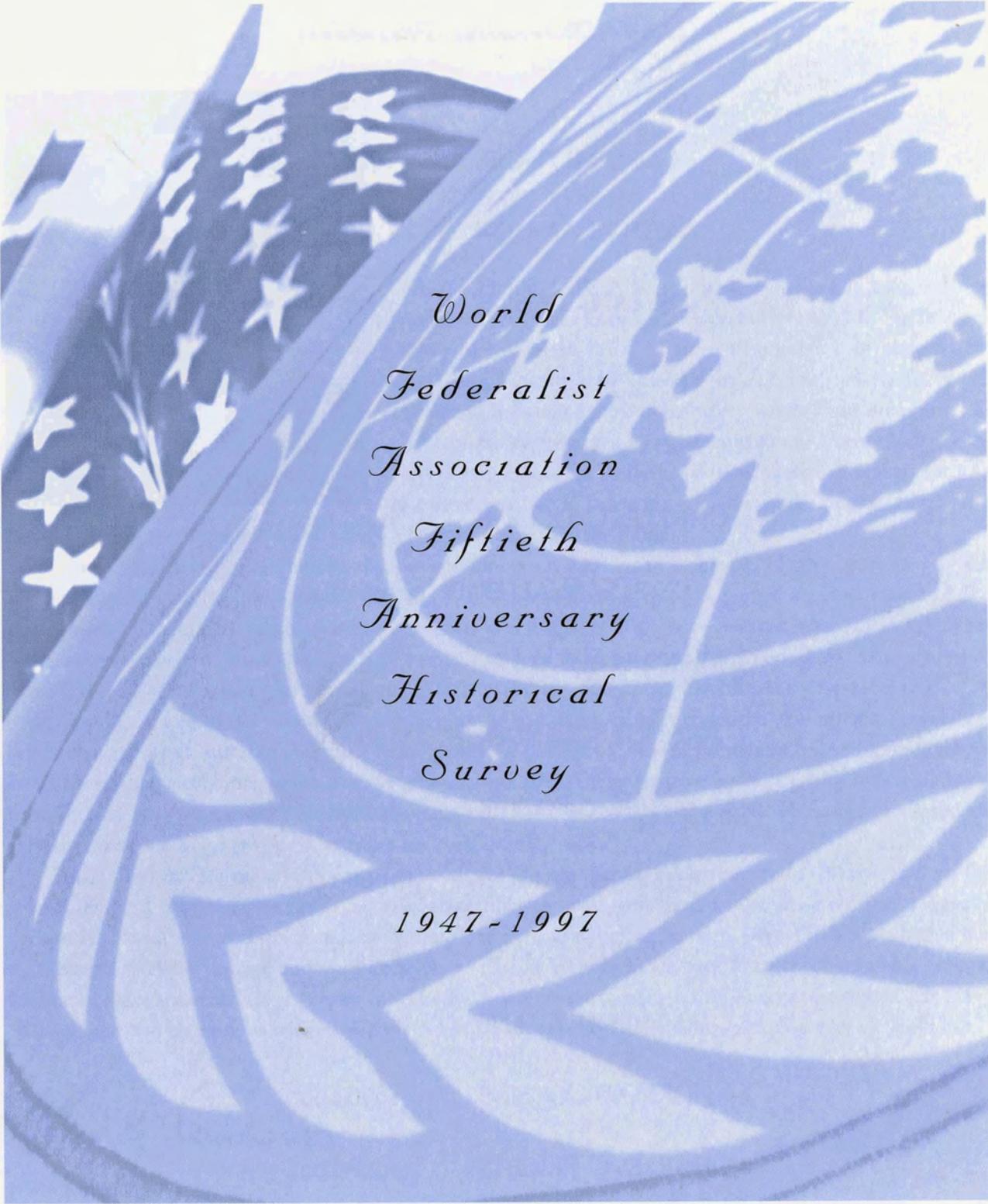


WEA

*World
Federalist
Association*

1947-1997

*Fiftieth Anniversary
Historical Survey*



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Fiftieth
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Historical
Survey*

1947-1997

World Federalist Association • 418 7th Street, S. E. • Washington, D. C. 20003-2796
1-800-WFA-0123 • 202-546-3950 • fax: 202-546-3749 • E-mail: wfa@wfa.org • www.wfa.org

World Federalist Presidents

CORD MEYER, JR.	1947-1949
ALAN CRANSTON	1949-1952
NORMAN COUSINS	1952-1954
C. MAXWELL STANLEY	1954-1956
DONALD HARRINGTON	1956-1959
CHARLES C. PRICE III	1959-1961
PAUL W WALTER	1961-1964
C. MAXWELL STANLEY	1964-1966
ARNOLD S. ZANDER	1966-1967
NEAL POTTER	1967-1968
JAMES G PATTON	1968-1969
JOSEPH S. CLARK	1969-1971
LUTHER H. EVANS	1971-1976
NORMAN COUSINS	1976-1990
CHARLES C. PRICE III	1990-1992
JOHN B. ANDERSON	1992-present

The President's Message



"FAITH, HOPE, LOVE, but the greatest of these is love." These words read in clear and ringing tones from Holy Writ in Westminster Abbey by the British Prime Minister were heard, it is estimated, by more than a billion people. The occasion, of course, was the funeral of a princess. In penning these introductory words to the brief historical sketch of the World Federalist Association, those three words Faith, Hope, Love capture for me the reason why, after a half century, the idea of a democratic world federation grounded in the rule of law is still a

bright and shining precept that is also valid for both the present and the future.

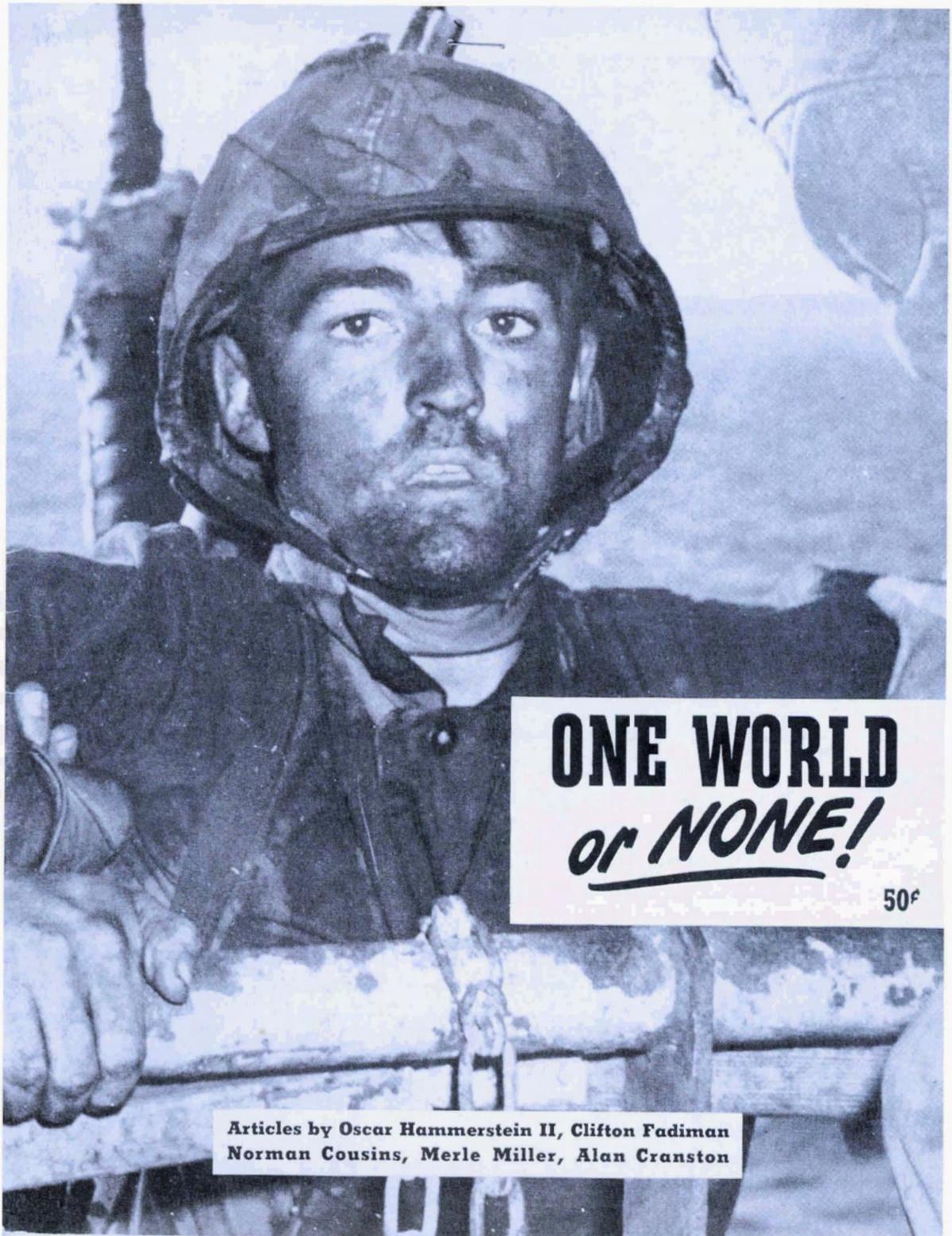
It was Faith in that powerful idea that brought those early pioneers to Asheville, North Carolina, to lay the organizational foundation for what has become WFA. The following pages are only a partial record of the contributions of thousands who have over five decades kept that faith. They have been committed to the belief that it is not the destiny of humankind in some unreasoning, cyclical fashion to submit each generation to the scourge of war. They believe it is not beyond our capacity to fashion instruments of peace to replace the weapons of war.

Hope has informed our various activities in chapters that today span the continent. The scientific revolution which changed dramatically our geocentric conception of the planetary system can be outmatched in its consequences by an Information Revolution which presages a new age. There is the present and lively hope that the globalization of world commerce can translate into a realization that it must be matched by a global political infrastructure sufficient unto the needs of a world grown both smaller and more interdependent.

Finally, the greatest motivating force in human affairs the one that can change our world is Love. It is not the love of temporal power nor the desire for an all-powerful superstate nourishing a flow of simply greater material prosperity. No, it is our recognition and love for our common humanity that motivates World Federalists in this, our fiftieth year. It is why, through our unremitting devotion to our country and its proud heritage of individuals calling for human rights and economic justice, we show forth our love for the oppressed, the hungry, and the poor. That love will light the path before us as we continue our journey toward the goal of world peace made secure by world law.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John B. Anderson".

John B. Anderson



ONE WORLD
or NONE!

50¢

Articles by Oscar Hammerstein II, Clifton Fadiman
Norman Cousins, Merle Miller, Alan Cranston

"One World or None" was published by UWF

*M*ODERN MAN IS OBSOLETE" WROTE NORMAN COUSINS THE DAY THE NEWS OF THE ATOMIC BOMBING OF HIROSHIMA WAS RELEASED. HE HAD RECOGNIZED INSTANTLY THE DANGERS TO HUMANITY'S SURVIVAL IN A WORLD WHERE EVERY NATION ACTED AS IF IT WERE FREE TO USE ANY WEAPON IT MIGHT CHOOSE IN A TIME OF WAR. MILLIONS SAW THE WORLD IN THIS PERILOUS SITUATION, AND THOUSANDS SET ABOUT TO DO SOMETHING TO PREVENT THE ULTIMATE DISASTER. THIS BOOK IS THE FIFTY-YEAR HISTORY OF THOSE WHO HAVE WORKED TO BUILD A SYSTEM OF LAW AND JUSTICE CAPABLE OF AVERTING THIS DISASTER.

FOR A HALF CENTURY WORLD FEDERALISTS HAVE WORKED TO OVERCOME THE BARRIERS WHICH HAVE PREVENTED ESTABLISHING A WORLD ORGANIZATION WITH THE POWER TO ACT EFFECTIVELY AGAINST WAR AND THE PREPARATION FOR WAR. IN THE FACE OF MANY ATTACKS AND PUBLIC FORGETFULNESS, THEY HAVE PERSEVERED AND ACHIEVED MANY SIGNIFICANT RESULTS IN THEIR QUEST —SOME ARE REPORTED HERE IN THIS SPECIAL FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY BOOKLET.

