A Shared Human Identity:

the Foundation of a

Peace Culture

A thesis submitted by

Vicky Rossi
vickyrossi555@gmail.com

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Introduction

Can we say that there is peace in the world whilst, for example, 80% of the human race is living in poverty, whilst the planet is potentially being polluted beyond its capacity to regenerate and whilst governments continue to spend disproportionate sums of money on weapons that can bring pain and even total annihilation?

This thesis will forward the hypothesis that the challenges faced by humanity at the start of the 21st century highlight the urgent need to reconsider some of the basic structures which underpin societies worldwide. Two of the most important of these structures, which will be given consideration in this thesis, are the culture of violence and the patriarchal system.

This thesis will further hypothesise that violence has become an every day component of life, whether we are subjected to it directly or observe it from a distance, and that if human beings are to have any chance of replacing violence with a culture of peace, it will be essential to find ways of extending the human sense of belonging beyond such "borders" as family, State and nation to include an overriding identification as a member of the one humanity. United Nations and civil society initiatives in the global peace process will be presented as indicators of a growing endeavour on the part of humankind to build a culture of peace based on equality, social justice and an inclusive human identity. The Earth Charter will be presented as a tool which could be used to guide governmental bodies, civil society and individuals in the creation of structures, values and an expanded global vision that could provide transcendent solutions to the challenges currently faced by the human race.

Given the cultural background of the author of this thesis, it is acknowledged that this paper might have particular relevance for Western communities, however the culture of violence and the patriarchal system are structures which also form the basis of many non-Western societies and as such the arguments presented herein could have more widespread significance. Furthermore, this thesis will refer to many of the global challenges faced by humanity, which by their nature have a direct or indirect impact on all citizens of the planet.

Chapter 1: A Culture of Violence or a Culture of Peace?

What is peace? Is it merely the absence of violence? And if it is, what is violence? Is it merely, direct physical aggression?

If peace were considered the societal equivalent of physical, emotional and mental health, then violence, as the opposite of peace, could be seen to equate to illness or disease. Natural health practitioners consider illness to be the result of "dis-" "ease", that is, the state of not being in harmony with oneself. Taking the peace/health and violence/illness allegory further then it could be argued that the level of violence expressed in societies worldwide is indicative of the depth of disharmony within the ranks of humanity, both at the inter-community and intra-community levels.

Anyone who has looked into the field of peace studies will know that violence is more than direct aggression. However, the average person is not aware of the structural and cultural dimensions of violence, or at the very least they have never considered such things as poverty, unemployment (structural), censorship and sexual discrimination (cultural) as components of a culture of violence. And yet if governments, educators, the media and every aware individual were to label these additional categories of violence as such, more men and women would come to understand how far we still are from creating a culture of peace and how important it is to create new structures, or to reform the existing ones, in order to guarantee a more peaceful future for the present world community and future generations.

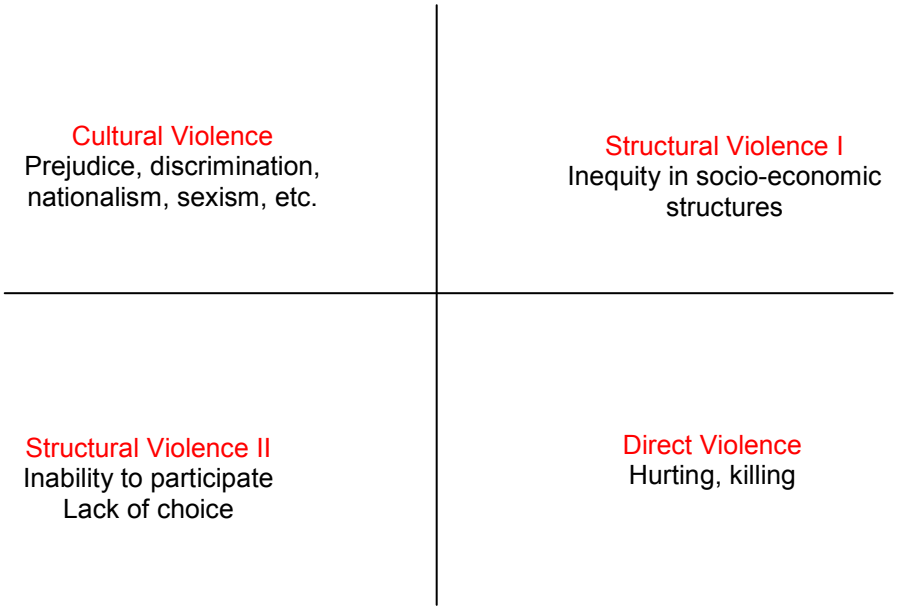

Figure 1 – A Culture of Violence
(Categorisation based on the work of Johan Galtung)

Peace is a "living" concept and men and women's understanding of what constitutes peace, and what is comprised by its antithesis i.e. violence, is evolving as the human race itself evolves. If history were to be considered as the evolution of the human consciousness, human progress could be seen to have been driven first by dint of instinct, in the era of pre-historic cave dwellers; then by desire and emotions, as the first communities were formed and the sense of individuality became more pronounced; and currently through the development of the intellect. Present day societies, particularly in "developed" States, are characterised by a vast network of information technology, which has brought people into vivid contact with the day-to-day reality of life in almost every corner of the globe. This fact together with the high value placed on intelligence, that is the ability to think and reason, is giving greater prominence to the issues of morality and ethics in human attitudes and behaviour, be this is at the macrocosmic level in such fields as politics and trade, or on a community and individual basis. Human understanding of the concept of peace is evolving beyond the notion of the absence of war and towards the rejection of violence on all four of its levels. A clear indication of this can be evidenced in the staggering rise in the number of civil society peace and humanitarian initiatives, over the last half century, and the growing field of endeavours of the United Nations bodies, agencies and programmes – an issue which will be taken up at greater length later in this thesis.

A comprehensive definition of the concept of peace has been identified by Fischer, Nolte & Oeberg in their book "Winning Peace" [1]:

> "(…) all that aims to develop security and secure development of the whole human being, and all human beings, in a permanent process, taking its point of departure in a model of human and social needs based on an ethics of global care and allowing for unity in diversity."

The phrase "an ethics of global care" is an important reminder that peace is measured not only by human-human relations, but by the quality of human-nature relationships too, namely humanity's interactions with the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. Humankind's desire to dominate the environment with scant regard for the consequences has led to a growing scarcity of natural resources, the pollution of the Earth's waterways, sickness in animals necessitating mass killings, changes in climatic conditions and devastating natural catastrophes, etc. To counteract this, human beings have the choice to assume their role as "guardians" of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms rather than to continue using violence and domination to "master" the Earth and her natural resources.

The Microcosmic and Macrocosmic Aspects of Peace

In the midst of the innumerable intractable conflicts of today and the existence of nuclear weapons capable of destroying the world many times over, it is arguable that world governance can no longer be left solely to political decision-makers. At a microcosmic level, each and every aware individual can begin to assume greater responsibility for the

state of the world by taking up the challenge of embodying the peace that he/she hopes to see mirrored in the world community (macrocosm). In order to embrace peace, it is helpful to understand some of the underlying reasons for the manifestation of its antithesis, i.e. violence. Why do individuals resort to violence?

Individual acts of direct violence can be considered a response to physical, emotional, mental or spiritual disharmony, for example: feelings of frustration and built up aggression can lead to violence as an ***emotional*** outlet; childhood experiences can give rise to expectations of hopelessness in adult years - violence in this case could be considered as a ***mental*** reaction; the resort to violence could be to protect ***physical*** basic needs such as safety, food, and freedom; and on a ***spiritual*** level, historical antecedents such as the fact that a distant past has been characterised by war could hold violence in the collective subconscious, making it the line of least resistance. In the same way as cancer is a physical manifestation of a myriad of possible causes of ill health, direct aggression can have its cause in more than one instigating factor.

In full recognition of the difficult challenges faced by the human race as a whole (macrocosm) and by individual men and women (microcosm), a culture of peace would nevertheless reject direct violence as a means of resolving conflict and would instead require that States and individual members of those States use conflict transformation skills that deal comprehensively with the root causes of physical aggression. This rejection of the use of violence would be based on a respect for Life. An inherent respect for all forms of Life is more easily achievable if human beings can extend their range of identifications. This idea will be discussed throughout this thesis. The basic concept, however, is that each individual has the responsibility as a member of the human family to find ways of expressing right human relations within his/her own being, family unit, local, national and global community, as well as in relation to the natural environment. A challenging task for sure, however, the road to peace has already been mapped out for humanity by some of its forerunners. Let us consider a few examples:

Historically, the Buddha indicated to humanity one possible road to peace through the eight fold path of right view, right thinking, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right diligence, right mindfulness and right concentration. These principals have stood the test of time and are as valid today as they were 2,500 years ago. Bonaro W. Overstreet in his book, "Understanding Fear – In Ourselves and Others" [2], quotes a somewhat amusing approach to this question by Peter Viereck:

> "Peter Viereck describes our modern 'limbo' as a place where…
> …men are filed in their own filing-system
> With frayed manila folders for their souls,
> Once labelled GOD'S OWN IMAGE: USE WITH CARE
> But now reclassified as OBSOLETE."

Active individual participation in the promotion of social justice and political decision-making, without the use of violence, in a spirit of tolerance and goodwill, was strongly advocated by Gandhi in the 1900s. He promoted such important concepts as:

- *Ahimsa* - non-injury through "the renunciation of physical and mental violence against one's self, others, animals and nature" [3];
- *Advaita* - the interconnectivity of all life forms;
- *Tapasya* – the willingness to suffer rather than inflict pain on others;
- *Sarvodaya* – everyone's basis needs must be met even if that means that some people must give something up so that others are not left out;
- *Satyagraha* – the pursuit of Truth through non-violent action.

A modern day approach to responsible and peaceful human relations is Marshall Rosenberg's Non-violent Communication method. This method recognises the interconnectivity of Life and the common human condition and emphasises the importance of the appropriate use of language in the transformation of conflict. Rosenberg encourages men and women to connect compassionately with themselves and with others in order to resolve differences peacefully and constructively.

The examples cited above as possible "roads to peace" have in common the fact that, as well as dynamic action, they also promote the importance of inner reflection. This inner reflection on the part of the individual or group (State, nation, community, religion, etc.) can unveil unconscious prejudices, or misplaced preconceptions, which might be fuelling the conflicts manifesting on the surface. Jung made an important contribution to research in this area through his work on "projections", that is, people's propensity to see in others what needs healing in themselves. Jung discovered that when people make a criticism or judgement, they are often unconsciously seeing their own faults mirrored in the other party. This provides an interesting angle from which to consider the concept of a common human identity and the interconnectivity of Life. It also highlights the importance of self awareness and individual responsibility in the realisation of peaceful human relations. A greater degree of self awareness could unveil to a person the *spectacles* through which he/she is looking at the world, that is, the particular influence that cultural background, experiences in life and individual personality makeup are having on his/her perception of events.

> "It is difficult for the mind to operate freely over the vast areas of its widest range if the brain is constantly intruding its narrow preoccupation with the interests of the immediate ego. That ego is made up of demanding appetites and requirements seeking the most immediate and fullest possible gratification. It is also ridden by fears, anxieties and prejudices emerging as the negative consequences of unfulfilled desires." (Richard Guggenheimer) [4]

If this introspection were also carried out at the macrocosmic level i.e. by governments, corporations and civil bodies, etc., new approaches to conflict transformation could be discovered. After all, governments are simply a group of individuals who suffer the same level of fallibility as the rest of humankind. Kenneth Boulding, in his book "Stable Peace", proposed the creation of a UN Organisation for Image Transmission (UNOIT) to study and publish the images which each country has of itself and other nations. The UNOIT would also have the mandate to find ways of encouraging national governments to modify, where necessary, the images they have in order to foster greater compatibility.

> "True vision requires far more than the eye. It takes the whole man. For what we see is no more or no less than what we are." (Richard Guggenheimer) [5]

The concept of self awareness and responsible action is found within many religious traditions. The beauty of the spiritual truths at the heart of the world religions has sometimes, however, been distorted by individuals either out of ignorance or in their quest for power and domination. This, together with the strong science-religion divide which has characterised Western societies since the Enlightenment era has led to a distinct apathy on the part of many people to the more spiritual facets of life. The spiritual component of humanity need not remain the exclusive domain of religions, however; educators, governments and the media, for example, could place humankind's spiritual needs alongside their instincts, emotions and intellect. The essence of most of the world religions such as Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, etc. is love, compassion, truth, tolerance and altruism. These and similar concepts are important components of the spiritual dimension of humanity and could play a transformative role in expanding men and women's identification to include a strengthened identity with the human race. This expanded identification could be instrumental in building a culture of peace as defined by Professor Emerita, Elise Boulding, "A mosaic of identities, attitudes, values, beliefs, and institutional patterns that lead people to live nurturantly with one another, deal with their differences, share their resources, solve their problems, and give each other space so no one is harmed and everyone's basic needs are met." [6]

Concluding remarks to chapter 1

Humans have evolved from cave persons, to tribal (primitive community) members, to the highly developed individuals in the complex, inter-connected societies of today. Human consciousness is continuing to evolve, however, and human identification is continuing to expand; the enlargement of the European Union is one example of this expanding identification at a macrocosmic level.

