Universal Forum of
Cultures - Barcelona 2004

6 - 8 September 2004
Barcelona, Spain

New Ignorances, New Literacies

Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
www.unesco.org

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This work is the result of the conference *"New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World"* (6 to 8 September 2004). It was directed by Jean-Yves Le Saux, Senior Programme Planning Officer, Bureau of Strategic Planning, UNESCO. In the organization of the event, he was assisted by a team from the Bureau of Strategic Planning of UNESCO, including Aurore Salinas, Tina Boverman, Daniel Laqua and Lluis Claret.

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FOREWORD

Globalization has given rise not only to new forms of exchange and understanding but also to the emergence of disturbing forms of ignorance, or their re-emergence in a new context. In the last decade, the world has experienced new forms of wars and conflicts and has been confronted with radically new threats. Their complex origins have highlighted the increasing relevance of and necessity for multifaceted prevention, based on a sound understanding of these new challenges and on the importance of universal shared values (such as human rights), ethics, the protection of cultural diversity and the commitment to sustainable development.

Thus, conflict prevention and the reduction of threats are not only a political question, nor are they simply a development issue: they are also a challenge to cultural and educational systems. Today, therefore, it is vital to examine ways of responding effectively to these new threats, which are closely related to the emergence of "new ignorances". To this end, we must identify "new literacies" – namely, the knowledge, values and competencies necessary to meet the challenges of this new century.

As a key contribution to the "Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004", UNESCO organized, from 6 to 8 September 2004, an interdisciplinary conference entitled "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World". For nearly five months, the Forum provided visitors from all over the world with the opportunity to engage in intercultural dialogue and to celebrate the diversity of cultural and intellectual expression. From 8 May to 29 September 2004, it became a meeting-place for political decision-makers and representatives of the international community and civil society. Offering a wide selection of conferences, workshops, performances and exhibitions, the Forum focused on the three key themes of cultural diversity, sustainable development and the conditions for peace. UNESCO is proud to have acted as the main partner of the "Forum Barcelona 2004", whose range of activities and topics reflected the concerns of the Organization.

The Conference "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World" opened with a high-level segment of Heads of State and Government and representatives of Spanish, Catalan and Barcelona authorities, followed by eight thematic panels. The presence of Her Royal Highness Infanta Elena was a sign of the Spanish Royal Family's enduring support for UNESCO's work, for which I express my deepest thanks. I should also like to express my appreciation of the assistance provided by the Spanish Government, the Generalitat of Catalonia and the City of Barcelona. Furthermore, I am grateful for the presence of two Heads of State who acted as keynote speakers, namely, President Adamkus of Lithuania and President Wade of Senegal. They are both long-term friends of UNESCO and I thank them warmly for having honoured us with their presence.

The present volume assembles the panellists' contributions to the "New Ignorances, New Literacies" conference, which have been adapted for the purposes of this publication. The result is a collection of insightful essays from a wide range of disciplines and from different areas of public life. The cultivation and promotion of interdisciplinary thinking were among the functions assigned to UNESCO at its foundation sixty years ago. By documenting a meeting of minds and ideas, this publication highlights the benefits of interdisciplinary reflection. From a variety of different perspectives, it spells out the practical implications of "learning to live together in a globalizing world" and identifies the building blocks required for the construction of "new literacies".

Koïchiro MATSUURA
Director-General, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

JOAN CLOS

Mayor of Barcelona

Joan Clos has been the Mayor of Barcelona since 1997. Born in 1949, he took his degree in medicine at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. He specialized in epidemiology, community medicine and health resource management and also studied at Edinburgh University. In 1979 he joined the city government as director of the Health Services. In 1983 he was elected city councillor for the Socialist Party. In 1987 he took over the reform of the historic district of Barcelona, linking urban development with the improving of services and quality of life for the residents. Joan Clos is vice-president of United Cities and Local Governments, an organization that groups cities of the world and whose headquarters are in Barcelona. In 2004, Mayor Clos was president of the first Universal Forum of Cultures.