Introduction

For centuries philosophers, politicians, civic and religious leaders, and citizens from every corner of the world have sought to solve the problem of war and the cruel and futile waste it brings. World War I claimed eight million lives and World War II another twenty million. The development of atomic weapons guaranteed that any third world war would be vastly more destructive, very likely eliminating humankind from the face of the earth.

The interdependence of the world's people and economies has further added such problems as securing human rights, protecting the global environment, controlling the international crimes of terrorism and drug trafficking, and promoting sustainable development — global concerns that individual nations cannot adequately address alone. In response to these mounting threats nations and their leaders searched for solutions. The First World War showed politicians and citizens alike that building up the strength of individual nations and forming treaties and alliances for "security" was insufficient. As a result, the war's victors joined together to form the League of Nations. However, it was crippled at the start by the refusal of the United States to participate and never achieved its goals. The League collapsed with the spread of fascism and the launching of

the Second World War, again demonstrating the need for more effective structures of law, order and justice. And it was at this point in human history that a politically organized movement for world federation was launched.

World Federalists are heirs to the vision and hope for humanity's conquest of war, as penned in 1842 by Alfred Lord Tennyson.

*"Till the war-drum throbbed no longer
and the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of man,
the Federation of the world."*

Nearly a century prior to Tennyson's poetic vision, strong and articulate support for a federal solution to addressing common problems between states and peoples was promoted by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay in *The Federalist Papers*. "To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties would be to ignore the uniform course of human events and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages."

In 1939 Clarence Streit wrote an influential book entitled *Union Now* which explored a broader Union of Democracies, similar to the American union, which would include the European democracies and the United States. Followers of Streit's proposals formed the



"The only historical meaning, the only usefulness that can be conceded to a league of nations, or indeed to any organization of nation states with equal sovereignty, is to illustrate that utopian structure based on 'good will,' 'lasting friendship,' 'unity of purpose,' 'common interest' or any similar fiction, cannot work... A league of sovereign states is not a step, neither the first step nor the ninety-ninth, toward peace. Peace is law."

—EMERY REVES

The Anatomy of Peace, 1945

Inter-democracy Federal Unionists (later called Federal Union) in this country, and similar organizations in Britain and France. Proponents of federation, both in the U.S. and in Europe, were divided between those who advocated establishing a "Union of Democracies" to which other nations might later be attracted, and those who sought a more inclusive world federation.

Near the end of the Second World War, Winston Churchill warned that "unless some effective supranational government can be set up and brought into action, the prospects of peace and human progress are dark and doubtful." It was the combination of the world-changing events of the mid-Twentieth Century with the ideas of federalism that had developed through the centuries which inspired and called World Federalists into action.

The United Nations was founded in 1945. Though a valuable instrument to deal with many world problems, it is not a world government, for it lacks enforcement power and is financially dependent on its individual member nation-states. From the very beginning, World Federalists recognized that more was needed than what the United Nations could deliver. In the years before and immediately after the formation of the U.N., several citizen organizations developed which advocated the goal of world federation, each with somewhat different ideas of what was needed and how to achieve it. On February 22, 1947 five Federalist organizations Americans United for World Government, Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, Student Federalists, World Citizens of Georgia, and World Federalists U.S.A. joined together to form the United World Federalists (UWF).



The Student Federalist movement began in 1942 when Harris Wofford, age 15, gathered together six friends in Scarsdale, New York to form a chapter, produce a newsletter, and organize speakers at local high schools. The idea spread slowly at first. Then came the atomic bomb, which was followed by a huge surge of interest and activity in colleges, universities and high schools nationwide.

The Founding of the United World Federalists

The 327 delegates who attended the February 1947 Convention in Asheville, North Carolina represented 30 chapters and organizations from across the country. This momentous gathering began during the final hours of one of the greatest snowstorms on the East Coast, through which the participants fought their way to launch one of the most significant peace efforts of the 20th Century. Each of the uniting associations was created by individuals who recognized that the growing horror and destruction of modern wars could only be halted by a world organization with the power to deal with aggressors and the build-up of armaments. The urgency of their quest was intensified by the dropping of the atomic bomb, and thousands responded in recognition of the need for controls.



United World Federalists Declaration of Purpose

Adopted November 2, 1947

WE BELIEVE that peace is not merely the absence of war but the presence of justice, of law, of order in short, of government and the institutions of government, that world peace can be created and maintained only under a world federal government, universal and strong enough to prevent armed conflict between nations, and having direct jurisdiction over the individual in those matters within its authority.

THEREFORE, while endorsing the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a world community favorable to peace, we will work to create a world federal government with authority to enact, interpret and enforce world law adequate to maintain peace.



TOM GRIESSEMER

The Montreux Declaration

We world federalists ... call upon the peoples of the world to join us in our work. We are convinced that mankind cannot survive another world conflict. The establishment of a world federal government is the crucial problem of our time.

The six principles for a world federal government include the following:

- universal membership;
- limitation of national sovereignty, and the transfer to the world government of such legislative, executive and judicial powers as relate to world affairs;
- enforcement of world law directly on the individual; creation of supranational armed forces;
- disarmament of member nations to the level of their internal policing requirement;
- ownership and control by the world government of atomic weapons and other scientific discoveries capable of mass destruction;
- power to raise adequate revenues directly.

The World Movement for World Federal Government

In August of 1947 the World Movement for World Federal Government (WMWFG) was formally established in Montreux, Switzerland. Now called the World Federalist Movement (WFM), the international organization was formed with the goal of bringing together on the international level the groups which were working for world federation. Shortly after the end of the war, Tom Griessemer, an exile from Nazi Germany and the editor of the New York-based *World Government News*, along with leaders from the British organization "Federal Union," announced plans for holding an international conference of organizations promoting world government. Planned and organized by Griessemer and financed by \$15,000 raised in the United States, the Congress convened in Montreux on August 17. There were 21 organizational memberships, with the United World Federalists (UWF) sending the largest contingent of delegates 68. Nearly half of the total 150 attendees were students. Harris Wofford from the University of Chicago the founder of the Student Federalists in the U.S. contributed significantly to "The Montreux Declaration."

The Early Years

The period from 1947 to about 1951 was an intense and dynamic one for Federalists worldwide. Through the leadership of British MP Henry Osborne, a World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government (WAPWG) was established, drawing 250 parliamentarians from 24 countries to their first conference and promoting a constituent assembly to draw up a world constitution. The Committee to Frame a World Constitution at the University of Chicago known to many as the "Borgese-Hutchins Committee" also contributed to international federalist thinking and linked ideas from the U.S. and Europe. A preliminary draft of their constitution was published in 1949 and translated into 52 languages.

In the first three years following the Asheville meeting UWF was led by Cord Meyer, Jr., a U.S. Marine Corps veteran and author of a forceful and widely read book, *Peace or Anarchy*. UWF's membership and influence grew rapidly in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The introduction of House Concurrent Resolution 64 and Senate Concurrent Resolution 56 marked a significant political achievement during the 81st Congress. The resolution read as follows "That it is the sense of the Congress that it should be a fundamental objective of the foreign policy of the United

Early Membership Growth in UWF

March 1948	20,465
March 1949	40,958



LUCY LAW WEBSTER



MARION MCVITTY



REV. DONALD HARRINGTON & MAC MCLEAN



REV. GERALD G. GRANT, S.J.



HELEN CALLBECK

WAWF and the U.S.

Beginning in the late 1940s and throughout the subsequent decades, many Americans served as officers, staff and volunteers of the international movement — the World Association for World Federation (WAWF). In addition to Griessemer and Wofford, the following U.S. Federalists stand out among the leaders in these early years.

∞ Lucy Law Webster made a round-the-world trip en route to the World Assembly of Youth in Singapore in 1954, having served as Student Chair of UWF in 1952 and as Secretary-General of the World Student Federalists in 1953. She was a Political Affairs Officer for the U.N. Disarmament Office from 1981 to 1995 and is presently a WFA Vice President and Vice Chair of WFM.

∞ Marion McVitty volunteered for Americans United for World Government, UWF, and WAWF (as the official United Nations Representative) from 1945 until 1968. Her analyses of U.N. events were disseminated widely to members and non-members alike, and she was an articulate and persuasive speaker on world federation.

∞ Edward Clark traveled extensively to promote the cause, visiting Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, China, Japan, and India (where he had a substantial interview with President Jawaharlal Nehru).

∞ Maclean McLean, a World War II veteran from Pittsburgh, served as WAWF Secretary-General from 1951-55. McLean took a sabbatical from his position as Executive Director of the Pittsburgh chapter to do so, and he returned to the U.S. to carry forward the UWF of Pittsburgh for 35 years.

∞ Minister of the Unitarian Universalist Community Church of New York, Rev. Donald S. Harrington served as Treasurer of the World Movement during some of its most difficult days financially, and was a leading participant at the 1950 World Congress in Rome held in cooperation with the Vatican.

∞ Ruth Young, with the assistance of WAWF Secretary-General Andrew A.D. Clark, carried forward her dream to start a "World Peacemakers Academy" — which ultimately resulted in the International Peace Academy.

∞ Rev. Gerald G. Grant, S.J., a Jesuit priest and a professor at Loyola University of Chicago, served as Chair of the WAWF Council for many years, providing U.S. Federalists with a direct link between national and global actions toward world federation.

∞ Bob and Margie Clark, active since the very earliest years, moved from Chicago to Ottawa and volunteered from 1972-74 at the WAWF International Secretariat. Margie coordinated the Planetary Citizens Project and Bob administered finances for the world movement.

∞ Donald F. Keys directed the WAWF U.N. office during the 1970s and contributed to a wide understanding among Federalists of what was taking place at the United Nations. Through a close relationship with Carlos Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the U.N., he was able to incorporate World Federalist viewpoints into Romulo's speeches.

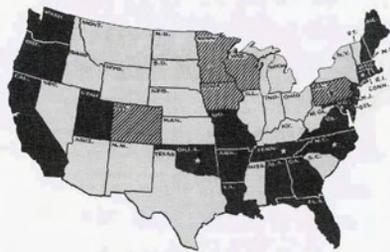
∞ Helen Callbeck attended the founding Congress of the world movement at Montreux and continued her activities as the Representative-at-Large for the World Federalists. She traveled extensively throughout the region in the 1950s, giving lectures and slide presentations in Japan, Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand.



Within weeks of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, University of Chicago President ROBERT M. HUTCHINS initiated "The Committee to

Frame a World Constitution" with Mortimer J. Adler, G.A. Borgese, Stringfellow Barr, and others. "A Constitution is a descriptive summary of possible good works, which cannot possibly operate outside the frame of a saving will. It is not salvation and safety by itself. If the human race decides to constitute itself in a society governed under justice and peace, its constitution will register that decision and make its fulfillment progressive and steadier. If mankind has made up its mind for self-destruction, any written Law, and were it descended from heaven, will leave it lawless."

10



State Political Action on World Government Based on reports as of April 19, 1949. Includes "Humber" states. A star indicates action of more than one type passed or pending.

- States where action favoring world government (or permitting a referendum) was successful
- ▨ States where action was pending in legislature
- States where legislative action had not yet been initiated or had been lost

States to support and strengthen the United Nations and to seek its development into an organization of such defined and limited powers as are essential to the enactment, interpretation and enforcement of world law to prevent aggression and to maintain peace." In the House of Representatives there were 111 co-sponsors from 35 states, and on the Senate side 22 Senators from 19 states pledged their support.

Political action was also being taken at the state level across the U.S. Twenty-three state legislatures passed resolutions in support of world federation, many of them through the persuasive powers of Robert Lee Humber, a North Carolina attorney who traveled extensively to champion their passage.

