

# A Civil Republic: A Story About America

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## **A Civil Republic: A Story about America**

Severyn Bruyn

What if the President of the United States could solve national and global problems without big government or a global empire? It *can* be done with new public policies.

### **The Story**

As our story opens, the leaders of a new political party -- the Civil Party -- have fronted a candidate for President. They win. Now the President, whom we shall designate as s/he, must deal with the truckload of problems – terrorism, growing government debt, eco-system failures, economic troubles, and more. What to do? It is not a little overwhelming. But this new President must face it.

### **In the Oval Office**

S/he sits in the Oval Office of the White House at a desk made from timbers of the H.M.S. Resolute, an abandoned British ship discovered by an American vessel. Sitting alone, memories of the American Revolution, the country's founding, come back. The President also ponders the nation's current problems -- terrorism that could lead to the destruction of a whole city, mounting government debt, economic troubles, environmental harms that could lead to an eco-system failure, and more -- with no clear solutions.

The President calls advisors to the White House for consultations.

“Friends,” s/he says, “we cannot solve terrorism alone. We cannot send our troops everywhere on earth to destroy pockets of violent radicals and weapons of mass destruction. We cannot be the world's policeman without becoming an empire. We cannot solve environmental problems by ourselves. And, in a global market, we cannot solve economic problems in isolation.

“We need new solutions. We need to create a society that has never existed before -- a civil republic.”

The President's advisors are not completely surprised. These questions have been debated inside the Party for a year. A ‘civil republic’ is a new type of nation. It embodies a vision and a strategic plan for developing society. It requires a new form of authority from non-governmental associations and trade associations. These associations would work in coordination with the government to solve both crises and ongoing social problems. The President says, "We need to encourage the growth and maturation of voluntary federations.”

Some Party friends have criticized the plan. "What can voluntary associations do about weapons of mass destruction? What can they do about environmental damage? About government debt? The economy?"

“The answer is in ‘Publius,’” the President says, “that collection of articles called the Federalist Papers, written for the American colonies by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. They conceived a new system of governing for their day that went beyond monarchy and church. They convinced people to support a new constitution

for a kind of new nation no one had ever seen before. Now we must do the same thing for our time.”<sup>1</sup>

The President turns from the old wooden desk and gazes out the window. “This nation matured slowly. Votes for women and blacks came only after the system evolved. Nevertheless, those colonists laid the foundation for civil society, which can develop to more advanced stages.

“We need federations of associations in the private sector, taking local successes to the global stage,” s/he says. “We need democracy across the entire society, not in government alone. Moreover, we need to build a global society with strong inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), like the United Nations. But we need equally to support international non-governmental associations (INGOs). We are facing a clash of cultures and religious identities around the world that could destroy whole nations. We need to initiate a new civilization.”

“Wow!”

The President calls leaders of fifty national associations to the White House. S/he had boldly alluded to building ‘a post-modern order’ in the presidential campaign. Now everyone is eager to hear how it will be implemented.

“American colonial leaders debated how to build a new nation and a new way of life in their day. Now it is our turn. Our founders went beyond the age of feudalism and built a new age: a democratic government with free markets and religious diversity.

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<sup>1</sup> Madison was the main author of the US Constitution and would later become President of the United States. Jay was the first Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court. Hamilton served in the Cabinet and became a force in setting economic policy for the new republic. Some call the Federalist Papers the most important “public-relations campaign” in history.

Now we are in the modern period based on capitalism and nationalism. We need to go beyond this modern period – if we want to survive. We take our first steps by encouraging civil markets. We will cultivate systems of public accountability in the private sector and encourage professional monitors of markets. We need more transparency in the market and a capacity for self-regulation in this economy.

“To step beyond nationalism, we will support a new global system of governance, international law and the formation of world courts. Without them, we will suffer the consequences -- a nuclear-chemical weapons war, possibly, attempts at genocide, maybe an eco-system failure.”

The President speaks further about a ‘public, non-governmental economy,’ generated within the ‘private, business economy.’ S/he pushes for a free market with more transparency and fairness. S/he proposes civil markets, developed by synthesizing old principles with new ones – like *free* trade with *fair* trade, *profitable* investment with *ethical* investment, and a *Social* Council with an *Economic* Council of Advisers. The gathered leaders applaud but debate the details of what must be done. Five offer to write essays for newspapers “in the tradition of the Federalist Papers,” as they say. The essays will analyze core values of American society and how they can be applied to this new plan.

The essays are published in newspapers across the country and arouse debate. These ‘federalist writers are rebels, like Thomas Jefferson calling for a revolution. They remind readers what Alexis de Tocqueville asserted in the 1840s -- the power of voluntary associations. They write, “Our belief in democracy, justice, and freedom in the First Revolution now applies to the ‘Second Revolution.’” This revolution will be civil.

## **The Cabinet Joins The Effort**

The President calls the Cabinet to the White House, outlining a plan of action. “Ask associations to join in this goal. Go on talk shows. Organize conferences. Ask magazine editors to think about solving national problems with us. Encourage writers in newspapers to think about public solutions in the private sector. Tell everyone, ‘This is a time for national self-study and action.’”<sup>2</sup>

Cabinet members go into action. They talk with presidents of voluntary associations about terrorism, with civic leaders about economic problems, with professional and religious associations about civil society. The President works hard with the Cabinet and the US Congress to determine what is the most urgent problem.

## **Mutual Governance**

Global terrorism requires a global preventive strategy. The President says, “We must start to build a stronger system of mutual governance among nations. Mutual governance is mutual security. Global planning is the most critical element to advance at this moment.”

Mutual governance is a new concept. S/he speaks about strengthening the United Nations. S/he calls for a republic of nations that governs with international associations as

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[<sup>2</sup> The U.S. Cabinet dates back to the beginning of the Presidency. Its purpose is drawn from Article II, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution -- to advise the President on any subject related to the duties of the respective offices of government. The Cabinet includes the Vice President and the heads of 14 executive departments -- the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Education, Energy, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Interior, Labor, State, Transportation, Treasury, Veterans Affairs, the Attorney General, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; Director of the Office of Management and Budget; the Director of National Drug Control Policy, the U.S. Trade Representative, and the Director of Homeland Security.]

partners. A new civil republic of nations would provide the framework for building a global society founded on a federation of both inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) and international, non-governmental INGOs.

Congress, for instance, divides its work among 250 committees and sub committees. The House and Senate each have similar committees. The White House staff stays in touch with them all.

### **Government Planning in a Global Context**

The President takes steps to build support for this new civil order. It means laying a foundation to prevent what political scientist Samuel P. Huntington calls a “clash of civilizations.” S/he will reverse many of the policies set in the previous administration. The previous administration had rejected numerous multi-lateral efforts: the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which deters arms races; an international agreement to track the global trade in small arms; a protocol to the Biological Weapons Treaty, which would have made it more verifiable; the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; the Kyoto treaty on reducing carbon emissions to help reverse the global warming trend; an international convention to ban child soldiers; the Start III Treaty with Russia, to codify and verify planned deep cuts in nuclear arms; and the International Criminal Court (ICC).

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This President now supports these treaties.

### **The American Congress Joins the Global Approach**

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<sup>3</sup> A Coalition of over one thousand civil society organizations around the world supported the International Criminal Court (ICC). The ICC differs from the Tribunals for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia because its jurisdiction is general, and not specific to a situation.

The President next approaches congressional leaders. “Our defense budget was proposed at \$369 billion in 2003, with an additional \$10 billion to fight the war on terrorism. We now seek to share the costs of fighting terrorism with other nations, through a mutual defense system. This should reduce military expenditures for all nations, and it could decrease taxes and stimulate our own economy.”

The President proposes the following steps: 1) Renounce unilateral military intervention. 2) Stop selective funding of other nations' military arsenals. 3) Respect the international code of conduct on weapons sales. 4) Seek a new cabinet position to be called the Department of Peace. Congressional leaders sign on.

S/he talks to Senate leaders. The Senate had not ratified important international agreements: the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the Landmines Ban; the Ottawa Treaty; or the Law of the Sea. At the President's urging, the Senate now moves to support these agreements.

### **The National Debt**

The President goes on television to speak about global systems of security for all nations and connects the solution with reducing the national debt. “Most of our governments at all levels -- local, state, federal -- are in debt. The federal government's debt is nearing \$6 trillion. Our states are facing budget deficits, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, ranging from \$60 - \$85 billion for fiscal year 2004. Paying off deficits represents between 13 percent and 18 percent of all state expenditures. Current state deficits are deeper than they have been at any time in the last half-century. The federal government is taking money away from states, and states are taking money

away from cities. Governments, in turn, are scrambling. All this effects the private economy.

“How do we deal with this debt problem?”

The President believes that military prevention should be combined with an economic strategy to settle the national debt. Congress passed tax cuts while requesting money for the Iraq war. Budget cuts were made in education, health aid, and veterans' benefits. Federal money went for homeland security while US corporations went off shore into tax havens, putting IRS losses to the Treasury at around \$70 billion a year. Estimates of war costs amount to more than \$200 billion and government debt keeps growing.<sup>4</sup>

The Treasury Secretary is worried. “Our estimated debt for 2004 is \$7 trillion. In the 1990s the federal government created \$2.8 trillion of new debt. This is more than created in the nation's entire history prior to 1990. Fiscal Year 2000 ended with the highest dollar debt in U.S. history - despite more claims of a 'surplus.' The Fiscal Year 2001 debt was \$133 billion higher than that, and the 2002 debt was even higher. In the 4 years 1997-2001, before the tragedy of 9/11, the total federal debt increased \$438 billion, a period when politicians bragged about a \$557 billion surplus. That's a \$1 trillion

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Kuttner, “War distracts from Bush’s budget cuts,” The Boston Globe, March 26, 2003, A 15. Peronet Despeignes, "White House Shelved Deficit Report," The Financial Times, Thursday 29 May 2003. The Bush administration shelved a report commissioned by the Treasury that shows the U.S. currently faces a future of chronic federal budget deficits totaling at least \$44 trillion in current U.S. dollars. The study, the most comprehensive assessment of how the U.S. government is at risk of being overwhelmed by the “baby boom” generation’s future healthcare and retirement costs, was commissioned by then-Treasury secretary Paul O’Neill. But the Bush administration chose to keep the findings out of the annual budget report for fiscal year 2004, published in February, as the White House campaigned for a tax-cut package that critics claim expand future deficits.

credibility gap. The National Debt has increased an average of \$1.25 billion per day since September 28, 2001."<sup>5</sup>

The President says, "Of course, our physical safety comes first, but I tell you that this new cooperation will help reduce military costs."

The President wants cabinet members to take the lead, Secretary-by-Secretary, Department-by-Department. "Ask civic leaders, 'How can you get your local economy on track? Do you have nonprofit community development corporations? Community land trusts? Keep in mind that we are building a new local-to-global system of governance in the economy.'"

The White House Press Secretary speaks to the Press Corps to push the government debt issue. "The National Debt has increased an average of \$1.25 billion per day since September 28, 2001. The President wants to balance the budget and promote sound economic recovery."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See the Center of Budget and Policy Priorities, <http://www.cbpp.org/12-23-02sfp.htm>. These new deficits are on top of the \$50 billion in deficits that states "closed" when they enacted their fiscal year 2003 budgets. The deficits for fiscal year 2004 are also on top of at least \$17.5 billion in additional deficits that have opened up in 2003 budgets since those budgets were enacted. As governors prepare their 2004 budgets and legislatures meet in early 2003, states will be faced with bridging both the emerging gaps for the 2003 budget year and the huge new deficits for 2004.

<sup>6</sup> See the Center of Budget and Policy Priorities, <http://www.cbpp.org/12-23-02sfp.htm>. These new deficits are on top of the \$50 billion in deficits that states "closed" when they enacted their fiscal year 2003 budgets. The deficits for fiscal year 2004 are also on top of at least \$17.5 billion in additional deficits that have opened up in 2003 budgets since those budgets were enacted. As governors prepare their 2004 budgets and legislatures meet in early 2003, states will be faced with bridging both the emerging gaps for the 2003 budget year and the huge new deficits for 2004. (This is the same as vi.)

The President and the Treasury Secretary talk to committee leaders on the national debt. S/he asks leaders in all voluntary associations -- health, law, business, recreation, art, education, science, religion, and the professions – to work on solutions.<sup>7</sup>

### **A Strong United Nations**

The President outlines further specifics. S/he argues that “mutual security” will be accomplished through a stronger United Nations. “We first step up our program of weapons inspection. I mean immediately. This will save us money in the long run by sharing the cost of defense. We will work on a mutual security system that includes all nations. We will deter terrorism by establishing a permanent international peacekeeping force.

The President talks with joint leaders from Congressional Armed Services and Foreign Policy committees.