One of the most interesting events at the "Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004" was the Dialogue on "New Ignorances, New Literacies" organized by UNESCO. Its proposals were not only in complete agreement with the aim of consciously building a diverse, sustainable and peaceful world, but also addressed one of the central issues in this process. Only by dissolving the barriers of ignorance may we hope for mutual understanding and understanding of our environment and our future.

In fact, the challenges of the next decades will be shaped by our capacity to access knowledge in all its different facets. The new forms of ignorance generated by globalization are characterized by a lack of knowledge of other cultures and other visions of the world, but also (and more and more so) of everything related to information, technology and science. The paradox is that humanity acquires more knowledge but that this knowledge is not fairly shared throughout the world. Whilst all this knowledge and information is being uploaded onto the web – providing easy and democratic access – the technological (and, in some cases, linguistic) gulf leaves this treasure out of reach for millions of people.

But should we be worrying about knowledge when so many peoples are fighting for their very survival, struggling in times of war and catastrophes? We are aware of the huge difficulties caused by the enormous imbalance between the developed countries and those that still have not achieved acceptable levels of economic and social development, justice and equality, education and health care. In view of these questions, we must show determination when facing the challenges of an even more present future. The objectives of the Millennium Declaration that were to be fulfilled by the year 2015 should be a priority on the political agenda of all governments.

The Forum 2004 was a celebration of diversity, respect and coexistence, of the path that leads to the acceptance of common values rather than a sole vision of the world, and which aspires to peace.

Barcelona feels proud to have been able to organize, also with the sponsorship of UNESCO, an event that inspired thousands of people, citizens from all over the planet, who were able to find here a space to share their worries and thoughts about a world we all hope to make a better place.

PASQUAL MARAGALL

President of the Generalitat of Catalonia

Since 2003, Pasqual Maragall has been the President of the Generalitat of Catalonia. He studied Law and Economics at the University of Barcelona and at the New School University in New York. In addition to teaching and working as an economist, Mr Maragall was active in the Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSC-PSOE) since its establishment in the 1970s onwards. In 1982, he was elected Mayor of Barcelona and presided over the organizing committee (COOB'92) for the Olympic Games held in his city in 1992. From 1991 to 1997, he was President of the Council of Municipalities and Regions of Europe. He was also Vice-President of the International Union of Local Authorities and President of the Committee of Regions of the European Union from 1996 to 1998. Since 2000, Pasqual Maragall is President of the PSC-PSOE, having been a member of the Catalan Parliament from 1988 to 1995.

We live in a globalized world where much too often, more knowledge also means more ignorance. It is a world where those who are born today have more things to learn, and where those who grow old have more difficulties to understand. In this globalized world, we are increasingly aware of our common destiny, yet at the same time, we continue to wish that others understand us in what makes us unique, in what makes us singular.

It would be very naïve to regard "universality" as our point of departure – it is, in fact, our point of destination. We will only reach this aim if we manage to construct a global conscience which allows us to move towards human progress, taking as a starting point the existence of diverse cultural identities and their recognition as a source of personal and collective wealth.

The "Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004" was offered to the world exactly for this reason. It was conceived as a global agora of people with different discourses, ideas and visions, who are united by the will to learn from each other, to reciprocally recognize each other, and to take responsibility for the future of our planet.

We are now called upon to extend this commitment to our fellow citizens through new literacies and educational approaches which ensure that coexistence between all individuals and groups is governed by respect and mutual understanding.

UNESCO has an essential role in this. This was demonstrated by the Dialogue "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World", celebrated within the framework of the Forum. I hope that the force of the ideas presented at the conference and now collected in this book will help us continue on our way towards freedom and justice with a greater effectiveness and better results.