The UWF Advisory Board included leaders from all over the country, representing many different fields — three governors — Chester Bowles of Connecticut, Mennen Williams of Michigan, and Luther Youngdahl of Minnesota — as well as prominent labor leaders such as Walter Reuther, President of United Auto Workers — business leaders like W.T. Holliday, Chairman of the Board of Standard Oil of Ohio; and world-renowned figures Albert Einstein and Oscar Hammerstein II. The Writers Board for World Government, active in New York under the leadership of Hammerstein, had as its members E.B. White, Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., Carl Van Doren, Robert Ryan, Rex Stout, and others. The common bond bringing these well-known people together was a commitment to ending war through a U.N World Federation.



CORD MEYER, JR. — First President of the United World Federalists



Courtesy The Washington Post

"You fellows mind if we start the ball rolling?"

July 28, 1949 (Distributed by Post-Hall Syndicate, 75 West Street, New York, NY)



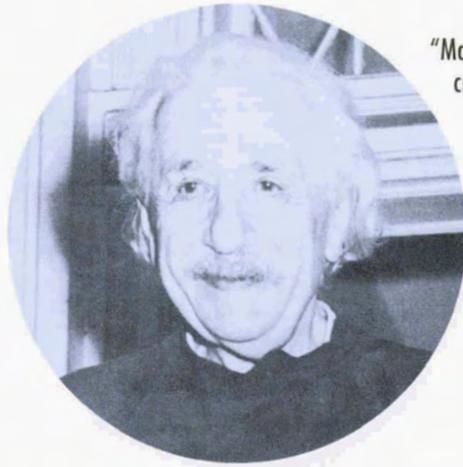
Seventeen Student Federalists "conquered the continent" during the summer of 1949, driving across the country from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. to present world federation petitions to the President and Congress.



Elizabeth and Raymond Bloch

Elizabeth and Raymond Bloch of Pittsburgh were stalwart World Federalist supporters throughout their lives at all levels of the organization — locally, nationally and internationally. A refugee from Munich with a lifelong commitment to preventing future atrocities like the Holocaust, Elizabeth became a delegate from Americans United for World Government to the 1947 UWF Founding

Assembly. She and Neal Potter drove together from Pittsburgh through a blinding snowstorm to Asheville, North Carolina in order to reach this meeting. Upon returning to Pittsburgh, Elizabeth worked tirelessly in the office, promoting Federalism both in the community and at national meetings — even volunteering six days a week at times to direct membership and fundraising activities. The Blochs established a foundation before their death, administered by WFA member Bernard Bloch, which continues to provide significant annual financial support to both the WFA chapter in Pittsburgh and the national organization.



"Mankind's desire for peace can only be realized by the creation of a world government. ... With all my heart I believe that the world's present system of sovereign nations can lead only to barbarism, war, and inhumanity, and that only world law can assure progress toward a civilized peaceful humanity."

— ALBERT EINSTEIN

Einstein on Peace, 1960

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Oscar Hammerstein's play, "The Myth that Threatens the World," toured the country in the early 1950s, bringing to

light how the myth of national sovereignty was leading the world toward disaster.

From left to right: Ruth Friend, Mildred R. Blake (Chair of the Board of Directors), Helen Ball, and Elizabeth Bloch.

"GIVE ALL YOU GOT TO UWF!" was the fundraising slogan during the 1951 Annual Assembly.



Revising the United Nations Charter

United Nations Charter revision became a key interest looking toward 1955, the year set by Article 109 of the Charter to consider amendments. First drafts of a plan outlined by Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn, *World Peace Through World Law*, were widely circulated and studied before its official publication date of 1958.

The Cold War Descends

The shock of the Soviet tests of an atomic bomb and the war in Korea dashed hopes for early establishment of permanent peace arrangements and exacerbated the fears and hates of Communism. Further aggravated by the "Red-hunting" activities of Senator Joe McCarthy and a number of "hate" organizations, the atmosphere of the Fifties led many to withdraw from any connection with civic and political organizations, including the United World Federalists. Congressional support virtually disappeared as the House Committee on Un-American Activities began making its accusations.

Despite these difficulties, World Federalist members and their chapters carried on their vital work in both educational and political spheres. Clark Eichelberger, Executive Director of the United Nations Association, who had criticized World Federalists as undermining support for the United Nations, joined UWF, as did Hans Morgenthau, the author of *Power Among Nations*, who had previously preached that power politics was the only available course. Members and supporters continued to be elected to Congress — most notably Alan Cranston, UWF President in 1949-52, who later went on to serve as Senator from California (1969-1994).

In 1958 Norman Cousins, a leader in UWF's founding and long-time Honorary President, spearheaded the formation of SANE — an organization designed to focus renewed concern on the threat of nuclear weapons. Many Federalists joined, since its purposes were closely aligned to those of UWF. Their work continues to attract wide support today, after having combined with the nuclear arms reduction "Freeze" movement and taking the name "PeaceAction."



almost imperceptible, yet will nonetheless reflect itself, for those who choose to see, in the results of a public opinion poll, in the shaping of a statesman's approach to war and

"The role of federalists in hastening the dawn of the day of world law may ... be

peace, in the principles that underlie the developing foundations of the rule of law. "Our task, therefore, is to convince the world that it *can* be governed — and *how* — and to shape the running tides of history so that it may be governed *soon*, and *well*. "And so — and this is the final fact — what all this demonstrates is this: That there lie before us immense and unimaginable



GRENVILLE CLARK



LOUIS SOHN

World Peace Through World Law

"The fundamental premise of the book is identical with the pronouncement of the President of the United States on October 21, 1956: 'There can be no peace without law.' In this context the world 'law' necessarily implies the law of a world authority, i.e., law which would be uniformly applicable to all nations and all individuals in the world and which would definitely forbid violence or the threat of it as a means for dealing with any international dispute. This world law must also be law in the sense of law which is capable of enforcement, as distinguished from a mere set of exhortations or injunctions which it is desirable to observe, but for the enforcement of which there is not effective machinery."

— From the Introduction to
World Peace Through World Law,
by GRENVILLE CLARK and LOUIS SOHN

May 1951 Gallup Poll

"Do you think the United Nations should or should not be strengthened to make it a world government with power to control the armed forces of all nations, including the United States?"

49% Yes, it should
36% No, it should not
15% Undecided

opportunities if we will keep the faith and do the work the federalists of the Twentieth Century have been called upon to do, as the federalists of the eighteenth century did their work before us."

— ALAN CRANSTON, in his
"President's Report" to the Fifth Annual
General Assembly of UWF, 1951



President C. MAXWELL STANLEY and Comptroller RANDOLPH P. COMPTON, members of the UWF National Executive Committee

Stanley served as President of UWF on two separate occasions — first in the period 1954-56 and again one decade later from 1964-66. The following is an excerpt from his 1956 "Report from the President":

"Nearly ten years have elapsed since UWF was founded in Asheville. History has strengthened the validity of our premise that law must be substituted for anarchy. The events of the last decade demonstrate there is no other safe route to enforceable, universal disarmament and just and durable peace. In these ten years UWF has accomplished a great deal. We have weathered success, frustration, setback and bitter attack. But we have survived to raise the standard of minimum requirements for a secure peace. We have contributed greatly to the subjects of charter review and disarmament. We have supported the United Nations even at times when such support was not popular. Above all, we have helped many people convince themselves of the need for world law, applicable to all nations and all individuals, to secure and safeguard peace."



Norman Cousins, Alan Cranston, Gen. George H. Olmsted, and Oscar Hammerstein II



"To the Eleventh Annual Assembly of the United World Federalists, meeting in Boston, I send greetings. As the United Nations grows in strength and responsibility, the hope of a peaceful world is given substance. In this development, your organization merits high praise as it continues to inform and arouse our citizens to take their rightful share in building a just and lasting peace. Congratulations to your dedicated membership and best wishes for a most successful meeting."

—President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER



MILDRED R. BLAKE, founder of World Federalists, USA and an early Chair of the UWF Board of Directors

The 1960s New Possibilities and Problems



The election of President John F. Kennedy in 1960 brought renewed hope and support for creating a more effective United Nations with real powers to deal with aggression and enforce disarmament and peace. In the spring of 1961 Kennedy appointed John J. McCloy to meet with Valerian A. Zorin of the USSR to discuss principles of disarmament. The outcome was a joint statement by the two nations calling for general and complete disarmament with verification by United Nations inspectors, and "measures to

strengthen institutions for maintaining peace [such as] an international peace force." A landmark accord, the McCloy-Zorin Agreement laid the groundwork for an international weapons disarmament verification system.

Meanwhile, President Kennedy had proposed establishing a government agency to lead disarmament efforts. UWF immediately undertook a campaign, working with both Republican and Democratic leaders, to develop legislation which would establish an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). Under the leadership of Minnesota Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the Senate approved the bill on September 8, 1961, and the House of Representatives enacted the legislation just eight days later. Senator Humphrey thanked and applauded UWF's involvement in "one of the most important victories of this session...for the nation and for the cause of peace. I want you to know that United World Federalists shares much credit for this victory."



VINCENT PRICE



TYRONE POWER

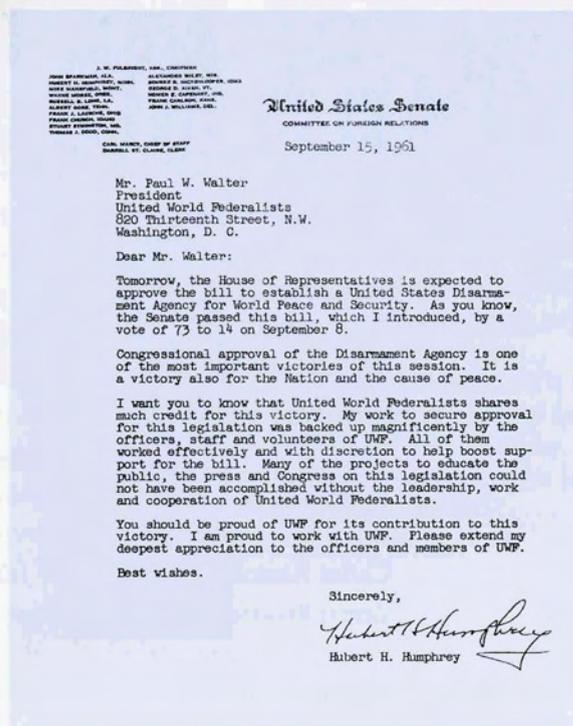


RAYMOND MASSEY



HENRY FONDA

A series of eight films on world law and U.N. reform were produced in 1959 with the leadership of LOIS SIDENBERG and the Pierce Butter, Jr. Foundation for Education in World Law. Entitled "Eight Steps to Peace," the narrators included VINCENT PRICE, TYRONE POWER, RAYMOND MASSEY, VANESSA BROWN, ROBERT RYAN, and UWF Advisory Board member HENRY FONDA.





When President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the three-year authorization for funding the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, he invited UWF President C. Maxwell Stanley, Past-President Paul W. Walter, and Executive Vice President J.W. Bethea to the White House, presenting them with pens used in signing. Also present at the signing were Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey, Sen. J. William Fulbright, Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and William C. Foster, Director of the ACDA.

"You should be proud of UWF for its contribution to this victory. I am proud to work with UWF. Please extend my deepest appreciation to the officers and members of UWF."

President Kennedy, in addressing the 1961 opening session of the U.N General Assembly, emphasized the significance of the new agency. But he went on to stress that this was only part of the solution for peace "To destroy arms, however, is not enough. We must create even as we destroy, creating world-wide law and law enforcement as we outlaw world-wide war and

weapons." Six months later the U.S. presented a proposal prepared by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which would have the nations disarm under strict verification and in stages, while the United Nations would be progressively strengthened. In the third stage which would begin after 6 years "The Parties to the Treaty would progressively strengthen the United Nations Peace Force established in Stage II until it had sufficient armed forces and armaments so that no state could challenge it." The Cold War sparring between the U.S. and the Soviet Union continued to increase, however, and the war in Vietnam escalated, leading to a power struggle in which initiatives for world peace under law were put aside. The focus of national attention during the Cold War was on security through military activities and stopping Communism.