“First, we support international law. Second, we work with the UN Security Council and General Assembly to update the UN charter to better adapt to this 21<sup>st</sup> century. Third, we seek an independent financial base for the UN as part of those requirements. Fourth, we help develop a permanent multilateral peacekeeping force. Fifth, we support the formation of international courts with professional judges from all

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<sup>7</sup> [The Civil Party President asks the Secretary of Agriculture to look at farm federations. “They must help us solve our costly farm subsidy program.”] Professor E. C. Pasour argues that despite record expenditures, government programs have not solved the farm problem. Farm programs have benefited large corporate farming interests at the expense of small farmers and the general public. He argues that farm policies are responsible for high food prices and the widening destruction of the environment. He wants to abolish “the gravy train of farm subsidies” and other special privileges. E.C. Pasour, *Agriculture and the State* (The Independent Institute, 2000) <http://www.cartserver.com/sc/cart.cgi>. The President asks the Secretaries of Energy, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, and the Interior to look at federations in their field of government. They should be concerned about the destruction of forests, the maintenance of public parks, the effects of arctic drilling, and the use of pesticides.

nations. Sixth, we build a program for disarmament slowly and carefully to control and destroy weapons of mass destruction.”

The Secretary of Defense complains privately to the President, “This could weaken our government.” The President asserts, “No. Our government becomes stronger, wiser.” But sensing the Defense Secretary’s concern, the President says, “Let me assure you. We will keep America safe. We will build a stronger system of homeland security than we have today.<sup>8</sup> No nation should eliminate its own military defense, but all nations must work together to reduce the need to expand military bases. As the sense of national security grows through inter-governmental planning for the defense of all nations, funds can be channeled into building the economy.”

The President again goes on television to talk about a permanent multilateral police force. While the United States cannot police the world alone, and each nation needs military forces for its own security, we need a UN multilateral force backed by law.

### **The United Nations Association: Implementing the Plan**

The United Nations Association (UNA), a voluntary organization, is the nation's largest grassroots foreign policy organization. The UNA encourages citizen participation

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<sup>8</sup> The President will call upon the Defense of Department to advance a program for developing public standards in markets. The Department already identifies and manages access to standardization of products and services to promote “interoperability.” This reduces government costs in those industries with which it contracts. But now it can help on public standards on safety and health.

in global affairs and is a major center of policy research on the UN.<sup>9</sup> The President wants to support it.

As part of the campaign for a new world order, the President discusses the idea of a permanent multilateral peacekeeping force at the UNA general assembly. After speaking, the President joins a panel discussion.

First Panelist: You know, originally the UN shied away from allowing its military to use force. The UN Charter advocates the peaceful resolution of disputes. But the Cold War changed that. UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld saw a military peacekeeping role for the UN. UN forces would operate only with the consent of the parties and would only use force in self-defense. But now these peacekeeping practices have been strained to the breaking point.

Second Panelist: Yes, and there has been a continued reluctance to use force. Despite life-and-death circumstances, where the use of force in self-defense would be seen as legitimate and warranted, peacekeepers have been averse to using it. The chief concern of UN commanders has been to avoid damaging the consent of the parties to the UN's presence. But the result of such a policy has been that the UN force is seen as toothless. It has also resulted in UN peacekeepers standing by when gross violations of human rights and massacres have been perpetrated. So, after 1973, the UN permitted peacekeeping operations to use force in defense of the mission.

Third Panelist: But remember that there were three peace operations in which the UN's disinclination to use force was overcome -- in the Congo in 1960–64, in Somalia in 1993–94, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1994–95. And these were traumatic decisions. We had arguments over the appropriate degree of force. Some of us advocated “peace enforcement” in Security Council-sanctioned military operations against Iraq.

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<sup>9</sup> [The UNA encourages citizens to discuss global issues.] See the United Nations Association, <http://www.unausa.org>.

Others said this was indistinguishable from war and inappropriate for the UN. But I think we should develop all options.<sup>10</sup>

Fourth Panelist: A UN Peacekeeping Force has also been successful in East Timor and in conjunction with the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. But terrorism and the Iraq War have taught us that we must be ready to move quickly and decisively when necessary. We must build effective weapon inspection systems.

Fifth Panelist: We also have seen proposals for an international civilian nonviolent peace force. Nobel Peace Prize winners around the world have supported a nonviolent Peace Force that would go to conflict areas to prevent destruction and protect human rights. This nonviolent strategy for the UN would then create the space for local groups to struggle without violence, to enter into dialogue, and work calmly on solutions in many instances.<sup>11</sup>

The discussion continues on the use of different levels of force in different situations – genocide, refusal to permit weapons inspection, civil war, etc.

The President of the United States joins in, saying, “I think all options -- from strategic nonviolent action to a strong, permanent peacekeeping army -- should be part of the discussion in the General Assembly. The UN should have the capability for different kinds of peacekeeping forces. In my judgment, the UN should intervene when 1) any nation does not follow treaty agreements on destroying weapons of mass destruction, 2) a nation invades another without just cause in the eyes of the UN, and 3) a country engages

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<sup>10</sup> Some comments in this Panel discussion were drawn from a press release from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, December 2002, which describes Trevor Findlay’s book, The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations (Oxford University Press, 2003.)

<sup>11</sup> Among those Nobel Peace Prize Laureates supporting a global (nonviolent) Peace Force are His Holiness the Dalai Lama (Tibet), Oscar Arias (Former President of Costa Rica), Mairead Maguire (Northern Ireland), Jose Ramos Horta (East Timor), Rigoberta Menchu Tum (Guatemala), and Adolfo Perez Esquivel (Argentina). See Nonviolent Peace Force Watch. Witness, Shield.

[http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/proposal/English\\_2001.htm](http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/proposal/English_2001.htm).

in genocide on its own territory. The UN needs multiple means of influence and types of force to keep the peace. Thank you all for the work you are doing.”

But this is just the beginning. Now the President moves into the private sector. It is time to talk to business and civic leaders.

### **The American Bar Association: Global Law and Civil Order**

The President moves to talk to the American Bar Association (ABA) and ask its leaders to help demonstrate how national security accompanies human rights. The ABA embodies America’s core values.

A Senator, who is a member of the ABA says, “The ABA has core values? Ha! Give me a break! Tell me about them!”

The President answers deliberately. “They are justice...civil order... fairness... equity... impartiality... the public good. The ABA has a constitution that supports America's values. Its constitution says, ‘Promote the public good.’”

The White House secretary calls the ABA. Its Board of Governors is honored and organizes a conference to hear the President’s message. The President brings the Secretary of State and the Attorney General (AG), both ABA members.

White House lawyers prepare a brief called “Papers on International Law.” While it is written with dreadful legal terminology, the message is simple. The President wants the ABA Assembly to work on international law for the sake of national security.

National television stations cover the event – ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox News, and CNN.

The Secretary of State takes the podium. “We all know that civil society develops around different types of law -- contractual, civil, criminal, business, tort, and constitutional. Let’s consider international law.

“International law is based on inter-governmental agreements. You can see it operating in the Law of the Seas and developing in the Tokyo Convention on the environment. When nations agree to follow the rules, such treaties are compelling. Breaking the rules can have consequences, like retaliatory boycotts and trade barriers, but there is one problem. There is no world government to enforce them. International law and treaties provide the foundation for the development of more comprehensive world law. We see world law as ‘enforceable’ through international courts.”

ABA members listen attentively.

“This is not completely new,” the Secretary of State says. “The UN General Assembly established an International Law Commission in 1947 to promote ‘the progressive development of international law and its codification.’ The Commission meets annually and is composed of 34 members who are elected by the General Assembly for five-year terms. We want to work with them and with our own mayors and governors.”<sup>12</sup>

“The prevention of a nuclear/biochemical attack is our immediate goal. We believe that nations with weapons of mass destruction should start destroying them

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<sup>12</sup> The Commission prepares drafts on international law. Some topics are referred to it by the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council. See International Law Commission, <http://www.un.org/law/ilc/introfra.htm>. Also the American Society of International Law in the United States is dedicated to the study and use of international law. For nearly a century it has participated in international policy. ASIL, See <http://asil.org/org.htm>.

gradually under binding agreements of inspection. That includes us. We have 7200 weapons with nuclear warheads. We want a legal basis for weapons inspections and treaty enforcement.”

Some ABA members look shocked.

“Let me provide a little history. In July 1998 in Rome, 120 member states of the United Nations adopted a treaty to establish, for the first time in history, a permanent international criminal court. This treaty came into force on July 1, 2002, sixty days after 74 nations became parties to the Statute.” This international court is a step toward what we hope can develop as a new system of regional world courts.<sup>13</sup>

“Currently, terrorist attacks are punished by national courts, but we need world law to deal with terrorist crimes. We must debate the same principles that Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson debated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. But now those principles must be applied at the global level.”

A journalist asks, “Can you elaborate on that?”

“Of course. Today, American states do not go to war against each other because there is a higher law, a national guard and a federal system of courts. However, when countries like Algeria, India, Sri Lanka and Turkey proposed that terrorism should be one of the international crimes subjected to the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC) -- as a crime against humanity -- the US opposed it. We argued that the offense was not well defined, and that it might ‘politicize the Court.’ We thought

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<sup>13</sup> The US insisted that the Security Council should adopt an omnibus resolution exempting all UN peacekeepers from the jurisdiction of the Court. The US threatened to veto all resolutions renewing peacekeeping operations unless the Council agreed to a new language. This US policy provoked opposition from other nations. See the International Criminal Court <http://www.un.org/News/facts/iccfact.htm>.

national courts were more efficient than international tribunals. But now our President supports the ICC.”

The audience applauds.

“Our President sees the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center as a crime against humanity. Distinguished world leaders agree -- like UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan; Robert Badinter, a prominent French jurist and former Minister of Justice; and Mary Robinson, former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. We want the ABA to work on a system of world law that addresses crimes against humanity.”<sup>14</sup>

The President now takes the microphone. S/he asks the ABA to examine these proposals. This is new. “We will work with the ABA and other legal associations, like the International Bar Association (IBA) and the Civil Liberties Union.

“We want to build the foundation for world law. We will ask mayors and governors to hold conferences on this subject. We are in touch with associations that work in this direction -- Partnerships for Effective Peacekeeping Operations, the World Federalist Association, Search for Global Solutions, the Campaign to End Genocide, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Global Policy Forum, the World Citizen Foundation, the World Constitution and Parliament Association. And we will be in touch with academic associations like the American Political Science Association and the American Sociological Association.”

“Why all these associations?”

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<sup>14</sup> Badinter and Annan have made statements to French radio and CNN respectively. For the statement of M. Robinson see UN Daily Highlights, 25 September 2001, <http://www.un.org/News/dh/20010925.htm>. See Alain Pellet, Le Monde, 21 September 2001, p. 12. Also the British lawyer G. Robertson, Q.C. suggested this definition (see The Times, 18 September 2001, p. 18).

“We advocate working with the voluntary sector -- civil society associations. Government alone cannot solve all problems. The expertise of associations is fundamental to the process of achieving a new world order.

“This process will take time, but the ABA should join in this work. We will ask all nations to 1) renounce the first use of nuclear weapons; 2) end the development, testing, and production of nuclear warheads; 3) agree on the mutual and verified destruction of nuclear weapons; 4) strengthen nonproliferation efforts by ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; and 5) locate and reduce fissile material worldwide and negotiate a ban on its production.

“We want to take nuclear weapons off hair-trigger alert. We will work on this problem with all other nuclear powers -- the UK, France, Russia, China, India, Pakistan and Israel. We want to reduce the risk of accidental or unauthorized use of these weapons.

"Protecting individuals' rights *and* preventing terrorism are compatible. We need to preserve citizens' privacy and national security at the same time."<sup>15</sup>

The President calls attention to the gathering itself. “You know that this very hotel could be a target for a terrorist attack. We want to eliminate terrorists and they want to kill us. We are all in danger. A nuclear bomb can be a very compact, a very portable

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<sup>15</sup> We should note that the International Bar Association (IBA) is a dual membership federation comprising 16,000 lawyers and 180 Bar Associations and Law Societies. Members help develop the global legal profession. Its member organizations cover all continents and include the American Bar Association, the German Federal Bar, the Japan Federation of Bar Associations, the Law Society of Zimbabwe and the Mexican Bar Association. Academic associations have their global associations. For example, the American Political Science Association has a membership of 13,500 residing in over 70 countries worldwide. See the APA <http://www.apsanet.org/about>.

weapon, condensed to 24 x 16 x 8 inches with a critical mass of plutonium (U-233). We know portable nuclear backpacks exist as we speak. If a bomb like this went off here, we would lose the core of this city. Thousands would be killed and many more thousands would suffer from radiation. Financial markets would be disrupted, and the country would lose trillions of dollars in one terrible moment. We must stop this war game and ensure better security for every nation. Dangers increase every day.”<sup>16</sup>

The seriousness of this President impresses this gathering of learned attorneys.

