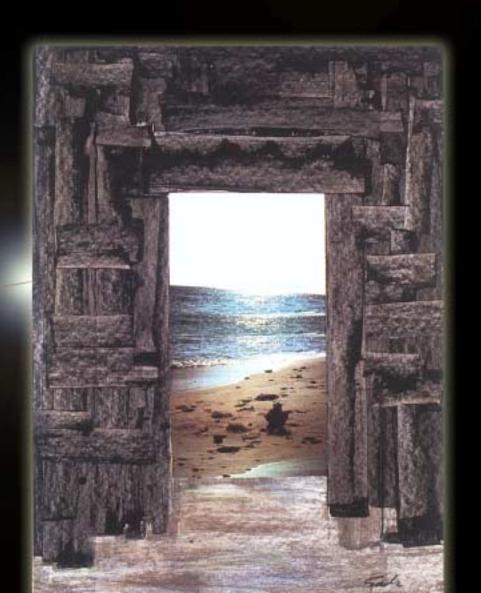
# compassionate

edited by MAHNAZ AFKHAMI



## TOWARD A COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY

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#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Toward a Compassionate Society is a compilation of articles that explore aspects of an ongoing conversation on this topic that began in 1997 and continues within the "culture of peace" program of the Women's Learning Partnership. The discussions began in November 1997 at a Symposium at Stanford University, cosponsored by the Global Fund for Women and the Sisterhood is Global Institute, and later the same month at the State of the World Forum in San Francisco, California. These deliberations continued two years later at the October 1999 session of State of the World Forum in San Francisco.

We are grateful to Susan Moller Okin and Kavita Ramdas who helped organize the Stanford Symposium and to Charlotte Bunch, Tina Choi, Pat Giles, Khadija Haq, Madhu Kishwar, Frances Kissling, Gwendoline Konie, Anne Firth Murray, Alicia Partnoy, Aruna Rao, and Arvind Sharma who took part in that Symposium. They were joined by Martine Batchelor, Susan Davis, Yael Dayan, Mahbub ul Haq, Hazel Henderson, Uma Narayan, Norani Othman, Navanethem Pillay, Arati Rao, and Muhammad Yunus, who participated in the roundtables and plenary sessions at the State of the World Forum. We are grateful to them and to Thais Corral, Alan Cranston, Marian Wright Edelman, Claire Garrison, Noeleen Heyzer, Swanee Hunt,

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#### INTRODUCTION

by Mahnaz Afkhami

The new millennium begins at a particularly crucial point in human history. We achieved an incredible capacity for doing good or evil in the past hundred years. We now have almost magical powers in science and technology. We know much about our world—from the smallest particles in atoms to the largest constellations that constitute our universe. We have overcome the handicaps of distance and time on our planet. We can cure many of the diseases of body and mind that were deemed scourges of humanity only a few decades ago. We can feed and clothe the peoples of our world, eliminate starvation, protect our children, provide security and hope for the poor, and safeguard our environment. In sum, we have the objective ability to achieve a more compassionate society in this century, but only if we can summon to our individual and common consciousness the goodwill that our ancestors sought since the beginning of history and our human conscience demands of us now.

But throughout the past century we also experienced the horrors of total war, wanton destructiveness, and

mindless genocide. These horrors are still very much a part of our landscape as so violently demonstrated by the act of terror perpetrated on September 11, 2001 against the United States, the richest and most powerful nation ever on earth. In poor and powerless countries fear and despair are an integral part of living. In most of these societies colonialism has left behind a legacy of state supremacy and autocracy, and people accustomed to look to the state for support and relief. The state, however, is structurally unable to satisfy the needs of the people. Many developing nations—patriarchal, poor, uneducated and largely young—face the exigencies of globalism but lack the skills needed to compete economically and

culturally, and cannot gain such skills unless they are substantially and steadfastly helped by the nations that possess them. In these societies, the state cannot cope simultaneously with the demands made on it by a competitive global world order over which it has little or no control, and help its citizens achieve prosperity in freedom, equality, and justice. Shorn of the protection of the nation state, a

majority of the citizens in these countries will have to fend for themselves against overwhelming global forces they can neither affect nor understand. Consequently, many of them, who have lost all hope of ever achieving a better standard of living for themselves or for their children, will be vulnerable to the lure of the irrational, including the empty promises of religious fundamentalism. They will suffer, and the most vulnerable among them—women and children—will suffer most.

In the meantime, the triumph of western democracy and modern capitalism has led to novel dilemmas. In the west, increasingly the individual is the central criterion for designing ethical systems. On the other hand, social structures and processes designed and governed by technology progressively fall beyond individual will. Rapid, uncontrollable change overwhelms the values and relationships that in the past gave our lives constancy and meaning. Consequently, the optimism that emerged from the age of enlightenment and formed much of the modern thrust for the development of humane values in the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries is now yielding to a pessimistic view that we are losing control over our lives. This sense of helplessness, which has led to cynical views of government and political authority, diminishes our ability to fashion our future.

How then do we go from here to a compassionate society? Will the society of tomorrow be anything like our idea of what a caring society should be— a society based on fairness, equity, help to the needy, community, family, an ethical system that stresses the value of the "other?" How do people relate to each other in such a society? What are its spaces, communities, borders? In order to have a compassionate society, is it neces-

sary that everyone be included? In a world of instant communication and interconnection, in a world of diverse cultures and standards, how do we uphold common values and how do we live those values? Hegel suggests that in conditions of master-slave relationships, master and slave both lead alienated lives and therefore unhappy lives. Is a compassionate society possible if we barricade ourselves in

[T]he optimism that emerged from the age of enlightenment and formed much of the modern thrust for the development of humane values in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is now yielding to a pessimistic view that we are losing control over our lives. This sense of helplessness, which has led to cynical views of government and political authority, diminishes our ability to fashion our future.

or others out by erecting economic, political, psychological, or moral walls that in simple language translate as jails, ghettos, borders, and institutional discrimination? Can a compassionate society be constructed on the notion of exclusivity? If not, how is it possible to overcome the odds?

Given the character and present distribution of technological and economic powers, can their formative structures, processes, and values lead us—if left unchallenged to a semblance of a compassionate society? If history left to itself will not take us to a compassionate society, are there ways that we as conscious human beings can steer it to a more compassionate end? Will democratic processes prevail? What values are we to stress? Do we need to invent new values or reimagine and reinterpret the old ones in order to accommodate individual and social needs that are specifically modern and which, therefore, did not exist in the past? How do we bridge universal human values and cultural diversity in human society? What is the role of the arts in shaping the compassionate society of tomorrow? How will beauty be defined? What ways will we find to soften the rough edges of existence? What is the meaning of meaning in life? Who is to define it?

History so far has been mostly man's story. How will women's expanding role help build a compassionate society? What must we do to become effective participants? Can we exert a significant influence on the structure and process of politics? Will we move into positions of power more adroitly in the future than in the past? What are the realms in which our contributions become strategic? Can we become powerful as women rather than as surrogate men? How will we change the form and content of power?

This collection of essays begins a conversation on how to achieve a compassionate society by offering several thoughtful perspectives. We start with an essay by Mahbub ul Haq, whose distinguished career included positions as Pakistan's Minister of Finance and as a senior advisor with the UNDP. Haq identifies steps which we as a global society can take to make our world more compassionate: universal basic education, primary health care for all, safe drinking water for all, adequate nutrition for severely malnourished children, family planning services for all willing couples, access to credit, ending export subsidies for arms sales, banishing poverty worldwide, and working toward establishing a global government. While far-reaching in scope, Haq's words are powerful and prescient. "[A]bolishing poverty in the twenty-first century must become a collective international responsibility," he writes, "since human life is not safe in the rich nations if human despair travels in the poor nations. Let us recognize that consequences of global poverty travel across national frontiers without a passport in the form of drugs, AIDS, pollution, and terrorism. . . . In the

last analysis, human security means a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, an ethnic tension that did not explode, a dissident who was not silenced, a human spirit that was not crushed. The imperatives of this human security have become universal, indivisible, and truly global today."

Next is an essay by writer and professor Elise Boulding entitled "Peace Culture." Boulding's perspective is that a compassionate future can only begin with peace. In her essay she reviews the concept of peace in society and how it conflicts with some of our current institutional and religious behaviors. She then moves on to examine modern peace movements and the unique role that women and global organizations can have in building a more peaceful future. "In spite of the visibility of violence and war," she writes, "people are able to see past that violence to a different future world. People who cannot imagine peace will not know how to work for it. Those who can imagine it are using that same imagination to devise practices and strategies that will render war obsolete. Imagination is the key."

The third essay, by Charlotte Bunch, Executive Director of the Center for Women's Global Leadership, examines human rights as the foundation for a compassionate society. Writes Bunch, "Without a clear ethic of respect for the equal worth and value of every person's humanity, compassion runs the danger of being a form of charity and condescension toward those less fortunate." Her essay examines the origins of the human rights movement, the definition of human rights across cultures and religions, and how the rights of women must also be included in broader discussions of human rights. "Human rights are not an abstraction," she concludes. "They are about the kind of world we want, the relationships that should exist among people, the dignity and respect that should be provided to every individual, and the social interactions that should be encouraged in every community."

Arati Rao, writer, scholar, and former Associate Director of the South Asian Institute at Columbia University, combines the themes of the preceding essays with her view of individual rights within modern societies. "The conditions under which values that are fundamental to individual freedom," writes Rao, "including women's freedom and rights, can be reconciled with community-oriented values, will establish themselves only when women are recognized as a natural, constant, and integral part of their communities. To encourage these trends, we need strong legislation emerging out of women's experience and advocacy, with strong enforcement and implementation mechanisms. Let us also strengthen rights in civil society, since women-inthe-family are enmeshed in a complex web of social relations that potentially can enhance everyone's well-being as well as immure them in injustice."

Uma Narayan's essay describes how our compassionate society is not just about respecting individual rights, improving human rights, building peace movements, and reforming society, but about recognizing our rights, restrictions, and responsibilities as part of our communities. Narayan, an author and Professor of Philosophy at Vassar College, believes tension results when families or societies impose their values on individuals, or when individuals exert their independence in a direction not sanctioned by families or societies. These tensions are particularly evident with regard to women in virtually all societies, but they are most visible in the developing world where women's rights and human rights are denounced by many rulers as being "Western notions" foreign to the concerns and world-views of people in developing countries. These rulers raise the flag of "cultural preservation" as their reason for objecting to change, but as Narayan points out, "While it is always crucial to reflect on whether particular changes are for the better or not, the simple fact that rights for women might lead to change in a community's way of life cannot be a legitimate reason for denying women their rights. It is worth reiterating that every human culture has elements worth preserving as well as elements worth changing. Thus, we should not assume that 'cultural preservation' is a good in itself, nor that cultural modification is necessarily bad."

Arvind Sharma, a Professor of Comparative Religion at McGill University, in his essay entitled "Women and the Politics of Spirituality" takes the perspective that while most religions are characterized by structures of subordination when it comes to women, religions also contain structures of emancipation for women which can be recognized and enacted. Sharma writes, "As one progresses toward the spiritual, the distinction between men and women becomes increasingly less relevant, first physiologically and then psychologically. To the extent that the distinction might ultimately vanish, the discriminations which these distinctions may involve must also fade away. As the cleric who defended Galileo at his trial stated, 'The purpose of scripture is to teach how one goes to heaven, not how heaven goes.' The spiritual path, per se, occupies a religious space largely removed from structures of male dominance and female subordination. Sex and gender distinctions are irrelevant."

Aruna Rao, President of the Association for Women's Rights in Development, concludes the anthology with a roadmap. "Suppose we were able to identify which attributes should comprise a compassionate society," she writes. "How do we get there from here?" Rao's recommendations are built on her work studying and reforming organizations, particularly with regard to the role of women in organizations. An organization such as society does not change because you tell it to change, but because its new

goals are "owned" by those inside the organization who can see problems and help shape solutions. "This strategy does not attempt to 'guilt' people into change nor does it try to convince them using 'brute rationality'" writes Rao. "Dialogue is a key tool," and it is important to start this dialogue "from where people are," leaving time for growth and space for change, and allowing silent voices to be heard.

Lastly, the anthology's appendix contains some important documents relating to the culture of peace. They include the UN Declaration and programme of action on a culture of peace, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Hague Agenda for peace and justice for the twenty-first century, Declaration on the elimination of violence against women, Beijing statement on women's contribution to a culture of peace, Seville statement on violence, Earth Charter, and links to other declarations relating to the culture of peace.

As we read these essays and reevaluate our perspectives—as we formulate our agenda for discussion of how to reach a compassionate society—we must be bold and creative, our feet firmly grounded in the realities that surround us, but our gaze aimed at the lofty possibilities that our advancements in science and technology promise and that our growth as a global society is only beginning to comprehend.



Mahnaz Afkhami is founder and president of the Women's Learning Partnership and executive director of the Foundation for Iranian Studies. Formerly Minister of State for Women's Affairs in Iran, she has been a leading advocate of women's rights internationally for more than three decades. Her numerous publications have been widely translated and distributed internationally, including *Women in Exile, Safe and Secure: Eliminating Violence Against Women and Girls in Muslim Societies*, and *Faith and Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World*.

Toward a Compassionate Society

#### TOWARD A COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY

by Mahbub ul Haq

Our global society is not a very compassionate society today. We are quite fond of describing ourselves as one world, one planet, one humanity, one global society. But the blunt reality is that we are at least two worlds, two planets, two humanities, two global societies—one embarrassingly rich and the other desperately poor, and the distance between these two worlds is widening, not narrowing.

Can we really call it a compassionate society when the richest one-fifth of the world consumes 80 percent of the natural resources of this planet and commands an income 78 times higher than the poorest one-fifth of the world? Can we really call it a compassionate society when there is so much wasted food on the table of the world's rich at a time when 800 million people go hungry every night and 160 million children are severely malnourished? Can we really call it a compassionate society when 1.3 billion people do not have access to even a simple necessity like safe drinking water, when about one billion adults grope around in the darkness of illiteracy, and when 1.3 billion people survive in absolute poverty on less than one dollar a day?

It is certainly not a compassionate society when 134 million children in South Asia alone work for over 16 hours a day in inhuman conditions for a wage of only eight cents a day and when they lose their very childhoods to feed the greed for higher profits by their indifferent employers, several of them the most powerful multinationals of our world.

It is certainly not a compassionate society when over one half of humanity the women of this world—are economically marginalized and politically ignored, when their \$11 trillion contribution to household activities is simply forgotten in

national income accounts and when they command 50 percent of the vote but are less than 15 percent of the parliaments of the world.

What kind of a compassionate society is it where modern jet fighters are parked on the runways while homeless people are parked on city pavements; where many desperately poor nations spend more on arms than on the education and health of their people; where the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council sell 86 percent of the total arms to poor nations, often giving handsome subsidies to their own arms exporters?

What kind of a compassionate society is it where millions of land mines are strewn all over the world, waiting for their unsuspecting victims; where it takes only three dollars to plant a mine but over a thousand to remove it, and where the international treaty to ban land mines is ready but the US refuses to sign it?

What kind of a compassionate society is it where we all recognize that nuclear weapons should never be used but where world leaders are reluctant to abolish them since they are fond of playing global power games?

What kind of a compassionate society is it where a few powerful nations decide the fate of the entire world and where the supreme irony is that powerful democratic nations themselves rule out democratic governance in

> global institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF, and the United Nations.

The truth is that we are still far from the ideal of a compassionate society. But let us be realistic. It is true that we may never be able to create a perfect society. It is true that we may never be able to eliminate all social and economic injusa few practical steps to make our global more humane. Let me identify at least six of these steps which can become a reality

5

economic injustices or to provide equality of opportunity to all the people. But we certainly can take tices or to provide equality of opportunity a few practical steps to make our to all the people. But we certainly can take global society a little more compassionate, a little more society a little more compassionate, a little only if all of us start a global civil society movement for their achievement.

> First, in a compassionate society, no newborn child should be doomed to a short life or to a miserable one merely because that child happens to be born in the "wrong country," or in the "wrong class," or to be of the "wrong sex." Universalization of life claims is the cornerstone of a

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compassionate society. Equality of opportunity is its real foundation—not only for the present generation but for future generations as well.

In order to equate the chances of every newborn child, let us take a simple step. Let us treat child immunization and primary education as a birth right of that child—a right to survive and a right to be educated. Let us persuade national governments and the international community to issue birth right vouchers to every new born child that guarantee at least these two investments in their future. The total cost will be modest, hardly three billion dollars a year, but it will provide a new social contract for our future generations, and it will certainly create a compassionate society.

Second, a global compact was reached in March 1995 in the World Social Summit in Copenhagen that the developing nations will devote 20 percent of their existing national budgets and the donors will earmark 20 percent of their existing aid budgets to five human priority concerns, namely, universal basic education, primary health care for all, safe drinking water for all, adequate nutrition for severely malnourished children, and family planning services for all willing couples. This was the famous 20:20 compact. It required no new resources, only shifting of priorities in existing budgets. Such a compact will remove the worst human deprivation within a decade. Here is a global compact already made. Let us ensure that it is fully implemented. Let us get organized. Let us monitor the progress of each nation and each donor toward these goals every year and let us publicize it through NGO efforts and through all civil society initiatives so that the world does not forget the commitments it made and which, if implemented, can provide a social safety net to the poorest and the most vulnerable groups in society.

Third, a practical way to empower people is to provide them with microcredits so that they can find self-employment and self-respect, and it really empowers them and unleashes their creative energies. Access to credit should be treated as a fundamental human right, as Professor Yunus has so brilliantly and convincingly emphasized. The experience of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh has already demonstrated that the poor are good savers and investors and they are eminently creditworthy, so that the banking system should take a chance on the future potential of the people, not on their past wealth. Let us set up such microcredit institutions in each and every country, and in each and every community.

Fourth, it is time to establish a new code of conduct for arms sales to poor nations. There are many punishments today for drug trafficking and for laundering of drug

money but not for arms sales. Yet arms kill no more certainly than drugs. Why are generous subsidies given for arms sales in several industrial countries today? Oscar Arias, former president of Costa Rica and Nobel Peace Prize winner, has developed a sensible code of conduct for arms sales, proposing a ban on such sales to authoritarian regions, to potential trouble spots, and to the poorest nations. This code of conduct has the support of many Nobel Peace Prize winners. Yet Oscar Arias has not found a single UN member who is willing to sponsor such a responsible code of conduct for arms sales. Let us generate enough public pressure in our societies for sponsorship of this code. Let us go even further. Let us persuade the rich nations to discontinue their export subsidies for arms sales. This is public tax money. Why should it be spent to subsidize sale of death and destruction to poor nations? Let us at the same time persuade the poor nations to start cutting their existing military expenditure of \$170 billion a year by at least five percent each year—a savings that can yield enough of a peace dividend to finance their entire social agendas for their poor.

Fifth, let us pledge that global poverty will be abolished in the twenty-first century, much as slavery was abolished a few centuries ago. Poverty is not inevitable. Poverty degrades human dignity and does not belong in a civilized society. It belongs in a museum of history. But let us also recognize that poverty is not a mere flu, but a body cancer. It will take determined policy actions to banish poverty including the redistribution of assets and credits, provision of adequate social services, and generation of pro-poor growth. It will also require a new model of development which enlarges human lives, not just GNP, and whose central purpose is development of the people, for the people, by the people. Let us also remind all nations of this world that abolishing poverty in the twenty-first century must become a collective international responsibility since human life is not safe in the rich nations if human despair travels in the poor nations. Let us recognize that consequences of global poverty travel across national frontiers without a passport in the form of drugs, AIDS, pollution, and terrorism.

Sixth, let us return the United Nations to the people of the world in whose name it was first created. The preamble of the UN started with the historic words, "We, the People." Yet the UN was hijacked by governments and has become entirely an intergovernmental body where the voice of the people is seldom heard. Even in international conferences and summits, many clerk curtains separate NGO representatives from real decision-making forums. The time has come, I believe, to raise our voices in favor of a two chamber General Assembly in the UN—one chamber nominated by the governments as at present, and the other chamber

elected directly by the people and by institutions of civil society. This will ensure that the voice of the people is heard all the time on all critical issues which affect their future.

There are many more steps one can map out to make our global society more compassionate. I have mentioned only six simple steps which I believe are doable. But let me state quite clearly: building a compassionate society is not a technocratic exercise. It requires solid ethical and moral foundations. It requires an entirely new way of thinking of ourselves as a human family, not just a collection of nation states. It requires a new concept of human security which is founded on human dignity, not on weapons of war.

In the last analysis, human security means a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, an ethnic tension that did not explode, a dissident who was not silenced, a human spirit that was not crushed. The imperatives of this human security have become universal, indivisible, and truly global today.

The choice before us is simple though stark. We can either learn to live together. Or we can all die together. Robert Frost summed up the challenge before us when he said, "Two roads diverged in the wood and I, I took the one less traveled by, And that has made all the difference." I hope that we show the courage, and the wisdom, to take the road less traveled as we build a more compassionate society in the twenty-first century.



Mahbub ul Haq was president of the Human Development Research Centre in Islamabad, a policy think tank devoted to research on human development strategies in South Asia. Haq also served as chief economist of the Pakistan Planning Commission (1967–70), director of policy planning in the World Bank (1970–82), Minister of Finance, Planning, and Commerce in Pakistan's cabinets (1982–88), special adviser to the UNDP Administrator, and chief architect of the UNDP's annual Human Development Reports (1989–95). His publications include *Reflections on Human Development* and *The Poverty Curtain*.

#### PEACE CULTURE

by Elise Boulding

For all the cultural and scientific achievements of humankind over the last millennia we remain an underdeveloped species, prone to violence and greed yet providing persistent evidence of a capacity for compassion and nurturance. Given that each human individual is unique seeing, hearing and experiencing the world differently from every other individual, generating different needs and interests—the task of bridging conflicting perceptions of reality is an everyday challenge. Yet we don't fight all the time. Many differences are bridged peacefully.

Our uneven record as humans in dealing with difference stems from the difficulties of bringing two opposing human needs into balance: the need for bonding and the need for autonomy. Every human being needs bonding with others. We need to be part of a community; we need others to care for, and to take care of us. Children who do not experience that caring have trouble dealing with others all their lives. At the same time we need autonomy, our own space, room enough to express the individuality of our being.

The concept of peace culture is a culture that maintains a creative balance between bonding, community closeness,

and the need for separate spaces. Peace culture can be defined as a mosaic of identities, attitudes, values, beliefs, and patterns that lead people to live nurturantly with one another and the earth itself without the aid of structured power differentials, to deal creatively with their differences and share their resources. Peace cultures as separate identifiable societies exist but are not common. They may be found among some, but not all, indigenous peoples, and in faith-based communities totally committed to nonviolence. Purely aggressive cultures

where everyone is actively defending their own space against the needs of others also exist but are not common. More generally, we find coexisting clusters of peaceableness and aggression. Each society develops its own pattern of balancing the twin needs for bonding and autonomy.

The balance may change through time, with periods of more peaceable behavior following periods of more violent behavior. It cannot be said that humans are innately peace-

ful or innately aggressive. As the UNESCO Seville Statement says, "war is biologically possible but not inevitable." It is socialization—the process by which society rears its children and shapes the attitudes and behaviors of its members of all ages—that determines how peacefully or violently individuals and institutions handle the problems that every human community faces in the daily work of maintaining itself. Problem-solving behavior may be thought of as a conflict management continuum.



At one end lies extermination, physical abuse and threats. In the middle range of the continuum we find arbitration, mediation, negotiation, and exchange. Moving toward the positive end we find mutual adaptation, cooperation, integration and transformative union. Understand-

> ing the wide range of alternative ways to deal with conflict helps clarify the possibility of choice in how to face troubling

> differences.

#### **OBSTACLES TO PEACEFUL BEHAVIOR** IN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

Given the range of behaviors open to individuals and groups in dealing with conflict, why has violence and war been so persistent? Part of the answer lies in the way religious awareness has developed in each of the major religious traditions.

Two themes have evolved side by side—the holy war culture and holy peace culture. The holy war culture is a male warrior culture based on the exercise of power. It is often headed by a patriarchal warrior God. It demands the subjection of women, children and the weak to male protopatriarchs. The template of patriarchy as a social institution continues to mold generation after generation in each religious tradition, whether in Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity or Islam. In the holy peace culture

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love is the prime mover of all behavior. Love is a gift from the Creator, or Creative Principle. Women and men share with one another as brothers and sisters, each person equal to every other. The weak are cared for and troublemakers reconciled.

The holy war culture has tended to encourage the exercise of force at every level from the family to international relations. The holy peace culture works to restrain the use of force, but historically its voice is often muted. This century has been a century of rising violence, especially intrastate violence, and there is little awareness of the actually existing peace culture, muted as it has been. We may indeed say that society is out of balance.

One hope for a shift away from a holy war tradition that buttresses the warlike behavior of states and ethnic groups, is the new development of global interfaith efforts for peace. The World Conference on Religion and Peace was the first of these efforts and is now a recognized nongovernmental organization (NGO) that supports a strengthened peace witness in each member faith. There are now half a dozen different international interfaith bodies with similar goals. The most recent initiative has been the formation in 1995 of the International Interfaith Peace Council. This council is centered in respective faiths and manifests the common wisdom of the world's spiritual traditions, building bridges and spreading a message of nonviolence, compassion, human rights and universal responsibility, individual and collective.<sup>2</sup> Acknowledging the failures and frequent abuse of religion, the peace councilors support local training in both the spiritual and the social skills of peacemaking in the conflict regions where they are invited to be present.