INTRODUCTION

KOÏCHIRO MATSUURA

Director-General, United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

Koïchiro Matsuura was elected the eighth Director-General of UNESCO in 1999, and was the first of Asian origin (Japanese). He studied economics and law, first in Japan at the University of Tokyo, and then in the United States. He held several diplomatic posts with the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Second and later First Secretary of the Japanese Delegation to the OECD; Counselor of the Embassy of Japan in the United States; and Consul General of Japan in Hong Kong. He was then named Director-General of the Economic Cooperation Bureau. While Director-General of the North American Affairs Bureau, Mr Matsuura began his formal writing career and has had numerous titles published. An accomplished author in the fields of economic cooperation, bi-lateral relations, and perspectives on development, he represented Japan at the 1994 G7 summit as Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. From 1994- 99, Mr Matsuura was called upon to serve as Ambassador of Japan to France and concurrently to Andorra and Djibouti. During this period he published *Japanese Diplomacy at the Dawn of the 21st Century*.

The third industrial revolution and the associated new forms of globalization are radically changing our societies and setting us new challenges. The opportunities for humankind have become richer and more complex, yet they are accompanied by great uncertainties. Against this backdrop, our task is, perforce, to explore the great wealth, diversity and complexity inherent in the future, especially by forging links between disciplines, traditions, cultures and human communities. During the past half-century, we have seen an unprecedented rapprochement between peoples, facilitated by the United Nations system and underpinned by the globalization of exchanges and ideas. Unfortunately, these developments have not prevented war, conflict, intolerance and hatred, which are nurtured by incomprehension, suspicion, prejudice, stereotypes and ignorance. As many authors have stressed, the major challenge in the years ahead is not a "clash of civilizations" but rather the "clash of ignorances". Faced with these new forms of ignorance, we must create "new literacies" which are not restricted to reading and writing, but which also encompass the knowledge, values and skills needed for each person's life and for membership of a wider community. Learning to live together in a globalizing world implies an unprecedented commitment to mutual knowledge, sustainable development, the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, improved exchanges between peoples, the development of shared values and learning about diversity.

These are major challenges facing the construction of "knowledge societies" in the twenty-first century. At the same time, they are challenges for peace and for development, as they contribute to poverty reduction through conflict reduction, learning about citizenship and knowledge dissemination. Combating ignorance means first and foremost investing in education. UNESCO has undertaken to make education for all (EFA) a priority on the international agenda, and it coordinates the global movement to promote the attainment of the goals set at Dakar in 2000 – that is to say, above all, the goal of quality basic education for all by 2015. In this respect, the role of "quality education" is important, since the education provided is often poor or insufficient. Education must be of good quality in terms of infrastructure and education systems and in terms of content and curricula. Quality education must not only open doors to careers; it must open up minds and hearts. It must combat ignorance of the Other and teach about the diversity of the world. It must prepare the individual to live in a world that is increasingly complex and diverse, and it must inculcate the attitudes and values that are essential for citizenship in a globalizing world.

Quality education must not only open doors to careers; it must open up minds and hearts.

Globalization encourages exchanges and interaction. It also generates misunderstanding, stereotypes and xenophobia. That is why it is important to identify the values, institutions and skills needed to cope with new or resurgent forms of discrimination and ignorance. All means of communication must be used to combat ignorance, intolerance, xenophobia and racism. We must be able to exploit the potential of the new information and communication technologies and to mobilize the written and broadcast media to think about these themes. The development of skills linked to the new technologies, in particular among young people, is without doubt a key challenge in combating new forms of ignorance.