If men and women can extend their sense of identity beyond family, nation, State, etc. to include an identification with the human race itself, they could lay the foundations for a global culture which could facilitate innovative approaches to world governance. Through adherence to the tenet of "unity in diversity", a global culture could promote equitable global interactions which preserve and cherish national, cultural and ethnic differences, and auger in a peace culture in its extended context - well beyond the mere absence of war. However, this discussion about peaceful global societies risks remaining superficial unless the patriarchal structures on which the culture of violence rests are also brought into the equation.

Chapter 2: Peace and the Patriarchal System

For thousands of years we have seen the supremacy of the patriarchal system as the conditioning factor within Western societies and almost all other societies around the world. A patriarchy is defined in the oxford dictionary as "a system of society in which men hold most or all of the power". [7] The accompanying belief in the unequal status of men and women has led not only to the subjugation of women, but also to the widespread propagation of the use of violence and domination in all sectors of society, including politics, economics, education, spirituality, leisure and human-nature relations. Violence here will be understood to constitute the opposite of "harmlessness" in thought, word or action; and domination will be understood to imply power "over" rather than power "with". Together, violence and domination have engendered widespread cultural, structural and direct violence - not least towards the female half of the population – which is creating as an obstacle to the emergence of a culture of peace. Furthermore, until men and women have come to acknowledge each other's innate worth and this mutual recognition is being reflected in the social structures and value systems, the concept of a common human identity will remain an elusive goal.

Despite the tenacity of the patriarchal system, there are growing signs of a counter phenomenon which will be referred to in this thesis as the "integration of the feminine principle". This refers not only to the empowerment of women, but also to the more wide-spread assimilation of what have traditionally been considered "female" values into social structures and human relations. This movement towards integration could be instrumental in the transition to a global peace culture through the healing of the male-female social fault line and the subsequent adoption of new approaches to current global challenges.

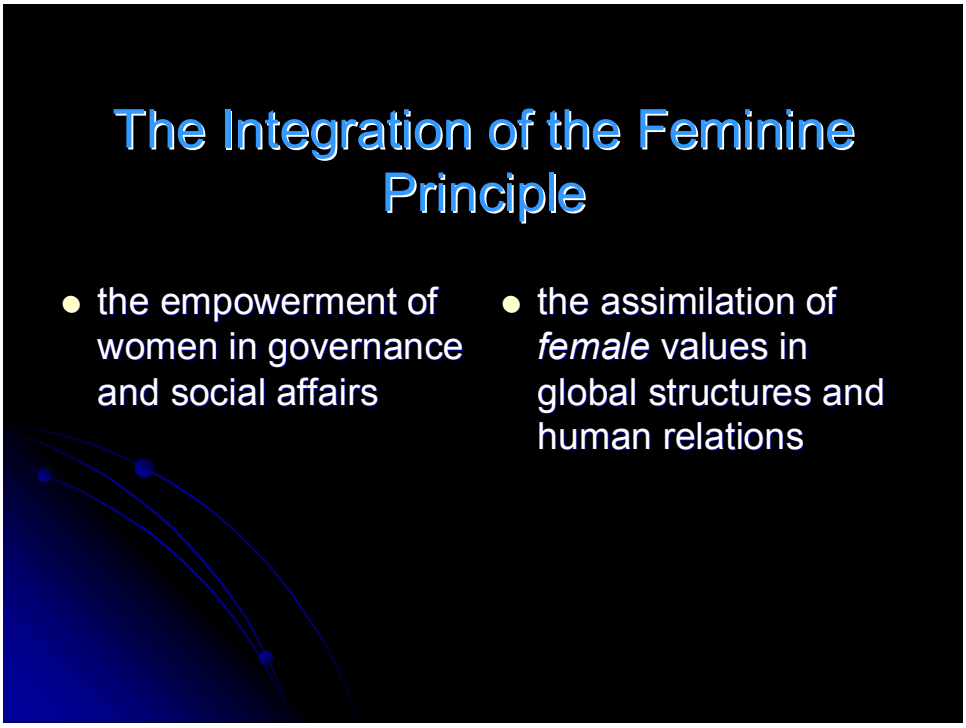

Figure 2

Yin & Yang – A Chinese perspective

The ancient Chinese Daoist philosophy provides valuable insight into archetypal male and female energy through the concepts of Yin and Yang. Yin has been translated in the West by the adjectives "feminine" and "female" and Yang by "masculine" and "male"; however, it is essential to clarify from the start that Yin does not always refer to women, or qualities found only in women, and Yang does not always refer to men, or qualities found only in men. Furthermore, Yin and Yang are not value judgements. They are simply labels describing regular phenomena - with no implication of innate goodness or badness. As such, the terms Yin and Yang can be used to bring greater detachment and objectivity to a discussion on the patriarchal nature of global societies. Furthermore, they can help to ensure that such a discussion does not detract from the innate dignity and worth of men.

On a macrocosmic level, Chinese Daoist philosophy hypothesises that all the energy in the cosmos is either Yin or Yang, these being complementary opposites which attract as well as repel each other. As described above, Yin is the archetypal feminine principle, that is, *female* energy in the amplest sense of the term and Yang is the archetypal masculine principle, that is, *male* energy again in the widest meaning. Nothing in the universe is completely Yin or completely Yang as the following symbol ☯ depicts. Neither Yin nor Yang can exist without the other, as they are ultimately aspects of the same whole, although they often represent opposites in relations to each other, such as white and black respectively, negative and positive, cold and warm, moon and sun, light and dark, winter and summer, empty and full, introversion and extroversion, non-action and action, receptivity and creativity, intuition and rational thought. It is important to point out once again that these adjectives and concepts contain no value judgement or prejudice. They are simply depictive of a phenomenon or a type of movement/action.

Figure 3

Yin and Yang are cosmic energies in symbiosis. They are complementary and are found in every aspect of life, but in humanity they find a point of condensation and concentration in women and men respectively. As we have seen, inside the Yin is always a small element of Yang and vice versa. This means that men and women are made up of the same components only in different measures. As a consequence, although predominantly Yang in nature, men still have access to their own Yin attributes; and vice-versa, although predominantly Yin, women can still access their own Yang qualities. From less of a philosophical perspective, this can be seen in the fact that a mother and a father both contribute one chromosome each to a fertilised egg cell, therefore from the start each individual is made up of a combination of male and female energies.

A further Daoist tenet worthy of consideration is the idea that one extreme will always change into its opposite, so that *extreme Yang* turns into Yin and vice versa. Today, it could be argued that we are witness to an extreme Yang situation playing out on the world stage through the guise of patriarchy and power politics. However, the growing peace movement, women's movement and democratic movement in the form of a growing civil society could be considered as examples of the transition from the extreme Yang of power and domination into a more receptive Yin world of understanding, sharing and compassion.

Further Yin-Yang attributes will be considered throughout this essay. It is worth remembering at all times that it is not the Yin or Yang phenomenon itself which is innately good or bad. The appropriateness or inappropriateness of the action will stem mainly from the repercussions and the underlying motives - conscious or sub-conscious.

Daoist philosophy qualifies extreme Yang, or extreme Yin for that matter, as inherently imbalanced. It follows that a patriarchal society, as an extreme Yang manifestation, is by nature asymmetrical. The Yang tendency to expansion can take on extreme forms resulting in greed, aggression, egotism, nationalism, etc., - countering its otherwise more balanced manifestations such as positive action, leadership and physical strength - and thereby giving rise to structural, cultural and direct violence. We have evidence of this in certain Western political and economic policies. For example:

- Pre-emptive military intervention has been earmarked by the Bush administration as an acceptable way of dealing with conflict – arguably an inappropriate expression of the Yang tendency to direct, one-pointed action in this instance through the threat of **direct violence** and the imposition of a solution. An alternative approach might be to use the Yin tendency to receptivity and "non-action" through the exploration of transcendent solutions which fulfil the needs of all stakeholders. "Non-action does not mean doing nothing and keeping silent. Let everything be allowed to do what it naturally does, so that its nature will be satisfied", Chuang Tzu. [8];

- Neo-liberal economic policies have brought much in the form of development, but they have also generated many examples of **structural violence** such as the growing divide between the "haves" and the "have nots" – both in terms of countries and individuals. In this instance, the negative repercussions of neo-liberalism could be seen as an imbalanced expression of the Yang impulse to take and to spontaneous action. That is, this Yang impulse has not been adequately balanced by the Yin recourse to giving and to reflection. Let's take the example of present day US trade policies, whilst recognising that many other Western states are following the same approach. Although the Bush administration insists that free trade is the path to development, US trade policies perpetuate structural violence by undermining the ability of poor countries to export to American markets. "The US indulges domestic producers with generous subsidies that directly hurt the ability of developing-world farmers to export their goods. While the US contributes less than any other industrial nation on a per capita basis to the $50 billion in annual development assistance, it spends more than $300 billion a year in subsidies for its farm products." [9]

- With regards global governance, the very existence of the United Nations remains under constant threat, mainly from governments fearful of losing their positions of power. When the Yang tendency to adopt a single-focused approach is used inappropriately, as in this instance, it can lead to **cultural violence** expressed in the form of national chauvinism. In contrast, a balanced Yin-Yang approach to global governance would enable States to govern their own internal affairs (Yang single-focus perspective), whilst at the same time being proactive participants in global politics as equal and supportive members of such supra-national bodies as the United Nations (Yin multi-focused perspective). The

global repercussions of environmental policies provide an important example of the need for both coherent internal policies and joint world-wide initiatives. Many promises are made at the political level to share the benefits of global trade and to curb negative practises, yet often those political promises seem slow in being translated into direct action. The reason for this could include the fact that although global structures are being put in place to facilitate increasing global interactions, a global culture has not yet fully emerged and as such global policies continue to be implemented without a truly global vision. The emergence of a global vision and global culture could be instrumental in finding effective solutions to the world challenges of the 21st century as individual, national, State, etc. interests begin to be seen within the larger context of the interconnected global society.

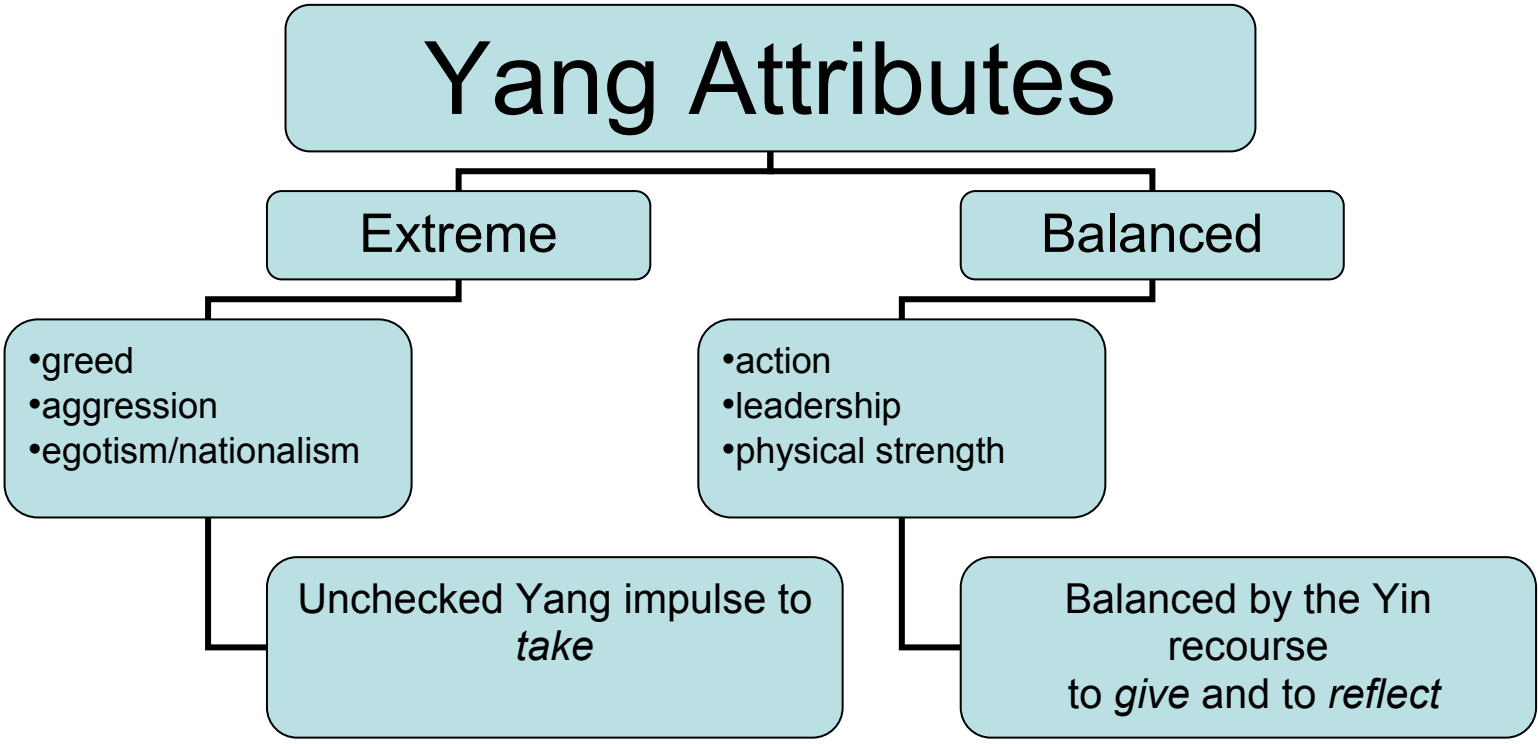

Figure 4

As far back as recorded history goes, patriarchal supremacy has been the order of the day in most parts of the world. However, there is a body of evidence which points to the existence in a distant past of a matriarchal system in which women occupied the important positions of power in society due to the perceived divine nature of their procreative abilities. This social supremacy was gradually lost over time as the role of men in the reproductive process was understood and male aggression began to assert its dominating influence.