The importance of these initiatives from the faith communities lies in the fact that they tap a deep vein of human awareness at the spiritual level, an awareness almost hidden from social view by the overwhelming secularity of civil society, and by the militant stance of extremists of various faiths. Until recently, faith-based transnational associations were not even listed as nongovernmental associations by the Union of International Associations, but as the social concerns they seek to address become better understood, they now take their place with other NGOs as part of the global civil society seeking a more peaceful and just world.

Another deep vein of human awareness largely hidden from public view is the utopian longing to live in peace. Although the very concept of utopia (Sir Thomas More's Erehwon or Nowhere) is generally derided, there has never been a civilization which did not have images of living in peace. Even the most warlike societies had such images. The significance of the fact that humans can imagine social

conditions they have never experienced is often overlooked. The capacity to imagine the other and better is one of the most precious human capacities. As Fred Polak pointed out in his macrohistorical *Image of the Future*, when such images become strong enough they can actually empower a society to work toward realization of the imagined future.

Strong or weak, images of peace have persisted through history. The wars of ancient China did not prevent Chang Huen-Chu from writing these words: "Heaven is the father and Earth the Mother... wherefore all included between Heaven and Earth are one body with us and in regard to our dispositions, Heaven and Earth should be our teachers. The People are our brothers and we are united with all things."

The Greeks pictured Elysian fields, where heroes hung their swords and shields on trees and walked arm in arm, discoursing philosophy and poetry. The Hebrew Bible gives us Zion, the holy mountain where the lion shall lie down with the lamb and none shall hurt nor destroy. The Koran gives us the sanctuary in the desert, from which no one shall be turned away. Even in Valhalla, the warriors who fought each other by day feasted and sang together at night in the great hall of Asgard, drinking mead from a cow that never ran dry.<sup>5</sup>

The ability to imagine a better way never disappears. When other social conditions permit, these images of a different future can empower social change movements and produce a new social dynamic toward nonviolence.

#### PEACE MOVEMENTS

A more visible manifestation of the ineradicable longing for peace is found in the long history of peace movements through the centuries. Christianity was born as a peace movement. In the early days of the Common Era, no Christian could wear a sword. Peace movements figure repeatedly in the history of each civilization.

In the contemporary world, secular peace movements have been multiplying as part of a larger twentieth century social phenomenon of the development of a global civil society consisting of people's organizations forming links across national borders in pursuit of common social, economic, political and cultural interests and concerns—the NGOs mentioned earlier. There are now 25,000 such boundary-transcending NGOs. Only a modest number of these are actively dedicated to peacebuilding, but it can be said that the majority of these organizations contribute to the development of an international peace culture because their common concern is human betterment. Their effect is multiplied by the fact that they provide an interface between local householders and local communities with

otherwise remote regional and national governmental bodies. They also provide further interfacing with the relevant agencies of the UN and other intergovernmental bodies, thus generating many channels of communication for problem solving and conflict resolution, and blunting the effect of rigid government bureaucracies.

Interestingly, millennialism unleashed a very down-toearth set of peace movement energies as the world moved toward the year 2000. New coalitions formed to work for the abolition of nuclear weapons, for instance, and the Earth Charter initiative began at the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro. This charter involved the preparation of a document to be signed by peoples on all continents, and was then presented to the UN General Assembly for acceptance in the year 2000. The charter spells out a commitment of humanity to live in peace with all living things, living sustainably, sharing resources equitably and resolving conflicts nonviolently.<sup>6</sup> It also gives a special role to the "ten thousand societies"—the ethnic, racial and cultural identity groups that straddle national borders everywhere—in the creation of a culture of peace, through acknowledgement of their many timetested (but ignored by outsiders) ways of settling disputes peacefully.

A third creative manifestation of millennialism was the appeal of the Nobel Peace Prize laureates that the year 2000 be declared a "Year of Education for Nonviolence" and that the years 2000 to 2010 be declared the "Decade for a Culture of Nonviolence" in order that nonviolence be taught

everywhere. UNESCO independently supported the same initiative starting in 1999. A fourth initiative called for a Hague Peace Conference in 1999, on the centenary of the 1899 Hague Peace Conference which was to bring an end to the use of war as a means of settling disputes among states. The 1999 Hague Peace Conference, it was hoped, would achieve in more down-to-earth operational terms what the 1899 conference failed to achieve.

This millennialist energy brought new life to existing scientific and professional associations focused on peace and disarmament, from the older and prestigious NGOs such as Pugwash, the International Association of Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War and the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, to the newer International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Peace. Social science professionals, including particularly the International Peace Research Association, have played a special role in recent

decades by providing policy-oriented research on peace processes and developing peace studies programs in universities around the world to train new student generations in non-military approaches to international and internal civil conflict.

A whole new set of professional organizations focused on practitioner skills of conflict resolution, mediation and reconciliation are just beginning to form international NGO networks, and to establish peacebuilding training centers on each continent. A separate but related development has been the creation of NGOs to maintain peace teams on the Gandhian model of the Shanti Sena, "Peace Army". Peace Brigades International has been the pioneer, and many secular and faith-based NGOs now support their own peace teams.<sup>7</sup>

Women's organizations are very important to the peace movement, but it must not be overlooked that it is women who do the bulk of the work in most mixed peace organizations as well. In the all-women's organizations they have created imaginative new approaches to peacemaking. Dramatic examples include the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's Great Peace Journey to heads of state around the world. Women's peace camps have also been established at military bases such as Greenham Common in England. The Women for a Meaningful Summit group lets no "big power" summit take place unquestioned, and the relatively new WEDO—the Women's Environment and Development Organization—brings together environment, development, human rights and

peace issues that have tended to be dealt with separately in the past, but cannot be separated any longer if viable peace policies are to be developed.<sup>8</sup>

Children and youth are all too often ignored in peace movement activities, but their own initiatives are beginning to have public impact, such as the Voice of Children and Rescue Mission Planet Earth. At the 1995 World Summit of Children in San Francisco, young delegates drafted an impressive proposal for a UN Youth Assembly, complete with a system of representation for the assembly.

Just as each familial household develops its own problem-solving behavior, so each social group has developed its own strategies of conflict resolution over time, uniquely rooted in local culture and passed on from generation to generation. These are the hidden peacebuilding strengths of every society.

#### WHERE PEACE CULTURE IS TO BE FOUND

#### The Household and Women's Culture

The familial household is an important source of peace culture in any society. It is here that the women's culture of nurturance flourishes. Traditionally women have been the farmers, the producers of food, as well as the bearers and rearers of children and the feeders and healers of those who live under the familial roof. The kind of responsiveness to growing things—plants, animals, babies—that women have had to learn for the human species to survive, is central to the development of peaceful behavior. But as long as nurturance is considered women's responsibility alone, there is no viable culture of peace. Only when men also learn the skills of nurturance can society as a whole become peaceful.

It has been pointed out that children learn early in life how much a smile can do. Why do humans smile so much? It is a signal of readiness for contact. The role of infants and young children in the gentling of the human species is often underestimated. Adults everywhere tend to respond to infants with smiles and modulated voices. Watching small children discover with delight the most ordinary and humdrum items of daily existence literally refreshes adults. So does seeing children at play, creating a wondrous imaginary world that has no purpose but itself.

Through most of human history people have lived in rural settings and in small-scale societies. Just as each familial household develops its own problem-solving behavior, so each social group has developed its own strategies of conflict resolution over time, uniquely rooted in local culture and passed on from generation to generation. Similarly each society has its own fund of adaptability; built on knowledge of local environments and the historical memory of times of crisis and change. Each familial household is a storehouse of such knowledge and experience, and contributes to the community "knowledge bank." This knowledge is woven into religious teachings, ceremonies and celebrations; it is present in women's culture, in the world of work and the world of play; it is in environmental lore, in songs, and in the stories of people everywhere. These are the hidden peacebuilding strengths of every society.

Yet as has already been pointed out, the patriarchal model casts a shadow of potential violence over households in many societies. The exercise of patriarchal power by men too often leads to the abuse of women and children. The degree to which boys are "sensitized" by their experience of growing up male depends on the extent to which the values of nurturance and sharing cross gender lines and the extent to which women are visible and equal participants in the more public life of the society.

#### **Peaceful Societies**

Anthropologists have been fascinated by both the phenomenon of aggression and the phenomenon of peaceableness in the societies they have studied. A system-

atic survey of research on "peaceful peoples," however, has been undertaken only in the 1990s and we are much indebted to Bruce Bonta for his annotated bibliography of such studies. 10 The bibliography contains essentially three types of entries—indigenous peoples (34 entries), Euro-American anabaptist type communities (eight entries), and ancient pacifist high-culture groups (one entry—the Jains). Bonta defines peacefulness as "a condition, whereby people live with a relatively high degree of interpersonal harmony; experience little physical violence among adults, between adults and children, and between the sexes; have developed workable strategies for resolving conflicts and averting violence (such as warfare) with other peoples; raise their children to adopt their peaceful ways; and have a strong consciousness of themselves as peaceable."

A careful reading of his summaries of the anthropological studies of both indigenous peoples and Europeans brings out clearly the presence of distinctive child-rearing patterns that produce distinctive adult behavior. For example the Twa, a hunter-gatherer rainforest-dwelling people who treat the rainforest as their mother, father, teacher and metaphoric womb, encourage their children from an early age to climb trees. There they watch and listen and learn from the forest. *Ekima*—quietness—is highly valued and reinforced at every stage of life, yet does not preclude rough-and-tumble play of both children and adults. Conflicts are dissipated by clowning.

The Inuit survive the harsh and unforgiving Arctic winter cold through cooperation and social warmth, a warmth that extends to the baby animals that children bring home from the icy outdoors to cuddle. Violence and aggression are under strong social prohibition, and social values are centered on *isuma*—impulse control and rationality—and *nallik*—love, nurturance, and concern for others. A distinctive form of childrearing that anthropologist Briggs calls "benevolent aggression" involves a combination of warm affection and a complex kind of teasing which both recognizes children's negative feelings and teaches them to laugh at those feelings. The title of one of Briggs' studies, "Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?" suggests the extremes to which the teasing goes, yet this produces affectionate resourceful people.

The different Anabaptist peace cultures originated in Europe in the late Middle Ages as a revolt against the power structures of church and state. They live on today in Europe and the Americas as the "historic peace churches" with Brethren, Mennonites and Quakers as the largest groups. In general they all hold to testimonies of simplicity, gender and racial equality, and personal and social nonviolence, refusing military service in wartime. The cultivation of the divine seed in each child makes child-rearing and family life

of central importance. Girls and boys have similar rearing and are taught nonviolent responses to conflict early in life. They are also early prepared for participation in decisionmaking.

The Jains, a nonviolent wing of an old warrior caste in India, have surprisingly taken on a new lease on life in recent years, and have strong religious communities not only in India but in other parts of the world as well. Their nonviolence is perhaps the most extreme, leading them to wear masks so they won't accidentally breathe in insects. They gently sweep the path before them as they walk, so as not to step on any living thing. Many of the indigenous societies are endangered peoples, but there is also a growing awareness of how much their lifeways can contribute to the making of a more peaceful twenty-first century. Each of these societies, from forest-dwellers to urban microcommunities, can be thought of as islands of peace culture in the larger society of which they are a part.

#### **Celebration and Play**

Celebrations are the play life of a society. A society at play is a society at peace, reaffirming the best in its social values. Feasting and gift-giving emphasize sharing and reciprocity, a sense of the community as one family. When sharing and gift-giving have a character of spontaneity and exuberance, and singing and dancing are freely and widely participated in, then celebration is a powerful reinforcer of peaceful and caring community relations. It becomes a time of letting go of grudges, and of reconciliation among

persons whose relations may have become strained. To the extent that there is a clearly articulated basis for celebration, patterned in ritual, it also becomes a reconnection with creation itself, a reminder of the oneness of the cosmos and all living things. It becomes a time for the making of vows to undertake difficult tasks to serve the community. Celebrations mark the rites of passage from birth to death, and all the life stages between. They mark wounding and healing, beginnings and endings. They also mark great historical moments of the remembered past.

These words are written at a time when many communities and the larger societies of which they are a part have lost their sense of play. Celebrations have lost their spontaneity, gift-giving has become a carefully calibrated exchange, and performances are competitive. This type of celebration has lost its character of replenishing the human spirit, and is a poor resource for general peaceableness.

We must learn to take play more seriously! Play by its very nature performs a serious creative function for each community. Taking place outside the realm of everyday life, play nevertheless creates boundaries, rules and roles, both for children and adults. The play of children ("Let's play circus—you be the elephant and I'll be the clown") structures spaces within which they can create their own realities in fantasy. Play can also provide learnings in nonviolence and self-control. When children's rough-and-tumble dissolves into tears because a child is hurt, that is an important learning.

The fact that play space is also space in which children can practice grown-up activities ("Let's play house—you be the daddy and I'll be the mommy") does not take away from the fact that play is done for its own sake, for *fun*. This makes playing especially important for adults, who tend to get excessively tense and serious about many of their activities. Competitive sports and spectator games may work against the spontaneity of play both for players and watchers, but the rudiments of play survive.

Playing games is only one of many forms of play. Some forms are very highly developed. Think, for example, of the mind at play in developing a new theory in science or philosophy. Think of "the muse" at play in creating poetry, music, painting or sculpture, or the body performing play through song, dance and drama. Play creates beauty and gives joy.

Play is always local. It goes on where we are. It thrives at the grassroots level in the folk culture of each society, and it

> goes on among the elites as well, though the play of each tends to take separate forms in terms of style, language and content. Some art, some sports, have become so violent that they have lost the character of play. The recovery of play as fun, a basic heritage of every society, is the best answer to that violence.

## ZONES OF PEACE: BIRTHING SPACE FOR PEACE CULTURE

A safe space! How often human beings in trouble have needed such spaces

through the centuries. As far back as the historical record goes, societies have provided such spaces, designated as sanctuaries, for anyone under threat. Temples and holy places have been sanctuaries. Corridors have been designated for safe passage through war zones. Sometimes the space around a king's palace has been considered as sanctuary for those fleeing their enemies. Market places have always been treated as zones of peace where even enemies can trade. Both the Hebrew Bible and the Koran declared

People who cannot imagine peace will not know how to work for it. Those who can imagine it are using that same imagination to devise practices and strategies that will render war obsolete. Imagination is the key that can unlock the possibility of future peace

croplands and orchards, and the women and children who tended them, as protected in times of war. The Catholic church extended this protection, through the Pax Dei, to pilgrims, merchants and cattle in the twelfth century. The church also controlled the violence of war by forbidding soldiers to fight on certain days of the week and on feast days.

Since the beginning of the nuclear age, there have been many grassroots movements to get states or regions to declare themselves nuclear-weapon-free zones, with counterpart movements to declare individual towns and cities as zones of peace, or violence-free zones. Ancient traditions and new movement activity have combined to bring about a gradual spread of physical areas in which citizens have undertaken certain political and social commitments, sometimes spiritual commitments as well, to creating the conditions for living in peace. We can think of these areas as islands of emergent peace culture.

This process is going on even at the level of the nation state. Today there are some 24 states that have renounced military defense and are without armies. There are also a growing number of regions declared nuclear-weapon-free zones by a treaty process facilitated by the UN. The treaties of the Antarctic, the Treaty of Tlatelolco (Latin America), the Treaty of Raratongo (the Asia Pacific), and most recently the treaties of Bangkok (southeast Asia) and of Pelindaba (Africa) are indications of the direction in which states would like to go. Major powers outside these regions often try to hinder this treaty process through noncooperation. Outer space and the seabed are also in theory nuclear-weapon-free, though not in practice.<sup>11</sup>

Vulnerable though these treaties are to outside intervention, they are a beginning in what will inevitably be a long slow process of dismantling weaponry. None of the treaties would have come into being without intensive activities by transnational people's organizations, particularly NGOs of the region in question. Indigenous peoples on all continents seek zones of peace on their territories. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples, the Inuit Circumpolar North Conference, the International Indian Treaty Council and the Unrepresented Peoples Organization all seek removal of weapons and environmentally damaging activities from their territories, year after year bringing new cases before various UN bodies.

At the grassroots level both NGOs and community-based organizations have succeeded in declaring over 5,000 towns and cities around the world nuclear-free, or more strongly, as zones of peace. Once such a declaration has been officially made, an unleashing of creative community energy into action takes place. Sister City projects link local communities in different world regions. Local projects

include the economic conversion of military plants, environmental protection programs (particularly with regard to toxic wastes), local-to-local international trade with a strong emphasis on human and social development, and creating the infrastructures needed to maintain such development. They also include developing peace education and conflict resolution programs in the schools, developing community mediation programs that help neighborhoods in conflict come to creative resolution of their differences, creating peace parks and public peace sites, and planting peace trees. Local members of the International Federation of Sister Cities, the International League of Cities, the World Congress of Local Authorities and other NGOs help both with local community education and the international networking process. As a result, many cities and some state governments have established International Affairs Offices and declared "peace policies."

Churches, mosques and temples often provide visible leadership in these developments. The declaration by local churches and citizens' organizations of violence-free zones in precisely those areas of the inner cities of the Americas (and on other continents as well) where the most violence takes place, is one more manifestation of a growing international movement. Courageous community groups in wartorn areas from Somalia to Bosnia and Croatia to the Philippines have made pacts with soldiers, guerrillas and rebels to keep their locality free of weapons and fighting.

Another aspect of the zone of peace movement is based on UNESCO's World Cultural and International Heritage Sites. The Zone of Peace Foundation is promoting an expansion of the UNESCO Heritage Sites to create more places of sanctuary, refuge and peacebuilding at pilgrimage sites and other public sites including museums, libraries and schools around the world. Special national environments that need protection including waters, forests, mountains and grasslands are also included. A feature of all these zone of peace sites is that the local managers are to develop training programs in conflict resolution so that visitors would not only experience a violence-free setting, but learn the skills of peacemaking. The Global Land Authority for the Development of Peace Zones (GLADPZ) is more specific about actual peacebuilding initiatives in such conflict areas as Cyprus and the Kuriles. Probably the most experienced peacebuilders and protectors of zones of peace are groups like Peace Brigades International and other civilian teams skilled in nonviolent response to conflict and threat.

#### THE UN AND THE CULTURE OF PEACE

The UN and its associated agencies have many roles related to peace-building beyond the UN-facilitated treaties

mentioned above. UNESCO's role stands out as unique. It was founded in the recognition that it is in the human mind that wars begin, and it is there that the structures of peace must be built. UNESCO now has a strong culture of peace program. This has its origins in a 1986 conference which produced the Seville Statement on Violence referred to earlier. This document, signed by many scientific associations, states that "It is scientifically incorrect to say we have inherited a tendency to make war from our animal ancestors" and concludes with the words, "The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us."

Today UNESCO maintains Culture of Peace programs in a number of countries including El Salvador, Mozambique and Burundi. In these countries, bitter civil war was ended with the help of UN peacekeepers and UN involvement in a formal peace accord process. UNESCO now works with a number of NGOs to support a resocialization and reconciliation process for former soldiers and guerrillas (including gun-toting children), healing work with war victims, programs to empower women to participate in the rebuilding of their society, and substantial peace education work in schools, local communities and through the national media. UNICEF has recently added another dimension to these efforts by declaring every child a Zone of Peace, a declaration which has many interesting action possibilities.

The most visible of the UN roles in relation to peace involve UN peacekeeping. Sadly, very few of the member countries that provide forces for the UN peacekeeping missions give special peacekeeping training, and so those UN deployments are not anywhere as successful as they could be. The UN stands with one foot in the old world of armed states and one foot in the new world of non-military responses to conflict. While its mandate is to bring an end to war, it cannot by itself create a culture of peace. However it can support new kinds of peacebuilding training for both its humanitarian workers and UN soldiers, and link with similar efforts among NGOs. This is happening, but very slowly, through the Department of Humanitarian Affairs. 13 Currently there is an experimental project to give a group of soldiers training in nonviolence at the Lester Pearson Peacekeeping Institute in Canada, and we can expect more such initiatives as NGOs with professional conflict resolution and peacebuilding competence focus more directly on changing the character of UN peacekeeping.

#### THE FUTURE OF PEACE CULTURE

Is there a future for a culture of peace in a world with military-industrial-corporate forces that seem beyond the capacity of states to control, a world in which the biosphere is losing its capacity to regenerate, as well as its capacity to feed the growing population of humans? Can weakened community and family systems cope with increasing levels of violence?

This is not the first time that human societies have faced widespread violence and continued threats of warfare. We have noted the persistence of social images of life at peace, the insistent longing for that peace, through warlike eras. And we have noted the rise of civil society in this century right along side of the rise of military technology and exploitative global corporations. Within that global civil society a whole new set of capabilities for problemsolving and peace-building approaches to every type of conflict whether in the fields of economic and social justice, human rights, development, environmental degradation, or ideological power struggles have emerged. There are linkage systems among peoples and movements that never existed before, making possible unheard-of interfaces between governmental and nongovernmental bodies. We have noted that there are many sites where peace learning can take place, from family to community to international peacebuilding centers, and noted peaceful microsocieties among indigenous peoples and peoples of the urban West. It has also been noted that the zone of peace concept is spreading, even—or especially—in the face of violence.

It seems that in spite of the visibility of violence and war, people are able to see past that violence to a different future world. People who cannot imagine peace will not know how to work for it. Those who can imagine it are using that same imagination to devise practices and strategies that will render war obsolete. Imagination is the key that can unlock the possibility of future peace, especially when linked with the knowledge of where peace already exists and the dynamics of the processes that create it. Kenneth Boulding always used to say, "What exists is possible." Since peace culture exists in the many different social spaces described here, it is possible. If we want the world to be one planetary zone of peace, full of the adventure and excitement of dealing with diversity and difference, only without violence, humans can make it so.

14 Toward a Compassionate Society

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## HUMAN RIGHTS AS THE FOUNDATION FOR A COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY

by Charlotte Bunch

What do we mean when we speak about "compassion," and what is the relationship between compassion and justice? While a compassionate society is a wonderful vision to work toward, we must be clear that we do not mean moving women back into the role of being the compassionate ones who must sacrifice themselves for others. A truly compassionate society can only be based on both men and women becoming more caring, and in particular, on society rewarding such values and activities. Indeed, the only path to a compassionate society is one in which the human rights of all are respected—women and men, children and the elderly, and every racial, ethnic, cultural, religious, and national group, as well as people of every sexual orientation and physical ability. Without a clear ethic of respect for the equal worth and value of every person's humanity, compassion runs the danger of being a form of charity and condescension toward those less fortunate. What is needed is a recognition of every person's fundamental human right to share in the resources and participate in the process of directing the destiny of the planet.

Striving for justice and the realization of human rights for all is a critical pathway on the road to creating a compassionate society.

What is the future of human rights? Human rights became an increasingly important concept during the 1980s and 90s with the end of the Cold War, perhaps reaching its zenith in 1998 with the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and remains very important today. Yet many people and governments around the world still have a very limited understanding of what these rights entail. Over the past 50 years, for instance, the international human rights movement has highlighted civil and political human rights issues and not socioeconomic and group rights to such an extent that many

do not realize these "neglected" rights are included in the UDHR. The Declaration is much more comprehensive than the practice of human rights. It clearly outlines government responsibility for social and economic rights as well as civil and political rights. It speaks about the right to work and to

receive equal pay for equal work, the right to food, housing and health care, and the right to freedom of expression, assembly, and religion. When we speak of making human rights the basis for a compassionate society, then, we must mean reclaiming and expanding for our times the comprehensive vision of human rights put forward in the UDHR.

Another frequent distortion of the meaning of human rights is one that sets up rights as if they were in opposition to responsibilities. But human responsibilities are inherent in human rights as outlined in the Universal Declaration. The very concept of rights is based on the idea that somebody (both individuals and the state) has the responsibility to respect and fulfill those rights. Thus, the Universal Declaration begins with a statement of responsibility, that "every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to

secure their universal and effective recognition and observance." My response to those who say that we have enough rights and need to get back to responsibilities is that we would do better to strengthen the responsibilities inherent in respect for human rights rather than adopt new proclamations on responsibilities. Further, this talk of responsibilities seems to be coming just as women and other subordinated groups have become actively involved in claiming their rights. One cannot help but wonder whose duties and whose responsibilities at the expense of whose rights are being talked about. For most women in the world the burden of responsibilities still far outweighs the enjoyment of rights. Perhaps we need to speak more of male responsibilities especially in the home, but for most women and indeed for some men, the claim for respect of our human rights has

just begun. Human rights must coincide with responsibilities but cannot be supplanted by them.

In 1998, women in the United States also celebrated the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Declaration of Senti-

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ments, which was a product of the first women's rights convention in this country. It was an opportunity to talk about how women's rights and human rights have come together, to build an understanding of what it takes to achieve women's rights, and to expand the concept of human rights to make it more inclusive of rights in the private as well as the public sphere. The Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights also did this in 1998 by emphasizing that the achievement of a culture of human rights depends on respect for women's rights in the home as well as in the world.

