and support the *Manifesto*. Iglesias, therefore, suggested that WFM members should approach their own academic and political circles, bringing authors and governmental figures on board as signatories, and thus build momentum toward the goals of the document.

Presently the number of signers is small, yet the people who have added their names are individuals of influence. Furthermore, the *Manifesto* is only now being released in a major way. It was first launched at the London School of Economics on June 27, 2012, and according to the Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, the launching process will continue through a series of international events culminating in December of this year. **In the months and years to come, expect the *Manifesto For A Global Democracy* to gain political value through the support of the WFM and an enlarging network of civil society organizations.**

The outcome of the *Manifesto* is a system of global governance based on planetary democracy. One part of the text points to the international structural elements needed to achieve this end,

“The existing national-state organizations have to be part of a wider and much better coordinated structure, which involves democratic regional institutions on all the continents, the reform of the International Court of Justice, a fairer and more balanced International Criminal Court and a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly as the embryo of a future World Parliament.”

The complete *Manifesto* text is found below.

Manifesto For A Global Democracy

- **Politics lags behind the facts.** We live in an era of deep technological and economic change that has not been matched by a similar development of public institutions responsible for its regulation. The economy has been globalized but political institutions and democracy have not kept pace. In spite of their many peculiarities, differences and limitations, the protests that are growing all over the world show an increasing discontent with the decision-making system, the existing forms of political representation and their lack of capacity for defending common goods. They express a demand for more and better democracy.
- **Global welfare and security are under threat.** The national and international order that emerged from the end of World War II and the fall of the Berlin Wall has not been able to manage the great advances in technology and productive systems for the benefit of all humanity. On the contrary, we are witnessing the emergence of regressive and destructive processes resulting from the economic and financial crisis, increased social inequalities, climate change and nuclear proliferation. These phenomena have already affected negatively the lives of billions of human beings, and their continuance and mutual reinforcement menace the peace of the world and threaten the survival of human civilization.
- **Global crises require global solutions.** Within a social universe determined by globalization, the democratic capabilities of nation-states and international institutions are increasingly restricted by the development of powerful global processes, organizations and systems whose nature is not democratic. In recent years, the main national and international leaders of the world have been running behind global events. Their repeated failures show that occasional summits, intergovernmental treaties, international cooperation, the multilateral system and all the existing forms of global governance are insufficient. The globalization of finance, production chains and communication systems, and the planetary power reached by destructive technologies, require the globalization of the political institutions responsible for their regulation and control, and the global crises require coherent and effective global solutions. That's why we call for the urgent creation of new global agencies specialized in sustainable, fair and stable development, disarmament and environmental protection, and the rapid implementation of forms of democratic global governance on all the issues that current intergovernmental summits are evidently incapable of solving.
- **We need to move forward to new, more extensive and deeper forms of democracy.** The current model of technological-economic globalization must give way to a new one which puts these processes at the service of a fairer, more peaceful and more humane world. We need a new paradigm of development which has to be sustainable on a global basis and which benefits the poorest of humanity. In order to avoid the deepening of global crises and to find viable solutions to the challenges posed by globalization we must move forward to more extensive and deeper forms

of democracy. The existing national-state organizations have to be part of a wider and much better coordinated structure, which involves democratic regional institutions on all the continents, the reform of the International Court of Justice, a fairer and more balanced International Criminal Court and a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly as the embryo of a future World Parliament. Yet, this institutional change will not be successful if it only accrues from the actions of a self-appointed elite. On the contrary, it must come from a socio-political process open to all human beings, with the goal of a creating a participative global democracy.

- **Globalizing democracy is the only way to democratize globalization.** Beyond our differences about the contents and appropriate methods to move towards a fairer and more stable world order, we the signatories share a strong commitment to the development of a global democracy. On behalf of Peace, Justice and Human Rights we do not want to be governed at the world level by those who have only been elected to do so at the national one, neither do we wish to be governed by international organizations which do not represent us adequately. That is why we work for the development of supranational political spaces and for regional, international and global institutions that live up to the challenges of the twenty-first century; institutions that express the different viewpoints and defend the common interests of the seven billion people who shape humankind today.
- **We ask every human being to participate in the constitution of a global democracy.** We share the appeal to “unite for global change” and for “real democracy” with the world social movements. Both postulates express the growing rejection of being governed by political and economic powers on which we have no influence. Autonomy and self-determination are not only valid at the local and national level. That’s why we champion the principle of the right to participate in the making of fundamental global decisions that directly affect our lives. We want to be citizens of the world and not its mere inhabitants. Therefore we demand not just a local and national democracy, but also a global democracy, and we commit to work for its development and call on all the political, intellectual and civil-society leaders of the world, all the democratic organizations, parties and movements, and all persons of democratic persuasion on the planet to actively participate in its constitution.