It is essential to emphasise that a matriarchy would be no less undesirable than our current patriarchal society since once again the scales would be weighted favourably for one side and unfavourably for the other. Yin reflected action (as opposed to Yang spontaneous action) and receptivity can be expressed through human beings in the form of care, compassion, understanding and broad-mindedness. However, a matriarchal society could lose its ability to bring these values to human-human and human-nature relations because taken to their extreme, that is, in the absence of sufficient Yang energy to keep the equation in balance, these qualities could result in confusion and stale-mate. Furthermore, a matriarchy would imply that men had their place on a lower social echelon than women and this inequality would act as the same obstacle to the creation of a culture of peace as is the case in the present patriarchal system.

Given the different Yin and Yang perspectives and natural tendencies, both approaches can result in successful or unsuccessful outcomes depending on timing and circumstances. Since Yin energy is considered by Daoist philosophy to be more densely concentrated in women, it follows that women will tend more naturally to adopt a Yin perspective, the latter being their line of least resistance. The opposite is true for men in the sense that they are considered to be "fuller" expressions of Yang energy and, as such, they will most naturally employ a Yang perspective. If, as is the case in our present day patriarchal system, women are under-represented within, local, national and global governance structures, then decision- and policy-making will be dominated by the Yang perspective. Although the Yang approach might often be the most appropriate course of action, one can only wonder what other options to combat direct, structural and cultural violence might be on the discussion table if the Yin perspective were equally represented.

If the human race is to live in a culture of peace, it is essential for men and women to reaffirm each other's value and dignity as equal human beings, seeing each other as diverse but complementary halves of one whole. In this way, they can value each other's differences and support each other in times of need (extreme Yin or extreme Yang). At the present, the situation is somewhat different. The patriarchal system has created a human race reminiscent of a schizophrenic patient controlled by one dominating personality. The treatment for the schizophrenic and the human race is the same – integration.

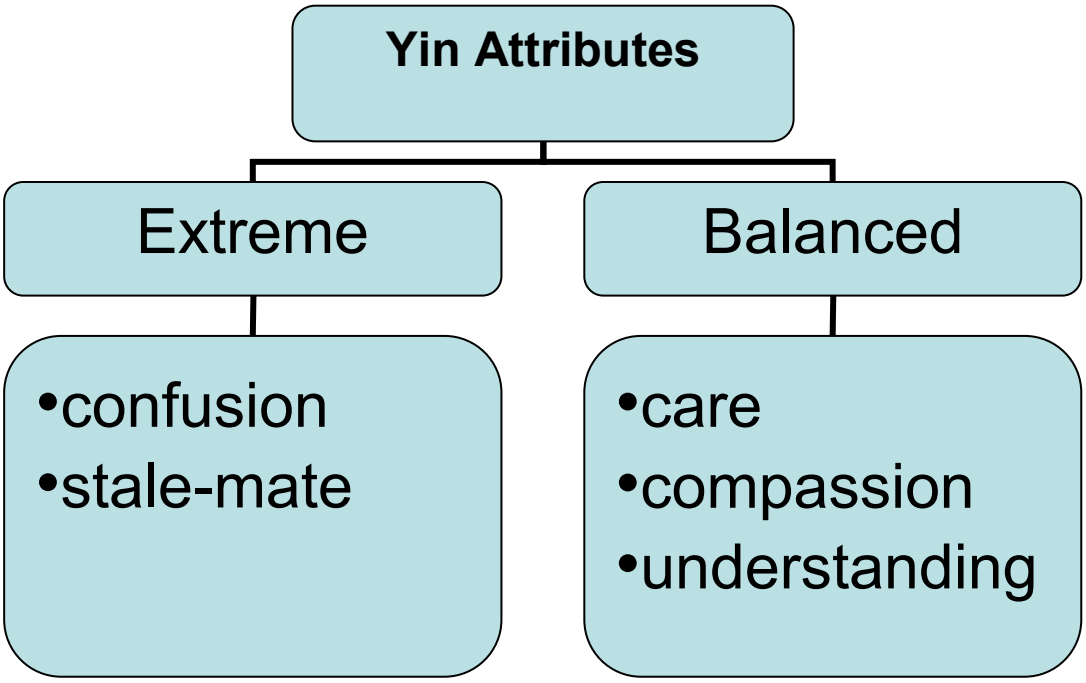

Figure 5

The Differences between Men and Women

When compared to some other parts of the globe, it may well be true that women in the West have made progress in gaining their place as equal and valued members of society. Nevertheless, given that the positions of power continue to be dominated by men, it follows that the attitudes in Western societies remain firmly in line with patriarchal thought patterns as do the social structures. It follows that the female half of the human race, even in the West, continues to struggle for equal rights as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If humanity is to transcend the patriarchal system, however, women would do well to remember that "equal" does not and should not mean "the same".

"Men are different from women. They are equal only in their common membership of the same species, humankind. To maintain that they are the same in aptitude, skill or behaviour is to build a society based on a biological and scientific lie", so begins the book by Anne Moir and David Jessel, entitled "Brain Sex – The Real Difference between Men & Women". This book is based on research by scientists from around the world into the physiological and functional differences in the brains of men and women. The experiments quoted provide numerous hypotheses of why the two sexes naturally think and act differently and, if backed up by further collaborating evidence in the future, can provide valuable insight into the foundations of our current patriarchal system. [10]

Research into the physiological and functional aspects of the human brain continues to be highly controversial, however, and the brain remains to a large extent an enigma to scientists, whose research is far from complete. The results mentioned herein, taken largely from the compilation of experiments recorded in the book by Moir and Jessel, may be contested, but are included here in order to open up the discussion of an important topic which is on the whole unknown outside scientific circles.

Whatever the results of scientific experimentation, men and women in their daily lives are often seen to adopt a different outlook. Social conditioning no doubt has its role to play in this fact. However, is it really such an unimaginable possibility that in some way the male and female brains are constructed and function differently? After all, our outer physical bodies show clear differences in form. Why should this not be true also of our inner organs, particularly an organ as important as the human brain?

In "Brain Sex – The Real Difference between Men & Women", Anne Moir and David Jessel refer to studies carried out by scientists into the role of hormones in the development of the brain. One hypothesis they focus on is that hormones have the most important role to play in determining gender differentiated behaviour patterns, over and above social conditioning. Accordingly, scientists have claimed that, within the first few weeks of pregnancy, hormones determine whether the brain of the foetus develops a male or female structure. Later these differences in the organisation of the brain, in interaction with the sex hormones, determine the different ways men and women perceive situations, think, feel and communicate. [11]

The degree to which the brain remains a mystery is highlighted by the fact that scientists do not even concur over the role of the two brain hemispheres and how they interact. The categorisation into logical left hemisphere and creative right hemisphere continues to be a topic of debate [See Figure 6 – "The Functions of the Hemispheres of the Brain?" p.18]. In a paper published by John McCrone, in the "New Scientist", Gereon Fink, a neuroscientist from the University of Düsseldorf in Germany, is quoted as saying that "whatever the story of lateralisation, simple dichotomies are out. It is how the two sides of the brain complement and combine that counts." [12] Like the Daoist philosophy of the Yin in the Yang and the Yang in the Yin, it would appear that Fink is implying that both hemispheres work in symbiosis whatever the function undertaken by the brain.

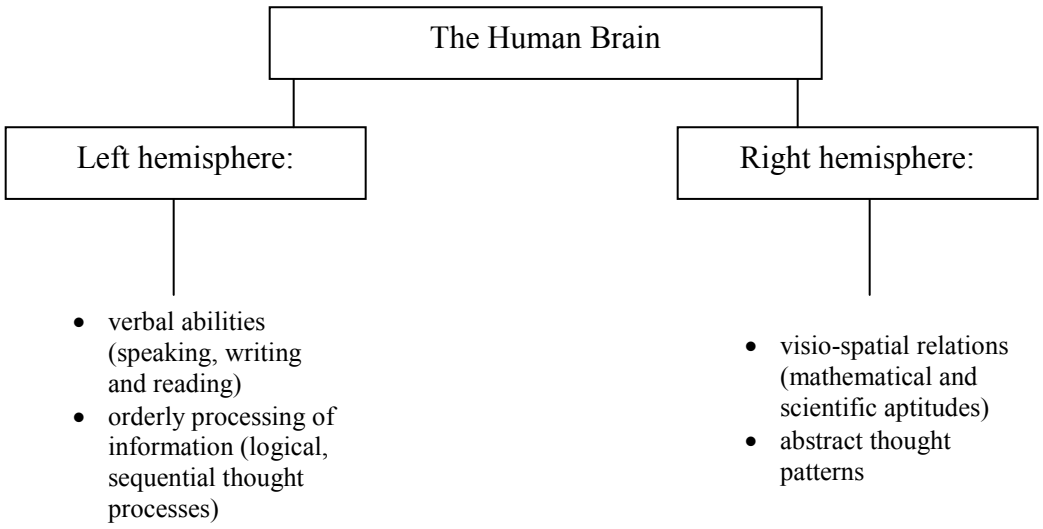

Figure 6 - The Functions of the Hemispheres of the Brain?

This whole discussion on the scientific research conducted into the physiological differences in the brains of men and women is mentioned here in an attempt to provide some sort of quantifiable data for the suggestion that the difference between men and women goes well beyond physical appearance. As Dr. D. Wechsler, the American scientist who developed the IQ test most commonly used today, observed in the 1950s, "Our findings do confirm what poets and novelists have often asserted, and the average person long believed, namely, that men not only behave, but 'think' differently from women." [13] If it is true that women do think and see things differently, this could have important implications for problem solving and decision-making. If women were equally represented at top levels within local, national and global governance structures, not only would this reduce the levels of cultural violence expressed in the form of sexism, but it could also provide a channel for new approaches to some of the intractable global challenges facing the human race.

Bearing in mind the controversial nature of the research carried out into cerebral physiology and function, let us consider some additional findings mentioned in the book by Anne Moir and David Jessel:

- The nerve cells within the **hypothalamus**, which controls sexual behaviour, have been shown to differ in length and density and the nerve pathways have been shown to follow differing routes.

- The **cerebral cortex** - the "rind" which lies over the two hemispheres of the brain - is thought to contain key control centres governing relatively complex behaviour i.e. the higher thought processes which distinguish humans from other animals. Certain experiments have shown the right side of the cerebral cortex to be thicker in males and the left side to be thicker in females.

- The injection of a **hormone** into the developing brain of an animal has been shown to cause structural changes. The recorded change was from a male structure to a female structure if the hormone injected was female; and from a female structure to a male structure if the hormone injected was male. A change in the structure of the brain produced in this way by scientists led to a corresponding change in behaviour e.g. by injecting a pregnant monkey with male hormone, the female offspring then exhibited boisterous male behaviour.

- Herbert Landsell, a psychologist, in the 1960s discovered that men and women with brain damage in the same area of the brain were affected differently. His investigations led him to the conclusion that in women **language and spatial skills** are controlled by centres in both sides of the brain whilst in men such skills are more specifically located – the right side for spatial skills and the left side for verbal abilities.

- Behavioural differences as a result of **bio-chemical processes** in the body have also been recorded by some scientific investigations. Research carried out into the menstrual cycle of women has indicated the role of oestrogen and progesterone in engendering periodical mood swings and emotionalism. A connection has also been made between the levels of testosterone in men and the degree to which they display aggressive, violent behaviour.

The following table provides examples of some of the skills and attributes which, traditionally, have been more easily observable in women and men respectively and which might have their origin in the gender differentiated cerebral make-up of the brain, as well as in social and cultural conditioning.

Traditional Male and Female Aptitudes # (Data taken from "Brain Sex" by Anne Moir & David Jessel)	
Women	**Men**
Positive attributes	***Positive attributes***
• Memory • Compassion & patience • Tidiness & precision • Speech & communication, including body language • Sensory perception – touch, smell, taste, hearing	• Ability to work under pressure • Initiative • Spatial ability • Visual capacity • Abstract concepts
Primary importance attached to:	***Primary importance attached to:***
• Relationships – personal and interpersonal.	• Action, exploration, things.

This data constitutes average findings. Furthermore, it is worth remembering that there is always an element of Yang in the Yin, and vice-versa.