The challenge of the women's human rights movement over the past decade is at the heart of what it means to reflect on human rights. There are problems with the definition and practice of human rights because the concept as we know it today came out of a very particular historical time and context which was defined by the lives, perspectives, and interests of white, propertied men. Nowhere is this clearer than in the French language where human rights is still quite literally called the "rights of man." Numerous challenges to this terminology have been made by women, even as long ago as the French Revolution when Olympe deGouges sought to have women included in the term; in 1998 this challenge was posed by Amnesty International as well as women's human rights groups. The philosophers and statesmen who first started society down the path toward human rights as we know it today saw their human rights violated primarily by church and state, and their emphasis was therefore on securing individual political and civil liberties of freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and so on. They were not the victims of institutionally-sanctioned gender-based discrimination, and therefore, in general, failed to recognize this as a fundamental human rights issue. Often they did not even see women (and certain others) as equally whole under the law and therefore deserving of the same basic rights they claimed for themselves.

But when we look at the struggle for human rights in the 20th century, we see that the term has grown beyond its origins to become a rallying point and language for the claims of the rest of the human race, the vast majority of the world's population. The assertion of the right to equality and the effort to expand the very definition of human rights by including those things that violate their fundamental human dignity has been at the core of many social movements in the twentieth century. Indeed it is this process of groups and individuals everywhere claiming their human rights and expanding those definitions that has kept this a vibrant and vital concept that continues to resonate today. Whether it was the anti-colonial movements in the first part of this century, groups working against racism and apartheid, movements for the rights of indigenous people or the disappeared in Latin America, or women, all have

been movements for the rights of those left out of the social contracts of democracy and human rights. The women's rights as human rights movement follows in this tradition of defining and claiming our human rights as the basis for establishing respect for a common humanity that is determined by the perspectives of many rather than just from limited sectors of the population.

Why has human rights become such an important concept in the past decade and why have many women decided it is critical to engage in the conversation about human rights at this time? Particularly in the post-Cold War era, the need for some kind of conversation about our common points of humanity has become vital. For example, in the 1990s many involved in the UN world conferences have used human rights as a language for discussing what it is that we share as people living in a world of great differences and divisions. As Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary General of the United Nations at the time of the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 put it, "human rights constitute the common language of humanity that teach us in a direct, straightforward manner that we are at the same time identical and different." This message has been particularly crucial in a time that has seen fragmentation in so many ways, in which the separateness of fundamentalisms whether national, ethnic, ideological or religious has divided and killed many people along the lines of race, religion, culture, or belief. These divisions have exacerbated tendencies to see those not like oneself as the "other" as not quite fully human. Women, who for centuries have been treated as "the other" in a male-dominated world are keenly aware of the dangers of separations that demonize groups of people. Human rights is a vision of a common humanity that stands against such separateness and represents the need for basic standards in how we treat one another, as well as in how citizens are treated by the state.

One of the difficulties of this vision is that if there are to be common global values based on human rights, they must be something that all people have a chance to participate in shaping. Every culture and religion offers unique interpretations of humanity and the dignity of the human person, and these definitions have changed and evolved over time. So when we look at human rights, we need to go beyond just the Western male origin of this particular word in modern society to look at the ways that various traditions have sought to understand what is humanness, what is common to all of us, and what is the dignity that should go with being human. The challenge for human rights discourse is to open that discussion as widely as possible and to bring in voices that have been left out, while not losing the core concepts of universality and indivisibility so passionately articulated in the Universal Declaration. The

UDHR is a good starting point for that discussion because its principles are comprehensive, even as its particulars are time bound and require greater articulation based on the insights and progress in understanding oppression of the past half century, particularly around race and gender.

Another important attribute of the human rights discourse is its demand for state accountability and community responsibility for the achievement of human rights. For example, Article 28 of the UDHR proclaims that "Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized." The Declaration continues that governments and individuals have a responsibility for creating conditions that allow and enable people to enjoy their human rights. These are not just rights in the abstract. These are rights which every government and community has a responsibility to promote and protect, which every individual has a responsibility to uphold. Human rights is a language for talking about this responsibility, which forms the basis for building a compassionate society. This is the compassionate belief—that we all have a responsibility for creating the conditions for everyone to exercise their human rights and realize their humanity as fully as possible.

For women, this process of reinterpreting human rights principles from the perspective of our experiences and thus expanding the understanding of human rights is crucial to building a more inclusive vision of human rights. The UDHR states that "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." It is important to note that the first drafts of this Declaration did not include nondiscrimination on the basis of sex; this was only added as a result of a concerted effort by women at the time of the drafting and its implications are still being developed. Thus, while the comprehensive principle of non-discrimination is in the UDHR, the language and examples in the document still often reflect the male bias of the times. The challenge is to expand on how these rights are interpreted today and how they will be protected. The ways in which human

rights are interpreted and upheld by the international human rights system as well as by governments and communities determines which human rights are realized. Understanding the evolution of thinking about human rights is very important because it explains how the concept, growth, and practice of human rights remains active rather than static. Human rights is not delineated and defined once for everyone and for all time. It requires an ongoing process of engagement of society in a social conversation about what is basic to human dignity. This is the moral-ethical ground for a compassionate society where both secular and religious groups come together to discuss the morals and ethics of how we live and work together with values that respect the rights of others, while also respecting our differences—as long as these differences do not become an excuse for denying rights to any group.

Interpreting human rights from the perspective of women's lives requires demonstrating how human rights apply to gender specific abuses—often in the private as well as public sphere. In the 1990s, particular attention went into documenting how women's fundamental rights were violated in areas like violence against women and denial of reproductive control over our bodies. In addition, utilizing feminist analysis of gender, many have gone on to demonstrate the connection between so-called women's issues and other basic social concerns for development, peace, human rights, and more. In integrating a gender perspective on

various social issues, it becomes clear that there is no possibility of human security, of peace, of a compassionate society, of sustainable development, or of justice, if one-half of the population is left behind. Further, for those who care about creating a non-violent society or want to end militarism and ethnic conflict, violence in the home undermines these goals as well.

The relationship between violence in the culture generally and the tolerance of violence in the home at the core of society is a crucial topic for further exploration. But first, it must be noted that women who are violated in the home have the undeniable human right to a life free of such fear and violence as spelled out in Article 3 of the Universal Declaration, which states unequivocally that "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person," and in Article 5 which reads "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." Given that somewhere between 40 and 60 percent of women

around the world suffer such abuse in their homes, this is the single largest form of human rights abuse that occurs in every country in the world. In and of itself, abuse on such a

Human rights are not an abstraction. They are about the kind of world we want, the relationships that should exist among people, the dignity and respect that should be provided to every individual, and the social interactions that should be encouraged in every community. In an era of globalization, human rights standards should also apply to questions of what we as a community want to demand of our global institutions...and also transnational corporations. Human rights is about standards that must be upheld in the practices of corporations as well as in the policies of governments and intergovernmental organizations.

large scale undermines respect for human rights almost universally.

Further, violence and sex discrimination at home also conditions the acceptance of inequality and abuse of human rights in other areas. Such violence and/or subordination of another human person is usually the first violation of human rights that children learn to accept as natural or inevitable. That domination over and discrimination against others, even if it only involves the threat of violence or the inequality of treatment between girls and boys, is the child's first lesson in how to divide those who have power and rights from those who do not. For many, it is also the first lesson in accepting violence as a means of resolving conflict and differences between people. Progress toward a compassionate society would be made if all who work for human rights and peace in the world understood that violence against women is a critical link in this process—a link that a male-biased analysis of human rights has left out for too long. We must call for domestic disarmament as well as international disarmament. Or as women in Chile put it during their long struggle against dictatorship, "Democracia in el pais y en la casa" (democracy in the country and in the home).

Another illustration of connecting feminist interpretation of human rights to a compassionate society can be seen in looking at the question of families. Women's human rights activists are not anti-family. We simply demand that families be places of choice, where the human rights of all the people within them are recognized and respected. If we seek to construct a peaceful democratic world, then families must be locations of democracy and peace, rather than of domination and violence. They cannot be based on the suppression of women. Balancing the individual rights of each member in the family with group rights must no longer be done primarily at the expense of women. We need social policies that respect and enhance the human rights of women and children as well as men in families. If we examine social policies in most countries, they usually do not support a vision of families made up of people who have human rights within the family. While there is often much rhetoric about maintaining "family values," what those values are must be critically examined. The future of families in a compassionate society depends on enhancing their non-violent, egalitarian, and pluralistic possibilities.

Consider this illustration of how social policies in the US have worked against enhancing the viability of families. The response of the lesbian and gay communities to the threat of AIDS resulted in people from a variety of regions, backgrounds, and lifestyles responding as a single community by taking care of the ill and dying and seeking to educate community members about the disease. This

response, while not perfect, involved many people intergenerationally crossing race, class and gender lines, and caring for each other. A compassionate community evolved built upon relationships of choice that were functional families for many whose biological families rejected them. Yet, in a society that chatters endlessly about being "profamily," social policies continue to deny and hinder such diverse families rather than recognize and assist them in their functions. As people die, the country's policy makers obsess on the need to prevent gay marriages and deny critical health benefits to couples in stable long-term families. One must ask what kind of value system wants to use the government to control and prevent love between consenting adults and tries to disrupt unconventional families: this, too, is not compassionate.

The human rights issues implicit in various social policies need to be examined critically. Human rights are not an abstraction. They are about the kind of world we want, the relationships that should exist among people, the dignity and respect that should be provided to every individual, and the social interactions that should be encouraged in every community. In an era of globalization, human rights standards should also apply to questions of what we as a community want to demand of our global institutions like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, and also transnational corporations. Human rights is about standards that must be upheld in the practices of corporations as well as in the policies of governments and intergovernmental organizations. It provides a basis for discussing why and how these institutions should be held accountable to basic values regarding the impact of their policies and practices on human lives.

Finally, let us examine the concepts of universality and indivisibility from the perspective of women's lives. Universality is critical to women whose human rights are often denied in the name of particular cultures or religions. But universality does not mean sameness or lack of respect for diversity. Rather, it means there is a fundamental value in each person that can be expressed in multiple ways and multiple forms, but that is based on recognizing our common humanity and the need for living in dignity without being subordinated to others. Indivisibility is also crucial to women whose public lives are often circumscribed by private and/or socioeconomic factors. Indivisibility is about the inter-relatedness of all rights. Just as social and economic rights are connected to civil and political rights and one does not have priority over the other, so too are women's rights interconnected. They are an indivisible part of human rights that cannot be treated as marginal or secondary without undermining all human rights. A culture of respect for human rights cannot be built

without women's rights; indeed, when the human rights of any group no matter how small are denied, the human rights of all are diminished.

Human rights can be a bridge to a discussion of a compassionate society for the twenty-first century, but only if this bridge is made large enough, and inclusive enough, for all to cross.



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## WOMEN AND THE COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY: FAMILY, VALUES, AND COMMUNITIES

by Arati Rao

#### INDIVIDUAL VERSUS COMMUNITY?

"The individual" and "the community" are increasingly posited as two competing demands on our intellectual capacities and daily lives. This is particularly true in the developing world, where the rapid expansion of modernization, accompanied by the increased internationalization of local economies, has encouraged social changes that have been portrayed by anxious social critics as a move away from a traditional community-centered existence to a crass individualism personified by "the West." These economic changes have been accompanied by an increased presence of women in the workplace, and their new-found economic independence, rapidly expanding consumerism and increase in political participation, suggesting that the end may be near for centuries-old beliefs and traditions regarding gender roles.

But changes in women's status and roles do not occur

easily, in large part because the dominant groups in all societies are so heavily invested in maintaining, if not perpetuating, the subordination of women. The family is the linchpin social institution in which changes, particularly improvements for females, generate the most anxiety. Indeed, when rapid changes are occurring in other sectors of society, such as the economy, the family becomes the arena where even more repression and retreat occurs.

STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Legislation is a key factor in ameliorating and even eliminating gender-based oppression. Women's groups around the world have included legal strategies in their drive for empowerment. In developing countries in particular, the state is so

deeply implicated in daily life that it must be recognized as the heaviest hitter in the struggle for power. Without the weight of the state's resources behind progressive legislation, the advancement of women faces a major obstacle. However, clearly the state cannot dictate change from the top without eventual compliance from civil society. Gender oppression is so deeply entrenched in all aspects of life, extending to language itself, that civil society must become actively and seriously engaged with the issues of women's advancement for the issues to even remain on the table.

Many scholars believe that if change is to successfully entrench itself in any aspect of society, its best chances lie in its congruence with some of the key existing beliefs—that people will reject change that is totally unfamiliar and does not fall within existing cultural understandings to some extent.¹ While this is a laudable goal, there are two obstacles to the success of this strategy. First, if existing values and cultural norms themselves are the nets that trap women and hold them down, change will have to be revolutionary rather than complicitous. Second, already disadvantaged groups like women not only will not be given adequate voice and a serious hearing, but they will become even more vulnerable at the hands of powerful opponents of change. As history continues to show, where engagement with

women's issues has occurred in civil society, it unfortunately has taken the form of reactionary moves and increased calls for the repression of women in the name of a variety of norms (such as religion, culture, and "values") which mask the real material and economic benefits of women's oppression to other groups in society.

Since the family is the key social institution where economics, culture, religion, custom and belief, ideology, and politics intersect, civil society is the battleground where the most lasting victories can be won. However, the turgid pace of social change has prompted governments to instigate reform from the top in the form of social policy and legislation. The gendered state remains heavily invested

in the family. Many countries around the world continue to pass progressive-sounding legislation, albeit with little implementation. Indeed, as lawyer and activist Flavia Agnes notes in the case of India, "If oppression could be tackled by passing laws, then the decade [of] the 1980s would be adjudged a golden period for Indian women, when protec-

Without the weight of the state's resources behind progressive legislation, the advancement of women faces a major obstacle. However, clearly the state cannot dictate change from the top without eventual compliance from civil society. Gender oppression is so deeply entrenched in all aspects of life, extending to language itself, that civil society must become actively and seriously engaged with the issues of women's advancement for the issues to even remain on the table.

tive laws were offered on a platter." However, the unilateral action of a government without adequate input from women's groups frequently results in laws that actually reinforce patriarchal power.

If women, who lack adequate political access and resources for mobilization, are to establish greater freedom and justice for themselves, what concepts and what values can be most convincing and best utilized? One powerful instrument that has been deployed with growing success in social justice issues is the language of rights. Precisely because the family is the chief institution where the rights approach is openly rejected in favor of voluntary obligation, affective ties and self-sacrifice (which are normatively expected of and overwhelmingly practiced by females and not males within the family), we need to take a closer look at any potential value of the rights approach. If we take a global perspective to the issue of gender justice for women, international human rights offers a firmly worded set of standards against which governments, groups and individuals may be measured and held accountable. US feminist Charlotte Bunch observes, "the meaning [of the concept of human rights] expands as people reconceive of their needs and hopes in relation to it. In this spirit, feminists redefine human rights to include the degradation and violation of women."3

This is a complicated issue for women. As the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Radhika Coomaraswamy notes "even among women, certain ideologies are far more powerful than that of individual rights. The sanctity of the family moves women more than the freedom and, perhaps, the responsibility that empowerment is supposed to bring." In addition to ideological constraints on women's appropriation of a rights-based strategy to empowerment, other factors contribute to gender inequality within the family, as indeed they contribute to gender inequalities in the larger society. The complexity of the embeddedness of women in the family is underscored by the indisputable fact that the home is the most dangerous place for a woman.

#### HOME: A DANGEROUS PLACE FOR A WOMAN

The increased collection of data since the 1970s on violence against women in the home shows the appalling vulnerability of women as well as their near-total lack of recourse to end it. Around the world, many governmental and nongovernmental organizations agree that women are more likely to be attacked or murdered in the home than anywhere else. Various studies and reports show that even those women who break free of ideological and economic pressures to complain receive little or no response from the police and the law courts. Judges and social workers prefer

to send the woman back to the abusive situation to "work the problem out" in the name of preserving the family unit (at the cost of her well-being and, frequently, her life). They erroneously cling to the belief that at all times, harmonious or violent, the safety of a woman best lies in the protection of the family.

Dominant power relations in society offer no real options, such as viable economic alternatives for a woman to maintain herself and her children; social acceptance of single women or single mothers; shelters, childcare, retraining programs and other infrastructural supports for the woman who has escaped a violent family situation; and protection against retaliation from the abuser. A woman's sense of responsibility toward the children (who are also frequently victims of the abuse) and lack of safe options keep her silent and suffering. Often, her usual support system—her natal family, neighbors and friends—will not or cannot help her break the cycle of abuse, for reasons ranging from religious or customary notions of suffering womanhood to concern for their own safety.

A United Nations report shows that in a wide variety of countries, over half the number of female homicides are committed by family members. An Americas Watch report observes that in the Brazilian state of Maranhao between 1988 and 1990, over 4,000 complaints of battery and sexual abuse in the home were registered with the local police. However, only 300 complaints—under eight percent—were sent to the courts for processing, and only two men were eventually convicted and sent to prison. In the United States, the Surgeon General in 1989 identified battery as the leading cause of injury to adult women. In 1995, the American Medical Association reported that a woman is injured by a family member every 15 seconds in the United States. These numbers, and worse, reverberate through all the data we have on domestic violence.

If women are more likely to be threatened, beaten, tortured, mutilated and killed in the home by men known to them, why is there silence on the disservice that existing family structures perform for women, and clamor about the sanctity and value of the family (note the popular "family values" rhetoric in the United States)? Some of the answers lie in the relationship between the woman and the family, and in the feminized family in a masculinized state. It is worth remembering that the state is so heavily implicated in the so-called "private" realm that any wariness of state intervention in the home should be contextually informed. States all over the world have already entered our homes when they legislate on permissible sexual practices and behaviors, control reproductive freedoms, define the family and its deviations, institute maternity-related policies, and permit and prohibit patterns of treatment of children.

While it is crucial to carve out and retain a realm of personal privacy in the face of an ever-expanding and encroaching modern state, it is only realistic to acknowledge the spuriousness of state reluctance to "meddle in" the private sphere. The state's hands-off approach to injustice in the home disproportionately affects already disempowered groups such as women, for whom the family can be both a beloved outlet for affective ties and a loveless outrage.

#### CENTRALITY OF WOMEN TO NATIONAL DEBATES ON THE FAMILY

Women everywhere are normatively situated in the family as lifegivers, caregivers, and self-givers. While many women work outside the home (primarily in the agrarian, retail, and household sectors) with little control over the outcome of their labor, most must work within the home and for no pay at all. The unpaid labor of women is a significant percentage of all national economies. In addition to their double day of work, women also are invested with the national agendas of rearing and cultivating future citizens. Women are the visible embodiment of their particular culture in their dress, speech, and occupation. Attacks on women during social strife or war are clearly understood by all parties to signify an attack on not just her family and its (male) honor, but on an entire ethnic group, race, or nationality.

Indeed, the state is frequently personified in the female in many ways: the notion of the motherland, the exhortation to male soldiers to fight to protect "their" women and

children, and the rhetorical image of the rape of a country during times of crisis. Larger national values and citizen ideals, therefore, implicate women whether they choose so or not. The continuing subordination of women in the family thus participates in wider relations of power which protect dominant groups and assure their continued domination.

EXTERNAL NORMS AND INTERNALIZED **VALUES** 

Many oppressive gendered practices flourish under the excuse of protecting women. Societies continue to encourage women to "return" to their normative roles in the private sphere by issuing calls to modesty, chastity, and gender role obedience. Women are influenced by external obstacles as well as their own internalized discouragements when they enter the workforce outside the home, gain an education, and effect change in their communities and beyond. Women frequently have to overcome their longstanding convictions that a woman should not be

seen in public let alone freely interacting with male coworkers, should not take leadership positions without male patronage, should not "waste" scarce family resources in obtaining an education or healthcare, and should not flout religious strictures by speaking up for her rights. Sacrifice, submission, and silence are not natural to women, but women have been turned into naturalized second-class citizens by the strong pressure of punishment from the forces of patriarchy. For a woman to stand up for herself, a sympathetic and convincing counterpressure is needed. One such strategy could be the human rights approach, as will be shown below.

Oppressive patriarchal structures flourish when women themselves are torn between their recognition of injustice and their belief in the sanctity of the private sphere. Women are rewarded for complicity with their own oppression, and even this is never guaranteed, as in the case of domestic violence directed at even the most exemplary of "good" women. Women also know better than anyone else the lack of viable alternatives in their lives. Women frequently see themselves as the custodians of culture. Changes in their lives often require them to reconsider their cultural identity, in both behavioral and material ways. To assess the chances for improving women's lives, it is important to look at the ways in which culture is understood by all parties to the debate.

#### IS "CULTURE" AN OBSTACLE TO GENDER JUSTICE?

Culture is commonly spoken of in terms that would suggest a stable, easily recognized, generally accepted entity.

> Culture is seen as unchanging, long-lived ("it has always been so"), and frequently backed by religion. In reality, culture is extremely nuanced, changing, and contested. Cultural practices frequently have historically identifiable origins, especially with practices that emerged or evolved under colonialism. Marginalized or voice in developing or establishing cultural practices still have little social power and participatory privilege.9

If we remove the ideological and economic insistence that a woman not be defined as an individual in her own right but always in relation as someone's mother/wife/sister/property, silenced social groups that have not had a then we have the real room to move toward establishing the

> Culture is always defined by those who have the power to speak with authority; a critical and unbiased examination of oppressive cultural practices will always reveal the coalescence of cultural advantage and social power, just as disadvantaged groups will be revealed as only further burdened by the practices. In reality, culture is constantly emerging and reforming as the consequence of interpretive decisions taken by powerholding social groups. It is not a preexisting immutable truth to which human interpretive ability is subsequently applied. It is ironic that

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woman's rights and dignity.

women, who symbolize "culture" most directly, also overwhelmingly bear the brunt of "cultural" constraints on their freedom, choices, and well-being. Courts and governments share a curious reluctance to adjudicate on cultural practices that unduly tax already disadvantaged women, even when they have absolutely no qualms in passing critical judgement on all other aspects of social life.

The defense from the viewpoint of "culture" that is increasingly heard in international discussions of human rights has a history that makes critical readings of the relationship between culture and women difficult. Anthropological and missionary activity, foreign policy, and trade preferences are some of the key forces that have reified colonialism in neocolonial ways to the point where many governments and citizens find it imperative to counterattack behind the shield of terms such as development, economics priorities, and culture. The enthusiastic insensitivity of feminists from the Western world regarding practices such as veiling and genital mutilation further exacerbate existing tensions in discussing women's issues from a global perspective.

Indeed, rights language is itself problematic for much of the world's women whose worldview is influenced by notions of duty and obligation, by community considerations rather than insistence on justice for the individual. Nevertheless, it is important not to construct the challenge of developing a common communicative language of women's advancement in terms of an opposition between culture and rights. Such a dichotomous formulation is false; the problem, rather, is one of access to power and the ability to articulate and implement solutions.

#### THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE COMMUNITY

Women all over the world, for practical and/or ideological reasons, are reluctant to look to rights as a strategy for gender justice. Women's relationship to rights, within the social power structures alluded to above, must necessarily be filled with ambiguity. Still, the tensions, while real in many instances, must not be cast as a choice between the individual and the community. This is a weak formulation that does not take into account the fact that all individuals are inescapably enmeshed in social relationships that are a part of what constitutes a community. From birth to death, the individual cannot survive without engagement, however limited or involuntary, with other individuals. The very air a hermit breathes is a product of the environmental impact of large numbers of other individuals. While it is true that interpersonal contact or dependence does not constitute a relationship, it is materially impossible to envision the abstract autonomous individual that dominates theoretical formulations of the individual qua individual.

If the choice between individual and community is a false one, so too is the family-individual choice that informs a woman's dilemma over justice and freedom. In social matters, a focus on the family is not the logical alternative to any focus on the individual woman. Rather, the individual is embedded in the countless social institutions and networks—of which the family is but one institution—that give life, and give life meaning. If we remove the ideological and economic insistence that a woman not be defined as an individual in her own right but always in relation as someone's mother/wife/sister/property, then we have the real room to move toward establishing the woman's rights and dignity. Fathers/husbands/brothers/owners are individuals who are linked to women, and live and die with rights of some sort; linkage of a woman with these persons in no way exempts her from her own individual freedoms and individual standing. A single individual belongs to a large (and often increasing) number of communities, and wears or is made to wear the mantle of one or many intersecting identities at different times. Indeed, the tension between a focus on herself, and her self-sacrifice for the good of her family, is a testament to the ways in which a woman's multiple identities cannot be clearly demarcated and separated from one another. In most parts of the world, the mutually constitutive nature of these identities is further complicated by a woman's embrace of her family as the institution in which she most fully realizes herself.

The family is one of many social institutions and communities within which women like to enrich others and be enriched themselves. Greater respect for and observance of a woman's rights come into conflict with notions of the greater good only when the greater good thrives on her oppression and unhappiness. A woman does not sacrifice her interests or well-being every now and then; unfortunately, women's rights are systematically and pervasively disregarded on a global scale. An increase in self-sacrifice and self-erasure from privileged male members of the family would serve as a valuable exercise in unmasking power relations in the family as well as in the larger society.