In the afternoon, the AG addresses the meeting, charting how global law would develop with a slide on existing international laws. (See Figure 1.)

Figure 1. **The Development of International Law and Standards**<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The Soviet nuclear backpack system was made in the 1960s for use against NATO targets in case of war. It consisted of three "coffee can-sized" aluminum canisters in a bag. All three must be connected to make a single unit in order to explode. The detonator is about 6 inches long. It has a 3-to-5 kiloton yield, depending on the efficiency of the explosion. It's kept powered during storage by a battery line connected to the canisters. Contamination occurs when radioactive materials in the form of solids, liquids or gases are released into the air and contaminate people externally, internally or both. This happens when body parts such as the skin become contaminated and/or if the harmful material gets inside the body via the lungs, gut or wounds. Former Russian National Security Adviser Alexandr Lebed in 1997 alleged that up to 100 portable bombs that looked like suitcases were unaccounted for since the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union. He said each device has an explosive capacity of one kiloton — the equivalent of 1,000 tons of TNT — and could be activated by a single person, killing as many as 100,000 people. Osama Bin Laden has been alleged to have purchased a number of nuclear suitcase bombs from Chechen organized groups. Undocumented reports state that he has backpack bombs. <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,76990,00.html> Fox News, "Suitcase Bomb: What is it?" Wednesday, January 29, 2003.

<sup>17</sup> This chart has many sources. For example, see Simon Zadeck, The Civil Corporation (London: Earthscan, 2001, p.19. Zadeck's chart was drawn from World Development Movement, Making Investment Work for People, WDM, London, and adapted from Annex. In addition, see Severyn T. Bruyn, A Civil Economy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2000) pp. 223-229. See the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, <http://www.unhcr.ch/html/intlinst.htm>

<i>Sovereignty and Development Strategies: UN Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, Articles 1 &amp; 2. ILO Tripartite Declaration of Principles concerning Enterprises and Social Policy 10, 19, 20.</i>
<i>Working Conditions: International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions 29, 87, 98, 155, 105, and 138. ILO Tripartite Declaration 34, 33 and ILO Tripartite Declaration 37.</i>
<i>Equality: ILO Conventions 100 and 111.</i>
<i>Consumer Protection: UN Guidelines for Consumer Protection; World Health Organization (WHO) Codes on breast milk substitutes and on promoting pharmaceuticals, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) convention on pesticides. Food standards of Codex Alimentarius.</i>
<i>Environment: Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, Conventions on Climate Change, Biodiversity and the Law of the Sea, the Basel Agreement, the Montreal Protocol, the Rotterdam Convention.</i>
<i>Local Communities: ILO Conventional 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples 7, 14, 15, 16, 20.</i>
<i>Business Practices: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Rules for the Control of Restrictive Business Practices.</i>
<i>Basic Human Rights: The universal Declaration of Human Rights: Articles 3 and 5 and Preamble. The UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials.</i>

The AG says to the ABA assembly, “We are asking you to advise our government on these matters. The ABA should do as much for the nation as it does for itself.

Attorneys who are members of the ABA should demonstrate allegiance to their own constitution and their mission. The government needs you to encourage members, for example, to ‘whistleblow’ on corporations. In the kind of civil republic we are seeking, corporate failures like Enron will not happen. Be a watchdog! The ABA must examine its role as a profession in sustaining corporate accountability. And the association needs to take public responsibility for member misconduct.

“We need ABA support to keep peace with justice around the world. Organize panels to examine these questions: How can the UN establish a permanent peacekeeping force and develop a multilateral ‘strategy’ to prevent terrorism -- given the UN Charter?

We must locate global terrorists and prosecute them in a world courts. Citizens will be looking at your work.”

The President concludes, “Nations that do not create world law together cannot survive together in the long term. Achieving global law is a mission for the US administration that starts right now.<sup>18</sup> Thank you for your attention.”<sup>19</sup>

So, a process has begun. The ABA agrees to take a role in helping to shape world law. The ABA President says, “This is a new responsibility for the ABA. We should work hard on this idea.”

ABA leaders move forward and appoint committees to advise and consult with the President’s national commission on world law.

### **Municipalities and States in a Global Context**

The President holds a televised press conference to explain how world law connects locally with both Republican and Democratic parties. Members of the Republican Party -- as far back as Wendell Willkie in the 1940s -- have supported a strong UN. Members of the Democratic Party -- like John F. Kennedy who spoke to the UN in the 1980 -- have supported a strong UN. A strong UN is not a partisan issue. ‘World law = homeland security.’ Resistance to UN involvement diminishes.

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<sup>18</sup> Civil society organizations around the world met to write the Abolition 2000. Over 2,000 organizations in more than 90 countries signed the Abolition Statement. See Abolition 2000, <http://www.abolition2000.org/about/>

<sup>19</sup> See Organizations Advocating World Government, <http://www.williamcooper.com/wrldgov.htm>

The President addresses such questions as, “How can world law protect state and municipal laws?” “How will the public become involved?” “How will it help our economy?”

The President and the Secretary of the Department of Treasury now approach two intra-national associations. The National League of Cities (NLC)<sup>20</sup> represents municipal governments. In partnership with 49 state municipal leagues, it is an advocate for more than 18,000 cities, villages, and towns. The National Governors Association (NGA) is a nonprofit corporation representing the voice of all fifty states..

The Secretary addresses a joint assembly of the mayors (NLC) and the governors (NGA). “Settling problems in Afghanistan costs taxpayers about \$1.8 billion a month. The Pentagon set aside \$10 billion to cover the bill for a global war on terrorism in 2003. According to our Defense Secretary and Pentagon officials, our Defense Budget will grow to \$451 billion by 2007. To reduce these costs to our own citizens, we need a multilateral Peacekeeping Force, funded by all nations. The President wants the NLC and NGA to work on a joint commission. This commission will examine how local systems can be applied to a global governance, and especially how to establish a multinational UN peacekeeping force.

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<sup>20</sup> The National League of Cities promotes municipalities as key centers of governance. See [http://www.nlc.org/nlc\\_org/site/inside\\_nlc/about\\_nlc](http://www.nlc.org/nlc_org/site/inside_nlc/about_nlc) . The NGA provides governors with influence on Capitol Hill. See [http://www.nga.org/nga/1,1169,C\\_FAQ,00.html](http://www.nga.org/nga/1,1169,C_FAQ,00.html) . The IPU is a center for parliamentary diplomacy among legislators representing every political system and all the main political leanings in the world. See The IPU, <http://www.ipu.org/english/whatipu.htm>. Also see the World Federalist Association, <http://www.wfa.org>. There are some 25,000 World Federalist members in the U.S.

“The President will ask other nonprofit associations to join this commission, such as the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU), an international organization of the parliaments of sovereign States.”

The President now speaks to this meeting.

“My friends, we need the help of all governments to participate in devising a new world governing system. It requires a system of local-to-global governance designed for our time. We must work toward a civil republic of nations that can act quickly in emergencies but maintain the rights of all the entities. ”

One governor expresses concern, “We cannot lose our strong position in the world. We cannot reduce our military power or give up our sovereignty!”

The President agrees. “Yes, you and I know first hand the need for independence at all levels of government. Mayors have jurisdiction over local rights. Governors, over states' rights. And this President fights for our nation’s independence. Mutual cooperation need not mean giving up autonomy.”

S/he argues that the United States will have more influence when military action is shared among nations. S/he speaks about mutual governance in the context of such dangers as bio-chemical weapons.

“Without mutual security systems in this age of technology, we are all vulnerable. We face the possibility of destruction that can be initiated from within our borders, as well as from outside sources. All countries need to move past old concepts of separateness.”

In support of the President, the mayor of one of America’s largest cities points out the dangers ahead. “You know how much enriched uranium and plutonium is loose in the

world. In Russia, there was enough to make maybe 80,000 weapons. Much of it is still unaccounted for! Pakistan has 40 or 50 nuclear weapons and material for more. Every nation will use these weapons for their own defense. Brazil is now ready to do so. What will prevent any nation from using them for offensive purposes? How do we stop this mad race?"<sup>21</sup>

Another governor is concerned about this 'higher order.' We cannot allow any multi-national government to have authority over us!"

"I agree," the President says. "Remember the American colonies? Initially, they competed for goods and power. They fought one another. They were on the edge of war. What did they do? They united into a federation of states.

"New Hampshire does not go to war with Massachusetts. Why? There is a higher order of law. Each state has more sovereignty through mutual support than without it. We can thank our forefathers for building this federation with a common constitution. That's our task in the world today.

"We need to ensure the safety of all nations around the world, preserve the sovereignty of our nation, and keep the autonomy of our states and cities,. We do not

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<sup>21</sup> <http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/s793442.htm> Australian Broadcasting Corporation, "Nuclear terrorism fears grow," The World Today - Wednesday, February 26, 2003, 12:10 Bodansky reports that Bin Laden's associates acquired the devices through Chechnya, paying the Chechens \$30 million in cash and two tons of Afghan heroin, worth about \$70 million in Afghanistan and about 10 times that on the street in Western cities. Bodansky's statements corroborate 1998 testimony by former Russian security chief Alexander Lebed to the U.S. House of Representatives. Lebed said that 43 nuclear suitcases from the former Soviet arsenal, developed for the KGB in the 1970s, have vanished since the collapse of the former Soviet Union a decade ago. Lebed said one person could detonate such a bomb by himself, and kill 100,000 people. Bin Laden has several Nuclear Suitcases, The Israel Report, September/October, 1999, <http://www.cdn-friends-icej.ca/isreport/septoct99/binladen.html>. The Jerusalem Report: October 25th, 1999

seek a world state or empire. We want freedom, human rights, and public safety for *every* nation. Only a global system of governance can end the threats that face us all.

“A global governing system could be modeled like the United States, or Switzerland, or Australia. But it must be part of a local-to-global system, with rights and guarantees of mutual security at all levels.

“For example, thousands of corporations -- not all from the United States -- are establishing headquarters around the world. They are not all dedicated to the nation in which they are chartered. But we have established a World Trade Organization with rules that are more powerful in certain ways than our nation’s laws. A new order is being created, and the public must become aware of what is happening. We are like fish that do not know they swim in water.”

Ultimately, the majority of mayors and governors are convinced and agree to join the study, energized with a renewed optimism and the challenge of realizing this goal.

### **The President Speaks to Congress**

The President approaches Congress and proposes the following. S/he will 1) renounce unilateral military intervention, 2) stop selective funding of other nations' military arsenals, 3) respect the international code of conduct on weapons sales, and 4) propose a new cabinet position to be called the Department of Peace. Many congressional leaders sign on.

Now s/he must convince the public.

### **The American Legion and National Security**

The President brings the idea of mutual security to the American Legion. There is no accurate record of the total number of veterans' organizations, but among them, none

has exercised so much influence on Congress as the Legion. The President talks to its general assembly. Television crews from ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN and Fox News are there.

S/he begins. “The United States is adding billions to the military budget while nations in the rest of the world are cutting their military spending. The proposed military budget for fiscal 2003 will be \$369 billion, an increase of \$48 billion over fiscal year 2002. The \$48 billion increase *alone* is larger than the annual military budget of any other country in the world. The U.S. is taking the burden for the military security for nations around the world.”<sup>22</sup>

“America has troops in 156 countries and military bases in 63 countries. Since the tragedy of 9/11 we have added military bases in 7 new countries. We have 200 thousand troops in Iraq and the Middle East. Our troops are a stabilizing force, but if we work closely with other nations, we can bring our troops home. We need to share that burden. This plan promotes the security of every nation on earth.

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<sup>22</sup> These figures are drawn from The Council for a Livable World, <http://www.armscontrolcenter.org/budget.html>. The U.S. has spent more than \$5.5 trillion on research and development, testing, construction, and maintenance of nuclear weapons since the beginning of the atomic age. It is still spending up to \$35 billion annually on nuclear weapons and related programs. This is 14% of all U.S. military spending. The Department of Defense and Department of Energy are spending \$19.2 billion and \$5.6 billion respectively on the operation of nuclear forces. Along with these costs are the costs of environmental restoration and waste management resulting from nuclear weapons research, development, and production, which add up to \$5.9 billion. There is the cost of storage, the elimination of fissile materials and arms reduction. Then, there is the less obvious cost that goes with lawsuits related to nuclear weapon production. The Department of Energy spent \$97 million between 1990 and 1997 fending off lawsuits filed by people relating to irresponsible nuclear weapons production activities, and the Department of Justice has settled claims totaling \$225 million as of January 1998, under the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1990. See the Council for a Livable World, the Center for Arms Control & Non-Proliferation and PeacePAC. On “Nuclear Weapons,” figures are also from the Brookings Institution.

“ It is also part of our economic plan. Sharing the cost of a new UN with a permanent peace force will allow a reduction in US defense expenditures. This step will help stop terrorism and avoid economic disaster at the same time. The saved money should be spent on veterans' benefits, job creation, and job training.