Figure 7

In an attempt to break free from the oppression of the patriarchal structures, many women have fallen prey to the illusion that they would find their worth by imitating their male counterparts.

> "The new mystique is that women can have it all. There's a whole new generation of women today, flogging themselves to compete for success according to the male model – in a work world structured for men with wives to handle the details of life." (Betty Friedan) [14]

This tactic has been unsuccessful because women have been struggling against their own natures. Furthermore, they have often overlooked the fact that their own emancipation can only come about through the parallel transformation of the social structures on which the patriarchal system rests – the same social structures which are perpetuating the direct, structural and cultural violence to which men as well as women are subjected. In ignorance of this, women have been trying, for example, to develop a professional career whilst still assuming total responsibility for the running of the family unit. It follows that women have not found the level of success they have been looking for. On a macrocosmic level, the result has been that national and global governance has continued to be tackled from a highly Yang perspective, loosing out from the comparative lack of female participation in political debate. This is not to undermine the efforts of men, but rather to highlight the new perspectives which women could bring to global issues to complement male interpretations and perceived solutions.

"The power of patriarchy has been extremely difficult to understand because it is all-pervasive. It has influenced our most basic ideas about human nature and about our relation to the universe – "man's" nature and "his" relation to the universe, in patriarchal language. It is the one system which, until recently, has never in recorded history been openly challenged, and whose doctrines were so universally accepted that they seemed to be laws of nature; indeed they were usually presented as such." (Fritjof Capra) [15]

Women and the Peace Process

It is time for Western societies to acknowledge that our social structures and values remain very largely male constructs and that the devaluation of inherent female aptitudes is not God ordained but rather entirely "man" made. The continued emancipation of women and their inclusion in important decision-making and advisory positions is essential not only for gender relations but also to help find innovative ways of reducing the levels of structural, cultural and direct violence and to, thereby, augur in a peace culture on a global level.

UN Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), adopted by the UN on 31 October 2001, would seem to agree that the integration of the feminine principle through the systematic empowerment of women is an intrinsic part of the global peace process. It acknowledges the valuable input which women can and must provide in global agenda setting and debate by assuming a decision-making role in conflict prevention and resolution, as well as in peace-building. This was one of the main themes of the 48th session of the UN

Commission on the Status of Women (CSD), held in New York in March 2004. The Commission on the Status of Women promotes women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields. It was set up as a sub-commission by the UN Economic and Social Council in 1946, but was given the status of a full commission within 12 months of its creation once the importance of its mandate was fully realised. As well as the CSD, numerous other bodies and individuals have openly declared their support for the full implementation of UN resolution 1325. For example, the Women's Security Council (WSC) in Germany - made up of peace activists, research analysts and NGO representatives dedicated to the national implementation of UN resolution 1325 - monitors the activities of the German government and has called for the introduction of a measurement indicator to ensure that the German administration is actively working towards achieving the goals of resolution 1325. WSC has proposed a quota of 30% of women in decision-making capacities (as a measurement indicator) not only in the areas of conflict prevention, management and resolution, but also in post-conflict reconstruction and legal systems.

> "Women's equal rights to education, to a professional career, to participate in politics, are not a threat to men. The absence of these rights is a threat to the progress of humankind. (…) Women are crucial to peace and reconciliation. I welcome gender perspectives being incorporated into mandates and activities of all peacekeeping missions. The number of women in peace operations at all levels must increase. The implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 is vital". (Jan O. Karlsson, then acting Swedish Foreign Affairs Minister and Swedish Minister for Development Cooperation, Migration and Asylum Policy speaking at the 2003 General Assembly debate.) [16]

The Road to a Post-Patriarchal Society

In order for women to assume important decision-making positions in society and to bring new perspectives to political debate, sustained efforts are needed to put an end to the direct, structural and cultural violence which perpetuates their state of subjugation even in modern day Western societies. This means informing women about their rights and providing them with access to education and contraception as well as with the opportunity to gain their economic independence. This also means equal pay for equal work and the introduction of the necessary social structures to enable women to participate in political and social life without necessarily having to renounce motherhood in the process. Technology is offering the human race an opportunity to experience greater freedom by creating a new "work-life balance" and, as such, it could be instrumental in helping women, and men, who aspire both to having a family and to being of service to their local, national and/or global communities.

For the time being, the patriarchal system continues to subtly under-value and subjugate the female half of the human race by promoting those values and skills which men appear to display more easily. This kind of cultural violence can be a lot more difficult to detect and eradicate than its structural counterparts, which are more visible and more easily

quantifiable. Let's consider some examples of the cultural violence which women experience:

- The patriarchal system has decided that science and maths are the most prestigious fields of study and work, above such things as social work and administrative tasks for example, but it would seem from observation that these are precisely the areas in which males excel. Perhaps scientific research will one day prove or disprove the correlation between abstract thought and the physiology of the male brain.
- The patriarchal system has also dictated that competition and the concept of winners and losers are important criteria in designating what constitutes success, but one can question whether this is because competition is a natural outlet for the observable higher levels of aggression displayed by men.
- The patriarchal system has a tendency to glorify those professionals who work around the clock at the expense of time spent with their families, but in the book by Anne Moir and David Jessel, "Brain Sex – The Real Difference between Men & Women", testosterone is shown by scientists to reduce fatigue and to facilitate one-track thinking.

The integration of the feminine principle represents a pathway to a culture of peace because it implies not only an end to the subjugation of women and, thereby, the creation of a more inclusive human identity, but also a greater degree of Yin-Yang harmony within social and governance structures. Currently, governments are moving towards a fuller integration of the feminine principle through the inclusion of more women and minority groups in decision making and through the subsidiarity principle, whereby decisions are taken at the lowest possible level. Let it be reiterated that men are just as capable of promoting more caring, long-term initiatives aimed at creating a just and enriching life for all human beings. In fact, since women are still struggling to achieve equal status as their male counterparts, men are often at the helm of efforts to achieve greater social justice and equitable structures. The integration of the feminine principle, therefore, implies a new era of mutual understanding and expanded consciousness amongst men and women as well as amongst different social/cultural groups. The consequence of this growing movement towards integration could be a strengthened sense of belonging to an overarching group, namely the one human race.

Figure 8

Concluding remarks to chapter 2

What term might be given to denote a post-patriarchal society characterised by a culture of peace in which men and women have equal opportunity to participate in local, national and global governance and in which direct, structural and cultural violence has been systematically reduced? Although tempting to label it a "human-archy" in line with terms like "patri-archy" and "matri-archy", "archy" has the connotation of "power over" and "greater vs. lesser" and as such would have little place in the kind of future society envisaged in this thesis. Diversity would be welcomed for the value it brings without the need to categorise everything into better or worst. Perhaps a more appropriate term than "human-archy" would simply be a "planetary society" since this would give the added meaning of right human relations not only between human beings themselves but also between humanity and the Earth.

The changes in the social structures and values needed for this new "planetary society" to emerge include an expanded democratic participation, that is, more human beings taking responsibility for their lives and the impact of their actions on others and on the environment – no longer being content to surrender their power to a small group of elites. The following chapter will present the initiatives of the United Nations and international civil society as indicators of a movement in this direction, laying the foundations for just such a "planetary society" to one day fully emerge.

Chapter 3: The UN and Civil Society - Laying the Foundations for a Planetary Society

The Successes and Challenges of the UN System

As the physical representation of humankind's desire for reconciliation, peace and unity, the United Nations is well positioned to translate the ideals of a "planetary society" into practicable global initiatives. The United Nations is working actively to redress structural, cultural and direct violence and to auger in a peace culture. In order to see this more clearly, let us consider the United Nations General Assembly, in which all 191 Member States have a seat. It is the most representative global body on our planet at this time, the closest thing we have to "a parliament of nations". The General Assembly has 6 permanent committees mandated to debate ways of extending peace throughout our global society. [Note: The categorisation which follows has been intentionally simplified. The activities carried out by the committees are extensive and naturally cross from one quadrant to another; however, for the purposes of this thesis, an endeavour has been made to focus on only one or two of their main fields of debate.]

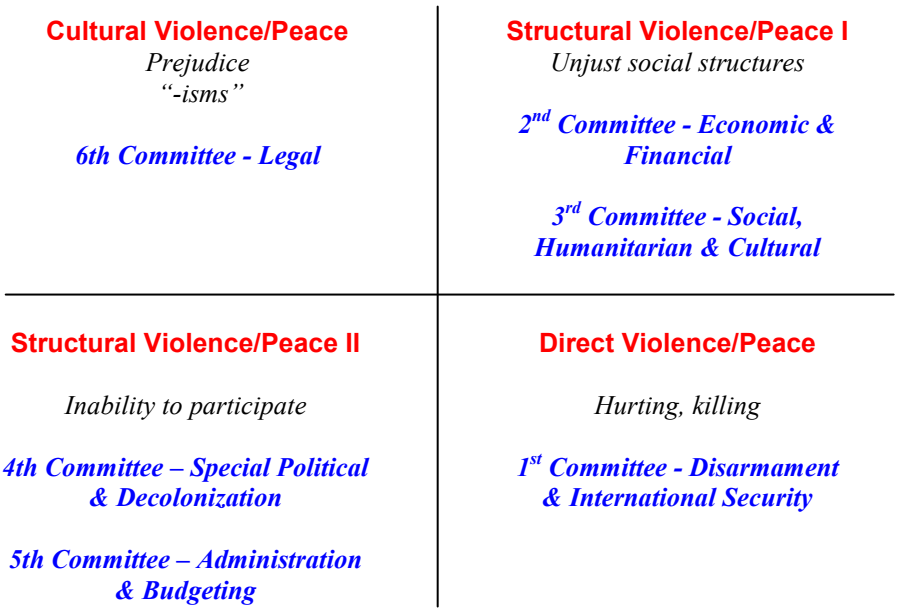

Figure 9 – The Six Committees of the General Assembly

- The First Committee on "Disarmament and International Security" debates national and collective security, including such things as disarmament, that is, ways of lowering the threat of **direct** physical violence.
- The attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is of central importance to the work of the Second Committee on "Economic and Financial" issues. The MDGs aim to reduced **structural** violence by, for example, halving by the year 2015 the number of persons living on less than 1$ a day and the number of

persons without sustainable access to safe drinking water, as well as by eliminating gender disparity in education.

- The Third Committee on "Social, Humanitarian and Cultural" issues considers ways of reducing **structural** violence by responding to the root causes of HIV/AIDS and by promoting sustainable development.
- The Fourth Committee on "Special Political and Decolonization" questions debates topics related to non-self governing territories i.e. territories dependent on colonial or other powers. Given the innate connection with issues of participation and choice, this committee can be seen to be working to reduce the second category of **structural** violence. Since the UN was established in 1945, more than 80 former colonies have gained their independence.
- The Fifth Committee on "Administration and Budgeting" is responsible for debating the financing of the UN activities and its internal administration. Since adequate funding is essential if the UN is to effectively participate in the global peace process, it could be said that this committee is working to reduce the second category of **structural** violence.
- And finally the Sixth Committee for "Legal" questions debates questions of international legislation. International law is instrumental in combating all the "isms" of our modern times, sexism, nationalism, racism and even terrorism and as such the work of the Sixth Committee can be seen to be combating **cultural** violence.

This brief and simplified look at the work of the Committees of the General Assembly is intended to point out how the most representative body of the UN is tackling the issues of peace and conflict transformation at a comprehensive level and not solely at the level of disarmament and peacekeeping operations, most traditionally associated with the concept of peace. This same four-fold approach can be used to consider the work of other bodies within the UN system. For example, beyond the 6 main organs of the UN [the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat and the International Court of Justice] there are also 12 "specialised agencies", which are autonomous organizations joined to the United Nations through special agreements. The work of four of these "specialised agencies" is highlighted in Figure 10 on page 26. [Note: The categorisation which follows has been intentionally simplified. The activities carried out by the "specialised agencies" are extensive and naturally cross from one quadrant to another; however, for the purposes of this thesis, an endeavour has been made to focus on only one or two of their main fields of work.]

Figure 10 – The UN "Specialised Agencies"

Despite its many widespread initiatives aimed at promoting a culture of peace, the United Nations is only as strong as the will of its Member States. The latter are often still driven by the Yang desire to wield power over, rather than to share power with. Short-term policies as often implemented by national governments, concerned about victory in the next elections, make any deep structural adjustments neigh on impossible and, as such, hinder moves towards a "planetary society". Furthermore, the sovereign and vested interests of powerful States continue to undermine efforts to implement the necessary reforms to the UN structures which would enable it to meet the challenges of the 21st century. For example, the UN faces considerable financial hurdles in its attempts to implement global initiatives on behalf of the world community. The UN annual budget is dwarfed by the huge sums of money channelled by States into arms production and other military activities and according to Catherine Bertini, Under-Secretary-General of the UN Department of Management, as of 30 September 2003 [17]:

- Only 113 out of the total 191 Member States (59% of UN membership) had paid their regular assessments in full;
- Furthermore, unpaid regular budget assessments amounted to $693 million;
- Of the UN's 15 major contributors, 3 owed a total of $581 million and 75 others owed $112 million.