Women's unease at their vulnerability inside their normative arena of activity, the home, as well as outside, has led women in various parts of the world to formulate and implement diverse forms of resistance. In India, for example, women have banded together to prevent environmental degradation and economic ruin in the Chipko movement, organized to confront corrupt politicians and merchants and close down the liquor shops which were ruining their male family members, lobbied state legislatures and the national parliament to criminalize female foeticide, and demonstrated for the rights of minority women. These actions collapse individual and community interests; often, the community whose welfare they struggle

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for cannot be clearly delineated. However, the benefit to the individual as well as to others is clearly apparent. To empower a woman by giving her the rights she is due will often mean taking away the unjust and unequal power and privilege of oppressive others. This is for the best for all individuals, unavoidably embedded as they are in social relations of community.

## CONCLUSION: WHERE THE COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY LIES

Women are the normatively assigned custodians of compassion. Compassion is a unique natural female quality, patriarchy tells them. For these compassionate women whose well-being is routinely threatened by the lack of compassion in others, we need a reconceptualization of the norm as well as the practice. The conditions under which values that are fundamental to individual freedom, including women's freedom and rights, can be reconciled with community-oriented values and will establish themselves only when women are recognized as a natural, constant, and integral part of their communities. To encourage these trends, we need strong legislation emerging out of women's experience and advocacy, with strong enforcement and implementation mechanisms. Let us also strengthen rights in civil society, since women-in-the-family are enmeshed in a complex web of social relations that potentially can enhance everyone's well-being as well as immure them in injustice. From these legal, institutional, and ideological directions for change, we may learn that the values that sustain family and community can establish themselves successfully only if all are enhanced by them; values that ask for the programmatic bracketing of their well-being from groups such as women are not values but interests.

#### **Endnotes**

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#### WOMEN'S RIGHTS, COMMUNITY VALUES, AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM

by Uma Narayan

Individual freedom in society has always been, to some degree, limited—confined to fit the norms and values under which individuals and societies coexist and interact. Sometimes these limits are beneficial, "Thou shalt not kill," for instance. Sometimes they are not. In this latter case, when and how can compromise be reached? Specifically, when prevailing societal values, including ones that sustain families and communities, also actively suppress women's rights and freedoms, what are the conditions under which these values can be reconciled with those that support women's rights?

#### RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY

The fundamental issue is whether individual rights and freedoms are per se compatible with social and family values. The narrower concern is whether specifically women's rights and freedoms are compatible with these values.

Individual freedoms and rights may fail the compatibility test in one of two ways. The first arises when the community or family possess and enforce the authority to make individuals comply with rules and regulations regarding

important life choices, denying individuals the right to exercise personal judgement and choice in these matters. The rules and regulations may be rigid, for instance, with regard to how individuals can dress, who they can marry, what occupations they can pursue, and what religious beliefs they can have. Such families and communities have little room for individual freedoms and rights with regard to these matters, and unless membership is purely voluntary (as in the case of an adult joining a religious order),

an individual's attempt to terminate their relationship with these groups can carry serious adverse consequences.

Strict family or community rules may not be motivated by a desire to be tyrannical or unreasonable; they may be regarded as enabling individuals to live well-ordered and meaningful, virtuous lives. These rules often have the effect, though, of circumscribing the freedoms of individuals whose values and life choices run counter to those that

dominate the community. In such contexts, struggles for individual rights and freedom of choice are struggles to make the community more pluralistic in its perspectives, and more permissive with regard to its members exercising a range of choices with regard to their own particular visions of a good life. Fighting for the right to freedom of religion and conscience, the right to political participation and dissent, and the right to be free from discrimination and unequal treatment under the law is not simply an attempt to elevate individual freedoms above community values, then, but an attempt to reinvent the community and its values, making it more responsive to the needs and interests of its various members and more respectful of their diversity. Such a perspective helps us avoid a simplistic and often false picture that opposes individual rights and community values.

The second way in which individual freedoms and rights might fail to be compatible with family and social values is when individuals exercise their freedoms and rights in ways that are harmful to the interests of the family and the community—when men abandon their wives and children without paying child-support, for instance.<sup>2</sup> Another example might be when the owners of a company

decide to move a manufacturing plant out of town, leading to economic upheavals for families and the community.<sup>3</sup> In such cases, there are two broad solutions that can be used to render individual freedom more compatible with community interests. One is to restrict the freedom of some individuals in order to safeguard the interests of others, for example, to make and enforce laws that require men to pay alimony and child support for families they leave behind, or require companies to take responsibility for the adverse

consequences of their economic decisions. This sort of solution makes the exercise of individual freedom and rights more sensitive to and constrained by the consequences of individual actions.

Another broad solution lies in providing state-funded mechanisms that reduce the adverse impacts of the choices made by individuals, for instance, state-funded unemployment insurance, welfare benefits, retraining assistance, and

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education programs that enable workers to leave their jobs and develop new skills and careers. Both sorts of solutions show how good public policy measures can help reduce the tensions between the exercising of individual rights and the welfare of others in the community.

These dynamics—the imposing of values by family or society, or the impact on family and society by individuals exercising their independence—result in two forms of tension: society on individuals and individuals on society. How are these manifested with regard to women's rights? Communities and families have long felt threatened by women's rights, and have therefore exercised more control over the lives and choices of women than over those of men. Norms of propriety and restrictions on sexual conduct often apply more stringently to women than to men, and women often lack control over various aspects of their sexual and reproductive lives. Women's lack of freedom and rights are often regarded as justified by the dominant norms in the community. Many communities often depict women's exercise of their freedom and rights as harmful to the social fabric and the good of the family. For instance, communities and families often disapprove of women working outside the home on the grounds that it contributes to the neglect of their children, even when the women work out of necessity and function as primary caretakers of their children. A good proportion of contemporary women's human rights agendas strive to contest social norms pertaining to women and attempt to redefine women's places within their families and communities in a manner that is compatible with the range of women's contributions. They attempt to redefine the community and its values in ways that are more respectful of women's aspirations, talents and contributions and that are sensitive to some of the problems that specifically confront women in these communities.5

As for the tension on society caused by women exercising their individual freedoms, one could point to a number of issues in both the developed and the developing world, but on the whole and in the global sense, women have had fewer opportunities than men to exercise their rights and impact their families and societies. On the contrary, in many communities women have a great many responsibilities and very few rights. In many parts of the world, women bear a disproportionate burden of providing for and taking care of not only their children but also family members who are old or ill. These women suffer from unequal opportunities and gender-based discrimination and violence while they struggle to hold their families together in the face of insecure economic opportunities, political and military turmoil, social unrest and ecological devastation. On the whole, it appears that it is not women who have adversely impacted their families and communities by the selfish and

irresponsible exercising of their rights, but families who have failed women by subjecting them to domestic and sexual violence, and communities that have failed women and their dependents by not providing for their material, social and security needs.

Indeed, women's human rights, properly construed, are necessarily compatible with the interests of the community for the simple reason that women make up roughly half the members of any given community and are distributed across social divisions such as class, caste, race or religion. Women are not a special interest group with narrow interests, nor are they a criminal group with hostile intent. Communities can only be opposed to women's interests and rights if women are not considered legitimate members. Furthermore, protecting women's rights has value to communities and not just individuals. The principle of protecting women's rights also protects all individuals from being subjected to oppressive and harmful treatment, and enables them to have relationships with others that are mutually beneficial. Sometimes, women's human rights need to be guaranteed in order to protect them from others within their own families or from communities that threaten their well-being. At other times, rights enable women to have the kinds of relationships with others where their dignity and value is recognized, and where they are seen as more equal partners who contribute to the survival of the family and the community in a great many ways. Rights do not isolate women from their communities but enable them to contribute to their communities and actively engage in the social and political world they share.6

#### RIGHTS AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM

Even as agendas devoted to securing women's human rights are making headway in many parts of the world, versions of cultural relativism are being used to cast doubts on the salience and validity of these agendas. Proponents of cultural relativism often suggest that doctrines of human rights are "Western notions" and that their underlying values of individual freedom and choice are values foreign to the concerns and world-views of people in the Third World, especially women.<sup>7</sup>

This assertion is complicated by the fact that Western doctrines of rights and equality coexisted for decades with support for slavery, colonialism, and the denial of equality and rights to women and minorities in Western nations and their colonies. Thus, ideas of universal human rights when they were first formulated did not institutionally extend to, and were not intended to cover, all humans. It is only as a result of political struggles, within both the Western and Third Worlds, by groups who were excluded from the status and protection offered by rights, that doctrines of rights and

equality have developed the more genuinely universal connotations and applications they possess today. To characterize human rights as "Western" is to ignore the important role they have played and continue to play in a variety of struggles for justice in the Third World. As a result of the history of contemporary political struggles, the Third World is one of the few places remaining where the language of rights is entirely a foreign language.<sup>8</sup>

This is not to deny that the ideas of human rights might need to be interpreted and specified differently in different contexts in order to be adequately attentive to the needs, vulnerabilities and predicaments of different groups of people, including women. Paying attention to the particular roles and problems of women in specific communities, and to how women's rights might be protected in ways that strengthen rather than weaken their place within families and communities, is an important task. It requires that we pay attention to the differences between contexts, and that we listen to the voices of different groups of women in formulating laws and policies that protect rights. However, the position that women's human rights agendas should be contextually sensitive is not at all the same thing as endorsing cultural relativism.

While being contextually sensitive in thinking about women's human rights, one should be careful not to defend practices and values that adversely affect women on the

grounds that these are essential to cultural preservation and cultural identity. There are several strategies for challenging opposition to women's rights based on this preservation argument. First, claims about what any particular "culture" is and what its "central values and practices" amount to are very different from simple factual claims such as "this table is brown." Claims about a "culture" and its values are always political constructions and thus open to interpretation by others who inhabit that "culture." For instance, contemporary conservative definitions of "family values" in America do not consider or encompass the values that are central to many American families and their ways of life, even though the conservatives purport to speak for all Americans.

Many of those who oppose women's rights on "cultural preservation" grounds tend to rely on an extremely static picture of what comprises "their culture," and what women's roles within it amount to.... [E]very human culture has elements worth preserving as well as elements worth changing. Thus, we should not assume that "cultural preservation" is a good in itself, nor that cultural modification is necessarily bad.

Second, there is extremely "selective labeling" in what is regarded to be "cultural preservation" and what is regarded as "cultural betrayal." Most contemporary culture is influenced by all manner of substantial and ongoing forms of social change. When these changes are approved of by those with social power, they tend not to be labeled as threats to

the "culture" even if they substantially affect existing ways of life. When these changes are not approved of by those with social power, they are often labeled "threats to cultural preservation" even where they improve the quality of life of many in the community. Thus, technological and economic changes have widely affected traditional male roles within the family and community in a number of contexts without these changes being cast as "threats to culture," while similar attempts by women to adapt their roles to a changing culture have been judged as "betrayal," even if the impact has been less pronounced.<sup>9</sup>

Such selective labeling is often used in ways that make women "pay the price" for the preservation of culture. Thus, Koso-Thomas' work reveals that in Sierra Leone, all the one to two year-long initiation rites and training that used to accompany female circumcision have fallen by the wayside since people do not have the time, money or infrastructure for them anymore. However, the practice of excision itself, abstracted from the whole context of practices in which it used to be embedded, is still seen as crucial to "preserving tradition." Pointing to such inconsistencies helps us argue that since cultural practices are often only preserved partially in any case, we would do better to preserve those parts that are not harmful to the health and well-being of women.

Many of those who oppose women's rights on "cultural preservation" grounds tend to rely on an extremely static

picture of what comprises "their culture," and what women's roles within it amount to. This picture conceals the extent of change and adaptation that cultures have been undergoing all along. For instance, education for women was a contested issue within the ranks of some Indian elites in the nineteenth century but became an uncontested part of their way of life within less than a hundred years. Another example is that in many countries worldwide, women's age of marriage has gone up significantly in the space of one generation. While it is always crucial to reflect on whether particular changes are for the better or not, the simple fact that rights for women might lead to change in a community's way of life cannot be a legitimate reason for denying women their rights.

It is worth reiterating that every human culture has elements worth preserving as well as elements worth changing. Thus, we should not assume that "cultural preservation" is a good in itself, nor that cultural modification is necessarily bad. What we need is widespread and

informed debate regarding what is worth preserving and what deserves to be changed. Empowering women's participation in all important arenas of political and social life is the best way to ensure that women's concerns are attended to and that women's voices are heard in these debates. Ensuring women their rights will enable them to participate in defining the values of the family and community in ways that are responsive to their concerns and contributions.

#### **Endnotes**

- See Iris Marion Young. 1989. "Polity and group difference: A critique of the ideal of universal citizenship," *Ethics* 99:250-74.
- For a discussion about reconciling individual rights and family responsibilities, see Martha Minow and Mary Lyndon Shanley, "Revisioning the family: Relational rights and responsibilities," in Mary Lyndon Shanley and Uma Narayan, eds. 1997. Reconstructing Political Theory: Feminist Perspectives. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- For a longer discussion of such examples see, Henry Shue, 1980. Basic Rights. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- 4. For a discussion of welfare policies with particular reference to women, see Linda Gordon, ed. 1990. *Women, the State and Welfare.* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- For discussions of women's human rights struggles, see Joanna Kerr, ed. 1993. Ours By Right: Women's Rights as Human Rights. London: Zed Books. See also Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper, eds. 1995. Women's Rights, Human Rights. New York: Routledge.
- For a fuller version of such a vision of rights, see Elizabeth Kiss, "Alchemy or fool's gold: Assessing feminist doubts about rights," in Shanley and Narayan, eds. Reconstructing Political Theory.
- 7. For an instance of such views see Adamantia Pollis and Peter Schwab, 1979. *Human Rights: A Western Construct with Limited Applicability.* New York: Praeger. For a critique of such views, see Ann Elizabeth Mayer, 1995. *Islam and Human Rights.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- For elaborations on this critique of cultural relativism see, Uma Narayan. Spring 1998. "Essence of culture and a sense of history: Cultural essentialism, gender essentialism and cultural relativism" in *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philoso*phy.
- 9. For an extended discussion of "selective labeling" see Uma Narayan. 1997. *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism.* New York: Routledge.
- 10. Olayinka Koso-Thomas, 1987. *The Circumcision of Women: A Strategy for Eradication*. London: Zed Books.



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#### WOMEN AND THE POLITICS OF SPIRITUALITY

by Arvind Sharma

There is a widespread perception in the world that all religions systematically discriminate against women. This is an overly-broad charge, for students of comparative religion can point out that Taoism is an exception, if not wholly then at least in good measure. Some of the religious traditions of India might also be exempted—the Tantrika form of Hinduism, and perhaps even of Buddhism. Ever since this perception of discrimination gained currency, scholars from all religions have devoted energy to fighting this impression that religions are unremittingly misogynistic. There has nevertheless emerged a broad consensus by now, at least in liberal circles, that most religions do discriminate against women most of the time despite providing larger structures of meaning to their followers and sometimes despite their best intentions.

If we then take this as our starting point, that most religions are characterized by structures of subordination when it comes to women, then we are naturally led to the related question: Is it possible that, in spite of these or even alongside these structures of subordination, religions also contain structures of emancipation where women are concerned, or, should this sound too far-fetched already,

perhaps structures suggestive of at least equality if not outright emancipation? The spiritual dimension of religion may provide one such structure, namely, a structure wherein one might be able to identify emancipation, or at least equality, in relation to women.

#### THE SPIRITUAL DIMENSION

What do we mean by the "spiritual dimension" of religion? We first need to take one step back and identify a meaning for the word "spiritual." In the present

context, it might be useful to define spirituality as part of a trilogy—physicality, mentality, and spirituality. These terms refer to three distinct states of consciousness. Physicality refers to the state of physical consciousness, namely, to the self-awareness that one possesses of one's body. This physical consciousness may be distinguished from mental consciousness, which is the awareness that one possesses of one's mind. These two, which are of course not mutually exclusive, are distinguished from spiritual consciousness, or

the self-awareness of one's spirit (which, for the purposes of this discussion, we will assume exists as a tangible entity).

In order to experience one level or form of consciousness we have to transcend the other: in order to experience mentality, physicality has to be transcended and in order to experience spirituality, mentality has to be transcended. In spiritual literature in general, the discussion of these three states of consciousness usually proceeds on the basis of an implicit or explicit hierarchy in the sense that mental consciousness is regarded as a higher form than physical, and spiritual consciousness is regarded as a higher form than mental. Perhaps the basis of positing the superiority of mental over physical consciousness lies in the fact that mental consciousness is, or at least appears to be, less localized than the physical. A similar presumption is then probably made about spiritual consciousness in relation to mental consciousness. Fortunately, the present discussion does not require any such assumption. The argument of this paper in this respect is simply this; that one level of consciousness has to be transcended in order to experience the other and that this point applies equally to all states of consciousness. Spiritual and mental states of consciousness

have to be transcended as much in order to experience the physical, as the physical may have to be transcended to, say, experience the mental. This should not be taken to imply, however, that one level does not influence the other.<sup>3</sup>

How does the preceding discussion help one in moving to the next stage, in developing the thesis that in the spiritual realm the religions of the world might contain emancipatory or egalitarian structures as far as women are concerned? The link between the two is established

through the observation that each level of consciousness—whether physical, mental or spiritual—perceives the differences between men and women in different ways. Very briefly, physicality is related to sex differences and mentality to gender differences. Or, put another way, physicality takes into account the physical features which distinguish men and women and mentality such psychological features as may distinguish them.

[M]ost religions are characterized by structures of subordination when it comes to women.... Is it possible that, in spite of these or even alongside these structures of subordination, religions also contain structures of emancipation where women are concerned...?

It follows from our earlier discussion that in order to experience mental consciousness, physical consciousness needs to be transcended. This fact translates into the current discussion in the following form: in order to experience mental consciousness, sex differences have to be transcended. By the same token, in order for spiritual consciousness to be experienced, gender differences must be transcended.

The outline of how the spiritual component of a religious tradition may provide an emancipatory sacred place for women in a spiritual context now begins to emerge. As one progresses toward the spiritual, the distinction between men and women becomes increasingly less relevant, first physiologically and then psychologically. To the extent that the distinction might ultimately vanish, the discriminations which these distinctions may involve must also fade away. As the cleric who defended Galileo at his trial stated, "The purpose of scripture is to teach how one goes to heaven, not how heaven goes." The spiritual path, per se, occupies a religious space largely removed from structures of male dominance and female subordination. Sex and gender distinctions are irrelevant.

It is also worth noting that the structure of ultimate reality cannot be expressed in gendered terms. Most religious traditions generally regard ultimate reality as beyond the reach of words if not concepts. Yet this reality is predominantly represented in "he" terms in the Abrahamic religions, and prominently represented in "she" terms in Taoism, in some forms of Hinduism and in some indigenous religious traditions as well. To the extent that such imagery may be implicated in patriarchy, and needs to be transcended, one route out of this situation could well lie in emphasizing that God's gender is grammatical and not metaphysical. Indeed, one can even argue quite convincingly that there may be more solid grounds for imagining God as Mother than as Father, and mothering as playing a key role in feminine spirituality.<sup>5</sup>

As we evolve, as we transcend, mothering's unique association with women will be attenuated and the presence of the maternal instinct in all human beings will receive greater recognition. Attempts to evolve our religious perceptions can pit "traditionists" against "traditionalists," though. A traditionalist looks upon the entire religious tradition—its historical, social, legal and other contexts included—with equal enthusiasm as something worthy of approval and defense. The "traditionist" by contrast, tends to view a religious tradition essentially as the carrier of a spiritual tradition. Another way of making the same point would be to say that a traditionist adopts a different definition of religion itself, for instance, as "insight into the common experiences of humanity." The traditionist would

choose to do so because such a definition "properly emphasizes the importance of what we do and experience in our life. It omits matters of belief, dogma, authority, structural hierarchies, and similar concerns, which help define and describe the traditional organized religious groups."

Before ending, it would be important to avoid reaching two conclusions which are tempting but misleading. One is that the levels of consciousness are hierarchical. It is true that in terms of values we may assign priorities and even establish a hierarchy among states of consciousness but this is a constructed hierarchy, not an inherent one. All we are saying is that there are three types of consciousness and the third type, to the extent that it rises above the sex and gender implications, addresses both men and women as human beings. The second conclusion to avoid is that we are dispensing advice to clerics on how to interpret their religions. It is being argued here that most religions of the world openly assert the annulment of male-female distinctions at the highest spiritual level. Thus, in Christianity it is asserted in a famous biblical passage that in Christ there is neither male nor female; according to Islam, Allah neither begets nor is begotten; in Buddhism, enlightenment possesses no gender and the Budda-nature inheres in all irrespective of physical differences; in Hinduism the ultimate reality is often indicated by the word Brahman in the neuter gender. In this discussion these points are not being denied, but they are not being made either.

#### **Endnotes**

- See Rosemary Radford Ruether. 1975. New Woman New Earth: Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation. New York: The Seabury Press.
- 2. See Arvind Sharma, ed. 1987. *Women in World Religions*. Albany, New York: SUNY Press.
- 3. Ram Swarup. 1992. *Hinduism vis-a-vis Christianity and Islam*. New Delhi: Voice of India, p.5.
- 4. A Joann Wolski Conn. 1986. *Women's Spirituality: Resources for Christian Development*. New York: Paulist Press, p.7.
- Carol Ochs. 1983. Women and Spirituality. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983, p.134.
- 6. Ibid., p. 70.



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#### LEADERSHIP FOR ORGANIZATIONAL TRANSFORMATION AND GENDER EQUALITY

by Aruna Rao

Suppose we were able to identify which attributes should comprise a "compassionate society"—for instance, social justice, gender equality, sustainable development, and spiritual peace. The real question, the real challenge, is how do we get there from here? More specifically:

- From what context does our paradigm arise?
- What does change for gender justice look like on the ground?
- What do we know now that can enable us to think of leadership differently?
- What are the assumptions and choices embedded in our paradigm?
- What are the dilemmas and opportunities associated with our paradigm?

#### THE CONTEXT

The ideas which will be discussed in this paper are drawn from the work that my colleagues and I have done in the field of gender and socioeconomic development, with a specific focus on gender and organizational transforma-

tion.¹ We have focused on organizations because they are fundamental features of our societies and very important ways of mobilizing social energy. Further, we believe that gender equity within an organization is critically linked to progress toward gender equality and equity in the organization's work. Our ideas emerge from the crossroads of history and practice from a variety of fields: Women In Development and Gender and Development, feminist theory and organizational theory.

While the past 30 years has seen progress toward gender equality and equity, the world has not yet achieved its goal. Two clear lessons emerge from the recent history of development interventions aimed at gender equality and women's empowerment. The first lesson is that to integrate a gender perspective in organizations, strategies and activities focused on a single layer of an organization—such as policy development, project analysis and development, training, and affirmative action promotion—may be necessary but

they are not sufficient. We need to challenge and change the deep structures of the organizations in which we work and the organizational systems and processes that are built on those foundations.

- In the 1970s, for example, the women's lobby carved a place within the growing attention to social objectives, particularly targeting approaches to poverty alleviation. Women were identified as a target group along with others, to whom it was argued, resources must be specially targeted. While within organizations, women's advocates pushed for and pulled on any lever of change they could grasp, this approach ultimately resulted in a variety of marginal and underfunded program interventions which primarily focused on welfare issues and women's roles as mothers. Mainstream interventions turned a blind eye to women's productive roles and steered productive resources to men.
- Another example is the history of developing gender policies in organizations. By the end of the 1980s, while most development organizations had a policy on women in development or gender equity, few had

incentives to operationalize that policy. Often those policies sat on shelves and gathered dust, used mainly by those who were already advocates for women.

- Affirmative action policy is another example; it is necessary but not sufficient. The actual number of women in an organization is less important than how they think and what they do.
- Simply performing a gender analysis in project formulation is another example. We may know how women or groups of women are disadvantaged in the organization itself and in its work but organizational transformation will not happen if we lack the capacity to change the situation.
- Reflecting on learnings from a decade, the first international conference on gender training and development planning held in Bergen, Norway in May 1991 concluded that the effect of gender training is limited and impermanent when pursued alone—that is, divorced from other policy, institutional, and advocacy interven-

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tions aimed at bringing about organizational change. Systemic intervention in the form of incentives and disincentives for certain kinds of bureaucratic behaviors are also necessary.

Second, the women's movement has demanded fundamental changes in our concept of development toward more explicit changes in power relations between women and men and between classes, and toward greater environmental and social sustainability. Increasing women's access to credit, for example, does not necessarily change power dynamics within the family. Some changes which women have initiated make beginning steps in addressing power relationships and in defining development, for example winning dignity and legitimacy for themselves as poor informal sector workers spearheaded by SEWA in India, protecting the natural resources that sustain their livelihoods (CHIPKO, India), and limiting liquor sales that were leading to spousal abuse in South India. These efforts are not "traditional" development work, though some were financially supported by development agencies through the persistence and ingenuity of like-minded development agency advocates.

As activists and professionals in this work over the decades, our experience has led us to focus our attention on organizational transformation because organizations are key arenas of human engagement. Whether they are small NGOs, government departments, universities, or whether they are for-profit companies, they are very important ways of mobilizing social energy. We need to think more deeply about organizations themselves. Trying to 'add gender' into the structure and work of organizations is not enough; we need to understand and re-conceptualize what an organization is, and then we need to reinvent organizations and institutions of all kinds in all our societies.