In spite of these setbacks in the United States, there was increased attention to possibilities for a revitalized role for the United Nations at the U.N itself. In a speech delivered in 1962, U.N Secretary-General U Thant spoke of the myth of national sovereignty and called for world government. Carlos Romulo, a U.N delegate from the Philippines, and Cyprus delegate Zenon Rossides espoused federalist ideas during their speeches at the U.N

Throughout the 1960s World Federalists renewed their pressure for measures to prevent war instead of continuing to resort to the battlefield. In

The 1964 UWF General Assembly



Nearly 1,000 guests attended the General Assembly Banquet



NORMAN COUSINS and Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY



above left: NEAL POTTER presents outgoing UWF President PAUL W. WALTER — “an acknowledged stalwart in the Republican party” — with a small jade elephant.

left: ANNE and JOHN AINSWORTH stand with their children in front of the Assembly Hall entrance display. Anne did the planning and coordination for the 18th Annual Assembly.

"The Air War"

U.S. Pilots Step Up Attacks on North

ISN'T THAT SWEET?

Thanks to the stupidity of some nations we are now starting World War III. Thanks to television's glorification of World War II your son, boyfriend, or husband may now aspire to wing his way into the big kill. It doesn't even take old fashioned marksmanship any more. the heat-seeker will kill the other stranger about 100% of the time. Why? We don't know, but we'd like to stop it. You could help stop it. It means world government not the kind that destroys the individuality of nations, but the kind that keeps nations from destroying themselves. Would you help us and yourselves? It costs very little to provide life insurance for the world. Join the group by sending in the coupon.

*United World Federalists
An American association
for world peace through
enforceable world law
by strengthening
the United Nations
An affiliation of World
Association of World Federalists.*



FILL OUT AND MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY.

- I would like to find out more about the organization working for peace under world law and a stronger United Nations, what they have accomplished so far and what their detailed plans are.
- I approve of this airing or views. Enclosed is my check for \$_____ to help defray the cost of this advertisement and future ones.
- Enroll me in the United World Federalists. I enclose
 \$10 Single \$15 Couple Membership Dues.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____

Mail to: **UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS, INC.**
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Branch offices in San Francisco Chicago Minneapolis Cleveland Pittsburgh Philadelphia New York

United World Federalists—October 1966

UWF advertisement during the Vietnam War: "It costs very little to provide life insurance for the world."

a telegram to President Lyndon B. Johnson on February 9, 1965, UWF President C. Maxwell Stanley cited the Vietnam War as new evidence of the inevitable consequence of "the absence of an effective world security system and the machinery of enforceable world law." Stanley called on President Johnson "to make clear to the world that the lack of international machinery compels this nation to use military forces in Southeast Asia...and concurrently to express regret that the United Nations does not possess the requisite authority and power to assure nations freedom from aggression." Beginning at the time of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in August 1964 and lasting through April 1966, UWF made six public statements urging negotiations for peace and U.N involvement in such efforts.

UWF intensified its defense of the United Nations, which some members of Congress sought to weaken or destroy. On March 7 1965, the UWF National Executive Council declared that 1965 not only marked the U.N's 20th Anniversary, "but also the beginning of its destruction." A nationwide petition campaign was launched "To Save and Strengthen the United Nations." In San Francisco in June 1965, the World Congress of World Federalists made additional declarations of that need by holding demonstrations in conjunction with the official U.N Charter commemoration events. It was also during this World Congress that Norman Cousins was elected President of WAWF.

Increasingly during the 1960s Federalists across the globe realized that there was a need not only for improved security institutions, but also for solutions to economic and social problems. The 1967 WAWF Congress in Norway emphasized economic growth and social justice. Young World Federalists called for a "new program" addressing their concerns social justice and environmental protection. The Federalist journal "Transnational Perspectives" had strong leadership from youth members and was devoted to "analysis of deeper trends and currents at work in world society," such as disarmament, human rights protection, international trade and development, the nuclear arms race, and planetary interdependence. Rene Wadlow, WAWF U.N Observer in Geneva, served as the editor of the "Transnational Perspectives" journal.

UWF supported two important treaties during the 1960s. the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which was ratified by the Senate in 1963 and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which was signed by President Nixon and President Nikolai Podgorny on November 24, 1969. Also in 1969 UWF joined with other organizations to campaign for establishing a U.S. Department of Peace, which in 1984 resulted in Congress authorizing the funding for the "United States Institute of Peace."

Changes in Name and Structure

In June 1969, the UWF Assembly changed the name of the organization to World Federalists USA (WFUSA), emphasizing U.S. Federalists' place in the worldwide movement. Within this global focus, in the 1970s reopening contacts with the Communist bloc became an important thrust. In 1973 Donald Keys, WAWF's U.N representative, joined with



**U.N. Secretary-General
U THANT**

other delegates from U.S. peace organizations to meet with representatives from the Soviet Peace Committee to discuss disarmament and U.N reform.

With the cooperation of many concerned individuals and organizations, the WFUSA National Council launched the organization "New Directions" in June 1975 to broaden involvement of the general public in issues of disarmament, foreign aid, environment and other concerns. For six years World Federalists were joined by other leaders from the peace and environmental movements in lobbying for "new directions" in U.S. foreign policy that acknowledged global interdependence in the search for peace and common security.

In a related effort to advance and increase public understanding of the need for and promise of world federation, the "World Federalists Educational Fund" was organized under the leadership of Dr. John B. Holden. A long-time World Federalist, Holden was the Director of the U.S. Department of Agriculture Graduate School.

This restructuring was further developed during the WFUSA Annual Assembly in June 1976 with the transfer of WFUSA's membership and most staff into the tax-deductible World Federalists Educational Fund, and the subsequent renaming of the Fund to become the "World Federalists Association." Norman Cousins, a dedicated leader of both the U.S. and international World Federalist organizations, was elected President of the new WFA.

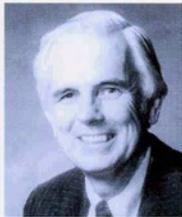
Following this restructuring and renaming of the organization, the World Federalist Association's daily operations were centered more in the office of the Executive Director. Appointed by the Executive Committee of the WFA Board, the Executive Director is responsible and accountable for implementing the policies and programs of WFA as established by the Board of Directors. WFA has been fortunate in the high caliber of leadership and

In December 1971 U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. CHARLES W. YOST and WFA President NORMAN COUSINS co-chaired a luncheon in New York City honoring U.N. Secretary-General U THANT. Jointly sponsored by WFUSA and WAWF, the event was attended by over 500 people.

energy which has been brought to the Executive Director post during the past two decades and wishes to extend its thanks and appreciation to Norman Hunt, Bill Wickersham, Walter Hoffmann, and Tim Barner for their tireless service to WFA in carrying out its mission.

The Law of the Sea Treaty

Throughout the 1970s WFA leaders actively supported the negotiations on a Law of the Sea Treaty (LOS). After years of negotiations, the treaty was adopted in 1981 by the U.N. member-states by a vote of 130-4 with the U.S. refusing to sign after fourteen years of bipartisan negotiations because of concerns raised by newly-elected President Ronald Reagan. During these long and difficult negotiations, Sam and Miriam



Senior Vice President
DR. JOHN LOGUE

Levering gave yeoman service to the conferees by gathering facts and information about the negotiations and publishing them in a weekly tabloid for all delegates. WFA Vice President Dr. John Logue was an eloquent and outspoken advocate of the Law of the Sea Treaty as well as the principle that the oceans, as a part of the global commons, are the "Common Heritage of Mankind." His leadership was instrumental in keeping the issue in the forefront of Federalist actions nationwide.

The final treaty marked real progress in establishing global governance by providing for enforcement of major provisions without



SAM and MIRIAM LEVERING (right) with former Congressman and three-time Cabinet member, ELLIOT RICHARDSON, participating in the Law of the Sea Conference in Montego Bay, Jamaica.

Political Action by the Campaign for U.N. Reform

The Campaign for U.N. Reform was established in 1976 to carry out political education and lobbying activities in the U.S. CUNR periodically invites WFA members to join in this work and because contributions to CUNR are not tax-deductible, the organization works directly and forcefully on U.S. political actions to strengthen, reform and restructure the United Nations as an instrument for governing global problems. Following its creation, CUNR mobilized to support a joint resolution in Congress seeking Presidential leadership on United Nations reform. This resolution, sponsored by Senators Howard Baker (R-TN) and George McGovern (D-SD), was enacted as appropriations bill rider. President Jimmy Carter responded the following year with a set of proposals for restructuring and reforming the U.N.

WFA Vice-President Walter Hoffmann served as the first Director of CUNR, maintaining and broadening Federalist political work in an effective manner despite the adverse circumstances later presented by the Reagan Administration. His successor, Eric Cox, began CUNR publication of Senate and House voting records on key issues affecting U.N. reform. The number of timely "Letters to the Editor" by Cox appearing in national publications is almost unequalled, notably the "New York Times" (20 letters), "Washington Post," "Cleveland Plain Dealer," and "St. Louis Post-Dispatch."

Special CUNR efforts to see that U.N. reform issues were discussed by political leaders were carried out every four years during the National Convention of both Democratic and Republican parties. Leaflets linking U.N. reform to party issues were distributed and CUNR speakers often addressed as many as 20 state delegations, creating recognition of the organization as well as its issues, and occasionally securing a response in the party platform.

In 1996 CUNR created a new leadership team, designating Edward Rawson as Executive Vice President and Don Kraus as CUNR Executive Director on a part-time basis. With anti-U.N. voices continuing to be raised in Congress, CUNR is aligned with WFA goals in the political battles to get the U.S. to act on its treaty obligations for U.N. funding and to keep U.N. reform framed as a positive and comprehensive vision measured by effectiveness, democratic procedures and the rule of law.

veto and stipulating that mining of the seabeds beyond national waters should require payment of royalties to the LOS organization, thereby creating a funding resource that would be independent of voluntary contributions by the treaty member nations. These are the elements of a limited world government in a very restricted field that is nevertheless significant. After years of delay, the United States finally signed the Law of the Sea Treaty in 1994, and ratification by the U.S. Senate is pending as of September 1997

Common Security and Human Survival

In the late 1970s and early 1980s World Federalists worked with members of Congress and other citizen advocacy groups to secure passage of "The Common Security Resolution." Drafted and supported by WFA and introduced by Rep. George Brown (D-CA), this resolution garnered the support of 71 co-sponsors in the House of Representatives. In addition, 39 national peace and disarmament organizations actively supported passage of this legislation. WFA strongly urged Congress to model a common security agreement upon the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" the McCloy-Zorin Agreement.

Federalist leaders during this period chose to concentrate on the project of creating a strong International Disarmament Organization. This tactic was a continuation of the philosophy behind creating the Law of the Sea, with the Board of Directors calling for "an international agreement which would provide for a staged, verified, and drastic reduction of national



SAM and TEDDI WINOGRAD

The Sam and Teddi Winograd House

Over the course of its history, World Federalists had rented space for its national office in a number of locations. In 1983 Sam and Teddi Winograd purchased and helped furnish a building at 418 7th Street, S.E. in Washington and leased it to WFA on terms favorable for the Association with an option to buy in five years at their initial 1983-84 costs of \$231,500. After a major fund-raising drive led by the Winograds, WFA was able to purchase the building with a down payment of \$156,500 and a mortgage of only \$75,000.

"The Winograd House" continues to serve as the Association's Washington office. In honor of his lifetime of dedication and service to the cause of world federalism, in 1994 Sam Winograd was given the WFA Presidential Award.



Staff stand in front of the two buildings on Capitol Hill which serve as the Headquarters of the World Federalist Association



RAY and JEANNETTE SHORT prepare to "burn the mortgage" of the Peacemakers Building in celebration of its final payment.

armaments and the establishment of an alternative world security system."