These statistics bring to light how the United Nations is itself subject to a certain amount of structural and cultural violence, hindering it from fulfilling its potential as envisaged in the UN Charter. Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary General of the UN, has suggested that the United Nations follow the European Union in introducing an obligatory tax to be paid by all Member States in place of the current voluntary contributions. This reform would both end the cultural violence - Member States

threatening to withhold their contributions - and the structural violence - inadequate resources - currently experienced by the UN. Robert Muller suggests that the UN be financed by a world tax on arms production or sales, a tax on alcohol or cigarettes, or an additional levy on postage stamps, payable by all member countries. [18]

In contrast to the elite group of 5 veto-holding, permanent members of the UN Security Council, the integration of the feminine principle implies a move away from the concentration of power in the hands of exclusive groups and advocates instead "inclusiveness", an increase in partnerships, cooperative initiatives and networks. The individual is valued for the contribution he/she can make to the whole. This movement to join together is making itself felt in the rise in civil society initiatives worldwide and the calls by Secretary General, Kofi Annan, for the UN to develop closer and more effective ties with the NGO sector, the private sector, as well as with local authorities and parliamentarians.

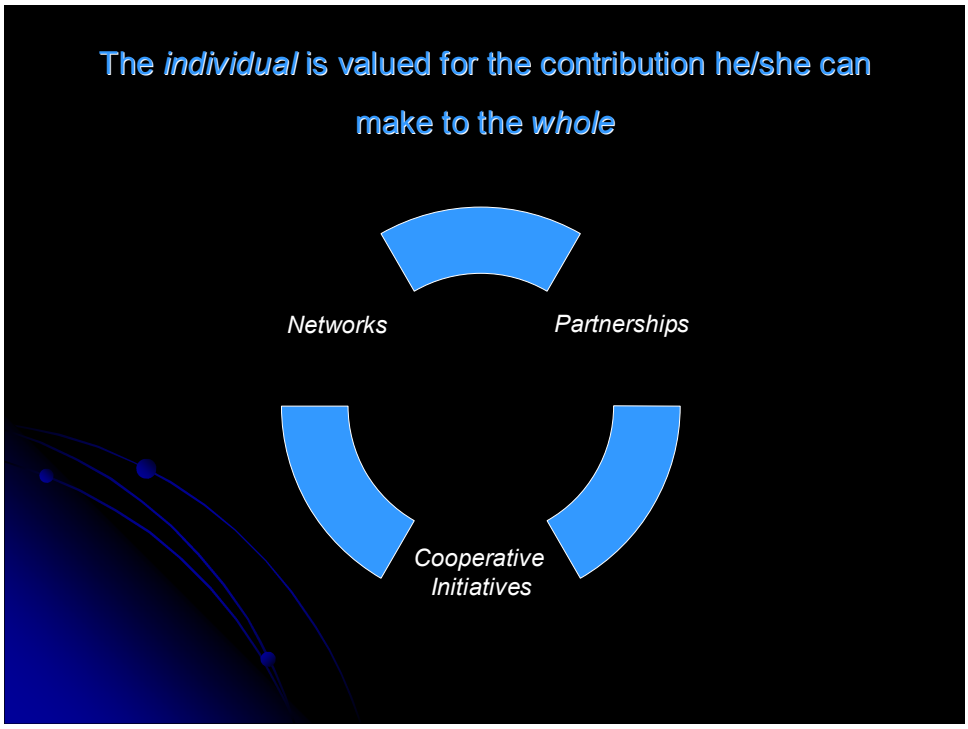

Figure 11 – The Value of the Individual

Civil Society and the United Nations

Civil society and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are broad concepts which are still being defined by scholars. For the purposes of this thesis, NGOs will be understood to constitute a sub-set within civil society made up of civilian actors working parallel to governments in the political arena. The arguments presented herein will focus on this

sector of civil society, bearing in mind that there are many other important non-state actors such as religious groups, which could play an important role in the transition from the present day patriarchal system to the peace culture of a "planetary society".

The NGO movement is of particular value to this discussion on the transition to a "planetary society" because it is representative of the suggested trend away from power elites and towards empowered groups working for overarching common goals. This trend is both indicative of a slowly expanding human identification as a race and it has the capacity to build and strengthen that same identification.

When the United Nations came into being in 1945, NGOs had limited accessibility via the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Between 1961 and 1985, there were 147 global conferences which began to set the seeds for the engagement of civil society organizations in global agenda setting and debate. The 1990s saw a number of important UN conferences on such global issues as human rights, the environment, social development, habitat and trade. These conferences were the occasion for greater NGO interaction with governmental representatives, as well as for greater interrelations between different NGOs themselves. Through NGO participation in these conferences and improving NGO relations with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), public participation in world affairs soared. This growing global vision amongst "ordinary" men and women has meant that tens of thousands of organisations all over the world have been involved, at the local, national and international level, in identifying global priorities and issues and in creating avenues for addressing them.

In more recent times, the participation of NGOs has been formally built into the UN system, for example, the agency for combating AIDS, UN/AIDS, has 3 places for representatives of NGOs on its Board and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee on Humanitarian Affairs has 3 permanent NGO observers.

Given that the UN Charter preamble begins: "We the peoples of the United Nations…" and not, "We the governments of the United Nations…", it could be argued that the spirit of the UN Charter will only truly be expressed if there is continued and expanded participation by civil society in UN affairs. With this view in mind, NGOs have put forward their own proposals for improved relations with the United Nations. These include NGO participation in the proceedings of the General Assembly and its committees, perhaps even to the extent where NGOs and governmental representatives would have equal status; introduction of some sort of NGO status vis-à-vis the Security Council, with which they currently have no official interaction; and possibly even NGO participation in the activities of the World Bank and IMF. [19]

Under the bold leadership of Secretary General Kofi Annan, the UN is being encouraged to work more closely and more effectively with the growing NGO sector. Kofi Annan has recognised that, in the years ahead, the capacity of the United Nations to promote greater peace on the planet will depend crucially on its ability to strengthen its partnerships and cooperative initiatives with the ever more numerous non-governmental organisations from around the world dedicated to the same aims.

In the June 2004 report by the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations–Civil Society Relations, appointed by the Secretary General, it states that, "The involvement of a diverse range of actors, including those from civil society and the private sector, as well as local authorities and parliamentarians, is not only essential for effective action on global priorities but is also a protection against further erosion of multilateralism." [20] The Panel recognises that one of the major obstacles to improved UN-civil society relations is the hesitancy on the part of governments who do not always welcome sharing with others those fields of activities which traditionally have been their sole preserve. The Panel has identified four main principles around which it recommends reforms be considered:

1. In view of the changing nature of multilateralism, the Panel has proposed that the United Nations become more of a *facilitator* and a *convenor* and less of a *doer,* i.e. adopts more of an "outward-looking" perspective.

2. In view of the complexity of global challenges, the Panel has recognised that more than one actor might be in a position to provide valuable input into the search for effective solutions and, as such, it recommends that the United Nations create new partnerships and "embrace a plurality of constituencies".

3. The third principle identified by the Panel can be summed up in the phrase, "Think global, act local". The Panel has recognised: the urgent need to make sure that promises made at the top echelons of the UN are followed by direct and suitable action on the ground; that *suitable* action can only be assured if local realities are effectively relayed to those involved in global deliberations; and the important role that can be played by civil society in this two-way process.

4. The fourth principle identified by the Panel calls for reforms in the global democratic process to take into account the realities of the 21st century. The focus here is on finding ways to reduce the democratic deficit experienced by the UN, to improve participatory democracy and to ensure deeper accountability of institutions to the "global public".

The building of partnerships, greater individual responsibility through broader participatory democracy and the concept of a "global public" are all ideas which constitute the foundations of a global peace culture. UN and civil society international initiatives are indicative of men and women's capacity to extend their sensed field of responsibility beyond State boundaries to encompass a global perspective. Over the course of time, these efforts could go a long way to establishing in the minds of more and more people the sense of their place and belonging within the human race. This expanded identification could have a strong, positive impact on world governance since personal ties tend to bring with them duties and responsibilities. If, for example, a member of our family is unwell, or in a precarious situation, we tend to be quick to respond in an attempt to alleviate their condition. Is it really inconceivable that a similar sense of responsibility could be felt by human beings towards other human beings even if there is less of a

direct, personal connection? There is in fact evidence that shows that this is indeed a possibility:

- A first example has already been highlighted in this thesis in the form of UN and civil society initiatives. Often those working within NGOs for social and humanitarian purposes are highly educated and skilled individuals who have foregone high paying jobs to follow their hearts and help their fellow human beings. Since the 1980s, the rise in the number of NGOs has been most remarkable. According to the Union for International Organisations, international NGOs operating in 3 or more countries numbered just under 1000 in 1956. Forty years later, in 1996, the number was more than 28,000. The UN came into being in 1945 mainly as a result of the Allied forces' will to survive and to prevent renewed blood shed i.e. to reduce the threat of direct violence. However, over the course of the years, the UN has focused more and more of it efforts on reducing the impact of structural and cultural violence through socio-economic initiatives, humanitarian relief, human rights monitoring as well as raising the profile of environment issues. At present, the UN and civil society are actively pursuing the implementation of ethical, caring, long-term projects with a vision for a better world for all human beings, today and in the future;
- Secondly, the innate compassion of humanity is visibly evidenced in times of large-scale disasters. The latest example of this was the Asian tsunami in December 2004, which saw huge sums of money made immediately available not only by governments, but also by ordinary men and women. Aid and humanitarian NGOs from all over the world, as well as the relevant UN bodies, were quickly on site attempting to alleviate the suffering of the victims of the disaster both in the short- and long- term. It might well be true that such actions could have been better coordinated, but this scale of joint initiatives was new ground for humanity and, as such, with experience and renewed effort a more effective collaboration can hopefully be ensured next time around. What was striking in the aftermath of the Asian tsunami was the scale of the *will* of men and women to help their fellow human beings facing extremely difficult situations in far away countries;
- A third example can be seen when humanity is faced with a super-ordinate goal. We shall define a super-ordinate goal as something which two or more parties want, but which they cannot achieve alone. The 2003 coordinated mass peace demonstrations against the war in Iraq by ordinary men and women in different countries was a clear symbol of a nascent "global public" calling for peace for their fellow human beings and an end to the culture of violence. Although the effectiveness of such actions could be questioned – after all the war went ahead anyway - the scale of the peace movement represented once again "new ground" for humanity and, as such, it could be seen as a seed which has the potential to further develop in the minds of ordinary men and women the sense of a shared human identity and new forms of democratic participation based on individual responsibility.

The United Nations and International Law

The United Nations has the potential to become the united conscience of the "global public", working on behalf of future generations for the benefit of all of humanity. As part of its efforts to create a global peace culture, it is important for the UN to strengthen its work in the field of international law, putting in place mechanisms which make the supra-national laws agreed on by Member States globally enforceable. The idea of enforceable international legislation is shunned by many individuals and States. This is perhaps because it is mistakenly associated with the loss of sovereign power to a face-less world government. However, international law is there to regulate all those things that human beings share together, humanity's "global commons", where the actions of one Member State have a direct impact on another Member State and on the Earth that all men and women depend on for their survival and the survival of their progeny. These "global commons" include such things as waterways, mountains, airways, soil and vegetation; they risk being negatively impacted on by weapons of mass destruction, international trade, the use of fossil fuels, deforestation, etc.

The emphasis here on international law is in recognition of the fact that human beings continue to require rules and regulations by which to live by, not only as enforcement mechanisms but also as guidelines for appropriate behaviour. Discrimination in the choice of action is particularly important in modern times given the level of interconnectivity which is building up between communities all over the globe. The environment offers a valuable case in point. Poor environmental practices have been linked by scientists to climatic changes worldwide, although some governments like the present Bush administration continue to challenge this premise. As a non-signatory to the Kyoto Protocol, the US looks set to remain the world's biggest polluter, whilst at the same time low lying countries like Bangladesh experience more and more devastating floods and rising sea levels endanger the very existence of some small islands.

A strong system of international law, spearheaded by the United Nations, would call on governments and civil society to reassess what constitutes acceptable human behaviour towards other States, nations, races and towards the planet itself. It would call on them to have the courage to change what no longer befits human civilisation by introducing new structures which would help free humanity from the clutches of the modern day "isms", nationalism, racism, sexism, egotism, etc. thereby introducing over time a peace culture based on a value system better reflective of humankind's capacity to embrace unity in diversity.

Currently, the UN has no legislative powers. The General Assembly votes on all manner of peace and security issues but it cannot force action on any Member State. The challenges to establishing strong international legal norms are compounded by the fact that, at present, the International Court of Justice, although named the "World Court", and although it has a mandate to resolve disputes between countries, remains a judicial institution which cannot oblige Member States to come before its judges. Participation in the World Court proceedings remains a voluntary decision on the part of all Member States. Furthermore, the reform of the UN Security Council membership and its veto

provision are essential if the UN is to, "establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained" (Preamble of the UN Charter).