In 1996, at an international conference that I coorganized in Canada on Gender and Organizations, it became clear that what we are aiming at in this work is organizational transformation. We are not talking about organizational development, nor about organizational change. In the case of development organizations, we mean including women as architects and designers of programs, and as agents, managers, and beneficiaries; and re-shaping social institutions and organizations to include men's and women's varied perspectives. We aim to move organizations in a direction that can accommodate, cherish, and foster the creativity and the productivity of women, men, young, old, people of color, people of differing ability. We are aiming at organizations which can incorporate goals and values that are life-affirming, human-centered, and justice-oriented.

To do this, we need to think about organizations in a more holistic way. We need to stimulate questions about the assumptions at the heart of institutions. We need to help organizations to examine ways in which those assumptions and values inhibit gender equality and equity. This can happen in three key ways. First, organizational values that derive from gender-biased ideologies, resource distribution systems, and cultural traditions can inhibit women's equal access to and participation in all levels of organizational systems and processes. We are concerned with gender equity within social change organizations not only as an end in itself but more importantly because of its instrumental link with achieving gender equality and equity in the work of those organizations with poor women and men. Second, other aspects of traditional organizations that are not necessarily or obviously gendered—such as hierarchical power, control over information and decision-making by a few at the top (who are often exclusively men)—may both make it harder to work toward gender equality and equity within the organization, and to make real gains in women's empowerment and poverty reduction on the ground. Third, organizations that allow little entry for alternate, more gender equitable ways of structuring, visioning, and operating may be far less effective in addressing gender ideologies and power imbalances in their programmatic work, and in achieving sustainable social impacts and gender transformations in partnership with poor women and men in communities they serve.

We are talking of transforming organizations with a purpose—to affect women's empowerment and ensure equitable power relations between women and men, to further human rights, to work toward reducing poverty, and to free women from violence. We are also interested in forging links between a movement for women's empowerment and one that aims to transform gender relationships. For organizations to champion this path, we must change them to fit new and more appropriate values, evolving cultures and ways of working.

# WHAT DOES CHANGE FOR GENDER JUSTICE LOOK LIKE ON THE GROUND?

Let's imagine how change for gender justice within organizations would happen on the ground. First of all, what is our image of a gender equitable organization? What would it take to get there? For example, how do gender justice objectives fit with an existing organizational agenda? How do they compete? How do you reconcile differences? What pressure is there to change? Policy and legislative frameworks allow institutional insiders and external constituencies to advocate for a broadening of an organization's mandate to justify focusing on these issues. Leadership can redefine organizational goals toward greater

gender equity. Chances of success are enhanced if individuals see this as a path of career advancement. But even if an organization takes on these objectives or some part of them, what capacity does it have to implement them, to follow-through? These nitty gritty questions of the change process are questions well worth posing in each of our own organizational contexts for they lead to insights about the nature of organizations and on how to change them, both of which are key to our discussion.

### THE BRAC CASE

Let's look at the case of BRAC, a large rural development organization in Bangladesh which works for poverty alleviation and women's empowerment and with which I was associated for a number of years.2 What does changing gender relations mean in the BRAC context? A key idea in our dialogue with BRAC was that gender does not mean "women" and that changing relationships between men and women implied empowering women as well as working to negotiate new norms for equitable relations that value differences and benefit both men and women. This approach may seem unambitious compared to other thinking; nevertheless, we chose to define "gender" in terms that made sense to BRAC. Once you admit that a gender issue is anything that hinders, prevents or restricts women's (either staff or program beneficiaries) involvement in the delivery, analysis and improvement of programs, there is considerable scope for thinking.

What were some key program-related issues? BRAC's programs have strengthened women's economic roles and increased women's empowerment measured in terms of economic security, mobility, legal awareness, decision-making, and freedom from violence within the family. However, BRAC staff widely acknowledged that the imperatives of credit delivery are eclipsing the objectives of social change and that institutionbuilding has primarily come to mean organizing groups for credit delivery and repayment. The culture of the credit program valued aggressive pursuit of targets and expansion of area coverage, and ignored the quality of program efforts and

their impact. Accordingly, success was measured in terms of quantitative target achievement rather than qualitative impact. But BRAC staff knew that in many cases women are conduits not controllers of credit. They also knew that women's access to resources engendered backlash from local elites whose power in various ways was being whittled away. Within BRAC, leadership was bringing more and more

women in and moving them quickly up the management ladder in a context where men and women have little experience working together in a professional environment.

To strengthen BRAC's ability to improve its programs and its internal organizational quality we drew links between structure and outcomes, quantity and quality, and internal gender equity change to external gender equity outcomes. We hypothesized that:

- In order to deliver quality programs that empower women, you need the perspectives of various kinds of both men and women staff and primary stakeholders.
- A male-directed organizational environment restricts fora where women's voices can be heard, devalues women's work, leads to high female dropout, and facilitates men's mobility, success and power at the expense of women.
- To deepen program quality, increase responsiveness to primary stakeholders and improve program impact the focus on quantitative targets (associated with a hierarchical organization with a directive supervision ethic) must be balanced with a concern for the quality of programs and their impacts on the empowerment of women.
- In order to improve quality, men and women front line staff and village organization members must be engaged in the task of analyzing the process and outcomes of program delivery so as to continually improve the depth and quality of programs and their ability to

actually empower women and transform gender relations. This analysis requires skill in gender and program analysis, time to do it, a climate of acceptance of new ideas and the respectful collaboration of men and women staff and members.

While top leadership opened the space for pursuing these issues, consensus on the nature of the problem and possible solutions were generated from staff at all levels across programs and from women and men. A large number of BRAC staff were engaged in a process of defining gender equity and organizational change issues in three areas that they could investigate and act on: individual attitudes and behavior, programmatic outcomes,

and organizational systems. Moving the change process forward required varying levels of input from senior management strategically inserted at key points and judiciously mixed with (and in part driven by) the perspectives from mid-management levels and field staff. These in turn were generated through a process of participation and consensus-building to take action for change.

The BRAC effort recognized that organizations are not insulated from the social, political, and patriarchal relations in which they are embedded. They are gendered in that they were built primarily by socialized males for socialized males. Gender shapes the institutional principles that underlie organizational forms. In other words, gender is a root principle delineating the rules of the game.

The BRAC effort recognized that organizations are not insulated from the social, political, and patriarchal relations in which they are embedded. They are gendered in that they were built primarily by socialized males for socialized males. Gender shapes the institutional principles that underlie organizational forms. In other words, gender is a root principle delineating the rules of the game. Organizations are built in accordance with these rules—they administer them and respond to people's needs. Thus, for example in BRAC, men's ability to spend long hours at work is possible only because their female partners attend to domestic responsibilities. For women, being a part of BRAC and functioning like men—by riding motorcycles, for instance—is dangerous because they are openly breaking purdah norms.

The BRAC Gender Program attempted to address some of the following key questions<sup>3</sup>: How do dominant ideologies and disciplines institutionalize gender biases and devalue women's experiences? How do gendered patterns of management and leadership affect the achievement of social development and gender justice outcomes? How do gendered organizational structures result in accountability failures where women are concerned? Do top down bureaucratic structures necessarily exclude positive outcomes for women? What are their limitations in furthering transformation of gender relations? How do incentive systems militate against the pursuit of gender interests?

It also illustrates a few key lessons about the nature of organizational change:

- Change does not happen because you tell an organization to change. Change happens when the new aims are strategically tied to organizational objectives and organizational insiders own the specification of the problem as well as shape solutions. In BRAC, problem definition and solutions were generated by a cross-section of over 400 staff and small changes were being pursued in programs, working relationships, and management systems in teams involving over 800 field and management personnel.
- Gender relations as constructed within society and mirrored to a greater or lesser extent within the organization are to men's advantage. An institutional change process toward greater gender equity requires men to collaborate in a process aimed at dismantling male privilege. Of course, this does not explain the whole picture because men's gender roles stereotype them in some ways which are disadvantageous to them as well. Getting both men and women beyond this may point to directions for different ways of conceiving and structuring power. But developing processes and attitudes that deal with men's jealousy (without

- alienating either women or men) and bring both into a learning process is a constant challenge. This is aided if program performance requires paying attention to quality. To do that people must recognize the strengths both women and men bring to that enterprise. It is also worked through when the space is constantly opened to the voicing and valuing of different perspectives.
- Change engenders uncertainty and conflict. The image of a "learning organization" masks the deep rooted conflicts, the political battling and re-definitions of meanings embedded in changing gender relations inside organizations and out. This begs the question: so why do it? Clearly the need to change must be strongly felt in terms that the organization values—such as a response to a shrinking resource base, ineffective performance, or strong external pressure from constituencies, donors or others. Organizational theory has sidestepped the issue of gender but experience has taught us that this is an arena for some of the fiercest battles.
- A fundamental dilemma in the work on women's empowerment is distinguishing what is theoretically desirable (e.g., pushing the boundaries of women's empowerment) and what is programmatically possible at what costs and with what effect. BRAC for example, works in a sociopolitical environment wherein demand for changing gender relations is weak, fundamentalist forces are increasingly dominant, and existing structural realities ensure that the process of women's empowerment is both non-additive and non-linear. What to do about the dilemma of women's lack of control over BRAC loans is a case in point. Given that entering into the household, into the arena of power relations drawn on lines of gender and age, is a path fraught with pitfalls, does BRAC leave well enough alone? If it can work for change in a small handful of households, can it replicate small-scale change experiments across all areas without losing the quality? And how does BRAC support people's struggles over resources and ways of thinking vis-a-vis larger and more powerful groupings in the community? How does an organization like BRAC sort out what it wants to keep in itself from what it wants to change? Some things are clear: BRAC can deliver credit and a range of social services. But whether or not deeper qualitative approaches are feasible and at what cost with what effect is still to be discovered.

# WHAT DO WE KNOW NOW THAT CAN ENABLE US TO THINK OF LEADERSHIP DIFFERENTLY?

Most writing and thinking about organizations describes them as rational, mechanistic constructs, consisting

of policies, structures (the inevitable organizational chart) and systems. This thinking is embedded in Weberian beliefs that organizational decisions and actions—structure and function—are based on logic, efficiency, and rationality which results in consistency rather than arbitrariness. We believe that a more complex, organic view of organizations is a useful starting point for any transformation effort. In this, our thinking coincides with and is informed by the work of Margaret Wheatley and others who have turned to twentieth century science—new discoveries from the world of quantum physics, chaos theory, biology, and chemistry—in a quest to better understand processes of organizing in the universe, which may serve as more effective models than those of Newtonian science for the way we currently organize our life and work. In our quest, in addition to looking at the visible dimensions of organizations, we are looking for the hidden or invisible values, culture, history, and practice that shape organizations. Here too, we draw on creative organizational thinkers such as Gareth Morgan whose images of organizations and their culture, values, and operating principles provide influential lenses to the multiple ways we may understand organizations and therefore also how we will act in them. In our conceptualization, the hidden or "deep structure" operates below consciousness but constrains certain behaviors and encourages others. It is a source of the inertia which dilutes or weakens change efforts. We believe that if we do not bring to consciousness the deep structure of an organization for its leaders and workers, these hidden beliefs may generate resistance, subversion or lip service for desired—and desirable—change.

"DEEP STRUCTURES" OF ORGANIZATIONS

We identify three aspects of deep structure that may inhibit gender equality and equity:

- The split between work and other parts of life;
- Instrumentality; and
- Beliefs about power and hierarchy and their expression.

The Work-Life Divide

In almost all organizations there is a dichotomy between paid work and every thing else: family, community, life. Work is becoming more and more important, both in the amount of time allocated to paid work, and in the meaning and shape it gives to our lives. We do not bring our family to work. At work, we are not supposed to be concerned with family or with community. When we look at an

organization's practice, we need to pay attention to evidence of expectations that staff should place their employment at the center of their lives. This is profoundly dysfunctional in terms of trying to address gender inequality because of women's current role as primary care takers for the family.

### Instrumentality

We define instrumentality as the tendency of organizations to focus narrowly on a single purpose, and on one course of action to get there. These limited objectives, ways of working, and perceptions are often shown in the organizational structure by the existence of departmental "silos" which try to exist as independently as possible, and also in organizations which conceive themselves as independent rather than interdependent. A narrow instrumental focus (for example on credit repayment rates rather than on welfare and empowerment impacts on women borrowers) prevents organizations from achieving gender equity within and hinders paying attention to dimensions of power and social change that are critical to addressing women's empowerment and gender equality outcomes related to development interventions.

### Power

A third area of "deep structure" concerns the understanding and practice of power. In almost all organizations, power is conceived of as control and as hierarchy. One metaphor for this is that we think about power as a pie; if I have more, you have less. There are many different ways of

thinking about and exercising power which we use frequently in all aspects of our lives. A number of them build on principles of inclusion and creative energy emerging from empowerment: the notion of power as energy that can be created and the more it is shared the more there is. Some of these ways of thinking and exercising power are not adequately legitimized and rewarded in formal organizational settings and social institutions. As we strive to build organizations that can effectively work toward gender equality and equity, we need to be more conscious of the way we think about and

use power as well as those exercises of power we consciously or unconsciously legitimize and those we don't. This is a basic step in our ability to create organizational arrangements that will forge and sustain processes that will enable us to achieve our goals.

It is critical to start from where people are. Strategies must be negotiated, and spaces for change must be sought. It is [also] important to bring silent voices to the surface, or conscious level, of the organization, and recognize that in every organization there are contesting meanings.

# WHAT ARE THE ASSUMPTIONS AND CHOICES EMBEDDED IN OUR NEW PARADIGM?

Leading the organizational transformation I describe above is at the heart of our paradigm. Our paradigm of leadership is fundamentally implicated in re-conceptualizing what organizations are and then reinventing them. And our paradigm enables many organizational actors to take leadership roles for change. Clearly this paradigm builds on previous thinking in many fields that has not been fully implemented.

In the past few years, a number of in-depth gender and organizational change interventions have been carried out in a variety of settings other than BRAC: CIMMYT in Mexico (the maize and wheat research institute of the CGIAR system) and for-profit corporations (such as the Xerox corporation and the Body Shop). Our colleagues at CIMMYT, primarily Deborah Merrill-Sands and Joyce Fletcher, have used collaborative action research to deepen understanding of the scope and complexity of gender issues in the workplace, and test and develop approaches for working in this area. They have also identified aspects of the work environment that have differential impacts on women and men in terms of productivity, job satisfaction and retention, and that have served to create work environments which support both women and men. Others, such as Deborah Kolb, Lotte Bailyn, and Rhona Rapoport have worked in for-profit corporations using a work-family lens to challenge work practices and intervene to make changes that would benefit the organization and legitimate employee's work-family issues.

Another colleague, Michel Friedman has worked in the area of rural development and land reform in South Africa as a national gender coordinator for a network of nine NGOs on gender equity and organizational functioning in relation to program outputs. Other organizational transformation efforts in South Africa are attempting to place issues of gender justice at the heart of service delivery such as the work with magistrates in the South African justice system (Olckers, 1998), and in the provision of rural credit through the South African Land Bank (Dolny and Masekela, 1998). Another approach to organizational transformation uses gender budgeting as a means of building organizational accountability to women and gender equality commitments (Govender, 1997).

While these interventions represent work in progress, we can identify strategies which draw on a normative and re-educative approach to change and that seem to be useful in uncovering aspects of organizational practices, deep structure, and culture that hinder gender equity and equality goals:

- This strategy does not attempt to "guilt" people into change nor does it try to convince them using "brute rationality."
- Supporting a learning process that accepts psychological resistance to change is effective by working with both the heart and the head.
- Effective strategies are both systemic and personal in that they concern themselves with systemic changes of culture and norms and with the individual learning of organizational members.
- Dialogue is a key tool.
- Effective strategies aim to build the "field." This term is borrowed from science and refers to invisible, nonmaterial structures like gravity or magnetism. Applied to organizations it refers to principles, values, and purpose which allows organizational members, leaders, policies, structures, and systems significant room to adapt.
- The feminist goals of social transformation need to be linked to the espoused values of the organization.
   Positive change will not come about if there is no direct connection between women's empowerment, gender transformation, and the explicit values of the organization.
- It is critical to start from where people are. Strategies must be negotiated, and spaces for change must be sought. We are all familiar with the thousand truths about gender, and its many meanings in different organizational contexts, and for different people. We must negotiate with members of the organizations, and discover what they see as the issues regarding gender and women's issues in that context. Negotiation is not simply a tactic to increase the enthusiasm of those with whom one is engaging in the organizations; what is also up for negotiation are the ideas, perspectives, and stance of the change agent. Admitting our own political commitment means that we need to be aware in our turn that aspects of "deep structure" are embedded in our own subconscious, those very aspects we say we are trying to change.
- We need to examine organizational work practices. How does the organization get the job done? What does an organization do to get the job done? What does this tell you about aspects of "deep structure?" By examining work practices, we can uncover the dissonance between organizational values and culture—such as the ethic of hard work measured in terms of long hours on the job—and the effect of organizational practices as they have evolved in a different place and time on those very values. In retracing the link between practice and values, you may want to keep the values but change the practice; in some cases, you may want to change the values themselves.
- It is important to bring silent voices to the surface, or conscious level, of the organization, and recognize that

in every organization there are contesting meanings. Listening to one group of voices within or outside the organization tells you only one part of the story. By adding into the mix hitherto silent voices, the picture fills out.

 Finally, we need to challenge the "process-outcome split." We have a tendency to focus on outcomes rather than process, not recognizing process itself may be an outcome. For example, one doesn't often hear organizational insiders say, "last year we did accounting, so we don't need to do that anymore!" The organization needs to pay attention to gender equity and to deep structure all the time.

# WHAT ARE THE DILEMMAS AND OPPORTUNITIES ASSOCIATED WITH OUR NEW PARADIGM?

As we move forward we also need to explore the possibilities of linking gender and organizational change work (which is essentially dialogic and consensual in nature but which aims to fundamentally change the rules of the game) with strands of movement politics that challenge existing structures on issues of resource control and access, human rights, and poverty in very different ways—in ways that are more confrontational and that use the existing rules of the game. This interest stems from a dilemma we face in our work: Can using a participatory approach, building the "field" and starting with where people are change power relations and structures of inequality? The answers to this question have significant implications for the way we work. For example, to what extent do we invest all our efforts on the assumption of the good will of top leadership? What can we do to build alternative ways to press for change? In other words, how do we build constituencies for change inside and out?

We work to influence the field in a subversive way:

- Develop a vision of equity that builds on indigenous understandings and we tie that vision to the larger vision of the organization (including the self-interest of powerful people);
- We build skills, organizational capacities, and practices to work in a more gender equitable way.

This we use as a basis to challenge inequities and short-sighted ideas and try to replace them with new ones. But the path of turning a win-lose power game to a win-win one is fraught with many hurdles. The model and practice of individualism atomizes power and militates against the creation of a field. Whether we look at instrumentality or power we are saying that according to our "systems way of thinking" we would need to work toward moving beyond the perceived short term interests of the parties concerned

toward a shared long term interest. In BRAC for example, our attempt to interest senior managers in investing in the long-term capacity (including learning and exercising more democratic forms of power) to facilitate the creation and implementation of lasting solutions to difficult social problems met with limited success. Why? Because this perspective was competing in a very real way with day-to-day management demands.

In continuing this work, we believe that we will eventually evolve situations and pathways where all stakeholders will recognize the possibilities for realizing their self-interest. As we challenge organizations to live up to their stated philosophy, small changes in power structure do happen. Is this enough? Are we colluding with the power structure as it is? These are questions we have to ask ourselves even as we rely on the fruits of our efforts to create a field, to help make more explicit the options, to build people's comfort level with and ability to master these options backed up by organizational systems and practices, and look for those spaces to work through real power imbalances and their implications.

### **Endnotes**

- In particular I would like to acknowledge the ideas and writings of David Kelleher and Rieky Stuart, my coeditors of *Gender at Work: Organizational Change for Equality* (1999, Kumarian Press) and my co-team members of the BRAC Gender Program.
- 2. The BRAC Gender Quality Action-Learning (GQAL) Program began in 1994 and is still in operation. For more information, see A. Rao, R. Stuart and D. Kelleher, "Building Gender Capital at BRAC: A Case Study" in Rao et. al., *Gender at Work*, op. cit.
- These questions were articulated by Anne Marie Goetz in "Institutionalizing Women's Interests and Gender-Sensitive Accountability in Development," IDS Bulletin, vol 26 No 3 July 1995.



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### **APPENDICES**

- Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- The Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21st Century
- Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women
- Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace
- The Seville Statement
- · The Earth Charter
- Other Peace Charters

### DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION ON A CULTURE OF PEACE

### A. Declaration on a Culture of Peace

The General Assembly,

*Recalling* the Charter of the United Nations, including the purposes and principles contained therein,

Recalling also the constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which states that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".

*Recalling further* the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant international instruments of the United Nations system,

Recognizing that peace is not only the absence of conflict, but requires a positive, dynamic participatory process where dialogue is encouraged and conflicts are solved in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation,

*Recognizing also* that the end of the cold war has widened possibilities for strengthening a culture of peace,

*Expressing deep concern* about the persistence and proliferation of violence and conflict in various parts of the world,

Recognizing the need to eliminate all forms of discrimination and intolerance, including those based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status,

Recalling its resolution 52/15 of 20 November 1997 proclaiming the year 2000 the "International Year for the Culture of Peace" and its resolution 53/25 of 10 November 1998 proclaiming the period 2001-2010 as the "International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World",

*Recognizing* the important role that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization continues to play in the promotion of a culture of peace,

Solemnly proclaims the present Declaration on a Culture of Peace to the end that governments, international organizations and civil society may be guided in their activity by its provisions to promote and strengthen a culture of peace in the new millennium.

### Article 1

A culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life based on:

- (a) Respect for life, ending of violence and promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation;
- (b) Full respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and nonintervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international law;
- (c) Full respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- (d) Commitment to peaceful settlement of conflicts;
- (e) Efforts to meet the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations;
- (f) Respect for and promotion of the right to development;
- (g) Respect for and promotion of equal rights of and opportunities for women and men;
- (h) Respect for and promotion of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information;
- (i) Adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations;
  - and fostered by an enabling national and international environment conducive to peace.

### Article 2

Progress in the fuller development of a culture of peace comes about through values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life conducive to the promotion of peace among individuals, groups and nations.

### Article 3

The fuller development of a culture of peace is integrally linked to:

- (a) Promoting peaceful settlement of conflicts, mutual respect and understanding and international cooperation;
- (b) Compliance with international obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and international law;
- (c) Promoting democracy, development and universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms:
- (d) Enabling people at all levels to develop skills of dialogue, negotiation, consensus-building and peaceful resolution of differences;

- (e) Strengthening democratic institutions and ensuring full participation in the development process;
- (f) Eradicating poverty and illiteracy and reducing inequalities within and among nations;
- (g) Promoting sustainable economic and social development;
- (h) Eliminating all forms of discrimination against women through their empowerment and equal representation at all levels of decision-making;
- Ensuring respect for and promotion and protection of the rights of children;
- Ensuring free flow of information at all levels and enhancing access thereto;
- (k) Increasing transparency and accountability in governance;
- (1) Eliminating all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- (m) Advancing understanding, tolerance and solidarity among all civilizations, peoples and cultures, including towards ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities;
- (n) Full realization of the rights of all peoples, including those living under colonial or other forms of alien domination or foreign occupation, to self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the UN and embodied in the international covenants on human rights, as well as in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 15 14 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

### Article 4

Education at all levels is one of the principal means to build a culture of peace. In this context, human rights education is of particular importance.

### Article 5

Governments have an essential role in promoting and strengthening a culture of peace.

### Article 6

Civil society needs to be fully engaged in fuller development of a culture of peace.

### Article 7

The educative and informative role of the media contributes to the promotion of a culture of peace.

### **Article 8**

A key role in the promotion of a culture of peace belongs to parents, teachers, politicians, journalists, religious bodies and groups, intellectuals, those engaged in scientific, philosophical and creative and artistic activities, health and humanitarian workers, social workers, managers at various levels as well as to non-governmental organizations.

### Article 9

The United Nations should continue to play a critical role in the promotion and strengthening of a culture of peace worldwide.

### B: Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace

The General Assembly,

*Bearing in mind* the Declaration on a Culture of Peace adopted on 13 September 1999;

Recalling its resolution 52/15 of 20 November 1997, by which it proclaimed the year 2000 the International Year for the Culture of Peace, as well as its resolution 53/25 of 10 November 1998, by which it proclaimed the period 2001-2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World;

*Adopts* the following Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace:

### A. Aims, strategies and main actors

- The Programme of Action should serve as the basis for the International Year for the Culture of Peace and the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World.
- Member States are encouraged to take actions for promoting a culture of peace at the national level as well as at the regional and international levels.
- 3. Civil society should be involved at the local, regional and national levels to widen the scope of activities 'on a culture of peace.
- 4. The United Nations system should strengthen its ongoing efforts promoting a culture of peace.
- 5. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization should continue to play its important role in and make major contributions to the promotion of a culture of peace.
- 6. Partnerships between and among the various actors as set out in the Declaration should be encouraged and strengthened for a global movement for a culture of peace.
- A culture of peace could be promoted through sharing of information among actors on their initiatives in this regard.
- 8. Effective implementation of the Programme of Action requires mobilization of resources, including financial resources, by interested Governments, organizations and individuals.