With this vision in mind, WFA activists Don Gilbert, Eric Cox, Al Creech and Forest Bittner coordinated a three-pronged "Caravan for Human Survival" during the fall of 1981. Sponsored by WFA, the Campaign for U.N Reform, and Planetary Citizens, the Caravan utilized Norman Cousins' "Human Manifesto" in reaching out to college and university students across the country. Caravans were launched in Florida, New England and the Midwest, meeting together in New York on U.N Day. The focus of the Caravan was a call for an immediate U.S. and Soviet freeze on nuclear testing, development, production and deployment. The principles of the McCloy-Zorin Agreement were central to the Caravan's broader message of disarmament.

Five-Continent Peace Initiative

May 1984 witnessed the announcement of the "Five-Continent Peace Initiative." This statement, published simultaneously in six national capitals (Athens, Buenos Aires, Dar es Salaam, Mexico City, New Delhi, and Stockholm), called for breaking the U.S.-Soviet deadlock and a substantial reduction in nuclear forces. It was the culmination of months of work carried out by members of Parliamentarians for World Order — an organization with purposes and many members common to WFA — and represented a breakthrough in arms reduction talks. Also known as the "Six-Nation Declaration for Arms Reduction," the Declaration called for all nations to embark upon a step-by-step program which would lead to general and complete disarmament, with a strengthened U.N. to supervise the reductions and assure peace. The Declaration was delivered by the U.N Ambassadors of the six nations to the five nuclear powers U.S., USSR, France, Britain, and China.

In 1988 the "Five-Continent/Six-Nation Peace Initiative" issued a renewed call for a nuclear moratorium, worldwide disarmament, and a more effective United Nations by outlining a proposal to establish an international

The Peacemakers Building at 420 7th Street, S.E.

In 1996 Dr. Ray and Jeannette Short made a "lifetime" gift of more than \$125,000 to WFA which provided the basic funds to purchase of the then WFA-rented property adjacent to the National Headquarters. Over the course of that year many Federalists also made contributions toward the purchase of this neighboring building, and in the spring of 1997 the Shorts contributed an additional \$50,000 to completely pay off the mortgage and hold a "Mortgage Burning" celebration at the WFA Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting. With the inscription, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the people of God," the Shorts have named this property "The Peacemakers Building" in tribute to Federalist friends and those who have inspired them: Sam and Miriam Levering, Neal and Marion Potter, Rodney and Mary Shaw, David and Marilyn Conant, Glenn and Eva Olds, Ed Rawson, and all World Federalists.

Parliamentarians

The World Parliamentary Association for World Government (WPWG) when founded in 1952 by Gilbert McAllister, had Lance Mallalieu as the Chair of the Board. It had representatives from seventeen parliaments, including the British Parliamentary Group for World Government and the U.S. Members of Congress for Peace through Law. In 1979, with the encouragement and support of WAWF and three leading Canadian MPs, New Zealander Nicholas Dunlop helped to establish Parliamentarians for World Order (now Parliamentarians for Global Action) from the nucleus of the WPWG.

arms verification system within the U.N. The leaders of this Initiative followed their proposal with personal visits to both President Reagan and President Gorbachev. Reagan did not accept the proposals, but Gorbachev cited this "middle-power initiative" as the chief reason for his unilateral halt in nuclear testing.

Dialogue with the Soviets

Max Habicht (a distinguished Swiss attorney and founder of WAWF) helped arrange ground-breaking conversations between WFA Legislative Director Sanford Persons and Yuri Zhukov, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee and a friend of Habicht. As a result of these initial talks an exchange program was established with the Soviet Peace Committee. In 1984 WFA leaders Charles C. Price, Sam Winograd and Bill Wickersham launched a "Mission to Moscow" meeting with leaders of nine Soviet peace



Senator PAUL SIMON with WFA Vice-President DR. JOHN B. HOLDEN



SANFORD Z. PERSONS



Sen. JOSEPH S. CLARK

SANFORD Z. PERSONS, WFA Legislative Director and Chair of the Executive Committee, worked for more than a decade as Executive Director of "Members of Congress for Peace Through Law" — a Congressional caucus organized under the leadership of Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK (D-PA), who later served as President of UWF following his career in the Senate. Rep. JOHN SEIBERLING (D-OH), a strong WFA supporter, was also quite active in this important group of lawmakers.

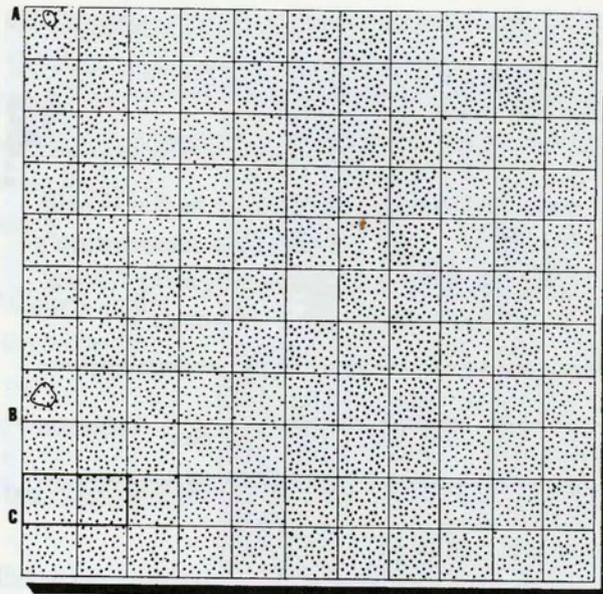


WFA Leaders meet with Soviet Peace Committee: Left to right, BILL WICKERSHAM, SAM WINOGRAD, CHARLES C. PRICE, VLADIMIR KOKASHVILI, OLEG KHARKHARDIN, YURI ZHUKOV, LEV SEMEIKO, and YURI LEGIN.

organizations. In addition to discussing the goal of general and complete disarmament, the World Federalist delegation urged reform and strengthening of the United Nations. The Soviets had reservations, but the groups agreed to have further study and discussions. The following year WFA hosted the Soviet Peace Committee delegation in Washington, discussing Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals for a nuclear test ban, a ban on weapons in space, and a 50% reduction in nuclear weapons, as well as World Federalist concerns for a strong and effective United Nations. In 1986 eight WFA leaders returned to Moscow and Leningrad for meetings with the Soviet Peace Committee, Soviet U.N. Association, Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, Leningrad Peace Committee, and other peace organizations. WFA stressed its conviction that "to effectively strengthen international peace and security it is essential to restructure and strengthen the United Nations so that it has the power, authority and funding to carry out the high purposes to which it is dedicated." These annual exchanges continued through the early 1990s.

The "Binding Triad"

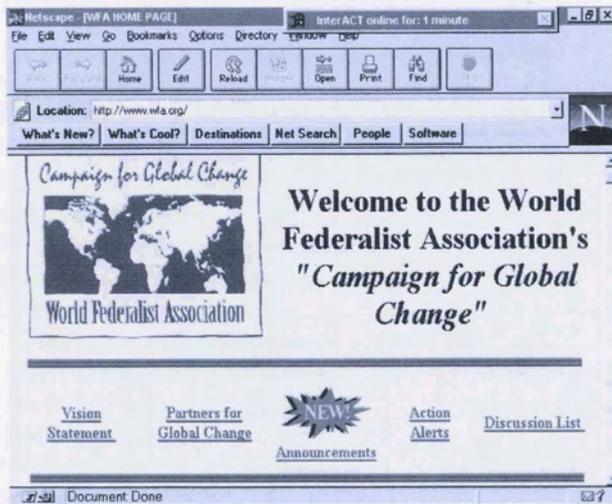
Federalists have continually contributed to the dialogue of ideas on how to improve the United Nations. Richard Hudson, WFA Board Member and the Executive Director of the Center for War/Peace Studies, published his "Open Letter to U.N. Chiefs" in the December 1984 issue of the Center's Global Report. This article addressed the problem of the One-Nation One-Vote rule in the General Assembly, and the resulting reluctance of the larger nations to grant power to a body where their population and economic power are not appropriately represented. He proposed a revised voting procedure labeled the "Binding Triad," under which a measure would be binding if the yeas included not only the majority of member nations as at present, but also the votes of members that represent substantial majorities of the population of the world and of contributions to the regular budget of the United Nations. Resolutions adopted by the three simultaneous majorities would become global law, and be binding and enforceable. This proposal, which could be introduced into the international system through an amendment to Article 13 of the U.N. Charter, continues to be part of a WFA dialogue on U.N. reform.



"Do we have enough firepower to blast the Russians to eternity? Or do we need more? This chart may throw light on those questions.

The single dot in the empty-looking center square represents the entire destructive force of all the explosives used during the entire six years of World War II: three million tons (three megatons) of TNT. The other dots in the other 120 squares represent the world's present nuclear weaponry: 16,000 megatons — more than 5,000 World War IIs!

The circled dots in the upper left corner (A) represent the firepower in just one Poseidon sub; the lower circled dots (B), the firepower of a single Trident sub. The two squares (C) contain enough firepower to destroy all the large and medium-sized cities in the entire world."



Hundreds of "cyber-pages" about world federalism, global governance, and "World Peace through World Law" exist on the Internet. WFA's own World Wide Web site — www.wfa.org — contains volumes of information available to all who have access to this technology. Because it is updated monthly, WFA members and interested activists can access timely, relevant material on important global issues.

U S Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the U N

In 1985 WFA and the Campaign for U.N. Reform encouraged Representative James Leach (R-IA) to introduce legislation to establish a "United States Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations" House Joint Resolution 417. Federalists worked hard for this proposal at both local and national levels. Senators Charles Grassley (R-IA) and Paul Simon (D-IL) introduced the bill in the Senate. This culminated in a December 1987 Congressional passage of the bill which President Reagan then signed into law. The Commission was to undertake its work in 1989.

The bill stipulated that four of the members of the Commission be appointed by the President and that three appointments each were to be made by the Majority and Minority Leaders of both the Senate and the House. WFA Executive Director Walter Hoffmann was selected by House Speaker Thomas Foley (D-WA) as one of his appointees.

Because of delays from the White House in making its appointments, the Commission did not convene until June 1992. The members of the Commission decided to hold public hearings, beginning that fall, in six cities across the country: Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Atlanta, Chicago, and New York. These public hearings were significantly supported — both financially and logistically — by World Federalists in those communities. Representative James Leach, the original sponsor of the legislation, and Heritage Foundation Vice President Charles Lichenstein served as Co-Chairs of the Commission. The majority opinion in



Rep. JAMES LEACH with Vice President RONALD GLOSSOP and Executive Director WALTER HOFFMANN

the "Final Report" called for

The creation of a 5,000-10,000 blue helmet U.N. rapid reaction force of volunteers, useful in containing conflicts before they escalate out of control or in deterring them altogether.

The creation of a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, as well as the creation of a Human Rights Court to exercise jurisdiction over human rights treaties.

The creation of a permanent International Criminal Court to bring to justice international outlaws like war criminals, terrorists, drug traffickers and aircraft hijackers.

The U.S. and other nations to subscribe to the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

*International Law,
Peace and Security*

In 1986 WFA President Norman Cousins appealed to Congress to postpone action on President Reagan's request for \$10 million in aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. The International Court of Justice had determined that U.S. military aid to the Contras and the mining of Nicaraguan harbors violated international law. WFA, in conjunction with a committee of U.S. citizens living in Nicaragua and the Center for Constitutional Rights, brought suit against the U.S. government for violations of their rights as U.S. citizens. WFA argued a significant principle, that Article VI of the U.S. Constitution made all treaties (including the U.N. Charter) "the supreme law of the land," and that the U.S. was thus obligated under U.S. law to comply with the judgement of the World Court, which held that the U.S. military aid to the Contras was a violation of the international law principle of Non-Use of Force.

The U.S. District Court ruled that the question was political rather than legal, and thus not justiciable in the court. WFA appealed this decision. The November 1989 opinion of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia stated that the lawsuit raised justiciable questions as to whether the U.S. government had violated the rights of U.S. citizen plaintiffs living in Nicaragua. However, the Court of Appeals ruled against WFA and the committee of citizens, deciding that the U.S. had not violated those rights because it had not sought to encourage injuries to the plaintiffs and therefore had not intentionally interfered with their rights. Although the case was lost, it may have set an important precedent by demonstrating that actions of Congress and the President might, under certain circumstances, be restrained by provisions of international law.