Concluding remarks to chapter 3

"Globalisation" – the global economic market place – and "globalism" – the increasing interconnectivity between ordinary human beings all over the planet through such things as telecommunications and travel – are trends indicative of the birth of a global community and a "global public". The United Nations, as the most representative global institution on the planet at this time, is well positioned to carry out a leading role in guiding this process. However, in order to do this, reforms to the UN system are needed in order to fit it for the global requirements of the 21st century. In recognition of this fact, in his speech to the UN General Assembly on 23 September 2003, Kofi Annan spoke about the need for a radical reform of all the UN main organs including the Assembly and the Security Council. He informed the General Assembly that he had appointed a High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons to discuss and put forward proposals for the future of the UN. Robert Muller, former UN Assistant Secretary General, has proposed, "(…) a second generation United Nations upgraded by a true quantum jump into a proper Earth preserving and human well-being and justice ensuring government." [21]

In 1997, Kofi Annan encouraged civil society to organise a "companion People's Millennium Assembly" to complement the UN Millennium General Assembly and Summit, held September 2000. This suggestion was taken up and led to the Millennium Forum that took place at the UN in May 2000. If created into a permanent body in the future, a UN People's Assembly could be "an organisational medium for a new identity and for generating loyalty to supranational communities and eventually to the world community" [22] This sense of identification with the human race could be complemented and enhanced through the issuing of United Nations passports for nationals of each country in the same way as the European Union has issued common passports for the citizens of its Member States.

The next chapter will give consideration to the Earth Charter as a tool which could guide States, communities and individuals through the structural and value changes needed to bring about a more inclusive global community based on a peace culture. The importance in creating a global vision and global identity was emphasized by Russell & Einstein in their manifesto for peace presented to the first Pugwash Conference in 1955: "There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death."

Chapter 4: A Peace Culture in Accordance with the Value Principles of the Earth Charter

More than a statement about environmental sustainability, the Earth Charter outlines a vision of universal responsibility for the well being of the human family and, by extension, for the well being of the Earth on which all men and women live. It provides an outline of suggested principles that, if followed, could ensure the integrity of human relationships in all aspects of life. The Earth Charter is the result of a collaborative effort on the part of hundreds of organisations and thousands of individuals from different countries and, as such, it is an outstanding example of the united voice of the "global public".

This chapter will focus on identifying the types of structures which could be put in place in order to breathe life into the values promoted by the Earth Charter and to ensure that the "fundamental principles for building a just, sustainable and peaceful global society in the 21st century" [23] become an integral part of human existence.

The Birth of the Earth Charter

The idea of creating a new charter to promote the fundamental principles for sustainable development was declared by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. However, despite the impetus of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, the drafting of the Earth Charter remained incomplete. In response to this delay, in 1994 Maurice Strong, the secretary general of the Earth Summit and chairman of the Earth Council, joined together with Mikhail Gorbachev, founding president of Green Cross International, to launch a new Earth Charter initiative. In 1997 an Earth Charter Commission was created to oversee the initiative and an Earth Charter Secretariat began work within the Earth Council in Costa Rica.

"The Earth Charter is the product of a decade long, worldwide, cross-cultural conversation about common goals and shared values." [24] Contributions from individuals and organisations, from experts and grassroots communities, were compiled by the Earth Charter Commission's drafting committee and finally approved at a meeting in the UNESCO HQ, in Paris, in March 2000. The Charter reflects the breath of humanity's wisdom and ethical potential. It gleans its global and inclusive vision from science, international law, religion, philosophy, non-governmental and civil society actors, and the UN summit conferences of the 1990s. As such, it represents a powerful voice for the people of the world and an enlightened approach to the actions which can be taken to ensure a global peace culture.

On 29 June 2000, the Earth Charter was officially launched at the Peace Palace in The Hague. Its mission is to establish "an ethical foundation for the emerging world community" and "to bring forth a sustainable global society founded on respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice, and a culture of peace."

The 4 Pillars of the Earth Charter

The Earth Charter has 4 main principles that are then further sub-divided:

1) Respect and Care for the Community of Life
    i) Respect Earth and life in all its diversity.
    ii) Care for the community of life with understanding, compassion and love.
    iii) Build democratic societies that are just, participatory, sustainable, and peaceful.
    iv) Secure Earth's bounty and beauty for present and future generations.
2) Ecological Integrity
    i) Protect and restore the integrity of Earth's ecological systems, with special concern for biological diversity and the natural processes that sustain life.
    ii) Prevent harm as the best method of environmental protection and, when knowledge is limited, apply a precautionary approach.
    iii) Adopt patterns of production, consumption, and reproduction that safeguard Earth's regenerative capacities, human rights and community well-being.
    iv) Advance the study of ecological sustainability and promote the open exchange and wide application of the knowledge acquired.
3) Social and Economic Justice
    i) Eradicate poverty as an ethical, social and environmental imperative.
    ii) Ensure that economic activities and institutions at all levels promote human development in an equitable and sustainable manner.
    iii) Affirm gender equality and equity as prerequisites to sustainable development and ensure universal access to education, health care and economic opportunity.
    iv) 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.
4) Democracy, Non-violence and Peace
    i) Strengthen democratic institutions at all levels and provide transparency and accountability in governance, inclusive participation in decision-making and access to justice.
    ii) Integrate into formal education and life-long learning the knowledge, values and skills needed for a sustainable way of life.
    iii) Treat all living beings with respect and consideration.
    iv) Promote a culture of tolerance, non-violence and peace.

The principles contained within the Earth Charter reflect our common human condition and provide a blueprint for a peace culture based on a set of values and behaviour patterns beyond the domination and power politics that are currently characteristic of many human-human and human-nature relations. In this chapter, we will take each of the Earth Charter tenets in turn and consider the types of structures that could be put in place and the kinds of actions that could be taken by governments, civil society, capital, the international community and, importantly, each and every individual, in order to translate these values into a day-to-day reality.

Respect and Care for the Community of Life

This first tenet of the Earth Charter captures the essence of the underlying value system that would govern any peace culture beyond the current culture of violence and patriotism. "Respect and Care for the Community of Life" could be considered the main set into which the other 3 tenets of the Earth Charter fit as sub-sets, that is, "Respect and Care for the Community of Life" is achievable through decisive action to promote such things as participatory democracy; the non-violent resolution of conflict thorough direct, structural and cultural peace; ecological integrity and sustainable living; and social and economic justice. The second, third and fourth tenets of the Earth Charter are like pillars which hold up the overarching goal of "Respect and Care for the Community of Life". Implicit in this overarching goal is the challenge to humanity to adopt a new and wider identity in order to combat the current threats to global peace. In the past, it proved possible for men and women to extend their range of identities from the local to the national level, through the development of a sense of national citizenship, and currently, citizens in Europe are working to form closer ties as members of a European Union. Why should it not be possible in the future for men and women to further expand their range of identities to include an identification with the one human race?

Figure 12 – The Tenets of the Earth Charter

"A human being is part of the whole, called by us 'Universe', a part limited in time and space. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings as something separated from the rest – a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness. This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty." (Albert Einstein)

Although the altruistic sense of care and compassion lies close to the surface in human beings and is especially visible when disaster strikes – the Asian tsunami catastrophe of December 2004 being a particularly vivid example of this – the will to act beyond one's immediate interests on a naturally on-going and permanent basis remains a rare human quality. However, there are many ideas in circulation, which are suggestive of ways of engendering in humankind a deeper sense of "Respect and Care for the Community of Life" and throughout this chapter we will be considering some of them. In this initial section, we will focus on the first tenet of the Earth Charter, bearing in mind that since this principle is a "main set", the ideas presented will naturally comprises aspect of the other three Earth Charter principles.

National Government: Appropriate human-nature relations are crucial for the sustainability of the Earth's natural resources and, by extension, for the long-term wellbeing of humankind. The importance of environmental issues could be promoted through the creation of an environmental liaison committee. A representative from this committee could attend every major meeting held by other government departments in order to highlight the environmental consequences of all governmental policy.

"I think there's increasing recognition of how peace, democracy and the environment are all interlinked. We have to manage resources like water, forests, land and oil: if not we will lose the fight against poverty and then there will be no peace, " Wangari Maathai, 2004 Nobel Peace Prize winner. [25]

In order to promote greater gender equity and a healthier work-life balance, national governments could introduce legislation, which makes it mandatory for all medium- to large-scale corporations to provide crèche facilities and paternity as well as maternity leave.

Civil Society: In multi-cultural communities, local mediation centres could be created to promote cultural awareness and to find transcendent solutions to latent or overt inter- and intra-community cultural conflict. These mediation centres could also be the seat of regular community meetings aimed at finding positive, creative outlets for joint cultural activities.

Mass media representatives could ensure that there is balanced reporting of global issues, beyond scandal and sensationalism. Journalist training schools could promote ethical journalism, whereby broad-based, multi-faceted approaches to news stories are presented, including coverage of positive, success stories, allowing viewers, listeners and readers to draw their own conclusions. UNESCO could develop its own telecommunications channels, such as a global United Nations TV and radio station, to raise public awareness of the extensive work of the United Nations beyond the Security Council. UN TV and radio could help to engender greater multi-cultural understanding and sensitivity by broadcasting programmes made by producers from different nations and States.

Capital: If international law legislated adequately for the activities of transnational corporations (TNCs), it would make them accountable for their actions regardless of the location of their headquarters or production activities. Currently, large multi-national enterprises (MNEs) are often criticised for their lack of transparency and accountability, for their disregard for human rights and for the inordinate influence they wield over national governments. As a minimum measure, through fines and tax incentives TNCs could be made to channel funds into less resource exhaustive and more ethical practices.

> "Is the Earth a Planet or a Market Place? Is the World an object or a Subject? (...) What have we prioritised? Having versus Being. What have we forgotten? To promote the concept of diversity, as important as freedom, …cultural values that must be respected as essential to sustainability, the agents of creation and evolution. Globalization cannot only address market needs, it has to address policy and politics, social needs, cultural and environmental conditions. The interest in the Planet must be globalized, as well as a code of ethics and principles as the ones contained in the Earth Charter." (Yolanda Kakabadse, Navarro, President of IUCN speaking at the 2002 Earth Dialogues in Lyon, France.)

An institution like the now defunct UN Centre on Transnational Corporations [26] could be created to provide information and technical assistance to developing countries in their interactions with MNEs. Perhaps another effort, beyond the unsuccessful attempts of the late 1970s and 1980s, could be made to create a United Nations Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations enshrining the rights and responsibilities of MNEs.

The concept of equitable trade practices could be nurtured in universities if large corporations were to begin 'head hunting' those students with ideas for ethical and sustainable solutions to capital investment and other business activities.

Global Governance: If Secretary General Kofi Annan can be aided in his desire to bring about sweeping reforms of the United Nations, the UN could be instrumental in translating the values and ethical principles of the Earth Charter into meaningful law and policy, supported by effective regulatory and enforcement mechanisms. Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary General of the UN, has called for the holding of a UN Charter Review Conference to give a voice to the 135 governments of the present 191 members, which did not participate in the drafting of the original Charter. He has declared that if the Charter Review Conference is vetoed by the 'big powers', these 135 governments should go ahead with it anyway and offer the world a new draft Charter.

Going one step further, former US Senator Mike Gravel [Senate years of service 1969-1981] proposed the 'Philadelphia II' project for the holding of a convention whose goal would be the writing of a charter for a Global Constitution [The U.S. Constitution was signed on 17 September 1787 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.] This idea has been taken up by the Global Constitution Forum (www.globalconstitutionforum.org), which plans to hold a first gathering in Philadelphia from 14-17 September 2005 with the long term aim of creating a Constitution for Earth. The focus of this Earth Constitution would be the abolition of war as a response to conflict and the establishment of enforceable world

legislation in its place. World federalism, as promoted by the Global Constitution Forum, is not intended to mean a world government to replace State or local governments, but rather foresees the rule of law with jurisdiction on a global level. Efforts in this direction could provide an important contribution to the growth of the concept of global citizenship, beyond and yet inclusive of national citizenship. A 'heterarchy' is the name given by Ervin Laszlo to this kind of multi-level administrative structure where decision-making is distributed between global and regional co-ordination on such things as peace and security, the environment and finance; and local and national autonomy in areas with a more limited mandate.

Organisations like the European Union and the United Nations have an important role to play in promoting the idea of integration and unity in diversity, not only to resolve conflicts between different States and nations, but also to ensure a peaceful future for subsequent generations. The focus in the West has a tendency to be short-term, limited to one life span. This has been a major obstacle in the development of a more sustainable way of life and could be considered a contributing factor in the comparative lack of the sense of "human-being-ness" despite the acceleration of global economic relations. The creation of a non-governmental World Futures Council, to "vision" a future global community based on the principles of a peace culture could raise awareness of the impact of human action and promote more appropriate sustainable behaviour patterns and structures. Furthermore, a Universal Court of Human Rights could be created with the legal power to rule against all human rights abuses in any country of the world.

What can we, as individuals, do? As individuals, we can use our consumer power to make informed choices by buying fair trade and organic products, thereby supporting our human brothers and sisters in less developed countries, as well as those in our own countries who are working to provide us with life-sustaining products which are grown, or made, without the raping or polluting of the Earth's natural resources. We can add our support to groups lobbying for change in one of our areas of interest through active participation or by providing regular donations to fund their work. Let it be stated again that although the mass peace demonstrations of 2003 did little to stop the war in Iraq, they were an uplifting display of global solidarity and created an important precedent for joint, multi-country civil action in the name of the one humanity and a culture of peace.