“We want the public to support legislation that provides the necessary services to veterans. We need to restore health care benefits to military retirees with more than 20 years of service. We should permit retired members of the Armed Forces with 20+ years of service and service-connected disabilities to receive compensation.”

Legion leaders are pleased to hear these points and begin contributing ideas. One retired officer says, “We should withdraw our troops abroad only as other nations cooperate in this plan.” Another adds, “Maintaining troop security is essential to our security overseas.”<sup>23</sup>

“Agreed,” the President says. “Cooperation and security are the platforms upon which this plan are based.”

### **A Global Civil Economy**

The President realizes the importance, not only of physical security, but also of protecting overseas investments. Such protection of investments abroad concerns everyone, because, in these times, it is such a fundamental part of world economy. The President will address trade associations on the need for global governance in this arena.

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<sup>23</sup> Economists have argued that with a UN Peacekeeping Force and world law, the economies in all nations should flourish. The U.S. would move from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy, just as it did at the end of World War II, looking for high economic growth and financial stability. Sources: Dept. of Defense, “Base Structure Report, FY 2002,” and “Active Duty Military Personnel Strengths by Regional area and by Country, Dec. 31, 2002; Zoltan Grossman, “New U.S. Military Bases.” Feb. 2, 2002; Monthly Review, 2002. War Times, <http://www.war-times.org/current/5art7map.html>.

S/he begins with the Business Council for the United Nations (BCUN), a nonprofit organized by business leaders to support the United Nations.<sup>24</sup> S/he talks to a BCUN assembly about international law and market stability.

“World markets need to be dynamic and free but also more stable. No one nation is strong enough to solve a growing instability in world markets.

“Over \$1.5 trillion moves daily through currency exchange markets around the world, and over 85% of those transactions are speculative, where traders bet on whether currency values and interest rates will move up or down. Such volume creates volatility and disrupts the ability of nations to establish equitable and fair economic policies. Financial crises and currency devaluations are linked with price increases, higher unemployment, corporate bankruptcies, and human rights violations. Our markets cannot remain viable with this speculation. We need to slow down these transactions and at the same time build financial support for the UN.

“There are solutions. Levying a small tax of between 0.1% and 0.25% on each cross-border currency transaction could slow down such excessive speculation. This idea was proposed by Nobel prize-winning economist James Tobin and is called the ‘Tobin Tax.’ All collection, enforcement and allocation aspects of this tax are feasible. It would reduce incentives for overnight speculation and would be small enough to leave longer-term investments intact. The revenues, projected at between \$150 and \$300 billion a year, would provide the resources to fund a system of global financial governance through the United Nations.”

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<sup>24</sup> BCUN builds links between the UN and the private sector. It promotes business opportunities and has a network of partnerships around economic development, health, education, and technology. See BCUN <http://www.unausa.org/bcun/#overview>.

The President knows s/he is among friends and invites them to explore other potential self-financing methods for the UN, such as developing revenues from 1) deep-seabed mining, 2) multinational licensing fees, 3) a one-cent levy on international mail, 4) satellite fees, and 5) ocean and atmospheric pollution penalties.

More: The UN could tax international arms sales and charge royalties for use of the global commons, like the open seas.

The President goes on to propose the multi-national equivalent of how democratic nations regulate domestic markets -- by establishing a global securities regulatory exchange system. "Global markets operate on neoclassical (mainstream) economics and ignore social and environmental problems. Neoclassical economics disregards all the 'small wars' that endanger business overseas. World markets cannot be successful without a higher system of law and order. All nations should support the UN in realizing this goal."

BCUN leaders are inspired by the President's suggestions. They pledge to study the Tobin tax and respond to the President's other proposals.

The presidents and prime ministers of other nations hear the President's speech on radio and television. World leaders begin to imagine a new financial foundation for the UN.<sup>25</sup>

The President invites BCUN leaders to a meeting of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on International Relations. This is the first

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<sup>25</sup> In March 1999, the Canadian Parliament adopted a report in favor of the Tobin Tax by a two-thirds majority. The Canadian delegation to the UN Social Summit in June 2000 asked for a study report on the Tobin Tax. The Finnish Government officially took a position in favor of the Tobin Tax. Erkki TUOMIOJA, Foreign Affairs Minister, came before the European Parliament Intergroup on 28 June 2000 to confirm his government's support.

of a series of meetings between the private and public sector. The President has been talking about a building a stronger UN -- without adding any cost to the U.S. government.

### **Voluntary Associations**

Everyone is talking about the new ideas. The President holds another press conference and tells reporters, “We need to put a stop to the growing cost of government. We want to stimulate economic growth and promote America’s values around the world. Voluntary associations can help achieve this. Business and civil society organizations and foundations can participate in establishing a just and fair world government.”

A reporter asks, “How would that work?”

“‘Value added’ is needed in almost all aspects of world commerce -- more integrity, trust, accountability, honesty. Voluntary associations are stakeholders in world markets. They can promote these values at a global level. There are thousands of associations among the professions and sciences alone -- law, medicine, engineering, accounting, nursing, hospital administration, social work, psychiatry, architecture, city planning, teaching, health services, computer work, physics, biology -- too many to list. Every profession and science has a federation. Each establishes standards for its practitioners. Commissions of civic and business associations should study this issue of translating their values to world organizations. Voluntary associations can also serve as watchdogs of corporate behavior.”

S/he reminds the gathered journalists of cases in which the Justice Department’s Anti-Trust Division was soft on mergers and corporate misconduct. “The voluntary sector often does a better job than government of exposing injustices.”

S/he reminds them how Willamette Industries (WI) had violated the federal Clean Air Act in Oregon and the government's EPA did not act. "Why? There was too much business influence within the administration. It took whistleblowers from nonprofit environmental associations and trade unions to come forward. Civil society groups got the data and went public. They pushed the public and the government to act. In July 2000, Willamette Industries agreed to pay an \$11.2 million fine to the federal government to settle the claims."<sup>26</sup>

The President goes on to illustrate how this kind of problem should be handled in each industry and that policies in the United States can become a model for the UN. "First, the money from such fines should be given to those Third Sector organizations that bring corporate violations to the attention of government. It costs voluntary associations a great deal to investigate misconduct.<sup>27</sup> A share of the penalty money should reward them as whistleblowers and allow them to strengthen their work. Second,

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<sup>26</sup> Attorney General Janet Reno applauded the settlement, which required the corporation to spend \$8 million on environmental projects. Terry Frieden, "Willamette Industries Settled the Pollution Claims with a \$11.2 Million Fine," 21 July 2000, web posted at 12:01 p.m. EDT (16:01 GMT) from CNN Producer Washington (CNN).

<sup>27</sup> The EPA admitted that WI's smokestacks illegally spewed invisible clouds of airborne chemicals that could cause cancer, birth defects, and other health problems in nearby communities. In this case, the money could have been given to the Northwest Environmental Defense Council, the Environmental Defense Committee, and the Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 290. Such rewards would pay for their work to uncover problems that affect the welfare of the public and force governments to act to resolve them. And these industries should allow them open access to data that are in the public interest

when corporate misconduct occurs, public directors from professional associations could be placed on the board of directors. We have the judicial power to do this.”<sup>28</sup>

The President’s comments are published. But the press -- owned by big corporations -- begins to ask where the President is headed. The media are worried about their own position in this supposed new world order.

### **Global Mass Media**

This President had questioned aspects of the U.S. war in Iraq. S/he had supported American troops and congressional decisions about reconstruction but had equally questioned the role of the mass media during the conflict. American generals and embedded reporters explained what was happening for national television. American citizens saw images of bombs going off in Baghdad. But citizens in Arab nations saw other pictures: close-ups of injured citizens, the torn limbs and bodies of Iraqi civilians that were never shown in the U.S. Arab audiences saw pictures of bloodied bodies of young children and scenes crowded with corpses. One US Middle East diplomat was watching CNN and Fox News one minute and Al-Jazeera and Abu Dhabi TV the next. He thought that he was watching different battles. Arab newspapers and television stations in Lebanon, Dubai, Qatar, and elsewhere in the region placed a heavy emphasis

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<sup>28</sup> U.S. Courts appoint public directors when legal problems arise. US District Judge selected Richard Breden, who ran the SEC from 1993, to act as the court-appointed monitor in the civil fraud suit against WorldCom. The government has precedents for putting public monitors on company boards. See Devlin Barrett, “WorldCom monitor appointed,” The Boston Globe, July 4, 2002, E1. The bankruptcy weakened confidence in the entire telecommunications industry. Hoping to restore confidence, the company announced the election of two new members to its board: former US Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, and Dennis Beresford, the former chairman of the Financial Accounting Standards Board. Hiawatha Bray, “WorldCom in record Ch. 11 filing,” The Boston Globe, July 22, 2002, pp. A1, C6.

on civilian casualties, especially children. The President knows that TV news shapes public opinion, which is critical to national security.<sup>29</sup>

The President talks about media technology to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). “We are moving into an epoch in which people will be able to watch anything instantaneously anywhere on earth. With the advent of satellite television, an American TV broadcaster will compete with Arab TV. Indeed, Americans today can view a Middle Eastern cable program called Mosaic, with English translations of news from Arab nations. And there will be more options like this. We are concerned about competition for public opinion around the world.”

The President and the FCC Chair know that the Internet and television will soon become one worldwide medium. People will be able to get the news anywhere on computers and TV monitors and have it translated for domestic consumption.

The President asks, “Should there be a global TV news monitoring station with a UN affiliation? What should the U.S. do about global competition?”

Even the UN Secretary-General has set forth a study about how satellite broadcasting can be a weapon of war. The President meets with him to discuss the potential for organizing an inter-governmental world TV news monitoring group .

The Secretary-General says, "There are no global television stations with inter-governmental management. Equally, there are no privately owned television corporations with shared management in different countries. We need world television stations that provide audiences with opposing views, from places like the US, Lebanon, Europe, Iran,

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<sup>29</sup> John Donnelly and Anne Barnard, “Differing TV images feed Arab, US views,” The Boston Globe, March 26, 2003, p. A1, A21.

Israel, Cuba, and China. Telecommunication stations are not chartered with global ethics in mind. There are no planet-based TV stations designed for a world audience, but we need them just as we need the UN."

The FCC has control over all broadcasting regulations in the United States but it cannot license stations in other countries. The FCC Chair now offers something new. "Let's work with the UN. Let's bring America's core values -- objectivity, democracy, competition, freedom, justice, fairness, transparency, public safety, and the common welfare -- into a network of international TV stations. They should be globally managed."

The President asks the FCC Chair to confer with the Executive Committee of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), which represents radio and television broadcasters, and with faculty in schools of journalism.

The FCC Chair tells the president of the NAB, "You are doing a great job, but, with the evolving technologies, the US will have stiff competition around the world. Our American audience will soon be able to choose stations from anywhere in the world. We need your ideas on what to do in the national interest.

"For example, you know when the government dismantled AT&T in the 1980s, the Justice Department should have organized the "Babybells" into a civil trade association with regional stakeholders. Stakeholders would settle problems through their own democratic associations. We need broadcast entities to negotiate worldwide, through a global association of competitors in telecommunications. Perhaps we can ask universities to help analyze the future of global telecommunications technology. It is a powerful weapon in war and peace. It must be part of our outlook in foreign policy decisions."

The FCC Chair continues. "The FCC must consider the national interest as well as world competition. Satellite fees will support global telecommunications, so keep an eye on inventions in those electromagnetic fields. Let me know if we can help you think about solutions."<sup>30</sup>

The meeting is brief. The first step is taken.

The President next asks the FCC Chair to talk with journalism schools and university departments of communication about the future of media. "Bring me your ideas. I want a free, competitive system of telecommunications, but we should work with the UN. We need a global FCC with regulations for the common good."

A global board of directors would be necessary for this idea to work. The President knows that international non-governmental associations (INGOs) are organized in every sphere -- professional, educational, religious, scientific, recreational and art associations. In science, for example, there is the International Geophysics Union; in religion, the World Parliament of Religions, in the professions, numerous worldwide associations -- medical, architectural, accounting, and so on.

Representatives from these associations might help establish a world media system organized with some integrity and accuracy. The UN will invite them into discussions on organizing a competitive mass media system. This global media system will be based on the values of a civil society, not business alone.

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<sup>30</sup> In the new technology of electromagnetic fields (George Gilder's "telecosm") anyone will be able transmit any amount of information, any picture, any experience, at any moment. There will be an opportunity for anyone at any time, instantaneously, to transmit information without barriers of convenience or cost. George Gilder, Telecosm (NY: The Free Press, 2000)

### **Case Study: Science Associations, Local to Global**

The President sets up a study group to observe how the sciences are organized in local-to-national-to-global associations.