"I have a dream that within the lifetime of people now living the nations of the world will decide to eliminate war for settling disputes, and that this will be done through international institutions with the capacity to insure peaceful settlements."

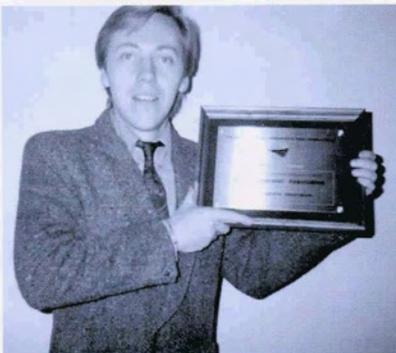
—STANLEY K. PLATT, *The Evolution of an Abolitionist*

STANLEY PLATT's commitment to world federation and U.N. reform focused on taking concrete steps toward our goal. A prolific writer and advocate for a restructured United Nations, PLATT produced a series of pamphlets during the 1990s. In 1993 he received the inaugural WFA "Presidential Award" and in 1996 he was awarded the Minnesota Twin Cities International Citizen Award — in part because of his international, national and local actions for peace. The World Federalist Association mourns his passing and dedicates this Fiftieth Anniversary book to him.

Bicentennial of the U S Constitution



Vice Presidents BARBARA WALKER and JOHN B. HOLDEN



Award-winning radio spots were created by staff member PAUL KRAMER. Board Chair ROBERT A. STUART issued a \$25,000 challenge grant to raise the funds for airing these advertisements.

In 1987 WFA used the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution as the basis for launching a national education program on the need to apply the Constitution's principles of federation on a world level. This year-long program included

publishing the *World Federalist Bicentennial Reader* edited by Vice President Barbara Walker

creating the award-winning radio announcements about world federalism, with WFA Advisory Board members Steve Allen, Jean Stapleton, and Lloyd Bridges

hosting two major events at Independence Hall in Philadelphia (the venue of the 1787 Constitutional Convention) the International Bicentennial Symposium and the Twentieth World Congress of WAWF

The events in Philadelphia were coordinated by Vice President John Logue, with more than 400 Federalists participating, including speakers from as far away as the Soviet Union, Japan, Sweden, and Norway.

During the 1987 Bicentennial year, Robert Myers of Quincy, Illinois strongly advocated the use of radio and television ads and Public Service Announcements. He spearheaded WFA media efforts by producing and placing ads nationwide and providing major financial support for this effort. Another Midwesterner, Board Chair Robert A. Stuart, supported these efforts and other initiatives carried out by WFA throughout the 1980s.

Issues of the 1990s



WFA celebrated the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution in 1987 with the presentation of "The Declaration of Philadelphia" to U.N. Secretary-General PEREZ DE CUELLAR. From left to right: NORMAN COUSINS, Secretary-General DE CUELLAR, Villanova University President Rev. JOHN M. DRISCOLL, and Dr JOHN LOGUE.

The fall of the Berlin Wall signified the beginning of the end of the Cold War. As this era closed, the possibility for effective global security looked bright. However, many actions seemed to move the world both forward and backward at the same time. At the outbreak of the Gulf War in January 1991, President George Bush spoke the following words

"This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and the Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge for

ourselves and for future generations a new world order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful, and we will be, we will have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders."

In response, WFA launched its "New World Order Under Law" campaign. Petitions to the President called on him to take the lead in carrying out the vision he had articulated. Although the Gulf War marked significant collective action against aggression, President Bush and other world leaders were reluctant to develop a truly democratic and restructured U.N. at the center of a new world order.

During the 1991 World Congress, Sir Peter Ustinov, celebrated actor, writer and producer, was chosen as President of the World Federalist Movement (WFM) — the new organizational name for WAWF. The Congress urged the creation of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations, stand-by U.N. security forces, and a permanent International Criminal Court to provide real substance to the U.N. Decade of International Law.

As from their beginning in the 1970s, public awareness of environmental problems rose, responding to concerns about ozone depletion,

Global Structures Convocations

During the past decade the World Federalist Association sponsored three national citizen convocations dedicated to strengthening and reforming global structures to govern specific global problems. With the visionary leadership and unflagging support of WFA Vice-President Stanley K. Platt, WFA convened the first convocation in 1989 — "Exploring Common Security through Structures for Peace" — in Washington, D.C. along with 72 co-sponsoring organizations. The conference was coordinated by Evelyn Falkowski. Over 1,400 participants attended the three-day convocation, which addressed issues of restructuring the United Nations as well as other key world issues. Capitalizing on the momentum built before and during the conference, the co-sponsoring organizations formed the Alliance for Our Common Future to coordinate post-conference actions by like-minded organizations.

For the 1992 Second Global Structures Convocation on "Environment and Sustainable Development," the Alliance for Our Common Future coalition served as the Principal Sponsor with WFA as the Managing Sponsor. Directed by Joan McKinney, this four-day event drafted recommendations for the June 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development. Nearly 1,400 people participated along with 105 co-sponsoring organizations.

"Human Rights, Global Governance and Strengthening the United Nations" was the theme of the 1994 Third Global Structures Convocation directed by William R. Pace. Supported by 150 co-sponsoring organizations, it was held soon after the U.N. World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. This convocation brought together over 1,100 citizen activists to focus attention on the results of the Vienna conference in setting the stage for U.N. reform and global governance discussions during the 1995 U.N. 50th Anniversary.

Recent Opinion Polls

There are many public opinion polls conducted on global issues, but a special poll was taken on comprehensive approaches to transforming the U.N. into a democratic world federation.

U.S. participation in a world conference to review the U.N. Charter:

62% Support

10% Oppose

24% Neutral

U.S. participation in a convention separate from the U.N. to draft a World Constitution:

56% Support

18% Oppose

18% Neutral

An International Criminal Court to try leaders accused of grossly violating the human rights of groups within their own country:

83% Support

13% Oppose

4% Neutral

1993 AMERICANS TALK SECURITY FOUNDATION POLL

— Alan Kay, President



Tracing her World Federalist roots back to Clarence Streit's *Union Now* movement in 1939, CLEO MICHELSEN received the WFA Presidential Award from JOHN B. ANDERSON in 1995 for her leadership and dedication to the cause of world federation. Her lifelong devotion to the whole human family started as a child when she learned from her grandmother a poem which began, "I am a link in the golden chain of love that stretches round the world."

Immediately following the UWF founding assembly in 1947 MICHELSEN took a leading role in establishing the Washington, D.C. chapter. Upon moving to Los Angeles in 1965 she provided the major stimulus in making the Southern California Region a center for national leadership. In 1987 MICHELSEN returned to the Washington area and launched the Virginia Chapter and Chesapeake Region, along with compiling historical material for WFA's 40th Anniversary — material used throughout the 50th Anniversary as well. Throughout the past five decades Michelsen has been a leader of the organization at the local, regional, national and international levels. She currently serves on the WFA Advisory Board.

global warming, transnational pollution, nuclear contamination, and the effects of other hazardous chemicals. In 1972 the United Nations had convened the first of a series of conferences to be held each decade seeking global solutions to these truly global problems. During the early 1990s World Federalists focused their efforts on the 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development. WFM sought greater public acceptance of the need for world institutions to enforce the agreements which came out of the conference. The need for an instrument to ensure worldwide adherence to global environmental agreements became increasingly clear. When the U.N. "Earth Summit" was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, ten World Federalist delegates attended as official Non-Governmental Organization representatives. WFA chapters in fourteen cities held Earth Day observances that year, raising the "Earth Flag" as a rallying symbol in calling for effective global institutions to protect the environment.

One Million Dollar Anonymous Gift

Through the efforts of WFA President Charles C. Price, WFA received a tremendous boost in 1991 with a four-year, one million dollar contribution from an anonymous couple in the Midwest. (\$700,000 directly supported WFA programs, with the remaining \$300,000 funding the work of the World Federalist Movement, the U.S. Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the U.N., and the Center for U.N. Reform Education.) President Bush's call for a "new world order" and the opening up of new opportunities to address global anarchy in the Post-Cold War world were instrumental in the timing of this significant gift. Through this multi-year contribution WFA launched a national media program and expanded field and legislative activities. In time these efforts evolved into the Partners Program of WFA grassroots activists working together across the U.S. These programs were able to focus on the findings of the U.S. Commission and target specific initiatives for the U.N. 50th Anniversary year.

This significant anonymous gift was designed to spur a wider and larger base of WFA supporters through its "challenge gift" designation, seeking both increased contributions and new donors to the organization. Included in this category was a program grant from the Johnson Foundation in Racine, Wisconsin. Federalist founder, Helen Huntoon, was instrumental in securing support for a three-day conference in 1992 at the Wingspread Conference Center entitled "Rethinking Basic Assumptions About the United Nations."

*Grassroots Activism by
Partners for Global Change*

Former Senator Paul Simon once said that if there were ten people in each Congressional district who "really pushed" on an issue, "I think you could literally change the world." The goal of the *Partners for Global Change* is to "literally change the world" by seeking to establish a Partners Group in every Congressional district in the country. Since 1993 the Partners Program has worked to build a culture of success by "taking measurable steps that lead us toward world federation" each month, to quote the words of Program Director, Don Kraus.

According to WFA leader Jan Marie Rushforth, "Since June 1993 when I joined the Partners, WFA has received more TV coverage in Philadelphia than ever before. We had Senator Arlen Specter show up for one of our media events, and John Anderson has appeared on TV with us. We have coordinated lobby visits with our members of Congress — in one case bringing 30 leaders from different community groups with us. We've had numerous letters to the editor published and have arranged for our Partners to be guests on talk radio shows. We have done much more, but what all this activity means to me is being effective, in a way I never have been before."

Partners actions during the past four years include:

- twenty television news stories about WFA and the International Criminal Court in a single day
- the "\$7-for-the-U.N. Drive" which began in December 1995 has generated hundreds of letters to Senators and over \$60,000 dollars of support for the U.N
- hundreds of "Letters to the Editor," Op-Eds, and editorials in favor of WFA goals, including two editorials each published in the Boston Globe, Kansas City Star, Denver Post, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
- influencing several key members of Congress to co-sponsor the "Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers"
- more than twenty-five editorial board visits and hundreds of letters to Congress promoting preventive actions for peace prior to the crisis in Burundi.

Throughout the 1990s the *Partners for Global Change* for World Federalists "is where the rubber meets the road."



1995 Presidential Award Recipient
CHARLES C. PRICE III

The leadership shown by Price to bring new resources to the organization was only one of the reasons why he was selected as a Presidential Award recipient in 1995. He has served with distinction as WFA President on two separate occasions. The first term was 1959-61 at the time when the McCloy-Zorin Agreement was beginning to take shape and Federalists were advocating for its adoption. The second term lasted from 1990 to 1992, immediately following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the opening up of new opportunities for post-Cold War structures for common security. As a renowned and respected chemist (having served as President of the American Chemical Society), Price typifies the commitment of many scientists and university professors to achieving peace in a war-torn world. He continues his leadership as a member of the WFA Advisory Board.



Philadelphia Partners JOY HARBESON and
JAN MARIE RUSHFORTH

Recent Writings on a Governed World

The publication in 1992 of *An Agenda for Peace* by U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali showed recognition by the U.N.'s leadership of the need for a more effective world organization. In this publication Boutros-Ghali made an effective case for many of the ideas advocated by World Federalists, including the development of a U.N. rapid deployment force and a contingent reserve force capable of preserving peace in troubled areas.

Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Joseph Rotblat spoke the following words during his keynote presentation at the 1992 Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs held in Berlin.

"In this closing address I want to advance ideas which, I believe, are essential to the achievement of our ultimate goal, the elimination of all war ideas which the polite among you may say are very ambitious, and others will call Utopian. What I have in mind — and I will spell it out straight away is the idea of a federal world government.