Ecological Integrity

Scientific research, as well as direct observation, is providing the human race with adequate evidence to suggest that irresponsible environmental action is creating an enormous threat to human security. Despite this knowledge, many governments continue to drag their feet with regards to taking steps to creating lasting solutions to ensure sustainability. The Bush administration's withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol is a case in point. Environmental policies appear all too often to be influenced by powerful lobby groups such as the petroleum and pharmaceutical industries. In line with "Ecological Integrity", however, it could be said that no one State, corporation or individual actually 'owns' the Earth's resources. The latter can be seen to be a common heritage. No man or

woman ever paid the Creator for them, or was ever born with a title deed in his/her hand. This brings into question the legitimacy of any claims made with regard to the ownership of natural resources, particularly when a person's basic needs are threatened, for example, in the case of the privatization of water.

Thomas Berry in his book "The Great Work" has said that the present human situation can be described in three sentences [27]:
1. In the twentieth century, the glory of the human has become the desolation of the Earth.
2. The desolation of the Earth is becoming the destiny of the human.
3. All human institutions, professions, programmes and activities must now be judged primarily by the extent to which they inhibit, ignore or foster a mutually-enhancing human-Earth relationship.

With these issues in mind, let us consider some of the ideas currently in circulation which are suggestive of ways of strengthening "Ecological Integrity".

National Government: To date, liberal democracy and sustainable environmental practices have not been immediately compatible; the former often having short-term goals and narrow self interests as motivating factors; the latter requiring long-term initiatives in order to ensure the wellbeing of the whole Earth and future generations. The urgency of current environmental challenges, such as global warming, raises the question of how political structures could be reformed to guarantee that once long-term sustainable policies have been agreed upon, sudden policy changes are not then carried out solely for electoral purposes.

One of the recommendations of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, appointed by Secretary General Kofi Annan to analyze current threats to peace and security, is for the United Nations, Member States and the private sector to work together to develop norms of good governance concerning management of natural resources. [28]

If the use of renewable sources of energy e.g. solar, hydro and wind power and geothermal energy were more widely promoted, there could be an important impact on environmental sustainability as well as on social equity. These "alternative" sources of energy could help to reduce the level of greenhouse gases, which are primarily responsible for global warming and which are created through the burning of fossil fuels – mainly oil and coal. With regards social equity, renewable sources of energy could reduce the reliance of developing countries on oil, thus breaking *one* of the vicious cycles which keeps them in a state of poverty. This reorientation away from fossil fuel could be encouraged through the creation of government subsidies for renewable energy sources that would in turn help them to enjoy a greater market share, thus bringing down their prices.

Civil Society: Schools, the media and non-governmental organisations are powerful forces for raising public awareness of the importance of leading sustainable lifestyles and practising responsible consumerism, thereby strengthening in the minds of ordinary men

and women the concept of humans as guardians of the Earth's natural resources. A deeper look at the role of schools is made on pages 45-46 of this thesis, under the section entitled, "Democracy, Non-violence & Peace".

Non-governmental organisations can provide an important contribution to the monitoring of environmental practices and the researching of viable solutions to ecological challenges. For example, Greenpeace has urged international funding agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to shift financing from large-scale, fossil-fuel projects to renewable energy in a bid to combat global warming. According to Gerd Leipold, executive director of Greenpeace International, "the World Bank spends US$17 (euro12.82) for fossil-fuel energy projects for every US$1 (euro0.75) spent for renewable energy development." [29]

Capital: In the present day neo-liberal economic market place, business interests and sustainable development tend not to be immediately compatible goals. Of course, there is no reason why they cannot be, hence the creation of the United Nations Global Compact and the Global Marshall Plan Initiative. Opposition to the neo-liberal market economy includes criticism of business practices which turn a blind eye to the pollution of natural resources in the name of financial gains and which have promoted consumer patterns that have led countries to exceed their 'ecological footprints' many times over. Since profit is the raison d'être of the 'capital' sector, tax incentives and environmental fines are good starting options for encouraging more environmentally sustainable business practices. Josef Riegler, President of Oekosoziales Forum Europa, Former Vice-Chancellor of the Republic of Austria takes this idea one step further: "(…) the legal framework and the system of taxes and tariffs have to ensure that the pollution of the environment and the consumption of "nature" are directly reflected in the prices of production processes, products, and energy and transportation systems. Thus sustainability will become a competitive factor on the market." [30]

Global Governance:

> "Concern for the well-being of the planet is the one concern that hopefully will bring the nations of the world into an inter-nation community. Since the Earth functions as an absolute unity, any dysfunctioning of the planet imperils every nation on the planet." (Thomas Berry) [31]

An international environmental court could be established to prosecute those who harmfully impact humanity's common Earth heritage. Success in this area would depend on governmental ratification of international environmental treaties and accords. This court could also have a consultative body attached to it, to which corporations and governments could turn for advice and to check their policy decisions before implementing them. The European Parliament has called for the creation of a UN World Environment Agency of which the European Environment Agency would be a regional branch. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) could audit the activities of other UN bodies to ensure that environmental concerns are adequately represented within the entire United Nations system. In the words of James MacNeil, former

Secretary-General of the Brundtland Commission, "(…) a definitive prognosis for the global crisis: no single organisation or government can, alone, solve the problems confronting us all; the problems are interconnected and so are the solutions."

What can we, as individuals, do? As individuals, we can make sure we are not "wasteful" in our daily routines and that we follow recycling guidelines, thereby adapting our lifestyles to reflect the principles of sustainability. Furthermore, as consumers and tax-payers, we can address emails and letters to our national Members of Parliament, or our MEP (European Parliament) representatives, to draw attention to government and business practices which are in breach of sustainability guidelines; or, alternatively, to show our support for those initiatives which are promoting more enlightened environmental actions.

Social and Economic Justice

This Earth Charter principle of "Social and Economic Justice" is reminiscent of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Secretary General, Kofi Annan, has urged the international community to keep the MDGs high on the political agenda and not to allow such events as the war in Iraq to overshadow them. Herein we have a good example of how direct violence can more easily catch our attention over the more extensive examples of structural and cultural violence, which in reality affect the daily lives of many, many more people.

A peace culture can never truly exist in the world until all people's basic needs are being met. All human beings require the fulfilment of four basic needs: safety, identity, wellbeing and freedom. [32] These concepts are endorsed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whose preamble begins: "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…" People require the 'space' to think if they are to take on board new paradigms such as those implicit in the Earth Charter and this will remain impossible whilst they are struggling to survive and to meet their basic needs.

Let us take this tenet of "Social and Economic Justice" and consider some of the ideas, which have been suggested by the global community for the reform or creation of structures that could facilitate the fuller realisation of this Earth Charter principle.

National Government: "The dominant perspective on globalization must shift more from a narrow preoccupation with markets to a broader preoccupation with people. Globalization must be brought from the high pedestal of corporate board rooms and cabinet meetings to meet the needs of people in the communities in which they live." ("The Social Dimension of Globalisation" Report) [33] For example, agricultural subsidies in the industrialised countries are now estimated to amount to over US$ 1 billion per day, while 70% of the world's poor live in rural areas and subsist on less than US$1 per day. [34] If those in positions of authority have the courage to pursue a serious in-depth debate on the reform of the neo-liberal market economy, it could be adapted to ensure economic,

social, cultural and environmental justice for men and women within and beyond liberal democracies. Some important guidelines have been issued by the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation, which has drawn up a comprehensive and balanced report on the repercussions of the current global economic system with extensive recommendations on how structures can be improved to ensure greater "Social and Economic Justice". It is important that these recommendations are taken into serious consideration by national and supra-national governmental bodies and that they are translated into an appropriate action plan.

Civil Society: Local communities can do a great deal to improve their social and economic prospects by choosing to support local services, produce and cultural initiatives. Communities can introduce their own "monetary system", so that services are more fairly and equally remunerated, empowering citizens to be better able to fulfil their basic human needs. A complementary currency was introduced in Curitiba, Brazil, in the form of bus tokens and food chits, which were traded by the local government administration in exchange for garbage collected by citizens. With less rubbish in the streets, the outbreak of disease within local communities was dramatically reduced and, at the same time, local residents had greater access to transport services and nutrition.

Capital: The concept of Corporate Social Responsibility brings into question, amongst other things, exactly how multi-national enterprises should compensate local communities for the natural resources they tap. Pharmaceutical companies, for example, have been criticised for patenting medicinal plants and indigenous wisdom without appropriate remuneration to local residents or without inadequate care for the local environment. This kind of behaviour risks resulting in the excessive harvesting of plants, causing them to become rarer, and the removal of an important resource from local communities. "(…) many argue that the TRIPS Agreement went too far. For one thing, it prevented access to life-saving medicines at affordable prices. For another, it did not adequately protect open access to traditional knowledge that has long been in the public domain."[35]

The power of the largest multi-national enterprises now rivals that of some governments and their annual profits even exceed the GNP of a number of sovereign States. This leads one to question if the trade monopoly laws should be amended to limit the size of any single organisation. Corporations would then no longer be allowed to expand beyond a certain size, which could foster greater cooperation *between* organisations as opposed to domination *over* other organisations. It would also minimise the amount of money any one corporation could own, thus reducing the ability of a company to use its financial and political power to push through its action plans without adequate regards for the socio-economic or environmental consequences.

Global Governance: As part of the debate on how to reform the international financial institutions (IFIs) - the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank - in order to be better able to provide "Social and Economic Justice", David Ransom, editor of the New Internationalist, has suggested that the IFIs could be made accountable to an Economic Security Council within the United Nations

system. [36] However, in this economic version of the Security Council, there would be no question of permanent membership for a handful of States holding a veto power.

Given that the IMF is mainly catering for the restructuring of the economies of developing countries, one suggestion for IMF reform is to give the post of Managing Director of its Executive Board to a representative of a developing country. The Executive Board is responsible for conducting the day-to-day business of the IMF. The current incumbent is Rodrigo de Rato, a Spanish national, who was selected by the Executive Board of the IMF to become its Managing Director on 7 June 2004. All previous Managing Directors of the IMF have been European citizens: Horst Köhler (German, 2000-2004), Camille Gutt (Belgium, 1946-51), Ivar Rooth (Sweden, 1951-56), Per Jacobsson (Sweden, 1956-63), Pierre-Paul Schweitzer (France, 1963-73), H. Johannes Witteveen (Netherlands, 1973-78), Jacques de Larosière (France, 1978-87), and Michel Camdessus (France, 1987-2000). [37] This same argument could be forwarded with regards the current tradition of appointing an American national to the post of World Bank president.

Could the IFIs learn something from the success of the community based micro-credit system? Could the latter be adapted to cater for broader national purposes? This is certainly a question which the United Nations is considering given that it has designated 2005 as the International Year of Micro-credit.

There is heated debate over whether overseas development aid (ODA) actually disempowers rather than helps developing countries, by making them more dependent on donor States. For this reason, the Global Marshall Plan Initiative is promoting international co-financing measures for development, such as world taxes, percentage shares of national tax revenues and debt-relief measures, in exchange for improvements in social, cultural and environmental standards in receiving countries.

A supporter of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown, is also a member of the Africa Commission, set up by British Prime Minister Tony Blair. On 12 March 2005, the Africa Commission released its report, "Our Common Interest" defining "the challenges facing Africa and (…) recommendations on how to support the changes needed to reduce poverty". [38] Whilst the report acknowledges Africa's responsibility to develop the *capacity* – infrastructure, technology, human capital, etc. – and the *accountability* – governance, democratic participation, transparency etc. – needed to combat the abject poverty suffered by so many men and women on the African continent, the report also emphasises the "moral duty" of developed countries to assist in this process. [39] Widespread bribery and corruption constitute a major challenge for improved governance in Africa. The Africa Commission report suggests that developed States can assist Africa in ending these practices by introducing legislation which makes it mandatory for banks to provide details on "suspicious accounts", by repatriating assets stolen by corrupt African leaders and by refusing export credits to firms from their countries which are found to have offered bribes for extractive contracts – oil, minerals, etc. – in African States. The Africa Commission report emphasizes the importance of education and health care not only in terms of human rights and social

justice, but also for the economic potential which they can engender by providing a "healthy and skilled workforce".

President Truman spoke with wisdom on the occasion of the signing of the UN Charter at the San Francisco Conference on 26 June 1945 when he said:

> "We all have to recognise, no matter how great our strength, that we must deny ourselves the license to do always as we please. No one nation…can or should expect any special privilege which harms any other nation…Unless we are all willing to pay that price, no organisation for world peace can accomplish its purpose. And what a reasonable price that is!"