There are literally thousands of science associations. In chemistry alone: the American Association for Clinical Chemistry, American Association of Cereal Chemists, American Association of Textile Chemists and Colorists, American Carbon Society, American Chemical Society, American Crystallographic Association, American Institute of Chemical Engineers, American Oil Chemists' Society, American Peptide Society, American Society for Biochemistry and Molecular Biology, American Society for Mass Spectrometry, American Society for Neurochemistry, Association for Molecular Pathology, the Association of Clinical Biochemists, and more.<sup>31</sup>

The President knows that the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) is an important federation concerned about sustaining truth, transparency, honesty and integrity. The President speaks to the AAAS Board of Directors about the globalization of science.

“Business is directing the world’s health system. Transparency and integrity are giving way to self-interest and profit. Pharmaceutical companies now tell physicians what drugs to use on patients. Scientists in business compete in the market and keep their pure research secret. Chemists around the world are marketing products faster than governments can monitor them. We’ve got a problem.

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<sup>31</sup> See Arizona State Libraries, <http://www.asu.edu/lib/noble/chem/orgs.htm#A>

“Cloning is a commercial enterprise. Corporate teams overseas say, ‘Nothing can stop us from cloning human beings.’ Our scientists say, ‘The genie is out of the bottle.’<sup>32</sup> The US government cannot monitor all scientific work.

“This is where world scientists’ associations come in. Can science organizations monitor the actions of their members? Can they require that members share scientific data? Can they penalize members who hide research that could endanger the public?”

The President tells the AAAS, “I need your advice -- especially from associations in physics, biology, and interdisciplinary fields like biogenetics and biochemistry. The nation and survival of the planet are at stake.”<sup>33</sup>

The President asks to address the AAAS general assembly. The Secretary of Agriculture, the heads of the National Institutes for Health (NIH) and the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), and representatives from the UN’s World Health Organization (WHO) join the session.

"I want to speak to the AAAS assembly about how science must work for the common good. New synthetic chemicals have accumulated in the air, soil, and water.

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<sup>32</sup> The American scientist Panos Zavos resigned from his position at the University of Kentucky to help lead a human cloning effort outside the U.S. He said that some 700 couples with fertility problems in different countries want to take part in the cloning effort. Zavos refuses to disclose what business is supplying money for his research. Jeff Israely, “Scientists challenge ban on cloning humans,” The Boston Globe, March 10, 2001. P. A6. Scientists know that many attempts to clone animals fail. Some failures are monster-like creations. There are repeated premature deaths. Dolly, the British sheep created by cloning in 1997, came after the artificial production of 29 embryos. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration said it has control over human cloning but acknowledges that science is worldwide.

<sup>33</sup> On the danger of making a federal law, see "The Dangers of a New Law Requiring Scientists to Make Their Data Public," Stephen Jay Gould, The Chronicle of Higher Education, May 14, 1000, A 64.

They collect in our bodies. Some are carcinogenic. Some interfere with the reproductive system. Only scientists with expertise can judge the impact of this complex research on people. The government cannot solve this problem alone.”<sup>34</sup>

The President argues that science needs a set of global ethics. S/he quotes from a statement by civil engineers. “Civil Engineers shall hold paramount the safety, health and welfare of the public in the performance of their professional duties...Engineers shall issue public statements only in an objective and truthful manner...All engineers must be certified to do their work in a manner that protects the public.”<sup>35</sup>

The President says, “If civil engineers can set safety standards for bridges, shouldn’t scientists -- like chemists and genetic engineers -- set safety standards for human beings? Our Office of Occupational Safety and Health cannot by itself protect the American public. The same is true at the global level with the World Health Organization.”

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<sup>34</sup> Only a fraction of the new chemicals that are registered with the Environmental Protection Agency have gone through testing to determine whether they could cause problems for human health. Many that are produced in enormous quantities have never been tested at all. It usually takes workplace injuries and wildlife poisonings to motivate scientists to search for any harmful effects. The current regulatory system allows synthetic chemicals into the marketplace unless they are proven beyond doubt to be dangerous. Scientific associations have yet to work out solutions with the government on these matters. Scientists insist that people cannot assume that the thousands of chemicals that go into consumer products have been approved by some government agency. New chemicals produced in scientific laboratories are presumed safe until they are proven harmful. Scientists admit they do not know the cumulative effect of new chemicals on human life. See Severyn T. Bruyn, *A Civil Economy* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2000) p. 150.

<sup>35</sup> Center for Study of Ethics in the Professions, Illinois Institute of Technology, <http://csep.iit.edu/codes/coe/abet-a.htm>

The President emphasizes the new dangers. "I need your participation in designing ways to control chemical/biological agents (CBA). They are being spread into nature like could function as 'weapons of mass destruction.' If science associations do not see themselves as responsible, who is? Can life be patented? Perhaps DuPont, Glaxo, Merck and Novartis corporations believe so. This is a problem that must be addressed by using local associations to monitor global activities."

The President discusses the implications of patents on genes. "Can science be practiced in the public domain? How can private scientific experiments -- that could be harmful to citizens -- be made public?"

Members of the AAAS clearly have some new issues to consider.

The President has lunch at the White House with the AAAS Board and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). S/he invites the President of the Environmental Working Group (EWG) as well. The EWG is a not-for-profit environmental research organization dedicated to improving public health and protecting the environment by reducing pollution in air, water and food. It has been checking on environmental problems overlooked by the EPA, like "cookware coated with Teflon that produce toxic particles and fumes," and "high levels of rocket fuel in supermarket produce that prompted Canadian health officials to call for tests of American vegetables."

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<sup>36</sup> EWG alleged that the DuPont chemical company violated federal law by withholding from the government for the last 22 years a company study that detected a toxic, Teflon-related chemical in the umbilical cord blood of one infant born to a company worker, and in the blood of another worker's baby. The same internal company research records serious birth defects in two of seven babies born to a group of female Teflon plant workers, whose pregnancies were monitored by DuPont's medical staff. In the same year, female workers were transferred out of DuPont's Teflon production facility in

The Attorney General speaks at the luncheon about how scientists produce environmental problems in business endeavors. "Sources of drinking water for millions of Americans are contaminated with a chemical that disrupts child development and may cause thyroid cancer. It is unregulated by the state or federal government." The President challenges the AAAS board. "We have a global problem. What can you do?"

The AAAS Board appoints a committee to study these issues. From the start, the committee notes the Precautionary Principle in chemistry, which holds that "in the face of scientific uncertainty, industry and government should err on the side of protecting public health. If scientific evidence indicates there is a good chance that a chemical may pose a risk of irreversible harm, regulators should not wait for absolute proof."

When the AAAS announces that its board is re-examining the Precautionary Principle, it makes national news. One business association, the American Chemistry Council (ACC), which has been lobbying against the Precautionary Principle, begins to debate the AAAS. While both are nonprofit associations, the ACC represents business and the AAAS, science. These two great federations go into battle over this global issue

The Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) tells AAAS that the chemical industry in the United States is growing at the rate of 3.5 percent each year, doubling in size every 20 years. "Something must be done to control the quality and safety of this production. Of the 70,000 chemicals in commercial use in 1995, only 1 percent was fully tested for human health effects. Each year at least 1,000 new

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Parkersburg, West Virginia, out of concern for their exposure to the chemical, known as perfluorooctanoic acid (PFOA).

Hearings Continue on Defense Exemptions from Perchlorate Cleanup. EWG is petitioning. The Environmental Working Group. <http://www.ewg.org/>

chemicals are introduced into commercial use, largely untested. The government cannot monitor all this scientific output. This is a global concern and it is related to terrorism.”<sup>37</sup>

For many years evidence has accumulated that industrial chemicals interfere with hormones and affect humans and wildlife. Hormones travel through the blood stream, turning on and off bodily processes, regulating reproduction, growth, development (including mental development), and health. Chemicals that interfere with hormones are called ‘endocrine disrupting chemicals.’

The Director says that about 50 chemicals have been identified as “endocrine disruptors,” but roughly 70,000 chemicals in commercial use have not yet been tested for such effects. “We are exposed daily to hundreds (if not thousands) of chemicals in our air, water, and food; it is worrisome to me that some of these chemicals might be altering our development as human beings in a permanent way -- not to mention our short-term health. This is like a passive biochemical attack. And we pay no attention to the danger.”

The Director says that science federations should have more responsibility. They should follow their bylaws and act for the public good. This is a local and global problem.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The CDC is an agency of the Department of Health and Human Services. It provides “credible information to enhance health decisions,” and promotes health “through strong partnerships.” It is the “government’s national focus for disease prevention and control, environmental health and education activities to improve the health of the people.” <http://www.cdc.gov/aboutcdc.htm#mission>

<sup>38</sup> The European Environment Agency published a report on a major conference on endocrine-disrupting chemicals held December 2-4, 1996, in Weybridge, England. These figures are drawn from conclusions in this conference. See Rachel’s Environment and Health News, [http://www.rachel.org/bulletin/index.cfm?issue\\_ID=576](http://www.rachel.org/bulletin/index.cfm?issue_ID=576) on the Weybridge Report.

The AAAS President prescribes “science for the public good” and appoints a team to look at the charters of science federations. Nonprofit constitutions and bylaws show that they were designed for a public purpose.

A new voluntary association enters the battle. The American Chemical Society (ACS) has more than 163,000 members with academic degrees in all fields of chemistry. The U.S. Congress chartered it in 1876 to advance chemical knowledge and research through scholarly publishing, scientific conferences, information resources for education and business, and professional development efforts. The AAAS President looks up the ACS Code of Conduct, which says,

Chemists have a professional responsibility to serve the public interest and welfare and to further knowledge of science. Chemists should actively be concerned with the health and welfare of co-workers, consumers and the community...[The ACS] shall cooperate with scientists internationally and shall be concerned with the worldwide application of chemistry to the needs of humanity.<sup>39</sup>

The AAAS President talks about this statement to the ACS. The Code says, “Chemists ...serve the public interest...and the needs of humanity.’ Does the ACS follow its mandate?”

### **The ACS Responds**

The ACS committee in our story reports that only about 600 chemicals must be reported on EPA’s Toxic Release Inventory out of an estimated 75,000 chemicals registered. The member scientists see that consumer information about potentially

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<sup>39</sup> The ACS constitution speaks of “the public welfare” and “the needs of humanity” in Article 1 Section 1 See Chemist’s Code, <http://www.chemistry.org/portal/Chemistry?PID=acsdisplay.html&DOC=membership\conduct.html>.

harmful chemicals in consumer goods is incomplete . Labels do not always list every ingredient. Companies claim trade-secrecy exemptions on exact formulations, asserting that protecting trade secrets is “legitimate.” Hence, there is no way to determine the health effects.<sup>40</sup>

What can be done? First, member chemists insist that ACS research should be done on the cumulative effect of synthetic chemicals. Second, Scientists in business laboratories must go public with their findings on potentially dangerous chemicals. Sharing data is the scientific tradition. Scientific research must be conducted with openness and integrity. However, these ends will not be accomplished without a battle.

The Director of the National Institutes for Health (NIH) speaks with the presidents of leading science associations. “If you do not insist that all research that has a bearing on public health and safety be shared with other scientists and the public, the government will. Can you avoid government interference? Can you monitor potentially harmful research in business? When scientists conceal information about research that affects public safety, can you discipline them?”

The Director is playing hardball. “All associations should accentuate transparency in research. We need certification procedures in potentially dangerous research.”

The President invites leading American scientists to the White House . S/he emphasizes that this issue is global. The American government cannot handle it alone. “The fission of uranium was first identified by two German chemists in December 1938,

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<sup>40</sup> There is plenty of evidence on the lack of public information. For example, the public was not informed about harmful consumer products making use of vinyl chloride as an aerosol. For information on chemical industry documents, Trade Secrets: A Moyers Report <http://www.pbs.org/tradesecrets/>

Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman. Their finding was a complete surprise to scientists, and experiments followed quickly in other countries to confirm how neutrons are released in the fission process. Now, chemists are free to produce anything they want in business and government laboratories around the world. What can you do about such ‘surprises’ through international associations of science? If science associations do not protect the public – and the world at large -- a global government will have to do it.”<sup>41</sup>

The President and science leaders in our story begin to build a network of science associations they call a ‘republic of science federations.’ They work hard to avoid surprises like the fission discovery and the misuse of research by governments. “In a civil republic,” the President says, “science should set guidelines for public safety. Scientists in firms that produce dangerous chemicals must go public with their information. They must become transparent.”

### **Accounting in a Global Context**

The President suggests that, in addition to the disciplines of science, the business sector should take its cue from the fields of higher education and public health and establish accrediting associations. S/he begins this campaign by drawing attention to global accounting.<sup>42</sup> S/he says that a federation of voluntary associations should organize this economy for the common good.