"The tremendous changes in the recent years have proved that nothing is beyond achievement in the world of politics what was unimaginable yesterday is reality today and what is Utopian today may be the actuality of tomorrow. Maybe, but it will not happen tomorrow if we shy away from talking about it today.

"Both our founding fathers, Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell, were strong advocates of a world government, even though this was not spelled out in the [Pugwash] Manifesto. In the Manifesto they elucidated the alternatives facing mankind. 'Here, then, is the problem which we present you, stark and dreadful and inescapable: Shall we put an end to the human race or shall mankind renounce war?' and they pointed out the requirement for the latter alternative: 'The abolition of war will demand distasteful limitations of national sovereignty.

"But the Manifesto stopped short of calling for a world government, because there was no chance of it being agreed to by some signatories of the Manifesto, notably Frederic Joliot-Curie. The Communists were implacable opponents of a world government.

"But now we are living in a different world.

"... The radical change that I propose is the creation of a federal world

government, with an international framework, which would include legislative power and a police force to ensure security to all its members special organs would deal with requests for recognition by ethnic groups, etc., and protect the rights of minorities in any of its federal components.

"Apart from stressing openness as a vital characteristic of the proposed system, I will not attempt at this stage a more detailed description of the structure of the world government. I envisage it as a gradual evolution of the United Nations organization with the steps of that evolution emerging from comprehensive studies. At this stage the important point is to accept the concept, to recognize it as an idea whose time has come."

Writer and editor Strobe Talbott, who was later appointed by President Bill Clinton to the post of Deputy Secretary of State, made an even broader and stronger argument for world federation in a July 20, 1992 TIME magazine essay entitled "Birth of the Global Nation."

"Humanity has discovered, through much trial and error, that differences need not divide. Switzerland is made up of four nationalities crammed into an area considerably smaller than what used to be Yugoslavia. The air in the Alps is no more conducive to comity than the air in the Balkans. Switzerland has thrived while Yugoslavia has failed because of what Kant realized 200 years ago to be in peaceful league with one another, people and peoples must have the benefits of democracy.

"The best mechanism for democracy, whether at the level of the multinational state or that of the planet as a whole, is not an all-powerful Leviathan or centralized superstate, but a federation, a union of separate states that allocate certain powers to a central government while retaining many others for themselves. Federalism has already proved the most successful of all political experiments, and organizations like the World Federalist Association have for decades advocated it as the basis for global government."

For this essay Talbott was selected as the 1993 recipient of the "Norman Cousins Global Governance Award." This prize is awarded periodically for the published or aired public communication which most increases public understanding of world law, global governance and world federation. The judges that year were McGeorge Bundy, Steve Allen and Hazel Henderson. During the award ceremony Talbott spoke of his pride in being the son of founding Federalists Nelson and Josephine Talbott of Ohio. (He even noted that they had a dog in his childhood named "Feddie" — which was short for United World Federalists!)

The following year television and film star Lloyd Bridges received this prestigious award for his 30-second Public Service Announcement



Advisory Board member LLOYD BRIDGES with WFA Vice President TED LEUTZINGER

Presidential Award

The Presidential Award was established in 1993 to honor individual commitment and dedication to the cause of world federation. Seven members have thus far received the award from WFA President John B. Anderson for their distinguished service to the cause of peace through world federation.

BARBARA WALKER	1997
NEAL POTTER	1997
EDWARD RAWSON	1996
DR. CHARLES C. PRICE III	1995
CLEO MICHELSEN	1995
SAM WINOGRAD	1994
STANLEY K. PLATT	1993



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"People all over the world are expecting the United Nations to intervene in hostilities, protect the innocent, resolve conflicts and police the peace, yet the U.N. system is woefully inadequate to the task. For more than five decades World Federalists have worked to promote a strengthened U.N. and more effective institutions of global governance. As the third millennium approaches, a great opportunity has opened for the realization of the dreams of the U.N.'s founders. I ask your support now to empower the leadership of John Anderson and the World Federalist Association."

— WALTER CRONKITE

(PSA) promoting global governance as a solution to world environmental problems. The PSA aired on 14 major radio stations, reaching more than 2 million listeners. Bridges continues to lend his support as an active member of the WFA Advisory Board.

The United Nations 50th Anniversary

Taking advantage of the international public attention which corresponded with the United Nations Fiftieth Anniversary, WFA launched a national new-member campaign under the leadership of Walter Cronkite. Beginning in mid-1994, WFA significantly increased its membership with the new-member recruitment and education package signed by Cronkite.

The WFM 1995 Congress in San Francisco was held in conjunction with U.N. 50th Anniversary commemoration events. During the Congress, WFM Executive Director William R. Pace was acclaimed for his 1992 leadership efforts in the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) community at the time of the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development, where he had lobbied national governments to establish a U.N. Commission on Sustainable Development. In addition, efforts by WFM and WFA promoting the work of the "Commission on Global Governance" were given appreciation by Commission Co-Chair Shridath Ramphal.

In Los Angeles that year, WFM President Sir Peter Ustinov received the 1995 "Norman Cousins Global Governance Award" for his numerous essays published in the newspaper "The European." This special ceremony brought together previous awardee Lloyd Bridges, contest judge Steve Allen, and other Southern California World Federalists.

United Nations Funding

Throughout the 1990s, WFA has devoted significant effort to getting Congress to appropriate full and on-time payments of United Nations dues. Member State assessments under the U.N. Charter treaty are established by international agreement, and under the U.S. Constitution, treaties are the supreme law of the land. Many Senators and Representatives received letters from WFA members and other concerned individuals along with checks for



WFM President SIR PETER USTINOV

\$7.00 the American citizen's average share of the dues owed by the United States. In this creative educational campaign, members of Congress were asked to forward the checks directly to the U.N. "\$7 for the U.N. I paid my share" bumperstickers were affixed with pride to the cars, trucks and bicycles of many World Federalist members. U.N. Assistant-Secretary for Finance and Administration, Joseph Connor, publicly thanked WFA and other organizations for generating this tangible support for U.S. payment of dues.

Seeking a Permanent International Criminal Court

Establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court that would have the authority to prosecute individuals who violate certain international laws has been under consideration by the United Nations since the early 1950s, but had long been on the back burner due to the Cold War stalemate in the U.N. In 1989 the U.N. Representative from Trinidad and Tobago placed the topic on the agenda of the General Assembly, and at that time WFA Executive Director Walter Hoffmann made this a high priority among WFA's short-term goals. The General Assembly Sixth Committee (the Legal Committee) subsequently referred the question to the International Law Commission, which subsequently prepared a draft statute for an ICC. This draft was presented to the U.N. General Assembly in 1994, and a series of negotiations leading up to a treaty-establishing diplomatic conference were held beginning in 1996.

Over the years strongly bipartisan Congressional support for a permanent ICC has been garnered from Senators Arlen Specter (R-PA) and Chris Dodd (D-CT), both of whom serve on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Representatives Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) and James Leach (R-IA). During a speech delivered in October 1995 President Bill Clinton called for "nations around the world who value freedom and tolerance [to] establish a permanent international court."

More than 120 national and international organizations have endorsed the creation of a permanent International Criminal Court. An NGO Coalition for an ICC (CICC) is coordinated by the World Federalist

"If You Really Want To Do Something For Me, You Can Take Your Foot Off The Oxygen Tube."



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THE WASHINGTON POST

September 20, 1964
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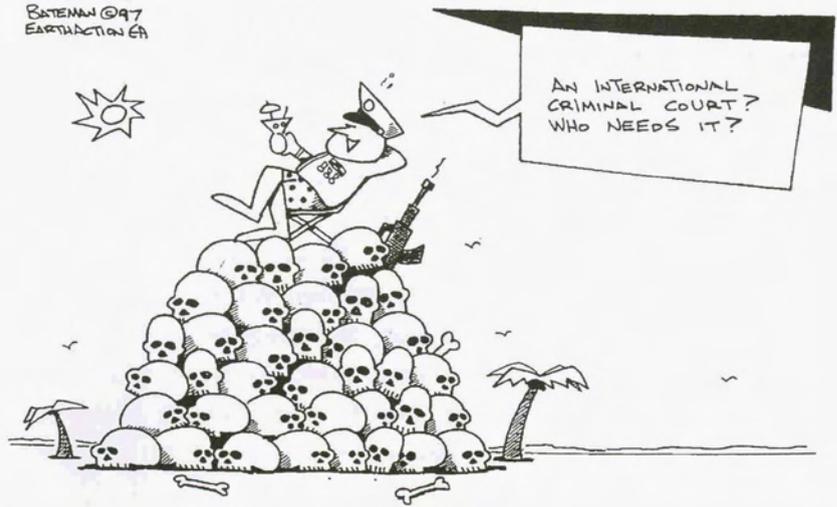


EDWARD RAWSON

Treasuring a Treasurer: Edward Rawson's 20 Years of Service

On the occasion of his retirement from the office of Treasurer after 20 years, WFA invited family, friends, and colleagues of Edward Rawson to join him during a special retirement and award banquet held in his honor during the 1996 Annual Meeting. In addition to expressing thanks and appreciation for his years of inspiring dedication, WFA established a goal of raising the value of the WFA Endowment Fund to \$1 million. During this special event he was presented with the 1996 Presidential Award.

For many decades Rawson has served as a national and local leader, a major donor, and an unflagging supporter of the World Federalist Association. Rawson continues as a Trustee of the WFA Endowment Fund, on which he has served since its establishment in 1982, and he continues his leadership in WFA as a Vice President. His years of involvement, however, date back to the very beginnings of the movement for world federation — he was an official delegate to the 1947 founding Assembly of the United World Federalists in Asheville.



Movement and brings together a broad-based network of organizations and international law experts to advocate the creation of an effective and just ICC. Leading organizations include Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Parliamentarians for Global Action, and WFM.

The World Federalist Association at Fifty

On February 21, 1997 World Federalists from across the country gathered in Mount Vernon, Virginia to commemorate two important historical dates — the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the United World Federalists, and the 265th Birthday of George Washington. This special event was Co-Chaired by Cleo Michelsen and John Logue.



From left: John Logue, Myron W. Kronisch, Cleo Michelsen, John B. Anderson, and C. Delores Tucker at the Mount Vernon WFA Fiftieth Anniversary Event.

Walter Cronkite's message to participants at the 50th Anniversary Mount Vernon event stated

"I deeply regret that my schedule does not permit me to be with you for the initial event of the WFA's 50th Anniversary celebration. I would almost consider it a personal anniversary of my interest in a system of world government that would have a chance at assuring peace and promoting the security of all nations, large or small.

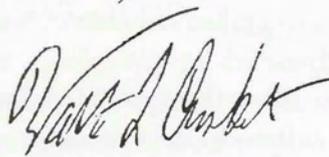
"When I returned in 1948 from my two years as the United Press correspondent in Moscow, still reflecting on the experiences of my previous year covering the first of the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals, I was excited to learn that some prominent Americans, including an old friend, Oscar Hammerstein, had founded an organization to seek a rational form of world government. I almost became the new World Federalist Association's Washington lobbyist

"In the half century since, my belief in a strong world government has been reinforced by so much of the international history which I have covered. Dedicated people may nay, certainly should debate the details even as did those gentlemen who founded these United States, but the principles are all there in your Declaration of Mount Vernon.

"It has become a cliché that the United States is now without challenge the most powerful nation on Earth. The cliché is a fact, but it is not a circumstance which should inspire pride unless we use that power to extend the benefits of our democracy to the rest of the world an achievement that cannot be obtained by strength of arms or bully tactics at the United Nations.

"The hope of the world is in the education of the American public, to raise their awareness of not only the advantages but the vital necessity of a system of world government to bring them to an understanding that our vaunted sovereignty is an empty blessing in a world at war. The educational mission of the World Federalist Association is clear. May its principles prevail."