What can we, as individuals, do? As promoted by many religious and spiritual practices, we can learn to give more rather than to spend more. As individuals, we can simplify our lives and avoid getting too wrapped up in the consumerism and materialism so ferociously promoted in our Western societies. Instead, we can take pleasure in supporting a charity or NGO which is working for "Social and Economic Justice", not only with financial contributions but perhaps also with some of our own time on a voluntary basis. In this way we can take active part in the management of the planet, by ensuring that our fellow human beings' basic needs are being met, thereby nurturing our sense of connectedness with people living in other parts of the world.

Democracy, Non-violence & Peace

The European Union and the United Nations constitute two examples of the progress humans have made on the road to global peace through greater cooperation and a growing sense of togetherness. However, as was touched on in chapter 2 of this thesis, "Peace and the Patriarchal System", power is often still concentrated in the hands of small groups of elites and popular democratic participation is often limited to voting in elections. Switzerland, a country which remains outside the EU and only joined the UN in September 2002, has a somewhat broader concept of democratic participation which it expresses through the holding of regular referendums for both local and national decision-making. However, if the first 3 tenets of the Earth Charter: respect and care for the community of life, ecological integrity and social and economic justice are to be translated into the reality of the 21st century, the concept of democracy will need to be even further expanded. The global challenges facing humanity require greater individual responsibility and cross-sector initiatives. For example, governments will remain challenged to resolve the issue of global warming if powerful corporations continue to rely on fossil fuels, if scientists do not develop and promote cleaner energy sources, if the public is unaware of environmental issues because they are not explained in schools or by the media, etc. The same can be said for the transition away from the use of direct, structural and cultural violence. A culture of peace will only come about if there is a sector-wide action plan i.e. governmental polices at the local, national and supra-national levels; formal (schools) and informal (media, etc.) education for men and women in the principles of a peace culture; Corporate Social Responsibility; etc.

Let us take a look at some of the ideas which could be developed to promote a greater degree of "Democracy, Non-violence & Peace" within the world community.

National Government: An active peace policy administered by a Department of Peace could have a varied mandate including: working with the Foreign Office, Defence Department, etc. to find transcendent ways of resolving conflict through early detection and prevention by channelling some military funding into peace research initiatives; training a sector of the military exclusively in conflict resolution and peacekeeping skills, namely in such things as dialogue, mediation, cultural sensitivity and "respect and care for the community of life"; "enlisting" young men and women into a "civil duty" (instead of military service) during which they are taught the duties and responsibilities of human citizenship; setting up peace academies that provide training in the use of non-violent action to resolve conflict and the use of creative thinking to "vision" the structures needed for a culture of peace; promoting the principles of democratic participation and peace through the inclusion of more women and minority groups in decision-making and through the "subsidiarity principle", whereby decisions are taken at the lowest feasible level. The Department of Peace could also look into the effectiveness of the use of military operations in "resolving" conflicts and make a systematic assessment of whether it would be beneficial to redirect some of the money spent on military expenditure into social and economic projects which target the root causes of conflict.

Civil Society: Non-violent approaches to conflict resolution and human duties and responsibilities form an important foundation on which to build a global peace culture. Schools, community initiatives and the media are important channels through which these concepts can be promoted on a large enough scale to enable them to become rooted in human consciousness. We will take a brief look at three types of schools that are already actively promoting a peace culture based on individual responsibility and a common human identity:

- In the **Montessori Schools**, children learn through their own sense of curiosity and from each other as well as from the teacher. The teachers are there to stimulate a love of learning in students and do not use grades as a carrot and stick. The goal is to give the children just enough to capture their attention and spark their interest, thereby refraining from imposing any preconceptions or prejudgements on them. Children are assessed on an on-going basis through tasks and assignments as opposed to through competitive exams. Montessori promotes collaboration and a strong sense of independence and self-confidence. Children compete only against themselves and are always encouraged to try again if they "fail", without fear of embarrassment. Imagination plays a central role in classes as children explore other cultures and ancient civilizations, and search for creative solutions to real-life problems. Montessori schools celebrate various spiritual holidays such as Christmas, Hannukah and Chinese New Year. These are experienced on the cultural level as special days of family feasting, merriment and wonder. Montessori aims to provide ways of encouraging children to begin the journey

toward being fully alive and fully human by instilling in them a sense of joy and appreciation of life.[40]

- In the **Waldorf Steiner** schools, the curriculum is based on a pedagogical philosophy that places emphasis on the whole development of the child, including a child's spiritual, physical and moral well-being as well as academic progress. Learning is done in a very creative and artistic environment. Steiner education respects the essential nature of childhood and enables each pupil to develop the abilities and capacities needed for life. At the secondary school level, qualities such as emotional maturity, good judgement, creativity and initiative with a strong moral sense of responsibility are cultivated. The pupils learn about the world, society and themselves in a way with which they can strongly identify. The curriculum is designed to develop faculties, rather than merely to deliver prescribed information, in order to enable students to understand the complex inter-relationships between phenomena. [41]
- In the Robert Muller **World Core Curriculum** schools, students are encouraged to develop such qualities as cooperation and acceptance which will prepare them to become conscious, responsible world citizens. The Curriculum reflects the universality of life through the concept of The Four Harmonies: 1) Our Planetary Home and Place in the Universe; 2) Our Human Family; 3) Our Place in Time; and 4) The Miracle of Individual Human Life.[42] Students are encouraged to investigate such questions as:
    1. Who am I?
    2. What relationships do I have with myself, my family, my community, my nation, other nations, other humans, the Earth?
    3. How can I contribute to the world community? Does my work have aesthetic value and human significance?
    4. What is my relationship to Life itself?

The children who attend the above-mentioned schools come from all spheres of society. Their parents have taken the decision to offer them a more inclusive and enlightened education. If peace-oriented education of this kind, which emphasises right human relations and a global ethics, were introduced within the main-stream curriculum, a critical mass of people could be educated into such value principles as those enshrined in the Earth Charter. These young people would then be in a position to hold up alternative attitudes and behaviour patterns to those which are currently maintaining the culture of patriarchy, violence and separation.

Formal and informal education channels could be instrumental in raising public awareness of the fact that as well as rights, human beings also have responsibilities. In addition to the Earth Charter, these responsibilities have been enshrined in other documents such as "The Universal Declaration of Human Duties" by the InterAction Council, the "Trieste Declaration of Human Duties" by the International Council of Human Duties and the "Declaration of Duties and Human Responsibilities" in association with UNESCO and the Valencia Third Millennium Foundation. Perhaps community leaders could consider bringing back some kind of rite of passage into adulthood,

implying that each individual accepts his or her responsibilities and duties as a representative member of the human race.

By increasing cooperative initiatives, religious leaders could be instrumental in promoting tolerance, mutual understanding and the peaceful resolution of conflict. Perhaps the Parliament of World Religions could become a permanent consultative body to the United Nations as well as to national governments in order to help counter the rise in religious fundamentalism.

Capital: Companies that support charities often receive tax benefits. Perhaps, in the future, the pre-requisites for qualifying for corporate taxation reductions could include providing free advertising space to the charities concerned in the company's brochure/website and inviting a representative of the charity to sit as a consultative advisor on the board of directors. Corporations could further extend their democratic status by adopting a stakeholder philosophy. A company's "stakeholders" include not only the shareholders but also employees, partners, clients and consumers, and the people of the communities where they operate. In the spirit of a stakeholder philosophy, for example, a company would consult employees when formulating their goals and objectives and would take an active interest in the people and the concerns of the local communities in which they operate.

Global Governance: The interconnectivity of life and the common human condition are easily visible in those problems that stretch beyond traditional borders – "to use Secretary General Kofi Annan's phrase 'problems without passports' that cross all frontiers uninvited" [43] – such as weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, environmental degradation, AIDS and other diseases, human rights, mass migration of peoples, etc. Challenges faced by the one humanity require joint action on a global level. The United Nations and international civil society, as representatives of the global community, have an important role to play in this process. The Commission on Global Governance supports the increased integration of "civil society into the daily work of the UN system, consolidating the gains already achieved and extending them to new areas of UN work." With respect to the NGO sector of civil society, the Commission calls for the General Assembly to "act as expediously as possible to extend the rules and arrangements for NGO participation established in ECOSOC resolution 1996/31 to the General Assembly, its main committees and working groups… As a general rule, NGOs should be permitted access to all formal meetings of UN bodies that are open to all member states." [44]

The international community could further contribute to greater democracy by setting up an electronic E-Parliament to link parliamentarians worldwide, providing a forum for debate on the most appropriate ways of serving the common good. The Inter-Parliamentary Union is setting an excellent precedent in this area.

As regards the role of the military, national armies could be greatly reduced and replaced by a United Nations Force. The UN soldiers would receive training in peace and conflict transformation skills in addition to the usual military training. Before going on an assignment, they would also be given training in the cultural and religious background of

the country to which they were headed. "The era of a general who only knows how to fight is gone", says Roméo Dallaire, former commander of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide. [45] He is now actively lobbying for changes within all ranks of the military. Generals, he says, need also to be diplomats and humanists.

The money saved from national military spending could be channelled instead into global socio-economic initiatives and also into paying United Nations contributions on time. The United Nations could set up a Peace Agency to liaise with national Departments of Peace and to provide policy proposals on collective peace and security issues in accordance with UN General Assembly resolution 39/11 dated 12 November 1984 which states that "the maintenance of a peaceful life for peoples is a sacred duty of each state" (…) and that "the peoples of our planet have a sacred right to peace".

What can we, as individuals, do? We can chose to make our lives an artistic expression of beauty by: choosing "meaningful" employment; making an informed choice about the newspapers, magazines and internet sites we read, taking out subscriptions to "enlightened" publications like "The Positive News" and "The New Internationalist", and tapping the wealth of information compiled by such associations as the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research (www.transnational.org); taking responsibility for our thoughts, words and actions in our day-to-day lives; and becoming involved in community initiatives to promote what we want as well as to opposed what we don't want. Ervin Laszlo in his book "You Can Change the World" suggests that individuals can join with friends and colleagues to buy a minimum number of shares in a company – or to join a shareholders association – so as to be in a position to request that the company's executives provide transparency with regard to corporate activities and pay greater attention to stakeholders and the environment.

Concluding remarks to chapter 5

Through the course of history, the consciousness of men and women and their understanding of the concept of peace and right human relations have continued to evolve. In 13th century England, for example, the writing of the Magna Carta, which compelled everyone - even the King - to uphold basic human rights, was a clear indication of the attainment of a new level of human consciousness. Today, globalisation and globalism are making human interactions beyond national boundaries an every day event from the State level right down to the individual sitting at home sending emails to people all over the world. This social phenomenon is slowly bringing about a heightened global awareness.

The seriousness of the current super-ordinate challenges faced by humanity - possible irreversible environmental damage and climate change, the threat of a biological, chemical or nuclear terrorist attack, or a full blown nuclear war - together with the ethical implications of extensive direct, structural and cultural violence have led to such initiatives as the Earth Charter in which the need for integrity in human-human and human-nature relations is emphasized. This chapter and other sections of this thesis

provide only a scattering of possible ideas and concepts which could breathe life into the value principles of the Earth Charter, thereby accelerating the transition to a global peace culture.

Final Conclusion

In this thesis, the concept of peace has been considered in relation to its antithesis, namely a culture of violence - widespread direct, structural and cultural violence - and the underlying patriarchal system. It has been hypothesized that many global challenges could be more easily resolved through the "integration of the feminine principle", namely, the empowerment of women and the more widespread assimilation of what have traditionally been considered "female" values. It has further been suggested that this could bring greater balance to human relations through the wider distribution of power and decision-making capacities and through the introduction of new approaches to conflict transformation. A strengthened United Nations, greater civil society participation and individual responsibility have been highlighted as important components in this process.

Running throughout this thesis is the suggestion that the structural changes characteristic of a global peace culture - a "planetary society" - could both be *engendered by* a strengthened identification with the human race and could *reinforce* that same identification. This process could take time; such is the nature of evolution. Human beings learn largely through repetition, however, and it follows that if men and women hear non-violent approaches to security promoted by their governments, if they see right human relations depicted on their TV sets by the news programmes and makers of films, if they are taught from an early age that they exist in relation to all others and to their environment, if they take part in local activities aimed at promoting peaceful relations between different cultures, if they acknowledge their responsibility to think, speak and act in a peaceful manner in their daily lives, then in time a solid foundation will have been laid for the emergence on a global scale of a peace culture based on a shared human identity.

"I'm working to advance human rights, to come up with a new way of looking at conflict resolution. I don't hold myself to borders or to sovereignty. (…) I believe that we can actually achieve a point in humanity when we won't have conflicts because of our differences", Roméo Dallaire, former UN commander. [46]

In this thesis, the Earth Charter has been presented as one example of a united human call for greater global justice and sustainability. Many other such initiatives exist. If these ideas for structural change based on a global ethics and human responsibility were to be collected in a "Directory for a New World Order Based on a Culture of Peace" – collated into sections labelled "new" politics, economics, finance, defence, education, information, legislation, leisure, spirituality, etc. – they would find a common link in the sense that *together* they could be seen as a blueprint for an "alternative" values-based society founded on a deep respect and care for the community of Life and the one humanity. As President Roosevelt wrote in his own hand on the day before his death for the speech he was to deliver at the opening of the San Francisco Conference convened to give birth to the United Nations:

"The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today."

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