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<sup>41</sup> BRIEFING SERIES From Haber to Heisenberg and Beyond: The Role of Scientists in the Acquisition of WMD March 26, 2002 Marvin M. Miller Security Studies Program & Department of Nuclear Engineering Massachusetts Institute of Technology Acquisition of Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Role of Scientists [http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/programs/dc/briefs/02\\_03\\_26.htm](http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/programs/dc/briefs/02_03_26.htm)

<sup>42</sup> The German government shelved its plans for research on genetically modified crops, but the United States did not follow this precautionary step. “Germany Bans GM Research” *The Ecologist*, Vol. 31, No. 3, April 2001, p. 11.

Below is a sample statement from one such accounting federation. (See AICPA in Figure 2.)

Figure 2. **American Institute of Certified Public Accountants (AICPA)**

The Institute includes the members, a Governing Council, Board of Directors, officers, and committees. Every member is entitled to vote in person upon all questions brought before duly called meetings of the Institute, and by mail ballot for the election of Council members on proposed amendments to bylaws or to the Code of Professional Conduct

The “Governing Council” manages the Institute. The Council determines all Institute programs and policies and has approximately 260 members with representatives from every state and U.S. territory. It meets twice a year. A Board of Directors acts as executive committee of the Council, directing Institute activities between Council meetings. The Institute has a Joint Trial Board that “provides for uniform enforcement of professional standards by adjudicating disciplinary charges against AICPA and its state members.” Its decisions affect both AICPA and state society memberships. It has an Accounting and Review Services Committee, an Accounting Standards Executive Committee, a Peer Review Board, an Auditing Standards Board, a Board of Examiners, Continuing Professional Education Board of Management. Their “vision” is stated clearly to work in the public interest.

Section 3, Article 2 in their professional code says, A distinguishing mark of a profession is acceptance of its responsibility for the public.

The accounting profession’s public consists of clients, credit grantors, governments, employers, investors, the business and financial community, and others who rely on the objectivity and integrity of certified public accountants to maintain the orderly functioning of commerce. This reliance imposes a public interest responsibility on certified public accountants. The public interest is defined as the collective well-being of the community of people and institutions the profession serves.

The SEC Practice Section (SECPS) is “a self-regulatory group whose objective is to improve the practice of CPA firms.” The AICPA bylaws require that all members that engage in the practice of public accounting with a firm auditing one or more SEC clients as defined by AICPA Council are required to join the Section. The Section currently has approximately 1200 member firms,

which either audit registrants who file financial statements with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission or have joined the Section voluntarily.<sup>43</sup>

The President is invited to speak to the AICPA national assembly. S/he brings along the Chair of the Securities Exchange Commission (SEC). Television cameras (CBS, ABC, CNN, Fox, and NBC) attend.

The President opens by noting that the purpose of the SEC is “to protect investors and to maintain the integrity of the securities markets” for the United States. The President praises the AICPA for its work but says that there are companies in which members fail to do their job.

“We work now in global markets. This means we must develop new systems of accreditation and safety for securities around the world, by establishing a global SEC.”

S/he says that SEC organizations exist in countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Thailand but there is currently no worldwide system of securities regulation and investor protection. The SEC Chair is prepared to work with the UN on global securities accrediting and regulation. Keeping accurate accounts will help avoid disasters like Enron.

“Look at Tyco International Ltd. For many years it engaged in accounting gimmickry to inflate its earnings. It admitted that its management used deceptive bookkeeping and that more than \$300 million in accounting errors were made in 2002. Another example: WorldCom followed a strategy of weaving small companies into a global network through more than 70 acquisitions. It ‘crowned its achievement’ with a

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<sup>43</sup> The SECPS has major committees and programs, rules and membership requirements and other initiatives related to the accounting profession.  
<http://www.aicpa.org/about/bylaws/sec320.htm>

\$37 billion purchase of MCI, the No. 2 long-distance company. Disguising costs as assets made more than \$1.5 billion in profits for them. Our government wants a market in which your association seeks transparent global standards.<sup>44</sup>

“But how can you monitor your members? We need your help.”<sup>45</sup>

The President steps aside as the SEC Chairman moves to the podium.

“Greetings. I concur with the President. We need your help. Government alone is insufficient for solving this problem.

“Nearly half of the estimated \$233 billion US corporations earned in 2001 is held in foreign tax havens, up from 38 percent in 1998, according to our Commerce Department. In the face of the huge federal budget deficits, the IRS and Treasury Department are trying to collect more corporate taxes. Last year, corporate taxes accounted for only 7.4 percent of total federal tax receipts, the second-lowest level on record, behind 1983. We do not have the staff to inspect the books of the growing number

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<sup>44</sup> WorldCom revealed that \$4 billion of expenses in 2001 and \$797 million in the first quarter of 2002 were wrongly listed on company books as capital expenses and not reflected in its earnings results. The news sent telecommunications stocks and other shares plunging on Wall Street. The irregularities caused the company's share price to plummet to 9 cents and trading on the NYSE was halted. SEC chairman Harvey Pitt sought an order to prevent the company from disposing of assets, destruction of documents and payout to senior officers. For more, see Simon Romero and Riva Atlas, “Want a Piece of WorldCom? Contact the Company's Bankers,” The New York Times, June 29, 2002. Also, see <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/29/business/29TELE.html?pagewanted=print&position=top>.

<sup>45</sup> WorldCom Inc. filed for Chapter 11-bankruptcy protection under the largest filing in US history. It had reported assets of \$104 billion. It dwarfed Enron Corp., which claimed \$50 billion in assets when it filed. WorldCom was more than \$30 billion in debt due to its rapid expansion. And this expansion led to inflated expectations on borrowing. Its CEO, Bernie Ebbers, borrowed \$408 million in personal loans from the firm. It borrowed \$2.5 billion from an international consortium of banks six weeks before it announced its “accounting irregularities.

of global firms. Many firms are cheating, parking excessive amounts of profits in low-tax countries. You know what I am talking about.<sup>46</sup>

“Companies sell their products at artificially low prices to subsidiaries based in a tax haven, keeping the firm’s US tax exposure to a minimum. The subsidiary then sells the goods locally at a large profit that is taxed at the foreign country’s low rate. We must do something about this ‘transfer pricing,’

“Our new Oversight Board will watch corporate accounting, but what is your role in this global endeavor? Can you police your own members?” The SEC Chairman then speaks favorably of the International Accounting Standards Board, an independent accounting standard setter based in London. Board Members come from nine countries and are committed to developing a single set of “high quality, understandable and enforceable global accounting standards, that require transparent and comparable information in financial statements.”<sup>47</sup>

The Chairman says that the accounting profession should have more “distance” from business. The honesty and integrity of markets depends on it. The SEC staff agree to hold a conference on “distancing from clients.”

Next, the President speaks about professional associations in America.

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<sup>46</sup> Stephen Glain, “Corporate income stows away abroad,” The Boston Globe, February 24, 2004, pp. C1, C5.

<sup>47</sup> The International Accounting Standards Board in London is a privately funded accounting standard setter. Board Members come from nine countries. Their Board is committed to developing a set of “quality, understandable and enforceable global accounting standards” that require “transparent and comparable information in financial statements.”

“What I am talking about is creating civil associations in America. Our nation was constructed as a federation of states. I believe that a *federation of associations* should be created to support public standards and help govern society. It should guide this economy, working in parallel with our federation of states.

“Look how professional associations now function worldwide -- in religion, recreation, medicine, health, architecture, and education. No nation today can be a "civil society" without civil associations. National federations, like the AICPA, represent America’s values -- truth, honesty and integrity. This government administration supports the development of civil associations around the world. This is how we develop a global society.”

This idea of a federation of associations is new to the gathered certified accountants. The President says it is like planting a seed. It will take time to grow. AICPA members stand and applaud to support the President.

Trade associations are next on the President’s agenda.

### **Business in a Global Context: Trade Associations**

Business and industry leaders are concerned about the impact of these government policies on them. The American Society of Association Executives (ASAE) - - “the association of business associations” -- have heard the President’s speeches. They knew that the Civil Party wanted to cut government costs and support free markets. But they also heard Party leaders talk about “public standards and self-regulation.” Now trade associations want to hear how this will affect them.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> The American Society of Association Executives (ASAE) defines itself as “the advocate for the nonprofit sector, dedicated to advancing the value of voluntary associations to society and supporting the professionalism of the individuals who lead

The President approaches the National Association of Manufactures (NAM). This will not be easy. NAM could be in total opposition to the President. NAM opposed the Kyoto treaty framework on global warming. An associated group of NAM, the Air Quality Standards Coalition, opposed the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's 1997 standards against smog and soot on the grounds that the tighter standards would hurt the U.S. economy.<sup>49</sup>

The President's civic task force prepared a summary of this trade federation for the Chief Executive. (See Figure 3.)

Figure 3. **The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)**

The National Association of Manufacturing (NAM) consists of 14,000 companies and their subsidiaries, of which more than 80 percent are small manufacturers, plus 350 member associations in all 50 states. NAM members are companies and affiliated associations that altogether employ more than 18 million workers.

NAM works directly with Senators and Representatives, forming coalitions and mobilizing constituencies in support of key "business issues." It

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them." The ASAE is a democratic association of 25,000 individual members who manage leading trade, professional, and philanthropic associations. It claims to represent "10,000 associations serving more than 287 million people and companies worldwide." See <http://www.asaenet.org/meet>.

<sup>49</sup> The Air Quality Standards Coalition is managed from NAM's Washington, DC Headquarters. NAM is a member of the National Wetlands Coalition, an industry group founded to halt wetlands protection. The Coalition has supported efforts to undermine the Endangered Species Act. NAM supported S1180, a 1998 attempt sponsored by Dirk Kempthorne (R-ID) to weaken the Endangered Species Act. S1180 included provisions to weaken habitat protection, making it more difficult to list species. NAM opposed tightening the Toxic Release Inventory's lead reporting requirements. NAM opposed the EPA's Environmental Justice policy, which requires consideration of the impact of factory permitting on nearby minority communities who may experience a disproportionate amount of pollution. See NAM, "Lead TRI Comments," December 1999. (NAM issue brief, "Environmental Justice," March 2000). The Environmental Working Group, <http://www.ewg.org/dirtymoney/nam.html>

advocates legislation that “fosters a strong business climate for US manufacturers.” It has a staff of 175 professionals and others working side-by-side with members to achieve its goals.

NAM was ranked in 2002 as 10<sup>th</sup> among Washington’s 25 most powerful lobbying groups by *Fortune* magazine. Its mission is “to enhance the competitiveness of manufacturers and to improve American living standards by shaping a legislative and regulatory environment for US economic growth” and to “increase understanding among policymakers, the media and the general public about the importance of manufacturing to America’s economic strength.”

NAM works with member companies in 49 state manufacturing associations, over 200 industry trade associations, and 70 employer association groups. It is engaged in every state and congressional district. It has worked against the interests of trade unions and consumer groups.

The President addresses the annual meeting of NAM. “Without your help, we face a grim future. I hope NAM can work with the Commerce Department and the United Nations to strengthen this economy and make the world safe for future generations, as well. Let me elaborate. The USD Index of Leading Economic Indicators has fallen for ten consecutive months. Manufacturing activity and construction activity has declined. Consumer spending, the prime driver of economic growth, has slowed. Corporate debt is on the rise. Government debt has increased to unacceptable levels.

“We have made outstanding progress in building our economy over the last half-century, but today we have the problem of ‘double decline.’ Business expanded sevenfold between 1950 and 2000, when international trade grew rapidly, and that was positive. But our economic growth brought serious social and environmental problems along with it.

“Virtually every ecological indicator has moved in a direction opposite to the economic indicators at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The nation’s economic policies --

which had provided so much business growth -- have been destroying the earth's resources. Expanding markets destroy forests, rangelands, fisheries, and croplands -- the four ecosystems that supply food for everyone. Everyone is dependent on the earth's natural systems. A fishery or a forest is like an endowment that is wasting away. If this 'endowment' declines, the 'interest income' disappears. This is our 'natural capital.'" This natural capital is bound up with our financial capital. Thus, economic indicators today are in the same decline as our social and ecological indicators, a double decline.<sup>50</sup>

"According to Munich Re, one of the world's largest re-insurance companies, three times as many great natural catastrophes occurred during the 1990s as did during the 1960s. Economic losses increased eightfold. Insured losses multiplied 15-fold. Insurers are all too aware that modest changes in climate can lead to quantum jumps in damage claims. A 10 percent increase in wind speed can double the damage it inflicts. The cost of dealing with a rising sea level from a modest temperature upsurge could overwhelm the economies of many countries."<sup>51</sup>

The Secretary of Commerce joins the President and NAM leaders to help promote the creation of a civil trade commission. The commission will unite people who are involved in global manufacturing, study environmental problems, and support the work of the International Standards Organization.

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<sup>50</sup> Paul Hawken, Amory Lovins, & L. Hunter Lovins, Natural Capitalism: Creating the Next Industrial Revolution, Rocky Mountain Institute, 1999. Chapters in this book are online. See <http://www.rmi.org/store/p385pid2105.php>.