# B. Strengthening actions at the national, regional and international levels by all relevant actors

- 9. Actions to foster a culture of peace through education:
  - (a) Reinvigorate national efforts and international cooperation to promote the goals of education for all with a view to achieving human, social and economic development and for promoting a culture of peace;
  - (h) Ensure that children, from an early age, benefit from education on the values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life to enable them to resolve any dispute peacefully and in a spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance and non-discrimination;
  - (c) Involve children in activities for instilling in them the values and goals of a culture of peace;
  - (d) Ensure equality of access for women, especially girls, to education;

- (e) Encourage revision of educational curricula, including textbooks bearing in mind the 1995 Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy for which technical cooperation should be provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization upon request;
- (f) Encourage and strengthen efforts by actors as identified in the Declaration, in particular the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, aimed at developing values and skills conducive to a culture of peace, including education and training in promoting dialogue and consensus-building;
- (g) Strengthen the ongoing efforts of the relevant entities of the United Nations system aimed at training and education, where appropriate, in the areas of conflict prevention/crisis management, peaceful settlement of disputes, as well as in post-conflict peace-building;
- (h) Expand initiatives promoting a culture of peace undertaken by institutions of higher education in various parts of the world including the United Nations University, the University for Peace and the project for twinning universities/United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Chairs Programme.
- 10. Actions to promote sustainable economic and social development:
  - (a) Undertake comprehensive actions on the basis of appropriate strategies and agreed targets to eradicate poverty through national and international efforts, including through international cooperation;
  - (b) Strengthen the national capacity for implementation of policies and programmes designed to reduce economic and social inequalities within nations through, *inter alia*, international cooperation;
  - (c) Promote effective and equitable development-oriented and durable solutions to the external debt and debt-servicing problems of developing countries, *inter alia*, through debt relief,
  - (d) Reinforce actions at all levels to implement national strategies for sustainable food security, including the development of actions to mobilize and optimize the allocation and utilization of resources from all sources, including through international cooperation such as resources coming from debt relief;
  - (e) Undertake further efforts to ensure that the development process is participatory and that development projects involve the full participation of all;
  - (f) Integrating a gender perspective and empowering women and girls should be an integral part of the development process;
  - (g) Development strategies should include specific measures focusing on needs of women and children as well as groups with special needs;
  - (h) Development assistance in post-conflict situations should strengthen rehabilitation, reintegration and reconciliation processes involving all engaged in the conflict:
  - (i) Incorporate capacity-building in development strategies and projects to ensure environmental sustainability,

- including preservation and regeneration of the natural resource base;
- (j) Remove obstacles to the realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, in particular of peoples living under colonial or other forms of alien domination or foreign occupation adversely affecting their social and economic development.
- 11. Actions to promote respect for all human rights:
  - (a) Full implementation of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action;
  - (b) Encouraging development of national plans of action for the promotion and protection of all human rights;
  - (c) Strengthening of national institutions and capacities in the field of human rights, including through national human rights institutions;
  - (d) Realization and implementation of the right to development, as established in the Declaration on the Right to
    Development and the Vienna Declaration and
    Programme of Action;
  - (e) Achievement of the goals of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004);
  - (f) Dissemination and promotion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at all levels;
  - (g) Further support for the activities of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in the fulfilment of her/his mandate as established in General Assembly resolution 48/141 of 20 December 1993, as well as the responsibilities set by subsequent resolutions and decisions.
- 12. Actions to ensure equality between women and men:
  - (a) Integration of a gender perspective into the implementation of all relevant international instruments;
  - (h) Further implementation of international instruments promoting equality between women and men;
  - (c) Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women, with adequate resources and political will, and through, *inter alia*, the elaboration, implementation and follow-up of the national plans of action;
  - (d) Promote equality between women and men in economic, social and political decision-making;
  - (e) Further strengthening of efforts by the relevant entities of the United Nations system for the elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women;
  - (f) Provision of support and assistance to women who have become victims of any forms of violence, including in the home, workplace and during armed conflicts.
- 13. Actions to foster democratic participation:
  - (a) Reinforcement of the full range of actions to promote democratic principles and practices;
  - (h) Special emphasis on democratic principles and practices at all levels of formal, informal and non-formal education:
  - (c) Establishment and strengthening of national institutions and processes that promote and sustain democracy through, *inter alia*, training and capacity-building of public officials;
  - (d) Strengthening democratic participation through, *inter alia*, the provision of electoral assistance upon the

- request of States concerned and based on relevant United Nations guidelines;
- (e) Combat terrorism, organized crime, corruption as well as production, trafficking and consumption of illicit drugs and money laundering as they undermine democracies and impede the fuller development of a culture of peace.
- 14. Actions to advance understanding, tolerance and solidarity:
  - (a) Implementation of the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance and the Follow-up Plan of Action for the United Nations Year for Tolerance (1995);
  - (b) Support activities in the context of the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations in the year 2001;
  - (c) Study further the local or indigenous practices and traditions of dispute settlement and promotion of tolerance with the objective of learning from them;
  - (d) Support actions that foster understanding, tolerance and solidarity throughout society, in particular with vulnerable groups;
  - (e) Further supporting the attainment of the goals of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People;
  - (f) Support actions that foster tolerance and solidarity with refugees and displaced persons, bearing in mind the objective of facilitating their voluntary return and social integration;
  - (g) Support actions that foster tolerance and solidarity with migrants;
  - (h) Promotion of increased understanding, tolerance and cooperation among all peoples, *inter alia*, through appropriate use of new technologies and dissemination of information;
  - (i) Support actions that foster understanding, tolerance, solidarity and cooperation among peoples and within and among nations.
- 15. Actions to support participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge:
  - (a) Support the important role of the media in the promotion of a culture of peace;
  - (b) Ensure freedom of the press and freedom of information and communication;
  - (c) Make effective use of the media for advocacy and dissemination of information on a culture of peace involving, as appropriate, the United Nations and relevant regional, national and local mechanisms;
  - (d) Promote mass communication that enables communities to express their needs and participate in decisionmaking;
  - (e) Take measures to address the issue of violence in the media, including new communication technologies, *inter alia*, the Internet;
  - (f) Increased efforts to promote the sharing of information on new information technologies, including the Internet.
- 16. Actions to promote international peace and security:
  - (a) Promote general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, taking into account the priorities established by the United Nations in the field of disarmament;
  - (b) Draw on, where appropriate, lessons conducive to a culture of peace learned from "military conversion"

- efforts as evidenced in some countries of the world;
- (c) Emphasize the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in all parts of the world;
- (d) Encourage confidence-building measures and efforts for negotiating peaceful settlements;
- (e) Take measures to eliminate illicit production and traffic of small arms and light weapons;
- (f) Support initiatives, at the national, regional and international levels, to address concrete problems arising from post-conflict situations, such as demobilization, reintegration of former combatants into society, as well as refugees and displaced persons, weapon collection programmes, exchange of information and confidencebuilding;
- (g) Discourage the adoption of and refrain from any unilateral measure, not in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations, that impedes the full achievement of economic and social development by the population of the affected countries, in particular women and children, that hinders their wellbeing, that creates obstacles to the full enjoyment of their human rights, including the right of everyone to a standard of living adequate for their health and wellbeing and their right to food, medical care and the necessary social services, while reaffirming food and medicine must not be used as a tool for political pressure;
- (h) Refrain from military, political, economic or any other form of coercion, not in accordance with international law and the Charter, aimed against political independence or territorial integrity of any State;
- (i) Recommend proper consideration for the issue of humanitarian impact of sanctions, in particular on women and children, with a view of minimizing humanitarian effects of sanctions;
- (j) Promoting greater involvement of women in prevention and resolution of conflicts and, in particular, in activities promoting a culture of peace in post-conflict situations;
- (k) Promote initiatives in conflict situations such as days of tranquillity to carry out immunization and medicine distribution campaigns; corridors of peace to ensure delivery of humanitarian supplies and sanctuaries of peace to respect the central role of health and medical institutions such as hospitals and clinics;
- Encourage training in techniques for the understanding, prevention and resolution of conflict for the concerned staff of the United Nations, relevant regional organizations and Member States, upon request, where appropriate.

### UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948

### **PREAMBLE**

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts, which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

### Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

### Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

#### Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

### Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

### Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

### Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

### Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

### Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

### Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

### Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

### Article 11

- (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
- (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

### Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his

honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

### Article 13

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
- (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

### Article 14

- (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
- (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

### Article 15

- (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
- (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

### Article 16

- (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
- (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
- (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

### Article 17

- (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
- (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

### Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

### Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

### Article 20

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association
- (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

### Article 21

- (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
- (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

#### Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

### Article 23

- (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

### Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

### Article 25

- (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
- (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

#### Article 26

- (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
- (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
- (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

#### Article 27

- (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
- (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

### Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

### Article 29

- (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
- (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
- (3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

### Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

### THE HAGUE AGENDA FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Civil Society held the largest international peace conference in history on May 11-15, 1999. Nearly 10,000 people from over 100 countries attended the Hague Appeal for Peace Conference, where participants discussed and debated mechanisms for abolishing war and creating a culture of peace in the 21st century. Participants included environmentalists, human rights advocates, feminists, spiritual leaders, humanitarian and development workers, representatives from 80 governments and international organizations, and others—some of whom do not normally perceive themselves as "peace activists"—to work together to develop a sustainable culture of peace. They redefined peace as not only the absence of conflict between and within states, but also as the presence of economic and social justice.

The conference launched a 50-point action-plan called the *Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21st Century*. Hundreds of civil society organizations from many countries collaborated for over a year on producing this important Agenda.

### ROOT CAUSES OF WAR / CULTURE OF PEACE

### 1. Educate for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy

In order to combat the culture of violence that pervades our society, the coming generation deserves a radically different education - one that does not glorify war but educates for peace and nonviolence and international cooperation. The Hague Appeal for Peace seeks to launch a world-wide campaign to empower people at all levels with the peacemaking skills of mediation, conflict transformation, consensus-building and nonviolent social change. This campaign will:

- Insist that peace education be made compulsory at all levels of the education system.
- Demand that education ministries systematically implement peace education initiatives at a local and national level.
- Call on development assistance agencies to promote peace education as a component of their teacher training and materials production.

### 2. Counter the Adverse Effects of Globalization

Economic globalization has marginalized broad sections of the world's population, further widening the gap between rich and poor. The Hague Appeal for Peace supports the creation of a just global economy with special emphasis on:

- An international campaign among local, national, international and intergovernmental organizations promoting respect for labor rights.
- Democratic reform of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization and other international financial institutions.
- Regulation of the international financial system.
- Accountability of multinational corporations, including proposals for the granting of international charters and their revocation in cases of gross abuse and for abiding by international marketing codes and standards.

- Financing economic development from new sources, such as modest levies on international transfers of arms or funds (the Tobin tax).
- Expanding the G8 to G16 or creating an economic or environmental security council to include countries from the developing world.
- Cancellation of the crushing debts of the world's poorest countries and the odious debts inherited by democratic governments from the previous corrupt, undemocratic governments they have replaced.
- Recognition and implementation of economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development, child rights and women's rights.

### 3. Advance the Sustainable and Equitable Use of Environmental Resources

As stated in the 1998 United Nations Development Program Human Development Report, "The world's dominant consumers are overwhelmingly concentrated among the well-off - but the environmental damage from the world's consumption falls most severely on the poor." The Hague Appeal for Peace supports initiatives to:

- Strengthen international environmental law and its implementation by, i.a., promoting the concept of a basic right to a clean and healthy environment.
- Address the problems of overconsumption and misallocation of environmental resources.
- Consider the increasingly serious problem of the inequitable allocation of water.
- Support the campaigns to save the world's forests and species (including the human kind) from environmental degradation
- End the military destruction of the environment and in particular, the militarisation of indigenous lands.
- Identify alternative approaches to sustainable development.

### 4. Eradicate Colonialism and Neocolonialism

Indigenous and unrepresented peoples are suffering from the suppression of their right to self-determination, ethnic and cultural genocide, the violation of their cultural, language and religious freedoms, and the militarisation and nuclearisation of their lives, lands and waters. The Hague Appeal for Peace endorses:

- The efforts of colonised peoples towards the exercise of their right to self-determination.
- The eradication of colonization, as stated under numerous international agreements including the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" and the "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples".
- The maintenance of the UN Decolonization Committee, until all non-self governing territories have implemented their right to self-determination and independence.
- The establishment of a permanent forum for indigenous peoples within the United Nations.
- An end to the dumping of the industrialized countries' toxic materials in developing countries.
- Closing down foreign military bases.

### 5. Eliminate Racial, Ethnic, Religious and Gender Intolerance

Ethnic, religious and racial intolerance and nationalism are among the principal sources of modern armed conflict. The Hague Appeal for Peace supports:

- Efforts to eliminate the political manipulation of racial, ethnic, religious and gender differences for political and economic purposes.
- The implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- Preparations for the United Nations World Conference on Racism and Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (2001).
- The inclusion of hate crimes in the world's judicial systems.
- Education and legislation designed to overcome homophobia.
- The promotion of affirmative action until the consequences of past discrimination have been redressed.

### 6. Promote Gender Justice

The costs of the machismo that still pervades most societies are high for men whose choices are limited by this standard, and for women who experience continual violence both in war and in peace. The Hague Appeal for Peace supports:

- The active participation of women in significant numbers in all decision and policy-making forums.
- Efforts to recognize and engage the capacities of women as peace-makers.
- The implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.
- The redefinition of distorted gender roles that perpetuate violence.

### 7. Protect and Respect Children and Youth

Children and youth continue to be exploited and victimized, particularly in violent conflict situations where harming children has become not only a consequence, but frequently a strategy of war. The Hague Appeal for Peace supports initiatives to:

- Ensure the universal adoption and implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child including the elimination of child labor and the use of child soldiers.
- Ensure humanitarian assistance and protection to children in situations of armed conflict.
- Rehabilitate and reintegrate children who have been exposed and traumatized by violent conflict.
- Recognize the role of children and youth as peacemakers by including young people in peace-building.

### 8. Promote International Democracy and Just Global Governance

The promotion of democracy at all levels of society is a prerequisite for replacing the rule of force with the rule of law. Establishing more representative and democratic decision-making processes, is a prerequisite to achieving limited, accountable regional and global governance with binding, enforceable, and equitable legislative mechanisms. The Hague Appeal for Peace endorses:

- The reform and democratization of the United Nations, including democratic strengthening of the General Assembly and extending consultative rights to civil society representatives, non-governmental organisations and parliamentarians at all levels of the UN.
- The promotion of regional institutions to advance peace through adherence to international law.
- The modification of the weighted voting formulas utilised by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to protect the interests of small nations.
- The recommendations of the Commission on Global Governance, including the participation of civil society in global governance.
- The reform of the United Nations Security Council to make its composition more representative and its decision-making process more transparent.

### 9. Proclaim Active Non-Violence

It is commonly assumed but has never been proved that violence and warfare are inherent in human nature. In fact, many traditions and examples show that active non-violence is an effective way to achieve social change.

The Hague Appeal for Peace supports:

- Replacing the glorification of militarism with models of active non-violence.
- A campaign to eliminate, or at least reduce, violence in the media and in everyday language.
- Activities surrounding the United Nations Year for the Culture of Peace (2000) and Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010).

### 10. Eliminate Communal Violence at the Local Level

Violence in local communities paves the way for conflicts at national and international levels. The Hague Appeal for Peace supports initiatives to:

- Reintegrate into society the young people and some of their elders who have been marginalized, often as a result of limited economic opportunities, and whose marginalisation has led them into violent behavior.
- Promote local peace initiatives, including gun exchanges, peace camps and conflict resolution training.

### 11. Enlist World Religions in Transforming the Culture of Violence into a Culture of Peace and Justice

Religions have been a cause of war but also have the potential to enable the development of a culture of peace. They must be engaged to implement paths of peace. The Hague Appeal for Peace supports:

- Interfaith, inter-religious cooperation in disarmament and global peace work.
- The promotion of religious co-existence and reconciliation.

### INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AND HUMAN RIGHTS LAW AND INSTITUTIONS

# 12. Advance the Global Campaign for the Establishment of the International Criminal Court

The Hague Appeal for Peace will support the work of the NGO Coalition for an International Criminal Court (CICC) in expanding upon its global efforts to establish the permanent International Criminal Court, through an intensive education and ratification campaign, and through active participation in the sessions of the United Nations Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court. The CICC will be seeking new NGO partners at the Hague Appeal and building upon valuable advocacy and networking lessons from other international treaty campaigns, such as the International Campaign to Ban Landmines.

# 13. Encourage Close Cooperation Between the Converging Fields of International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law

The Hague Appeal for Peace recognizes the increasing convergence between the fields of international humanitarian and human rights law, a development critical to the effective protection of victims of both human rights and humanitarian law violations. The Hague Appeal will advocate changes in the development and implementation of laws in both of these fields, in order to close critical gaps in protection and to harmonize these vital areas of international law.

### 14. Reinforce Support for the International Criminal Tribunals

The international criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda represent the first steps which the international community has taken since the end of World War II towards holding individuals criminally accountable for violations of international humanitarian and human rights law. The Hague Appeal will call for the indictment and arrest of alleged war criminals who remain at large. The Hague Appeal will also focus on the practices and working methods of the tribunals and the need to address accusations that they are partisan and to support a mutually constructive working relationship between the tribunals and civil society, regional and international organizations. The Hague Appeal supports the efforts of the United Nations to establish an international criminal tribunal to investigate and prosecute genocide and crimes against humanity in Cambodia.

### 15. Enforce Universal Jurisdiction for Universal Crimes: Building Upon the Pinochet Precedent

It is now generally recognized that war crimes, crimes against the peace and violations of universally recognized human rights principles are matters of global rather than merely national concern. Not every person committing a universal crime can or should be tried by the International Criminal Court once it is established, or by an ad hoc tribunal such as those for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Civil society and domestic courts must do their part, as those of Spain are endeavoring to do in the case

of Pinochet. The Hague Appeal will call upon national legislative and judicial systems worldwide to incorporate the principle of universal jurisdiction for such crimes as well as torts into their laws in order to ensure that serious violations of human rights, especially against children, are not treated with impunity.

# 16. Reform and Expand the Role of the International Court of Justice in the Context of a More Comprehensive System of Global Justice

The International Court of Justice must serve as the locus of a more effective, integrated system of international justice. The Hague Appeal will advance proposals for strengthening interrelationships between national, regional and international legal institutions, with the aim of fostering a more comprehensive global system of justice. Initiatives which further this aim include expanding the advisory opinion and conflict resolution functions of the court to provide access for civil society, regional and international organizations; instituting compulsory jurisdiction for states; and encouraging cooperation among international legal institutions and alternate fora for dispute resolution.

### 17. Strengthen Protection of and Provide Reparation for the Victims of Armed Conflict

Since World War Two, the focus of conflict has dramatically shifted, with the result that civilians are frequently targeted and the number of civilians wounded and killed in conflict now vastly outnumbers that of combatants. The Hague Appeal for Peace will advocate greater protection for the most vulnerable and frequent victims of conventional arms proliferation and armed conflict, including internally displaced persons, refugees, women and children. The Hague Appeal will also seek more consistent adherence to the standards of international humanitarian and human rights law by non-State combatants and quasi-state paramilitary forces and will examine the role of the United Nations in situations of armed conflict. Finally, the Hague Appeal will demand that victims of armed conflict and human rights violations be made whole through the establishment of national, regional and international victim compensation funds and other reparation measures, which address the needs of victims in a timely way.

### 18. End Violence Against Women in Times of Armed Conflict

Today, war, armed conflict and the presence of military bases impact women, adolescents and children as never before in history. Women and their families are increasingly targets of violence and war crimes including rape, sexual assault, enforced prostitution and sexual slavery. They also confront a host of problems as victims and survivors who are internally displaced, made refugees or pressured by their governments to refrain from pursuing their rights against violations committed by foreign military personnel. The Hague Appeal endorses the integration of basic protections for women into the statute of the International Criminal Court and will advocate additional changes in the development and implementation of international law, in order to secure the rights and dignity of women in armed conflict.

### 19. Stop the Use of Child Soldiers

More than 300,000 children under 18 years of age are believed to be currently participating in armed conflicts around the world. Hundreds of thousands more are members of armed forces or groups and could be sent into combat at almost any moment. The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, UNICEF and the ICRC are actively campaigning to increase the age of recruitment to 18. They are also appealing to governments and all armed groups to prevent the recruitment of children under the age of 18, to immediately demobilize child soldiers, and to incorporate their needs into peacekeeping, peace agreements and demobilization programs, and for the end of this unconscionable practice and for the rehabilitation and social reintegration of former child soldiers. The Hague Appeal will provide other non-governmental organizations the opportunity to contribute to these campaigns and to explore other methods by which children's rights may be protected.

# 20. Help Victims to Hold Abusers Accountable Under International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law

Recent trends in national and regional litigation and prosecution make it possible for victims of gross human rights and humanitarian law violations to hold abusers accountable. This right exists in some domestic courts and regional tribunals, including the European and Inter-American Courts of Human Rights, and has led to litigation against members of the private sector, such as mercenaries and arms manufacturing and other corporations. The Hague Appeal for Peace will advocate for the extension of this right throughout the international legal order.

### 21. Protect Human Rights Defenders, Humanitarian Workers and Whistle blowers

The year 1998 saw more civilian representatives of the United Nations killed in action than military peacekeepers. In addition, countless human rights defenders and humanitarian workers from national, regional and international organisations have been injured or killed in the course of their work. The Hague Appeal will propose and demand improvements in protection for human rights defenders and humanitarian workers in the field and mechanisms by which violations of these individuals' rights may be monitored and lessened. The Hague Appeal will also call for strengthened protection for whistle blowers; individuals who expose international law violations or other illegal actions of governments, corporations and other institutions at the risk of their careers, and sometimes their lives.

# 22. Train Grassroots organisations to Use National, Regional and International Mechanisms in the Enforcement of International Law

There are increasing opportunities for grassroots organizations to seek remedies for violations of humanitarian and human rights laws at the local or national level through regional and international mechanisms. The Hague Appeal will provide training and awareness programs, which will heighten understanding of these remedies and how grassroots organizations may work together or singly to ensure that access to these mechanisms

is unrestrained and utilised. The Hague Appeal will also provide an opportunity for activists to learn how they may be involved in identifying violators in their communities and bringing them to account for their actions.

# 23. Promote Increased Public Knowledge, Teaching and Understanding of International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law

The increasing likelihood of international involvement in armed conflicts underscores the need for effective human rights and humanitarian training for peacekeepers, in parallel with similar training for national military institutions, in order to promote awareness of and adherence to the requirements of international law. There is also a need for greater awareness of international humanitarian and human rights law among national lawmakers and law enforcers. The Hague Appeal for Peace will call for mandatory training in international humanitarian and human rights law for lawyers, legislators, judges and politicians.

# 24. Integrate Human Rights Protections into Conflict Prevention, Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction

International and regional interventions in conflicts is a growing phenomenon in the world of conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. Increasingly, the international community has taken on responsibility for political, legal, social and economic institution-building in post-conflict societies. The Hague Appeal will advocate for measures to ensure that long-term, systematic protection of human rights is central to these processes.

### 25. Build Upon the Successes and Failures of Truth Commissions and Political Amnesties

The field of post-conflict reconstruction has seen remarkable new developments over the last few decades, in particular the use of truth commissions and political amnesties as in South Africa as tools for mending societies torn apart by war, armed conflicts and apartheid. The Hague Appeal will examine the failures and successes of past truth commissions and political amnesties, as well as proposals for new truth commissions in Bosnia, East Timor and elsewhere.

### 26. Establish a Universal and Effective System of Habeas Corpus

The thousands of individuals arrested each year on political, ethnic and other illegal grounds need an effective system by which they or their representation can call attention to their plight before they are killed, tortured or disappeared. Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights must be given teeth by providing for a rapid and effective system of habeas corpus, with the right of appeal to regional or supra regional human rights commissions or courts.

### 27. Subject Warmaking to Democratic Controls

Nothing is more subversive of democracy than allowing the power to take a country to war to reside exclusively in the hands of the executive or military branches of government. The Hague Appeal for Peace will call on all countries and international organizations to take constitutional or legislative action requiring parliamentary approval to initiate armed conflict, except in extreme cases requiring immediate action for self-defense.

# PREVENTION, RESOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION OF VIOLENT CONFLICT

### 28. Strengthen Local Capacities

Too often, violent conflict is "resolved" by external actors with little or no reference to the wishes of those who must live with the solution. As a result, the solution reached is often short-lived. If efforts to prevent, resolve and transform violent conflict are to be effective in the long-term, they must be based on the strong participation of local civil society groups committed to building peace. Strengthening such "local capacities" is vital to the maintenance of peace and may take many forms from education and training and nurturing the volunteer spirit in society, to increased funding of local peacebuilding initiatives and highlighting the work of local peacemakers in the media.

### 29. Strengthen the United Nations' Capacity to Maintain Peace

The United Nations still constitutes the best hope for achieving world peace through multilateral cooperation. Now more than ever, strong civil society support of the aims and purposes of the United Nations is vital to achieving its full potential as the guardian of international peace and security. In particular, this support should be directed towards the reform of the UN, leading to its greater democratization, and towards the strengthening of the UN's capacity to prevent violent conflict, mass violations of human rights and genocide—for example, through the creation of standing UN peace forces for use in humanitarian interventions, and through the identification of alternative sources of finance for UN peace operations.