Sincerely,



Walter L. Cronkite



1997 Presidential Award Recipient NEAL POTTER



IRENE DARGAN and LOIS SPIONE

Appreciation to LOIS SPIONE and IRENE DARGAN

Retiring in 1997 after 32 years on the World Federalist staff, Lois Spione has the honor of having the longest tenure of any WFA staff person in its 50 year history. Administrative and financial work — recording income and expenses, payroll, mailings, office supplies — characterized the major portion of her daily routine. Irene Dargan started working in the National Headquarters in 1968, only a few years after Spione, and has served as Membership Coordinator since that time. Both Dargan and Spione have interacted with WFA members through phone reception, meeting planning, and correspondence. WFA extends its thanks and appreciation to both of them for their hard work, dedication, and commitment to the goals of the organization.

In preparation for the Fiftieth Anniversary commemorations, Honorary Vice President Neal Potter and former staff director Anne Ainsworth have served as the Co-Chairs of its Fiftieth Anniversary Committee. With Vice President Barbara Walker they launched the research and writing of this special "Fiftieth" publication. Their leadership and a special anonymous gift from another longstanding Federalist leader made this recorded history possible.

A participant at the founding convention in Asheville, Potter received the Spring 1997 WFA Presidential Award from John Anderson. Following the 1947 convention Potter moved from Pittsburgh to the Pacific Northwest where he spent the next seven years organizing World Federalist activities out of the Richland, Washington headquarters. Along with Ray Short, the two of them activated local members in the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Utah. In 1967-68 Potter served as WFA President, and he continues today as an Honorary Vice President.



Priority Issues During the 50th Anniversary Year

As WFA TURNS FIFTY, THE ORGANIZATION CONTINUES TO SEEK THE RIGHT BALANCE BETWEEN EDUCATION, ACTION AND OUTREACH ON AN EVER-EXPANDING PORTFOLIO OF ISSUES. IN 1997 WFA HAS INTENSIFIED ITS WORK ON UNITED NATIONS FUNDING AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT (ICC). THESE TWO ISSUES HAVE MOVED SQUARELY INTO THE NATIONAL SPOTLIGHT AND PROVIDE WFA WITH PRIME ACTION OPPORTUNITIES. IN ADDITION, WORK CONTINUES IN STRENGTHENING UNITED NATIONS PEACE OPERATIONS, CREATING PREVENTIVE ACTIONS FOR PEACE, AND IMPROVING U.N. STRUCTURES TO ACHIEVE HUMAN SECURITY AND JUSTICE, AS WE ENTER AN AGE OF ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION. THESE ISSUES ARE ADDRESSED IN THE WFA VISION FOR GLOBAL CHANGE — A COMPREHENSIVE OUTLINE OF STEPS THAT CAN BE TAKEN TOWARD A U.N. WORLD FEDERATION.

United Nations Funding

Over the years, WFA has consistently urged the United States to meet its financial and legal obligations to the United Nations in full, on time, and without conditions. Recently, an isolationist wave sweeping through Capitol Hill has weakened U.S. commitment to the U.N. In its actions

through several organizational coalitions for U.N. advocacy, WFA has emerged as a mainstay in the annual fight to secure American payment of its U.N. assessments. In campaigning for reliable and sustainable sources of U.N. funding, WFA will lead with its ideas and grassroots activism.

International Criminal Court

Creation of a permanent International Criminal Court to try those guilty of heinous violations of international law is now within reach. Heightened global interest in establishing individual accountability for international crimes, and exceptional momentum at the U.N. Preparatory Committee sessions for drafting an ICC statute, have combined to advance the ICC initiative into mainstream political dialogue. In addition, U.S. Administration officials and Members of Congress have both begun to visibly embrace proposals, lending credibility to WFA's longstanding interest and leadership on the ICC. Its 1997 work focuses on expanding constituencies in favor of an ICC and contributing to legislative understanding in advance of a scheduled treaty-writing diplomatic conference in 1998.

United Nations Peace Operations

The prospects for advancing U.S. legislation calling for the creation of a voluntary United Nations peace force have dimmed somewhat with the departure of stalwart U.N. ally Senator Paul Simon from the U.S. Congress. Nevertheless, several new proposals, the U.S.-sponsored African Crisis Response Force and the European-sponsored U.N. High Readiness Brigade, are energizing the concept of a permanent and/or regional U.N. peace force. WFA is poised to expand the dialogue on this crucial element of a global system to promote peace.

Preventive Actions for Peace

Among the issues WFA is currently following, few have more promise than Preventive Actions for Peace. Actions for conflict prevention have recently emerged as an important development in the search for workable global mechanisms to sustain peace. In the private sector, and in academic circles, there has been a proliferation of activity to refine approaches and applications of conflict prevention that supplement the 1992 Agenda For Peace framework offered by U.N. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali.

WFA will have a critical role to play in generating public interest in conflict prevention and enforceable world law, particularly through the WFM-led effort to convene a Third Hague Peace Conference in 1999 with the theme of "Delegitimizing War."

*Responding to Threats
to Sustainable Development*

Growing threats to the world environment — from the ozone layer depletion to accumulating pollution to global warming — bring increasing public attention to the need for effective world organizations to ensure compliance in all nations with the measures necessary to stem the tide of environmental degradation that threatens human health, production of crops, and even the survival of coastal cities. WFA will continue dialogue and public education to focus on these global problems and the role of an effective U.N. in their solutions.

The negative consequences of a globalizing economy on human security and well-being are of increasing interest to WFA. The World Trade Organization, international financial institutions, and transnational corporations are global structures whose increasing impact on both national governments and local communities need to be critically evaluated. Debate continues during our 50th Anniversary year as to what WFA can propose for U.N. system actions to modify the global economy and make a significant contribution to enhancing human security and well-being.

Newspapers and TV stations nationwide covered the White House protest during the summer of 1995, including this front page coverage in Maine's "Bangor Daily News"

Bangor Daily News

—NO. 29 BANGOR, MAINE, FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1995 39 PAC



Demonstrators protest what they say is the Clinton administration's lack of support for the United Nations peacekeeping operation in the former Yugoslavia with a street theater performance Thursday in Washington's Lafayette Park. Sponsored by the World Federalist Association, the group portrays Uncle Sam restraining U.N. peacekeepers. (AP Photo)

NATO air plan against Serbs near agreement

Powers hope for Friday accord

By Lawrence L. Knutson
The Associated Press
reporters

WASHINGTON — The United States, France and Britain neared agreement Thursday on a plan for threatening Bosnian Serbs with robust NATO airstrikes to protect the Sarajevo and Gorazde "safe areas," the White House said.

President Clinton and French President Jacques Chirac discussed the proposal in a telephone conversation late Thursday afternoon and voiced hope that a consensus can be announced at a meeting of allied representatives in London on Friday, White House spokesman Mike McCurry told reporters.

"Based on the Chirac call and reports from London we are hopeful that the meeting tomorrow in London will send a clear signal of the international community's resolve to halt Serb aggression and restore UNPROFOR's effectiveness and to re-establish conditions that can lead to a negotiated settlement," McCurry said. UNPROFOR is the acronym for the U.N. Protection Force in Bosnia.

McCurry said details remain to be worked out and consultations were continuing with the allied nations with forces on the ground in Bosnia.

See Bosnia, A2, Col. 1

Board of Advisors

Myron W Kronisch, *Chair*

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Richard J. Barnet
Lloyd Bridges
Eugene Carroll
Benjamin B. Ferencz
Hilary French
Donald S. Harrington
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John S. Toll



JEAN STAPLETON
Actress



HAZEL HENDERSON
Author and
Lecturer



HILARY FRENCH
Senior Researcher
at WorldWatch



**BENJAMIN B.
FERENCZ**
International
lawyer and chief
prosecutor in the
Nuremburg War
Crimes Trial

Books on World Federalism

Many authors have contributed to the literature on world federalism. Some of the more important works include the following:

Clarence Streit, *Union Now*, 1939, 1949
Wendell Willkie, *One World*, 1943
Edith Wynner and Georgia Lloyd, *Searchlight on Peace Plans: Choose Your Road to World Government*, 1944
Mortimer Adler, *How to Think About War and Peace*, 1944
Norman Cousins, *Modern Man Is Obsolete*, 1945
Emery Reves, *The Anatomy of Peace*, 1945
E.B. White, *The Wild Flag*, 1946
Robert M. Hutchins, *World Government Now*, 1947
Cord Meyer, *Peace or Anarchy*, 1947
Carl Van Doren, *The Great Rehearsal*, 1948
Bertrand Russell, *Towards World Government*, 1948
Vernon Nash, *The World Must Be Governed*, 1949
Norman Cousins, *Who Speaks for Man?*, 1953
Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, *World Peace Through World Law*, 1958, 1960, 1966
C. Maxwell Stanley, *Waging Peace*, 1959
Everett L. Millard, *Freedom in a Federal World*, 1959
Norman Cousins, *In Place of Folly*, 1962
Finn Laursen, *Federalism and World Order: What Makes Wars and How to Organize Peace*, 1973
Hanna Newcombe, *Alternative Approaches to World Government*, 1974
Ronald Glossop, *Confronting War*, 1983, 1987
Barbara Walker, *World Federalist Bicentennial Reader*, 1987
Joseph P. Baratta, *Strengthening the United Nations: A Bibliography on U.N. Reform and World Federalism*, 1987
Benjamin B. Ferencz and Ken Keyes, Jr., *PlanetHood*, 1988, 1991
Lucile Green, *Journey to a Governed World*, 1991
Robert Muller, *The Birth of a Global Civilization*, 1991
Ronald Glossop, *World Federation?: A Critical Analysis of World Federal Government*, 1993
Barbara Walker, *Uniting the Peoples and Nations: Readings in World Federalism*, 1993
Benjamin B. Ferencz, *New Legal Foundations for Global Survival*, 1995

Photos from throughout the years



World Federalists from Springfield, Illinois met with President John B. Anderson during the 1992 Annual Meeting — standing next to Anderson are Evelyn Grummon, Virginia Waldmire, and Vice President Richard Grummon.



A 1964 New York City gala event featured humorist John Henry Faulk, actress-singer Celeste Holm, William Rand, Jr., and Eleanore Post.



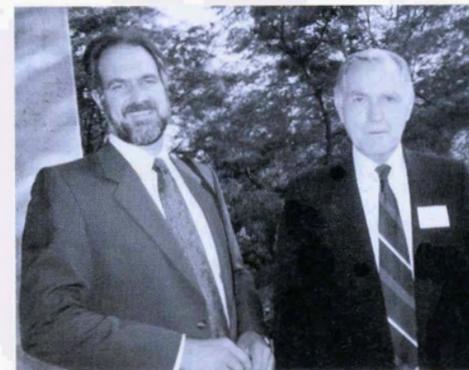
Virginia, Maryland and Washington, D.C. Federalists: Les Michals, Ruth Burchard, Frank Bourne and Cleo Michelsen



Midwest Federalists Jack Eisendrath, Joan Robertson, Martha Platt, and Bettie Eisendrath



Board member Clarice Kaufman with President Norman Cousins



Development Committee Chair Larry M. David and Board of Advisors Chair Myron W. Kronisch



During the a Midwest Regional meeting in 1989: Betty Phelps Refior, Everett Refior, Vice President Ronald Glossop (seated), David Saunders, and Herman "Ike" Leighty.



Student World Federalists demonstrate against the Vietnam War and for "U.N. Power"



World Federalist Association of New England (WFANE) leaders Beatrice Boettiger, Lawrence Abbott, and Tony Parker.



A special Washington banquet was organized by the committee of Mrs. Lee Loevinger, Mrs. Donald Fraser, Mrs. Raymond Clapper, Mrs. Craig Colgate, Jr., Mrs. J. Edward Rall.



Federalist Founders, five decades later, posed for a photo during the 1996 Membership Assembly in Philadelphia.



Southern California leaders Madelyn and Wendell Harter

In Memory



Stanley K. Platt
Honorary Vice President

Minneapolis, Minnesota
May 6, 1906 June 7 1997



World Federalist Association
418 7th Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003