<sup>51</sup> See Lester R. Brown, Eco-Economy (Earth Policy Institute, 2001), p.4.

NAM leaders are concerned, but they feel support from the Commerce Secretary and agree to agree for now. In case the President's policy works against them, they will revert to their influence in Congress.

### **The World Bank and International Monetary Fund**

The Commerce Secretary talks with officials at the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization. S/he says the President wants to meet with them about new investment policies. It will be tough sell.

“We celebrate the work that has been done in our world finance organizations, but we must move on. We want you to join us in preparing a blueprint for a new system of banking and finance. I believe that global investment can harmonize with what our economists call ‘human goods.’ This means allocating capital in a free economy for the well being of the environment, human welfare, justice, fairness, equity, and community. We know you have already begun this process and we are simply amplifying this practice.”

The Commerce Secretary continues. “Some critics have argued that world finance organizations, such as the IMF, World Bank and even the World Trade Organization, should come under the auspices of the UN’s Economic and Social Council. Others feel that the World Bank should coordinate its work with the UN Development Program. Still others advocate greater coordination with the UN Environment Program and the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

“What do you think?”

IMF officials begin to talk at length about free markets, but the Secretary interrupts. “We want free markets. We do not want government regulating world

commerce. We want is non-governmental associations, trade associations, and inter-governmental associations to have a voice in world markets. We simply want a more civil allocation of capital.

“Global institutions need to be fair and transparent. When nations borrow capital and go into debt servicing, we need to see where the money goes. We need to ensure the return of stolen wealth and public funds. We need a worldwide authority to inquire into criminal financial activity and fraudulent debt. We need a proper global commission to identify and prosecute government officials and corporations that become co-parties to fraud.

“So we would like to set up groups to study these issues. On our part, the Commerce and Labor Departments will work with the Environmental Protection Agency to help prepare an agenda for a conference on this issue.”<sup>52</sup>

A long discussion follows on the role of global commissions.

### **Global Civil Commissions**

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<sup>52</sup> Since the World Trade Organization (WTO) was created in 1995, nations whose laws were declared to be trade barriers by the WTO have eliminated or watered down their policies to meet WTO requirements. Each of the WTO's 134 member countries technically has an equal say in governance, but mainly the USA and the European Union along with Japan and Canada influences decision-making. Each member of this “Quad” represents its corporations' interests at the WTO. These corporations are often involved in writing and shaping WTO rules. In the U.S. this is achieved through official "Trade Advisory Committees." For instance, the US International Trade Administration's Energy Advisory Committee is made up exclusively of representatives of giant oil, mining, gas and utility corporations, including Texaco, Enron, Halliburton and Freeport-McMoran. The top fifth of the world's people in the richest countries enjoy 82% of the expanding export trade and 68% of foreign investment-the bottom fifth, receive roughly 1%. See various watchdogs on the WTO. CorpWatch <http://www.corpwatch.org/issues/PID.jsp?articleid=378> .

What will such global commissions look like? The Commerce and Labor Secretaries invite the EPA administrator for talks.

The Commerce Secretary wants to see global norms for world business with independent monitoring. Under advice from the President, s/he asks the EPA Administrator to map out the environmental associations in the United States. “We need to know about these grassroots organizations (GROs). They may -- or may not -- want to be part of civil commissions.”<sup>53</sup>

“Environmental groups are organized across the political spectrum. Some may be considered mainstream; others are radical activists, and then there are conservationists, negotiators, teachers, protestors, lobbyists, and mediators. Radical activists view the Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, the National Wildlife Federation, Wilderness Society, and the Izaak Walton League as mainstream. Associations like the Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense Fund, and Friends of the Earth are oriented to government policy. The Wildlife Federation has ties to the Republican Party. The Environmental Defense Fund has links with big business, negotiating on environmental issues. Some environmental groups are influential with global businesses.”<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> The purpose of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is to protect human health and safeguard the natural environment. For 30 years, the EPA has been working for “a cleaner, healthier environment.” It has about 18,000 people in headquarter offices, 10 regional offices, and 17 labs across the country. The EPA employs a technically trained staff, of which more than half are engineers, scientists, and environmental protection specialists. A large number of employees are legal, public affairs, financial, and computer specialists.

<sup>54</sup> Brian Tokar, faculty member of the Goddard College Institute, analyzes these “outlooks” for Social Ecology. He sees “mainstream associations” serving a flawed (capitalist) regime and argues that environmental associations have been “absorbed by

Some groups are locally focused, like the Native Forest Network, the Alliance for the Wild Rockies, Food & Water, and the Oregon-based Native Forest Council. Others are more global, as they try to protect ancient forests. Greenpeace, for example, would “save the oceans; stop whaling, genetic engineering, the nuclear threat, toxic chemicals; and encourage ‘sustainable trade.’ It claims 2.8 million supporters worldwide.”<sup>55</sup>

The EPA Administrator hopes that diverse groups will combine their issues, through their associations, with local to global monitoring. S/he has read the Civil Federalist Papers. S/he wants environmental groups to help create a new civil market system. S/he wants environmental associations to monitor markets with more transparency supplied by corporations in trade associations. Business associations and environmental associations will build, hopefully, “eco-markets.” Environmentalists ask, “How could this happen?”

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the political status quo.” The emergence of “corporate environmentalism” and the proliferation of “ecological” products helped fuel a decline in core values that led to environmental protection. Tokar argues that the environmental movement is shaped by “individualism.” “Individualism” holds that everyone is equally responsible for the destruction of the earth, that the solution is simply for each person to buy more “natural and recycled” products so that companies will make the products available to them. Tokar graduated from MIT in 1976 with degrees in biology and physics and received his Masters degree in biophysics from Harvard University in 1981. For his articles see Social Ecology, <http://www.zmag.org/bios/homepage.cfm?authorID=93>.

<sup>55</sup> Environmental groups are usually democratic associations and are too many to list here. For example, the American Council on Science and Health, Inc. (ACSH) is a consumer education consortium. It deals with issues related to food, nutrition, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, lifestyle, the environment and health, a nonprofit Section 501c(3) organization. The nucleus of ACSH is a board of 350 physicians, scientists and policy advisors - experts in a wide variety of fields-who review the Council’s reports and participate in ACSH seminars, press conferences, media communications and other educational activities. There are also educational groups like the North American Association for Environmental Education (NAAEE), and the Ecological Society of America that can join in a civil commission and work with business and the environment.

The Commerce Secretary appoints civil commissions in market sectors, one by one. S/he asks industrial leaders in each sector to promote civil associations, saying, “We support the principles of transparency, accountability, and profitability in markets. We want to talk with you about combining these principles in global markets.”

The Commerce Secretary meets with the Executive Director of the American Society of Association Executives (ASAE) and CEOs from global oil companies. “Let me illustrate problems that we have had in the past. Remember the Seven Sisters: Exxon, Gulf, Texaco, Mobil, Socal, BP and Shell. They were profitable and did a lot of good, but they also had flaws. Corporate engineers and accountants were doing what was natural, safeguarding investments and avoiding taxation. But this system works against the interests of the United States.”<sup>56</sup>

The President of one oil conglomerate is concerned. “What do you mean?”

“The action of the Seven Sisters group led to the creation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which opposed us in the market. Gasoline prices rose, and banking issues became more complex, as Arab countries made huge profits, deposited them into American banks, and then ‘unloaded’ overseas, with Third World debt following. The Secretary elaborates. “We are also competing with the European Union, and we need to work on alternative energies. We need to build connections with stakeholders around the world, creating an interconnected system, a federation of civil associations.”

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<sup>56</sup> See Anthony Sampson, The Seven Sisters (New York: Bantam Books, 1976).

The Commerce Secretary must demonstrate how global companies can make money in civil markets. S/he must provide incentives for business to form these civil federations. S/he uses the domestic roofing industry as a model.

### **The Roofing Industry in a Global Context**

The National Roofing Foundation (NRF) is a nationwide trade association or federation. It is one of thousands of trade associations that uphold public standards. (See Figure 4.)

Figure 4. **The Roofing Industry Federation**

The National Roofing Contractors Association (NRCA) was formed in 1886 “to preserve and promote the art of roofing application.” NRCA is affiliated with local, state and regional associations, with a network of over 100 affiliates. Each company has one voting representative.

NRCA maintains a code of conduct. Members support open competition and recognize that the perpetuation of a healthy business environment is influenced by their own professional conduct. The Association encourages professional roofing contractors to be “honest and straightforward in their dealings with clients, submitting reasonable proposals, and offering evidence that their companies are bonded, insured or licensed.”

Towns in New England, for example, have a regional affiliate association, and their firms compete for roofing construction projects. One competitor, Associate Roofing, serves commercial and residential clients. Its brochures advertise its pride in craftsmanship. It invites customers to serve as references when it seeks a new contracts. It maintains liability insurance. It holds memberships in Northeast Roofing Contracts Association (NE?RCA) as well as the National Roofing Contractors Association and the Better Business Bureau.

A regional competitor, O'Lyn Roofing Contractors, Inc., also has a list of credentials. It is registered with Home Improvement Contractors in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and promotes its market niche, modest prices, its fine craftsmanship, and its guarantees.

NRCA also established the National Roofing Foundation (NRF), a separate organization to undertake educational and research projects. The foundation, which includes the above firms as members, offers a student scholarship program. It also creates internal groups to advance the interests of the industry, such as the Roofing Industry Alliance for Progress (RIAP). Alliance members contribute funds to bring together leading contractors, manufacturers and suppliers, committed to securing

the future strength and excellence of the roofing industry and serving as a resource for industry customers.

RIAP has funded: 1) a national survey of roofing workers, examining employee satisfaction in the roofing industry; 2) the NRCA Roof Application Training Program; 3) a national media campaign for prospective roofing workers; 4) an employee referral service; 5) a National Roofing Training Institute, which provides prospective workers with vocational skills; and 6) a consortium of specialty construction associations and prestigious educational institutions, which developed a specialty construction curriculum.<sup>57</sup>

The Commerce Secretary knows the industry is planning to expand into world markets and sees such associations as beneficial. “You will be coming in contact with international organizations, suppliers, customers, and new types of roofing materials and methods, such as solar paneling. Your executives sponsor global training programs, and you believe that roofing should have worldwide professional standards. We should develop an international roofing commission on world standards and, in addition, train civil planners in roofing. This way, members of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and other offices and organizations can consult with the NRF on both profitability and assure that civil markets will serve the interests of all. You can increase your profitability by working with International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs).”

The EPA Administrator steps in to describe the work of global environmental associations and expands on the topic of solar energy. “Photovoltaic (PV) modules convert solar energy into electrical energy.. A PV module consists of solar cells, wired

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<sup>57</sup> NRCA established the National Roofing Foundation (NRF) as a separate organization to undertake educational and research projects. The foundation offers a student scholarship program. The NRF is a nonprofit, public foundation incorporated in Illinois and exempt from federal income taxation under Section 501c(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. The references to Associate Roofing and O’Lyn Roofing Contractors are based on my inquiry and talks with the owners.

together. Between four and 22 percent of the energy falling on a module is converted to useable electrical energy, and the remainder is reflected. So, where do international, civil associations come in? Roofing firms in Europe, Australia, Africa, and Asia are all building solar roofs. These companies are your competition,” continues the EPA Administrator. “If you want to win in global markets, you must work with multi-national groups through a broad-based commission.

“Customers need to know how solar roofs work in sunny regions around the world. We can provide incentives and subsidize experiments for member companies. But there is more. According to our EPA studies, about \$40 billion is spent annually in the United States to air-condition buildings. This is one-sixth of all electricity generated in a year. EPA statistics show that, when used appropriately, a reflective roof can reduce cooling demand by 10 to 15 percent and increase savings by as much as 50 percent. This concept of ‘green roofs’ includes plants and trees that absorb moisture and improve the energy performance of solar panels. This is a viable energy plan for the future.<sup>58</sup>

“A global roofing commission will help you advance your roofing business and, at the same time, raise environmental standards.” Those groups that work with the commission will be in a better position to move ahead in world markets.

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<sup>58</sup> Scientists at the U.S. Department of Energy’s Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratories (LBNL) in Berkeley, CA, say, “light-colored, highly reflective roofing materials can have a significant impact on improving air quality and cooling ‘urban heat islands’ – pockets of increased temperatures in downtown areas of cities caused by radiant heat from dark surfaces – thanks to their solar reflectivity.” For a list of solar energy trade associations around the world, see <http://energy.sourceguides.com/businesses/byP/solar/byB/trade/trade.shtml>. On the American Solar Energy Society, see <http://www.thinkenergy.com/assn/rs194875.html>

The NRCA President and top officers are convinced. They also know that the government can get support from social investors. This is the next step in building a civil system in the world economy.