### 30. Prioritise Early Warning and Early Response

The resources expended by governments and intergovernmental bodies in efforts to prevent violent conflict are insufficient, especially when compared with the resources expended on activities that become necessary once violent conflict breaks out—humanitarian intervention, emergency relief, peace enforcement operations, and the general rebuilding of war-torn societies. Civil society must take a lead role in demonstrating that conflict prevention is possible and that it is preferable—in terms of human lives and suffering, as well as cost—to reacting to violent conflict. In particular, priority should be given to: (1) dedicating more resources to conflict prevention, (2) creating and further developing conflict early-warning networks, and (3) generating the political will necessary to responding quickly to warnings received.

### 31. Promote the Training of Civilian Peace Professionals

The demand for civilian peacebuilders, be they election monitors, human rights workers or general observers, is growing

fast; the pool from which such specially trained civilians can be drawn is not. There is a strong need to further promote the specialized training of civilian women and men in the techniques of conflict resolution, mediation, negotiation, etc., and to promote their deployment in conflict areas in order to carry out peacebuilding tasks. The long-term aim should be the development of an international body of specially trained "civilian peace professionals" that can be called upon to intervene in conflict areas at short notice.

### 32. Refine the Use of Sanctions

The imposition of economic sanctions is one of the bluntest tools of international diplomacy. Sanctions have the capacity to destroy the fabric of the society against which they are aimed, as well as to inflict terrible hardship on the innocent members of that society. UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has demanded that economic sanctions become "more effective and less injurious." To meet this demand, we must develop ways of better targeting economic sanctions so that their effect cannot be transferred from the leaders whose behavior they are intended to change, on the one hand, to innocent civilians, on the other. In the interest of children, sanctions should not be imposed without obligatory, immediate and enforceable humanitarian exemptions, along with mechanisms for monitoring the impact on children and other vulnerable groups.

### 33. Strengthen Mechanisms for Humanitarian Intervention

In order to help avoid future acts of genocide and gross violations of human rights, it is necessary to develop mechanisms that will allow for humanitarian intervention to protect the lives of people in danger.

### 34. Engender Peace Building

Conflict and war are gendered events. After reproduction, war is perhaps the arena where the division of labour along gender lines is most obvious. Therefore, women and men experience conflict and war differently and have different access to power and decision-making. There is a need for (1) specific initiatives aimed at understanding the interrelationships between gender equality and peace building, (2) strengthening women's capacity to participate in peace building initiatives and (3) equal participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels. To meet these needs, governments must commit to including women representatives of civil society in all peace negotiations; peace and security institutions must incorporate gender-sensitive perspectives into their activities and methods; and civil society must build and strengthen women's peace networks across borders.

### 35. Empower Young People

Wars are initiated by irresponsible leaders, but it is young people who are their most vulnerable victims, both as civilians and as conscripts. Their experience, fresh perspectives and new ideas must be heard, integrated and acted upon at all levels of society. There is ample evidence that young people in conflict

situations can find ways to overcome traditional prejudices, to creatively resolve conflicts and to engage in meaningful reconciliation and peacebuilding processes. The opportunity for youth to participate in peace building is essential for breaking the cycle of violence, for reducing and avoiding conflict. Let us all share our vision, open-mindedness, solidarity and willingness to learn in a truly inter-generational exchange based on mutual respect, trust and responsibility.

### 36. Support Unrepresented Peoples' Right to Self-Determination

Many of today's violent and persistent conflicts are between states and unrepresented peoples and are characterized by an extreme power imbalance. As a result, unrepresented peoples, by themselves, often are unable to engage states in negotiations for peaceful conflict resolution. Consequently, these conflicts tend to continue for decades and result in grave suffering and cultural annihilation. To counteract the power imbalance which drives these conflicts, it is necessary for the international governmental and non-governmental community to actively support peoples' right to self-determination, to prioritise these conflicts and to promote their non-violent resolution.

The denial of the right to self-determination has led to numerous long-term conflicts, most of which remain unresolved. It is important to recognize that it is not the right to self-determination which leads to conflict, but rather the denial of this right. It is therefore imperative that the internationally recognized right to self-determination be actively promoted as a tool of conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

### 37. Strengthen Coalition-Building Between Civil Society Organizations

The diversity of civil society activity in the area of conflict prevention, resolution and transformation is one of its main strengths. However, the effectiveness of civil society activity is often hampered by a lack of coordination between groups operating in similar fields. The result is often that scarce resources are wasted through the duplication of tasks and the failure to achieve synergy. To increase effectiveness in this area, it is vital to create networks that promote coalition- and constituency-building between Civil Society organisations.

### 38. Strengthen Regional and Sub-Regional Capacities for Peace

Strengthening regional capacities for peace, for example, in the form of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Organization for African Unity (OAU), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the organisation of American States (OAS), etc., would help to ensure that largely ignored conflicts receive the attention, and efforts at resolution, that they deserve.

### 39. Mainstream Multi-Track Diplomacy

In the next century, we must aim to make "multi-track diplomacy" the standard approach to preventing, resolving and transforming violent conflict. Multi-Track Diplomacy involves the cooperation of numerous sectors of society—governments, non-governmental organizations, religious groups, the media, busi-

ness, private citizens, etc.—in preventing conflict and building peace. It is a multi-disciplinary view of peacebuilding that assumes that individuals and organizations are more effective working together than separately and that conflict situations involve a large and intricate web of parties and factors that requires a systems approach. Each "track" in the system brings with it its own perspective, approach and resources; all of which must be called upon in the peacebuilding process.

### 40. Utilise the Media as a Proactive Tool for Peacebuilding

The media play a vital, and controversial, role in situations of violent conflict. They have the capacity to exacerbate or to calm tensions and, therefore, to play an essential role in preventing and resolving violent conflict and in promoting reconciliation. Apart from their traditional role in reporting on conflict, the media may also be used to build peace in a wide variety of alternative ways. Special attention needs to be directed towards (1) promoting objective, non-inflammatory reporting of conflict situations so that the media serves the cause of peace rather than war and (2) further exploring the use of the media in creative new ways to build peace and promote reconciliation.

### 41. Promote the Conflict Impact Assessment of Policies

Civil society must encourage national, bilateral and international agencies and international financial institutions to infuse their policy formulation and implementation with conflict prevention dimensions that include (1) conflict impact assessment of proposed economic policies and development projects and (2) the introduction of institution-building and human resources-strengthening elements into various forms of dispute resolution and peacebuilding—i.e., mediation centres, training in negotiation skills, conflict resolution education, tolerance-building and the promotion of coexistence.

### DISARMAMENT AND HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA

### 42. Implement a Global Action Plan to Prevent War

The Hague Appeal for Peace supports the "Global Action Plan to Prevent War" that will complement measures to protect human rights and strengthen nonviolent conflict resolution with the following major steps: (1) strengthening global and regional security institutions; (2) replacing unilateral military intervention with multilateral defense against aggression and genocide; and (3) negotiating deep, phased reductions in military Forces, weapons, and budgets, aiming for a global defensive security system.

# 43. Demilitarize the Global Economy by Reducing Military Budgets and Shifting Resources Toward Human Security Programs

Peace in the 21st century demands a shift from this century's expenditures on the military to civilian programs that safeguard human security. Disarmament will entail making drastic cuts in weapons, forces and military budgets. Demilitarization will require transforming the military economy to a peace economy by allocating resources for programs that ensure the well being of the world's citizens - that provide for the basic human rights of

food, shelter, education, work, health, security and peace. It will require global adherence to United Nations Charter and to the development of non-military security structures and peacemaking institutions.

As a first step toward disarmament and demilitarization, the Hague Appeal for Peace endorses the Women's Peace Petition, which calls for a 5% reduction a year for 5 years in military spending and the reallocation of these substantial resources toward human security programs and peace education.

### 44. Negotiate and Ratify an International Treaty to Eliminate Nuclear Weapons

The continued existence of nuclear weapons and their threat or use by accident, miscalculation or design threaten the survival of all humanity and life on earth.

In order to comply with their legal obligations under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the mandate of the International Court of Justice, all states should negotiate and conclude within five years a Nuclear Weapons Convention, which would prohibit the production, use and threat of use of nuclear weapons and would provide for verification and enforcement of their destruction.

The New Agenda Coalition's resolution, adopted by the 53rd General Assembly of the United Nations, calls on the nuclear weapons states to take immediate practical steps to reduce the danger of nuclear war and commence negotiations toward total nuclear disarmament.

Transitional steps toward nuclear disarmament include: ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; adherence to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty; de-alerting; no-first use; de-nuclearization of regional security arrangements; extension of nuclear free zones; transparency of nuclear arsenals and facilities; and a ban on fissile materials and subcritical tests.

# 45. Prevent Proliferation and Use of Conventional Weapons, Including Light Weapons, Small Arms and Guns and Safeguard Personal Security

Small arms, light weapons and landmines pose a big threat to human security; their use results in the majority of civilian deaths and has made it easier to exploit young children as soldiers. Full fledged demobilization programs must reclaim and destroy weaponry and also provide former soldiers with other material benefits and vocational alternatives. The Hague Appeal for Peace endorses the campaign of the International Action Network on Small Arms and calls on all states to negotiate and implement a comprehensive global code of conduct for exports of all types of conventional weapons, including light weapons, small arms and guns.

Steps toward stopping the flow of weapons include: controlling legal transfers between states; monitoring the use and storage of small arms within states; preventing illicit transfers, including transfers to human rights violators; collecting, removing and destroying surplus weapons from regions of conflict; increasing transparency and accountability; reducing demand by reversing cultures of violence; reforming public security institutions; creating norms of non-possession; promoting more effective and sustainable demobilization and reintegration of former combatants.

### 46. Ratify and Implement the Landmine Ban Treaty

All states should sign, ratify and adhere to the 1997 Land Mine Ban Treaty, which opened for signature in December 1997 and entered into force on 1 March 1999.

In addition to the vital and urgent task of demining, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines puts a high priority on governments destroying their stockpiles of mines as a form of "preventive mine action." It also puts pressure on all States to develop demining activities. Transparency on stockpiles and other mine-related matters is essential. Increased funding should be made available for victim assistance, demining, mine-awareness education and rehabilitation for children and their communities.

# 47. Prevent the Development and Use of New Weapons and New Military Technologies, Including a Ban on Depleted Uranium and the Deployment of Weapons in Space

The Hague Appeal for Peace calls for mechanisms to assess the impact of new weapons (e.g. depleted uranium) and technologies and to determine if new weapons violate international law. Depleted uranium weaponry has been listed among weapons of "mass destruction or with indiscriminate effect" by the United Nations Human Rights subcommittee on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities. The Hague Appeal calls upon the international community to address the issue of banning the production, transfer and use of such weapons.

The Outer Space Treaty (1967) bans deployment of weapons of mass destruction in space by any nation. The treaty, ratified by 91 countries, states that nations should avoid activities that could produce harmful contamination of space as well as adverse changes in the environment of earth. This treaty requires universal adherence to prevent the deployment of weapons in space.

# 48. Encourage Universal Adherence to and Implementation of the Biological Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention

All States should ratify the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) as part of a global effort to abolish all weapons of mass destruction. All countries should adopt strong national legislation implementing these treaties without qualifications and should participate in current efforts to enhance compliance with them. No state should take executive or legislative action that dilutes implementation of these treaties.

All state parties that are in compliance with the BWC and CWC should receive equal treatment with respect to trade in dual-purpose agents and equipment covered by these treaties. To insure international accountability, export controls should be managed by organisations established within the framework of the two conventions.

Parties to the BWC should strengthen article X, encouraging the exchange of bacteriological information and materials for peaceful purposes. Research organisations, professional societies, and individual scientists should pledge not to engage knowingly in research or teaching that furthers the development and use of chemical and biological warfare agents. The development of novel biological and chemical agents that to not have unambiguously

peaceful purposes should be prohibited, even if these activities are promoted for defensive purposes.

# 49. Hold States and Corporations Accountable for the Impact of Military Production, Testing and Use on the Environment and Health

The nuclear weapons states, in particular, must acknowledge their responsibility for the health and environmental impacts of nuclear testing, production and use. The Hague Appeal calls for greater transparency and accountability of all military activities and their impact on the environment and on health. Governments must introduce or extend programs for monitoring, cleanup and rehabilitation of former military test sites and for compensation to former test site workers and civilian and military personnel at the sites and in neighboring local communities.

The decommissioning of nuclear and chemical weapons in industrialized countries should not lead to the export of toxic chemical and nuclear wastes to developing countries. States and corporations must make information on the impact of all military production, testing and use at military bases and other sites available to ensure transparency and to facilitate restoration.

### 50. Build a Civil Society Movement for the Abolition of War

Abolishing war will require building the institutions and the capacity to safeguard and fully implement the profound achievements of the past (such as the treaties banning chemical and biological weapons, landmines and nuclear testing) as well as to bring about the difficult negotiations to eliminate all nuclear weapons and to stop the flow of small arms and light weapons. The Hague Appeal envisions a world without violence through a new code of international conduct, which restricts military power and embraces nonviolence and adherence to international law.

Civil society has a central role to play in democratizing international relations and strengthening international peacemaking mechanisms. Civil society organizations and citizens have brought the demands of people directly to the international level and have created a "new diplomacy." The Hague Appeal for Peace affirms the necessary role of civil society in the 21st century in international and transnational disarmament and security negotiations.

### DECLARATION ON THE ELIMINATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The General Assembly,

**Recognizing** the urgent need for the universal application to women of the rights and principles with regard to equality, security, liberty, integrity and dignity of all human beings,

Noting that those rights and principles are enshrined in international instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,

Recognizing that effective implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women would contribute to the elimination of violence against women and that the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, set forth in the present resolution, will strengthen and complement that process,

Concerned that violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of equality, development and peace, as recognized in the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, in which a set of measures to combat violence against women was recommended, and to the full implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women,

Affirming that violence against women constitutes a violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of women and impairs or nullifies their enjoyment of those rights and freedoms, and concerned about the long-standing failure to protect and promote those rights and freedoms in the case of violence against women,

Recognizing that violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men,

Concerned that some groups of women, such as women belonging to minority groups, indigenous women, refugee women, migrant women, women living in rural or remote communities, destitute women, women in institutions or in detention, female children, women with disabilities, elderly women and women in situations of armed conflict, are especially vulnerable to violence,

Recalling the conclusion in paragraph 23 of the annex to Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/15 of 24 May 1990 that the recognition that violence against women in the family and society was pervasive and cut across lines of income, class and culture had to be matched by urgent and effective steps to eliminate its incidence,

*Recalling* also Economic and Social Council resolution 1991/ 18 of 30 May 1991, in which the Council recommended the development of a framework for an international instrument that would address explicitly the issue of violence against women,

*Welcoming* the role that women's movements are playing in drawing increasing attention to the nature, severity and magnitude of the problem of violence against women,

Alarmed that opportunities for women to achieve legal, social, political and economic equality in society are limited, inter alia, by continuing and endemic violence,

Convinced that in the light of the above there is a need for a clear and comprehensive definition of violence against women, a clear statement of the rights to be applied to ensure the elimination of violence against women in all its forms, a commitment by States in respect of their responsibilities, and a commitment by the international community at large to the elimination of violence against women,

Solemnly proclaims the following Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and urges that every effort be made so that it becomes generally known and respected:

### Article 1

For the purposes of this Declaration, the term "violence against women" means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

#### Article 2

Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:

- (a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;
- (b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;
- (c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs.

### Article 3

Women are entitled to the equal enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. These rights include, inter alia:

- (a) The right to life;
- (b) The right to equality;
- (c) The right to liberty and security of person;
- (d) The right to equal protection under the law;
- (e) The right to be free from all forms of discrimination;
- (f) The right to the highest standard attainable of physical and mental health;
- (g) The right to just and favourable conditions of work;
- (h) The right not to be subjected to torture, or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

### Article 4

States should condemn violence against women and should not invoke any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations with respect to its elimination. States should pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating violence against women and, to this end, should:

- (a Consider, where they have not yet done so, ratifying or acceding to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women or withdrawing reservations to that Convention;
- (b) Refrain from engaging in violence against women;
- (c) Exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and, in accordance with national legislation, punish acts of violence against women, whether those acts are perpetrated by the State or by private persons;
- (d) Develop penal, civil, labour and administrative sanctions in domestic legislation to punish and redress the wrongs caused to women who are subjected to violence; women who are subjected to violence should be provided with access to the mechanisms of justice and, as provided for by national legislation, to just and effective remedies for the harm that they have suffered; States should also inform women of their rights in seeking redress through such mechanisms;
- (e) Consider the possibility of developing national plans of action to promote the protection of women against any form of violence, or to include provisions for that purpose in plans already existing, taking into account, as appropriate, such cooperation as can be provided by non-governmental organizations, particularly those concerned with the issue of violence against women;
- (f) Develop, in a comprehensive way, preventive approaches and all those measures of a legal, political, administrative and cultural nature that promote the protection of women against any form of violence, and ensure that the re-victimization of women does not occur because of laws insensitive to gender considerations, enforcement practices or other interventions;
- (g) Work to ensure, to the maximum extent feasible in the light of their available resources and, where needed, within the framework of international cooperation, that women subjected to violence and, where appropriate, their children have specialized assistance, such as rehabilitation, assistance in child care and maintenance, treatment, counselling, and health and social services, facilities and programmes, as well as support structures, and should take all other appropriate measures to promote their safety and physical and psychological rehabilitation;
- (h) Include in government budgets adequate resources for their activities related to the elimination of violence against women;
- (i) Take measures to ensure that law enforcement officers and public officials responsible for implementing policies to prevent, investigate and punish violence against women receive training to sensitize them to the needs of women;
- (j) Adopt all appropriate measures, especially in the field of education, to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women and to eliminate prejudices,

- customary practices and all other practices based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes and on stereotyped roles for men and women;
- (k) Promote research, collect data and compile statistics, especially concerning domestic violence, relating to the prevalence of different forms of violence against women and encourage research on the causes, nature, seriousness and consequences of violence against women and on the effectiveness of measures implemented to prevent and redress violence against women; those statistics and findings of the research will be made public;
- (l) Adopt measures directed towards the elimination of violence against women who are especially vulnerable to violence;
- (m) Include, in submitting reports as required under relevant human rights instruments of the United Nations, information pertaining to violence against women and measures taken to implement the present Declaration;
- (n) Encourage the development of appropriate guidelines to assist in the implementation of the principles set forth in the present Declaration;
- (o) Recognize the important role of the women's movement and non-governmental organizations world wide in raising awareness and alleviating the problem of violence against women;
- (p) Facilitate and enhance the work of the women's movement and non-governmental organizations and cooperate with them at local, national and regional levels;
- (q) Encourage intergovernmental regional organizations of which they are members to include the eliminate h therbo15.0001.9(ra

- referred to in the present Declaration;
- (g) Consider the issue of the elimination of violence against women, as appropriate, in fulfilling their mandates with respect to the implementation of human rights instruments;
- (h) Cooperate with non-governmental organizations in addressing the issue of violence against women.

#### Article 6

Nothing in the present Declaration shall affect any provision that is more conducive to the elimination of violence against women that may be contained in the legislation of a State or in any international convention, treaty or other instrument in force in a State.

# STATEMENT ON WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO A CULTURE OF PEACE

Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, China, 4-15 September 1995

On the eve of the twenty-first century, a dynamic movement towards a culture of peace derives inspiration and hope from women's visions and actions.

It is important to draw strength from cultural diversity and redefine the concept of security so that it encompasses ecological, economic, social, cultural and personal security. To replace unequal gender relations with authentic and practical equality between women and men is imperative in order to allow for true participatory democracies.

Ours is still an armed and warring planet. In the first half of this decade alone, more than 90 conflagrations of various kinds have taken a vast toll of human life, impeded social and economic development and depleted the world's resources. Women continue to experience systematic violations of their human rights and to be largely excluded from decision-making. In situations of war and military occupation, women are to an alarming degree the victims and targets of atrocities and aggression.

To combat war as the ultimate expression of the culture of violence, we must address issues such as violence against women in the home, acts and reflexes of aggression and intolerance in everyday life, the banalization of violence in the media, the implicit glorification of war in the teaching of history, trafficking in arms and in drugs, recourse to terrorism and the denial of fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms.

A culture of peace requires that we confront the violence of economic and social deprivation. Poverty and social injustices such as exclusion and discrimination weigh particularly heavily on women. Redressing the flagrant asymmetries of wealth and opportunity within and between countries is indispensable to addressing the root causes of violence in the world.

Equality, development and peace are inextricably linked. There can be no lasting peace without development, and no sustainable development without full equality between men and women.

The new millennium must mark a new beginning. We must dedicate ourselves to averting violence at all levels, to exploring alternatives to violent conflict and to forging attitudes of tolerance and active concern towards others. Human society has the capacity to manage conflict so that it becomes part of a dynamic of positive change. Always provided it involves the full participation of women, action to remedy a pervasive culture of violence is not beyond the capacity of the people and governments of the world.

Efforts to move towards a culture of peace must be founded in education; as stated in UNESCO's Constitution: since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.

Girls and women constitute a large majority of the world's educationally excluded and unreached. Ensuring equality of educational access and opportunity between the sexes is a prerequisite for achieving the changes of attitudes and mind-sets on which a culture of peace depends.

Equality in education is the key to meeting other requirements for a culture of peace. These include: full respect for the human rights of women; the release and utilisation of women's creative potential in all aspects of life; power sharing and equal participation in decision-making by women and men; the reorientation of social and economic policies to equalise opportunities and new and more equitable patterns of gender relations presupposing a radical reform of social structures and processes.

Women's capacity for leadership must be utilised to the full and to the benefit of all in order to progress towards a culture of peace. Their historically limited participation in governance has led to a distortion of concepts and a narrowing of processes. In such areas as conflict prevention, the promotion of cross-cultural dialogue and the redressing of socio-economic injustice, women can be the source of innovative and much needed approaches to peace-building.

Women bring to the cause of peace among people and nations distinctive experiences, competence, and perspectives. Women's role in giving and sustaining life has provided them with skills and insights essential to peaceful human relations and social development. Women subscribe less readily than men to the myth of the efficacy of violence, and they can bring a new breadth, quality and balance of vision to a joint effort of moving from a culture of war towards a culture of peace.

### To this end, we the undersigned, commit ourselves to:

- support national and international efforts to ensure equal access to all forms of learning opportunities, with a view to women's empowerment and access to decision-making;
- promote relevant quality education that imparts knowledge
  of the human rights of men and women, skills of non-violent
  conflict resolution, respect for the natural environment,
  intercultural understanding and awareness of global interdependence, which are essential constituents of a culture of
  peace;
- encourage new approaches to development that take account of women's priorities and perspectives;
- oppose the misuse of religion, cultural and traditional practices for discriminatory purposes;
- seek to reduce the direct and indirect impact of the culture of war on women - in the form of physical and sexual violence or the neglect of social services for excessive military expenditure;
- increase women's freedom of expression and involvement in the media as well as the use of gender-sensitive language and images;
- promote knowledge and respect for international normative instruments concerning the human rights of girls and women and ensure widespread dissemination in order to further the well-being of all, men and women, including the most vulnerable groups of societies;
- support governmental and intergovernmental structures as well as women's associations and NGOs committed to the development of a culture of peace based on equality between women and men.
- We, the signatories, appeal to women and men of goodwill
  and of diverse cultural backgrounds, religious beliefs, ethnic
  and social origins to join us in a global endeavour to build, in
  solidarity and compassion, a culture of peace in the domestic

- realm and in the public sphere.
- Only together, women and men in parity and partnership, can we overcome obstacles and inertia, silence and frustration and ensure the insight, political will, creative thinking and concrete actions needed for a global transition from the culture of violence to a culture of peace.

### THE SEVILLE STATEMENT

### INTRODUCTION

Believing that it is our responsibility to address from our particular disciplines the most dangerous and destructive activities of our species, violence and war; recognising that science is a human cultural product which cannot be definitive or all encompassing; and gratefully acknowledging the support of the authorities of Seville and representatives of the Spanish UNESCO, we, the undersigned scholars from around the world and from relevant sciences, have met and arrived at the following Statement on Violence. In it, we challenge a number of alleged biological findings that have been used, even by some in our disciplines, to justify violence and war. Because the alleged findings have contributed to an atmosphere of pessimism in our time, we submit that the open, considered rejection of these misstatements can contribute significantly to the International Year of Peace.

Misuse of scientific theories and data to justify violence and war is not new but has been made since the advent of modem science. For example, the theory of evolution has been used to justify not only war, but also genocide, colonialism, and suppression of the weak.

We state our position in the form of five propositions. We are aware that there are many other issues about violence and war that could be fruitfully addressed from the standpoint of our disciplines, but we restrict ourselves here to what we consider a most important first step.

### FIRST PROPOSITION

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that we have inherited a tendency to make war from our animal ancestors. Although fighting occurs widely throughout animal species, only a few cases of destructive intraspecies fighting between organised groups have ever been reported among naturally living species, and none of these involve the use of tools designed to be weapons. Normal predatory feeding upon other species cannot be equated with intraspecies violence. Warfare is a peculiarly human phenomenon and does not occur in other animals.