### **Social Investment in a Global Context: Retirement Funds**

The EPA Administrator speaks with the Commerce Secretary about offering incentives to social investors, pointing out that S/he social investors make money by combining ethical principles with financial principles. S/he mentions the College Retirement Equities Fund, TIAA-CREF, as an example of an investment firm which advances environmentally responsible management in real estate. S/he praises the social investment movement for creating a set of civil federations, such as Shareholder Action Network (SAN), that serves as a clearinghouse of information to investors on shareholder advocacy. S/he speaks of Co-op America and the Social Investment Forum (SIF). These Third Sector associations encourage industry to protect the environment.

Questions they debate include, How much should social [civil] investors focus on environmentally safe industries? Can they support eco-logging and eco-roofing?

The EPA Administrator makes a nationwide tour to advocate eco-structured markets. S/he asks Lester Brown, President of Earth Policy Institute, to speak at business conferences. Brown describes a process of using eco-indicators in the economy. These eco-indicators will then guide government policy through the new Council of Social Advisors.

### **The Council of Social Advisers in a Global Context**

The President appoints a Council of Social Advisors to develop these socio-economic and ecological indicators. Twelve indicator categories include education,

employment, energy, environment, health, human rights, science, income, infrastructure, national security, public safety, and recreation. These indicators offer a new view of the economy and differ from those established by the Council of Economic Advisors.

The Economic Council measures the money-economy. Their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) calculations ignore the condition of the environment, community life, public health, and cultural values. The Social Council members say, "Money is not real wealth." The Council's "quality of life indicators" tell the public how economies are themselves living systems.<sup>59</sup>

The Statistics Division within the Department of Economic and Social Affairs at the United Nations already compiles social indicators. At the President's request, the new combined government councils in the US start to work with the UN. The US synchronizes its US indicators with countries registered in the United Nations.<sup>60</sup>

### **Civil Federalists: The New Working Papers**

The President's advisors issue several reports. A fundamental observation states, "The United States needs to make more progress on enhancing our civil society. *Liberals* talk about the government solving social problems. They do not consider how America's core values -- democracy, justice, and freedom -- work in the larger society.

*Conservatives* want less government. They do not acknowledge how a million voluntary

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<sup>59</sup> On this point see, Hazel Henderson,  
<http://www.paraview.com/features/henderson.htm>

<sup>60</sup> See two United Nations publications, Handbook on Social Indicators (United Nations publication, Series F, No. 49, 1989) and Towards a System of Social and Demographic Statistics (United Nations publication, Series F, No. 18, 1975), prepared by Sir Richard Stone as consultant to the United Nations Secretariat. Note the UN's Social and Economic Affairs, Statistics Division,  
<http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/social/default.htm>.

associations in the private sector solve concrete problems. We need a society of federations."<sup>61</sup>

A great deal of thought has gone into these essays. The authors argue that federations develop for the common good, through education, religion, art, science, and the professions, as well as in business. "Hundreds of thousands of nonprofit federations and associations serve as a vast system of unrecognized governance in American life."

The new federalists contend that America's great values thrive in society and its culture, but they also point out that many values are in contradiction with one another. What are they? They include individual vs. community, private vs. public, civil order vs. liberty; cooperation vs. competition, and more. The resolution of these contradictions is the basis for the development of a civil society and a new economy. American society develops through the interplay of these contradictions in the economy."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Political scientists say that liberals connect certain values, such as democracy, freedom, and justice, with government, not with voluntary associations. They connect "democracy" with the state not the economy. And conservatives do not explain why democratic associations emerge in a non-governmental economy. They do not explain how people regulate the economy through these associations without government interference. They connect justice with the state, not with the private sector. The federal government is a republic in Madison's terms (Federalist #10). It is not a democracy because people do not vote themselves but are governed by representatives they elect. But the word "democracy" has expanded since Madison's time. Indeed, the entire society is sometimes referred to as "a democracy." Thus a group of associations in a civil republic would have representatives to govern their sector of society. An example would be a community council governed by certain youth groups like the Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, and YMCA, or the Chamber of Commerce governed by representatives from certain business associations in part of a complex economy.

<sup>62</sup> For a book that connects "democracy and justice" in society, see Ian Shapiro, Democratic Justice (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

These civil federalists say, “Civic and business leaders should focus on creating a civil market system. When you think about the development of this market, combine the ideas of justice (fairness and equity) with freedom (option and choice).”

The authors contend that contrary values should be linked in new ways. "Markets should develop accountability, equity, and transparency along with productivity, efficiency, and profitability. They should be both ecology-oriented and efficiency-oriented. They should develop on a public commons as well as in the private sector. We need to create a higher order of life in the economy.”<sup>63</sup>

These civil scholars say, “The great federalist principle -- ‘avoid a tyranny of the majority’ -- applies to the private sector.” James Madison wrote in Federalist Paper 51: “It is of great importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. If a majority be united by a common interest, the rights of the minority will be insecure.” The new Federalists argue that Madison was talking about all levels of society, not just government.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> For example, these new federalists say that the idea of separating the public from the private is no longer “feasible and practical.” The public is usually associated with “government” while private is usually associated with the “economy.” These contrary ideas (private vs. public) should be reconceived. Americans should build a public (transparent and accountable) economy inside a private (covert and proprietary) economy. [integrate into main text?]

There is this sort of abstract thinking present in the Civil Federalist Papers. The authors say that Americans should build a market system based on fair trade with free trade. They should build a civil (fair, free and self-regulating) market economy. Professional and trade associations should cooperate to sustain competition for the common good. These abstract ideas that cause a lot of debate.

<sup>64</sup> Madison said that the greatest safeguard against the tyranny of the majority was the large number of sects, divergent interests and opinions that divided people. This made it virtually impossible for coalitions to form stable majorities. Alexander Hamilton hints at the solution in the last Federalist Paper (85). See Rick Garlikov, “The Need for Formal

These federalists praise Thomas Jefferson who believed, “Government governs best which governs least.” Thus, the principle of “subsidiarity,” which says that local solutions are preferred, should be recognized in the economy. But the meaning is shifting from local government to nonprofit community development corporations.

### **Critics of the President’s Plan**

Congressional leaders are not all on board. Isolationists want the government to stay out of foreign affairs. Conservatives want the government to stay out of the market. Liberals want the federal government to regulate more industries. Coming together, they mount a public assault on the President whose ratings go down in the polls.

### **State of the Union Address**

The President prepares the State of the Union Address. It will inform the public about domestic problems and advise Congress on international issues. The day arrives with pomp and ceremony. The President begins.

“We are in crisis at home and abroad. Look at the growing number of homeless and jobless. Look at the increase in drug addiction. Courts are overworked. Prisons are overcrowded. We have 40 million citizens without health care. Governments keep borrowing to solve these problems. Something has to be done to develop a new and accountable economy. Something *can* be done: We can create a civil republic.”

The President goes on to discuss civil associations and starts with the field of education.

“America's schools should teach students about how the world is rife with hostile camps. Armed conflict rages in every region of the world. These wars are based on differences in identity – racial, ethnic, religious, political and national. Students must realize they are world citizens and should seek to understand people of every color, religious belief, and nationality.

“Our schools should teach in global terms. Students should learn about the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the Convention on the Rights of the Child; protocols prohibiting use of child soldiers and the sale of children; and about the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. (Applause).

“Students should discuss the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Convention against Torture, and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They should study about the education of women and girls around the world and about the beneficial effect educating mothers and sharing knowledge about population control. Students should be taught how to stop terrorism at all levels of life -- starting with the family. (Standing ovation.)

“Students should learn peaceful alternatives to war, as well as alternatives to the advancement of bio/nuclear/chemical weapons. They should study how to create a republic of nations and a federation of associations.”<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> East European, Eurasian, and Russian Education, <http://www.indiana.edu/~isre/NEWSLETTER/vol6no2/global.htm> The President talks about communications technologies for “distance educators.” Popular media include computer-based communication, electronic mail, bulletin board systems (BBSs), telephone-based audio-conferencing; and videoconferencing with 1- or 2-way video and 2-way audio via broadcast, cable, telephone, fiber optics, satellite, microwave, closed-circuit or low power television. Teachers in the past prepared their own lecture notes,

The President goes on to lay out the basic tenets of this new policy.

America's associations -- with support from federal and state governments -- can build a society of federations.<sup>66</sup>

National leaders can build a civil economy.<sup>67</sup>

Associations can cultivate America's highest values and standards in markets.<sup>68</sup>

The government can work with other nations toward a global federation of associations.<sup>69</sup>

The President urges Congress to work with associations in the private sector.

They should assume a local-to-global perspective.

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tests, and worked face to face with students in a classroom, but "distance teachers" are not in direct contact with students. The work is done by a host of team partners, which may include editors, designers, producers, technicians, media specialists, local tutors, aides, site facilitators, and service providers. Given these circumstances, as education goes global, what can educators do? C. A. Schlosser, C.A., & M. L. Anderson, M.L.. "Distance education: review of the literature." Washington, DC: Association for Educational Communications and Technology, 1994.

<sup>66</sup> The Congress will read about how each civil order of our society -- religious, educational, professional, scientific, and business -- has countless associations. Competing associations, encouraged by government, can work for the common good.

<sup>67</sup> See Severyn Bruyn, A Civil Economy (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2000).

<sup>68</sup> Congress will read about how nonprofit associations bring standards into the market [e.g. engineering and architectural associations] but more can be done. They can bring more environmental standards into global markets. Trade associations should work with civic associations as monitors to provide for the well being of the economy. Trade associations, trade unions, church organizations, professional groups, and scientific associations can build a higher purpose for markets.

<sup>69</sup> Congress will read how the United Nations is a global confederation but it can strengthen its peacemaking power. The U.S. government can help the UN develop as a federation of civil associations and governments, support the UN's efforts to give still more authority to civil society organizations.

“We need a federation of associations and a civil republic of nations founded on international law. We need leadership from every race -- black, white, tan, yellow, and brown. We need representatives from every profession, every school, and every religion in the world. I want to see a ‘civil revolution.’ If we do not develop our associations together, we will ultimately destroy our civil society.” (Applause.)

The President closes by thanking Congress for listening and for its anticipated efforts toward building a civil society.

Members of Congress respond with an extended standing ovation.

Never in a state of the union address had an American president ever talked about "a civil republic of nations." Never had a president talked of a "civil revolution" or a "new republic of international associations."

The next day, the President meets with leaders from religious and academic associations. “We live with deep differences. Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Moslem, Hindu, Buddhist. Religions vie for dominance. But notice this. All major religious organizations are organized from local to global levels. Your local church, synagogue, mosque or temple governs in conjunction with the wider whole. I suggest we build a global society. “World peace will be achieved through the efforts of your associations on a larger scale. Talk with governments about nonviolent strategies for the UN.

*“Build a federation of associations – an assembly of religious associations, a world parliament of lawyers, a global assembly of scientists, a world congress of physicians, a world federation of public accountants. This will advance a global society.”*

“Some of you know the Jewish philosopher Baruch Spinoza. He said religion does not pertain to law and authority in governments. ‘Despots,’ Spinoza said, ‘make deceptive use of religion to cloak their ignoble interests and keep people in bondage.’ But we must build associations that govern with business and cooperate with nations.<sup>70</sup>

“Every national government has a ‘civil religion.’ Citizens have a more powerful commitment to their nation than to their religious organization. They are willing to die to save their country and its values. Patriotism is vital to uphold in America. But I remember what Theodore Roosevelt said in 1918:

To announce that there must be no criticism of the president, or that we are to stand by the president, right or wrong, is not only unpatriotic and servile, but is morally treasonable to the American public.

So, let us honor our nation. And let's build a higher order of democracy for the sake of humanity. We need to build a human community. Work toward this.<sup>71</sup>

“The Muslim poet, Mohammad Jalaluddin Rumi, said it clearly in the 13<sup>th</sup> century:

Know that you are rebelling inwardly like a thread,  
That doesn't want to go through the needle's eye!

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<sup>70</sup> Spinoza advocates a free commonwealth against “the supreme mystery of despotism,” which aims to keep people in a state of “deception” using “the specious title of religion to cloak the fear by which they must be held in check.” Religion in the best sense is composed of “honesty and sincerity of heart.” Spinoza said that secrecy testifies to “the corrupt and tyrannical misuse of religion to promote fear and superstition for political ends,” but the President says that secrecy also exists in government. We can oppose that secrecy by appealing to a higher law in the world order, the larger body of humankind. See Baruch Spinoza, Theological-Political Treatise, trans. Samuel Shirley (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1998), p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> The President adds a footnote for friends. The problem of dominance is not all found in government. There is dominance in every one of your associations -- the family and all organizations of religion, business, the professions, and education. So, “we have a long way to go before solving the egregious differences of power. We have a long way to go before we see equality expressed in the organization of society.”

“We want a world in which hope presides and love can reign, where we can teach our children about the Majesty of this creation. We have a lot of work ahead. Thank you for joining me in this endeavor.”