The fact that warfare has changed so radically over time indicates that it is a product of culture. Its biological connection is primarily through language, which makes possible the coordination of groups, the transmission of technology, and the use of tools. War is biologically possible, but it is not inevitable, as evidenced by its variation in occurrence and nature over time and space. There are cultures which have not engaged in war for centuries, and there are cultures which have engaged in war frequently at some times and not at others.

### SECOND PROPOSITION

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that war or any other violent behaviour is genetically programmed into our human nature. While genes are involved at all levels of nervous system function, they provide a developmental potential that can be actualised only in conjunction with the ecological and social environment. While individuals vary in their predispositions to be affected by their experience, it is the interaction between their

genetic endowment and conditions of nurturance that determines their personalities. Except for rare pathologies, the genes do not produce individuals necessarily predisposed to violence. Neither do they determine the opposite. While genes are co-involved in establishing our behavioural capacities, they do not by themselves specify the outcome.

### THIRD PROPOSITION

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that in the course of human evolution there has been a selection for aggressive behaviour more than for other kinds of behaviour. In all wellstudied species, status within the group is achieved by the ability to co-operate and to fulfil social functions relevant to the structure of that group. 'Dominance' involves social bondings and affiliations; it is not simply a matter of the possession and use of superior physical power, although it does involve aggressive behaviours. Where genetic selection for aggressive behaviour has been artificially instituted in animals, it has rapidly succeeded in producing hyper-aggressive individuals; this indicates that aggression was not maximally selected under natural conditions. When such experimentally-created hyperaggressive animals are present in a social group, they either disrupt its social structure or are driven out. Violence is neither in our evolutionary legacy nor in our genes.

### FOURTH PROPOSITION

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that humans have a 'violent brain.' While we do have the neural apparatus to act violently, it is not automatically activated by internal or external stimuli. Like higher primates and unlike other animals, our higher neural processes filter such stimuli before they can be acted upon. How we act is shaped by how we have been conditioned and socialised. There is nothing in our neurophysiology that compels us to react violently.

### FIFTH PROPOSITION

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that war is caused by 'instinct' or any single motivation. The emergence of modern warfare has been a journey from the primacy of emotional and motivational factors, sometimes called 'instincts,' to the primacy of cognitive factors. Modem war involves institutional use of personal characteristics such as obedience, suggestibility, and idealism, social skills such as language, and rational considerations such as cost-calculation, planning, and information processing. The technology of modem war has exaggerated traits associated with violence both in the training of actual combatants and in the preparation of support for war in the general population. As a result of this exaggeration, such traits are often mistaken to be the causes rather than the consequences of the process.

### CONCLUSION

We conclude that biology does not condemn humanity to war, and that humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism and empowered with confidence to undertake the

transformative tasks needed in this International Year of Peace and in the years to come. Although these tasks are mainly institutional and collective, they also rest upon the consciousness of individual participants for whom pessimism and optimism are crucial factors. Just as 'wars begin in the minds of men', peace also begins in our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us.

#### THE EARTH CHARTER

### **PREAMBLE**

We stand at a critical moment in Earth's history, a time when humanity must choose its future. As the world becomes increasingly interdependent and fragile, the future at once holds great peril and great promise. To move forward we must recognize that in the midst of a magnificent diversity of cultures and life forms we are one human family and one Earth community with a common destiny. We must join together to bring forth a sustainable global society founded on respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice, and a culture of peace. Towards this end, it is imperative that we, the peoples of Earth, declare our responsibility to one another, to the greater community of life, and to future generations.

### Earth, Our Home

Humanity is part of a vast evolving universe. Earth, our home, is alive with a unique community of life. The forces of nature make existence a demanding and uncertain adventure, but Earth has provided the conditions essential to life's evolution. The resilience of the community of life and the well-being of humanity depend upon preserving a healthy biosphere with all its ecological systems, a rich variety of plants and animals, fertile soils, pure waters, and clean air. The global environment with its finite resources is a common concern of all peoples. The protection of Earth's vitality, diversity, and beauty is a sacred trust.

### **The Global Situation**

The dominant patterns of production and consumption are causing environmental devastation, the depletion of resources, and a massive extinction of species. Communities are being undermined. The benefits of development are not shared equitably and the gap between rich and poor is widening. Injustice, poverty, ignorance, and violent conflict are widespread and the cause of great suffering. An unprecedented rise in human population has overburdened ecological and social systems. The foundations of global security are threatened. These trends are perilous—but not inevitable.

### The Challenges Ahead

The choice is ours: form a global partnership to care for Earth and one another or risk the destruction of ourselves and the diversity of life. Fundamental changes are needed in our values, institutions, and ways of living. We must realize that when basic needs have been met, human development is primarily about being more, not having more. We have the knowledge and technology to provide for all and to reduce our impacts on the environment. The emergence of a global civil society is creating new opportunities to build a democratic and humane world. Our environmental, economic, political, social, and spiritual challenges are interconnected, and together we can forge inclusive solutions.

### **Universal Responsibility**

To realize these aspirations, we must decide to live with a sense of universal responsibility, identifying ourselves with the whole Earth community as well as our local communities. We are at once citizens of different nations and of one world in which the local and global are linked. Everyone shares responsibility for the present and future well-being of the human family and the larger living world. The spirit of human solidarity and kinship with all life is strengthened when we live with reverence for the mystery of being, gratitude for the gift of life, and humility regarding the human place in nature.

We urgently need a shared vision of basic values to provide an ethical foundation for the emerging world community. Therefore, together in hope we affirm the following interdependent principles for a sustainable way of life as a common standard by which the conduct of all individuals, organizations, businesses, governments, and transnational institutions is to be guided and assessed.

### **PRINCIPLES**

### I. RESPECT AND CARE FOR THE COMMUNITY OF LIFE

- 1. Respect Earth and life in all its diversity.
  - Recognize that all beings are interdependent and every form of life has value regardless of its worth to human beings.
  - b. Affirm faith in the inherent dignity of all human beings and in the intellectual, artistic, ethical, and spiritual potential of humanity.
- 2. Care for the community of life with understanding, compassion, and love.
  - a. Accept that with the right to own, manage, and use natural resources comes the duty to prevent environmental harm and to protect the rights of people.
  - Affirm that with increased freedom, knowledge, and power comes increased responsibility to promote the common good.
- 3. Build democratic societies that are just, participatory, sustainable, and peaceful.
  - a. Ensure that communities at all levels guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms and provide everyone an opportunity to realize his or her full potential.
  - Promote social and economic justice, enabling all to achieve a secure and meaningful livelihood that is ecologically responsible.
- 4. Secure Earth's bounty and beauty for present and future generations.
  - a. Recognize that the freedom of action of each generation is qualified by the needs of future generations.
  - b. Transmit to future generations values, traditions, and institutions that support the long-term flourishing of Earth's human and ecological communities.

In order to fulfill these four broad commitments, it is necessary to:

### II. ECOLOGICAL INTEGRITY

- Protect and restore the integrity of Earth's ecological systems, with special concern for biological diversity and the natural processes that sustain life.
  - a. Adopt at all levels sustainable development plans and regulations that make environmental conservation and rehabilitation integral to all development initiatives.
  - b. Establish and safeguard viable nature and biosphere reserves, including wild lands and marine areas, to protect Earth's life support systems, maintain biodiversity, and preserve our natural heritage.
  - c. Promote the recovery of endangered species and ecosystems.
  - d. Control and eradicate non-native or genetically modified organisms harmful to native species and the environment, and prevent introduction of such harmful organisms.
  - e. Manage the use of renewable resources such as water, soil, forest products, and marine life in ways that do not exceed rates of regeneration and that protect the health of ecosystems.
  - f. Manage the extraction and use of non-renewable resources such as minerals and fossil fuels in ways that minimize depletion and cause no serious environmental damage.
- 6. Prevent harm as the best method of environmental protection and, when knowledge is limited, apply a precautionary approach.
  - a. Take action to avoid the possibility of serious or irreversible environmental harm even when scientific knowledge is incomplete or inconclusive.
  - b. Place the burden of proof on those who argue that a proposed activity will not cause significant harm, and make the responsible parties liable for environmental harm.
  - c. Ensure that decision-making addresses the cumulative, long-term, indirect, long distance, and global consequences of human activities.
  - d. Prevent pollution of any part of the environment and allow no build-up of radioactive, toxic, or other hazard-ous substances.
  - e. Avoid military activities damaging to the environment.
- Adopt patterns of production, consumption, and reproduction that safeguard Earth's regenerative capacities, human rights, and community well-being.
  - a. Reduce, reuse, and recycle the materials used in production and consumption systems, and ensure that residual waste can be assimilated by ecological systems.
  - Act with restraint and efficiency when using energy, and rely increasingly on renewable energy sources such as solar and wind.
  - c. Promote the development, adoption, and equitable transfer of environmentally sound technologies.
  - d. Internalize the full environmental and social costs of goods and services in the selling price, and enable consumers to identify products that meet the highest social and environmental standards.
  - e. Ensure universal access to health care that fosters

- reproductive health and responsible reproduction.
- f. Adopt lifestyles that emphasize the quality of life and material sufficiency in a finite world.
- 8. Advance the study of ecological sustainability and promote the open exchange and wide application of the knowledge acquired.
  - Support international scientific and technical cooperation on sustainability, with special attention to the needs of developing nations.
  - Recognize and preserve the traditional knowledge and spiritual wisdom in all cultures that contribute to environmental protection and human well-being.
  - c. Ensure that information of vital importance to human health and environmental protection, including genetic information, remains available in the public domain.

### III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

- 9. Eradicate poverty as an ethical, social, and environmental imperative.
  - Guarantee the right to potable water, clean air, food security, uncontaminated soil, shelter, and safe sanitation, allocating the national and international resources required.
  - b. Empower every human being with the education and resources to secure a sustainable livelihood, and provide social security and safety nets for those who are unable to support themselves.
  - c. Recognize the ignored, protect the vulnerable, serve those who suffer, and enable them to develop their capacities and to pursue their aspirations.
- 10. Ensure that economic activities and institutions at all levels promote human development in an equitable and sustainable manner.
  - a. Promote the equitable distribution of wealth within nations and among nations.
  - b. Enhance the intellectual, financial, technical, and social resources of developing nations, and relieve them of onerous international debt.
  - c. Ensure that all trade supports sustainable resource use, environmental protection, and progressive labor standards.
  - d. Require multinational corporations and international financial organizations to act transparently in the public good, and hold them accountable for the consequences of their activities.
- 11. Affirm gender equality and equity as prerequisites to sustainable development and ensure universal access to education, health care, and economic opportunity.
  - a. Secure the human rights of women and girls and end all violence against them.
  - Promote the active participation of women in all aspects of economic, political, civil, social, and cultural life as full and equal partners, decision makers, leaders, and beneficiaries.
  - c. Strengthen families and ensure the safety and loving nurture of all family members.
- 12. Uphold the right of all, without discrimination, to a natural and social environment supportive of human dignity, bodily health, and spiritual well-being, with special attention to the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities.

- a. Eliminate discrimination in all its forms, such as that based on race, color, sex, sexual orientation, religion, language, and national, ethnic or social origin.
- b. Affirm the right of indigenous peoples to their spirituality, knowledge, lands and resources and to their related practice of sustainable livelihoods.
- Honor and support the young people of our communities, enabling them to fulfill their essential role in creating sustainable societies.
- d. Protect and restore outstanding places of cultural and spiritual significance.

### IV. DEMOCRACY. NONVIOLENCE. AND PEACE

- 13. Strengthen democratic institutions at all levels, and provide transparency and accountability in governance, inclusive participation in decision-making, and access to justice.
  - a. Uphold the right of everyone to receive clear and timely information on environmental matters and all development plans and activities which are likely to affect them or in which they have an interest.
  - b. Support local, regional and global civil society, and promote the meaningful participation of all interested individuals and organizations in decision-making.
  - c. Protect the rights to freedom of opinion, expression, peaceful assembly, association, and dissent.
  - d. Institute effective and efficient access to administrative and independent judicial procedures, including remedies and redress for environmental harm and the threat of such harm.
  - e. Eliminate corruption in all public and private institu-
  - f. Strengthen local communities, enabling them to care for their environments, and assign environmental responsibilities to the levels of government where they can be carried out most effectively.
- 14. Integrate into formal education and life-long learning the knowledge, values, and skills needed for a sustainable way of life
  - a. Provide all, especially children and youth, with educational opportunities that empower them to contribute actively to sustainable development.
  - b. Promote the contribution of the arts and humanities as well as the sciences in sustainability education.
  - c. Enhance the role of the mass media in raising awareness of ecological and social challenges.
  - d. Recognize the importance of moral and spiritual education for sustainable living.
- 15. Treat all living beings with respect and consideration.
  - a. Prevent cruelty to animals kept in human societies and protect them from suffering.
  - Protect wild animals from methods of hunting, trapping, and fishing that cause extreme, prolonged, or avoidable suffering.
  - c. Avoid or eliminate to the full extent possible the taking or destruction of non-targeted species.
- 16. Promote a culture of tolerance, nonviolence, and peace.
  - a. Encourage and support mutual understanding, solidarity, and cooperation among all peoples and within and among nations.

- Implement comprehensive strategies to prevent violent conflict and use collaborative problem solving to manage and resolve environmental conflicts and other disputes.
- c. Demilitarize national security systems to the level of a non-provocative defense posture, and convert military resources to peaceful purposes, including ecological restoration.
- d. Eliminate nuclear, biological, and toxic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.
- e. Ensure that the use of orbital and outer space supports environmental protection and peace.
- f. Recognize that peace is the wholeness created by right relationships with oneself, other persons, other cultures, other life, Earth, and the larger whole of which all are a part.

### THE WAY FORWARD

As never before in history, common destiny beckons us to seek a new beginning. Such renewal is the promise of these Earth Charter principles. To fulfill this promise, we must commit ourselves to adopt and promote the values and objectives of the Charter.

This requires a change of mind and heart. It requires a new sense of global interdependence and universal responsibility. We must imaginatively develop and apply the vision of a sustainable way of life locally, nationally, regionally, and globally. Our cultural diversity is a precious heritage and different cultures will find their own distinctive ways to realize the vision. We must deepen and expand the global dialogue that generated the Earth Charter, for we have much to learn from the ongoing collaborative search for truth and wisdom.

Life often involves tensions between important values. This can mean difficult choices. However, we must find ways to harmonize diversity with unity, the exercise of freedom with the common good, short-term objectives with long-term goals. Every individual, family, organization, and community has a vital role to play. The arts, sciences, religions, educational institutions, media, businesses, nongovernmental organizations, and governments are all called to offer creative leadership. The partnership of government, civil society, and business is essential for effective governance.

In order to build a sustainable global community, the nations of the world must renew their commitment to the United Nations, fulfill their obligations under existing international agreements, and support the implementation of Earth Charter principles with an international legally binding instrument on environment and development.

Let ours be a time remembered for the awakening of a new reverence for life, the firm resolve to achieve sustainability, the quickening of the struggle for justice and peace, and the joyful celebration of life.

### **OTHER PEACE CHARTERS**

The tables on the following pages provide a list of (and links to) other recent charters and declarations on peace. This list was drawn from the UNESCO website at www.unesco.org.

Click on the links to these documents or

type their addresses into your web browser. Unless

otherwise noted, the addresses are http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/followed by the document name listed here.

CHARTER/DECLARATION	LOCATION/INFORMATION	DATE	FULL TEXT
Declaration for All Life on Earth	Nippon Budokan, Tokyo, Japan	September 30, 2000	paxterre.htm
Montevideo Declaration on the Use of Children as Soldiers	Montevideo, Uruguay	July 8, 1999	motevideo.htm
Declaración de Curitiba - Principios y Acciones	Cátedra UNESCO/AUGM de Cultura de Paz Seminario Internacional "Por uma Cultura da Paz," Curitiba, Paraná Brasil	June 1, 1999	curitiba.htm
Zanzibar Declaration	Women Organize for Peace and Non-Violence in Africa, Pan- African Women's Conference on a Culture of Peace, Zanzibar, Tanzania	May 20, 1999	zanzibar.htm
Moscow Appeal for the Year 2000	International Forum For a Culture of Peace and Dialogue between Civilizations in the Third Millennium, Moscow, Russian Federation	May 15, 1999	moscow2.htm
Hanoi Statement on the Culture of Peace	National Workshop on a Culture of Peace, Hanoi, Cambodia	May 15, 1999	hanoi.htm
The Tripoli Appeal for the Establishment of a Culture of Peace in Africa on the Threshold of the Third Millennium	Tripoli, Libyan Jamahiriya	April 12, 1999	tripoli.htm
Declaration of Panama	Meeting of Latin American Radio and Television Station Owners and Directors for a Culture of Peace, Panama City, Panama	March 22, 1999	panama.htm
Déclaration de Niamey pour une culture de la paix et de la non-violence	5è me Conférence panafricaine des Associations et Clubs de l'UNESCO, Niamey, Ré publique du Niger	March 20, 1999	niamey.htm
Déclaration de Rabat «Pour une stratégie Arabe d'éducation aux droits de l'homme »	Rabat, Morocco	February 20, 1999	rabat.pdf
The Pune Declaration on "Education for Human Rights in Asia and the Pacific"	Adopted by the Asia and Pacific Regional Seminar on Education for Human Rights, Pune, India	February 6, 1999	pune.pdf
Moscow Declaration of Journalists for a Culture of Peace	International Congress of Journalists of Russia, CIS and Baltic Countries on "Tolerance, Human Rights and Press Freedom," Moscow, Russia	November 14, 1998	moscow.pdf
Tashkent Declaration	Decision 9.6 of UNESCO's Executive Board at its 155th session, Tashkent, Uzbekistan	November 6, 1998	tashkent.pdf

CHARTER/DECLARATION	LOCATION/INFORMATION	DATE	FULL TEXT
The Brussels Call for Action	International Conference on "Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development," Brussels, Belgium	October 13, 1998	brussels.pdf
World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-First Century: Vision and Action	World Conference on Higher Education UNESCO House, Paris, France	October 5-9, 1998	world.pdf
Tbilisi Declaration by Journalist of the Caucaus	Tbilisi, Georgia	September 14-16, 1998	tbilisi2.pdf
Statement on Peace in Southeast Asia on the Eve of the Third Millennium	Jakarta, Indonesia	September 11-12, 1998	asean.pdf
Final Document of the Summit of Heads of State or Government on the Non- Aligned Movement	Durban, South Africa	September 2-3, 1998	nam.pdf
Appeal Adopted by the Participants of the Second International Symposium "For a Culture of Peace in the Third Millennium"	Baden-Baden, Germany	August 20, 1998	baden.htm
Lisbon Declaration on Youth Policies and Programmes	World Conference of Ministers Responsible for Youth Lisbon, Portugal	August 8-12, 1998	lisbon.pdf
Resolution of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	Baltimore, U.S.	July 31, 1998	wilpf.pdf
"Fostering the Culture of Peace in the Middle-East" - The Rhodes Statement	Israeli-Palestinian Conference on Public Opinion, Molders, Rhodes, Greece	July 2-5, 1998	rhodes.pdf
The Kishinev Declaration "For a Culture of Peace and Dialogue of Civilizations"	Adopted by acclamation by the International Forum "For a Culture of Peace and Dialogue of Civilisations, Against a Culture of War and Violence," Kishinev, Republic of Moldova	May 18, 1998	kishinevltrhed
Final Communiqué of the Meeting 'Building the Future: Towards a Culture of Peace Greece-Turkey-Turkey-Greece'	UNESCO House, Paris, France	May 12-13, 1998	greece.pdf
Decision on the Culture of Peace	Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso	May 8-10, 1998	oaucpp.pdf
The Caribbean Media: Freedom and Understanding	Kingston, Jamaica	May 1-2, 1998	caribbean.pdf
Statement on the Role of UNESCO Chairs in the Promotion of a Culture of Peace	Adopted by the International Meeting of Representatives of UNESCO Chairs on Human Rights, Peace, Democracy and Tolerance, Stadtschlainining, Austria	April 25, 1998	chairs.pdf

CHARTER/DECLARATION	LOCATION/INFORMATION	DATE	FULL TEXT		
The Stadtschlainingan Appeal to Promote Human Rights, Peace, Democracy, International Understanding and Tolerance	Adopted by the International Meeting of Representatives of UNESCO Chairs on Human Rights, Peace, Democracy and Tolerance, Stadtschlaining, Austria	April 25, 1998	stadtschlaining.	pdf    Click on the links to these documents or	
The Durban Statement of Commitment, VII Conference of Ministers of Education (MINEDAF VII)	Durban, South Africa	April 20-24, 1998	durban.pdf	type their addresses into your web browser. Unless otherwise noted, the	
Declaration of the Central American Military Second Forum for the Culture of Peace	Guatemala, Guatemala	April 17, 1998	military2.pdf	addresses are http:// www.unesco.org/ cpp/uk/declarations/ followed by the	
Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development, Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development	Stockholm, Sweden	April 2, 1998	cultural.pdf	document name listed here.	
Declaration on 'The Dialogue Among the Three Monotheistic Religions: Towards a Culture of Peace"	Rabat, Morocco	February 1, 1998	religion2.pdf		
Yamoussoukro Declaration on Peace	Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire	December 5, 1997	yamoussoukro2.pdf		
Declaration on the Responsibilities of the Present Generations Towards Future Generations	Adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its 29th session	November 12, 1997	generations.pdf		
Recommendations of the Expert Group Meeting on Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace	Oslo, Norway	September 24-28, 1997	oslotoc.htm		
Universal Declaration on Democracy	Adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council, Cairo, Egypt	September 16, 1997	democracy.pdf		
Maputo Declaration	Following the Final Report of the International Conference on Culture of Peace and Governance, Maputo, Mozambique	September 1-4, 1997	http://www.une cpp/uk/news/ mapeng.htm	sco.org/	
Declaration of the Regional Summit for Political Development and Democratic Principles, Governing Globalization, "The Brasilia Consensus"	Brasilia, Brazil	July 6, 1997	brasilia.pdf		
The Malta Declaration (Roads of Faith)	Malta	June 22, 1997	malta.pdf		
Declaration of Puebla (Meeting of Publishers and Editors of Latin American Newspapers for a Culture of Peace)	Puebla, Mexico	May 17, 1997	puebla.pdf		
Bamako Declaration	Bamako	March 28, 1997	bamako.pdf		
The Human Right to Peace	Declaration by the Director-General	January 1, 1997	http://www.une general/eng/wha decl.eng.html		

CHARTER/DECLARATION	LOCATION/INFORMATION	DATE	FULL TEXT	
Declaration of Antigua Guatemala on Human Rights and Culture of Peace (Ibero-American Forum of Ombudsmen)	Antigua, Guatemala	July 30, 1996	ombudsmen.pdf	
Declaration of the Central American Military Forum for the Culture of Peace	San Salvador, El Salvador	July 27, 1996	military.pdf Click on the links to these documents or	
Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights	Barcelona, Spain	June 9, 1996	linguistic.pdf type their addresses into your web browser. Unless otherwise noted, the addresses are http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/	
Final Communiqué (Symposium on Conflict Resolution. The Humanitarian Dimension - The Case of the Sudan)	Noordwijk, The Netherlands	May 20-23, 1996		
Guidelines for a Plan of Action for UNESCO Interregional Project for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence in Educational Institutions	Sintra, Portugal	May 22, 1996	sintra.pdf followed by the document name listed here.	
Declaration on the Principles of Tolerance	Proclaimed by the General Conference of UNESCO	November 16, 1995	tolerance.pdf	
Barcelona Declaration (Symposium on the Fundamental Problems of the Sudan)	Barcelona, Spain	September 23-26, 1995	barcelona.pdf	
Tbilisi Appeal for Peace and Tolerance, for a Dialogue of Cultures	Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia	July 14, 1995	tsbilisi.pdf	
The Rabat Proposals	Meeting of Experts on the 'Roads of Faith' Project, Rabat, Morocco,	June 23, 1995	faith.pdf	
The Khartoum Declaration Adopted at the Seminar on the Culture of Peace	Khartoum, Sudan	April 8-11, 1995	khartoum.pdf	
General Declaration of the National Forum for the Culture of Peace in the Congo "Intercommunity Dialogue for Peace, Democracy and Sustainable Development"	Brazzaville, Republic of the Congo	December 23, 1994	congo.pdf	
Declaration on the Role of Religion in the Promotion of a Culture of Peace	Barcelona, Spain	December 18, 1994	religion.pdf	
Declaration by the participants in the Symposium on the Culture of Peace in Burundi regarding the socio-political situation in the country	Bujumbura, Burundi	December 17, 1994	bur94.pdf	
Declaration of the 44th session of the International Conference on Education and Draft Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy	Geneva, UNESCO/IBE. Endorsed by the General Conference at its 28th Session in November 1995.	Oct 3-8, 1994	http://www.unesco.org/ cpp/uk/projects/ educat.pdf	
The San Salvador Appeal	El Salvador	April 28, 1993	salvador.pdf	
World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy	Montré al, Canada	March 11, 1993	http://www.unesco.org/ human_rights/hrfe.htm	
Yamoussoukro Declaration on Peace in the Minds of Men (International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men)	Yamoussoukro, Cô te d'Ivoire	June 26-July 1, 1989	yamouss.pdf	
Women's Learning Partnership			65	