Combating ignorance also involves determined action to promote culture: the gap between rich and poor is also a cultural gap which often leads to mutual ignorance damaging to all. We must work to ensure that all of the world's cultures and all forms of cultural heritage, tangible and intangible, from the South and the North, in Europe and Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Arab States, may be represented equitably and may communicate on an equal footing in a spirit of mutual respect. UNESCO endeavours in particular to secure worldwide recognition of the specific value and irreplaceable nature of the intangible heritage, and in 2003, its 32nd General Conference adopted a convention to safeguard that heritage. The Organization also acts to promote cultural diversity, which has been the subject of a universal declaration (adopted unanimously at the 31st General Conference in 2001): UNESCO is consequently drawing up a draft convention on cultural diversity which aims, in particular, to improve the promotion and protection of the diversity of cultural expressions.

Globalization is also leading to the emergence of a shared awareness of the major challenges linked to development. Building the necessary skills to instil ethical and environmental awareness in order to promote the development of values and attitudes, competencies and behaviours consistent with sustainable development will be a major challenge for our societies. The United Nations General Assembly has given UNESCO a leading role in preparing, implementing and coordinating the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), which acknowledges education as a means of achieving genuinely sustainable development. Furthermore, UNESCO is engaged in reflection on the ethics of science and technology, in particular through the International Bioethics Committee.

The new forms of ignorance can be combated successfully only if we establish genuine dialogue among cultures and civilizations. Dialogue among cultures and civilizations is a necessity in today's world in order to overcome obstacles, prejudice and the resurgent forms of ignorance, and to understand and learn from others and their experiences. In his address to the international conference "Dialogue among Civilizations", held in Vilnius in April 2001, President Valdas Adamkus stated that "No civilization by itself can claim to represent all humanity or to assume full responsibility for it. Neither can one single civilization claim exclusive rights to provide a universally valid vision of how to be a good human being and how to live wisely in today's world." These comments aptly express the idea that there is no basic contradiction between developing shared values and defending cultural diversity.

The promotion of dialogue among civilizations and cultures is now a fundamental part of UNESCO's mission and activities. Under the Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations, adopted in November 2001 by the United Nations General Assembly, and pursuant to UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy, the Organization has mainly organized sub-regional, regional and world conferences. These events have shown that such dialogue must be conducted not only at the political and diplomatic level but in all spheres of society. "Dialogue begins at home", it is "an imperative at both international and national levels", as President Obasanjo of Nigeria stressed at the round table on dialogue among civilizations, convened by UNESCO on the eve of the Millennium Summit in New York.

Dialogue among cultures and civilizations is a necessity in today's world in order to overcome obstacles, prejudice and the resurgent forms of ignorance, and to understand and learn from others and their experiences.

Today, UNESCO has set itself the task of expanding the scope of the dialogue to adapt it better to specific regional characteristics and to current conflicts, which are distinctive in that they flare up between communities living in the same state, unlike "traditional" conflicts. Owing to these "new conflicts", we must put the dialogue into various perspectives and take belief systems, cultural parameters, scientific knowledge and the resources of civil society into account. Dialogue is also a time process. In a speech at the UNESCO Headquarters in April 2003, President Wade of the Republic of Senegal expressed his hope to see "the emergence of the African citizen for the twenty-first century, secure and strengthened by such a diverse and rich cultural identity, and at the same time well-informed about events in the rest of the world". The purpose of writing world history is not only to highlight the specific contribution of civilizations and cultures but also to build awareness of a common destiny based on an acknowledgement of the diversity of humanity. We must therefore devise new forms of learning in order to improve our knowledge of both our own history and that of others. This is a crucial factor in ensuring not only better dialogue but also reconciliation among peoples.

NOUZHA CHEKROUNI

Minister-Delegate in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad, Kingdom of Morocco

Since November 2002, Nouzha Chekrouni is the Minister-Delegate in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad. Having obtained her doctorate in Linguistics from the Sorbonne University in Paris in 1983, Nouzha Chekrouni directed the Department of French Language and Literature at Meknés University from 1986 to 1990. Since 1987, Nouzha Chekrouni has been politically active within the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP), as a Member of the Women's National Secretariat and, since 2001, as a Member of the USFP's Political Bureau. Furthermore, she was Vice-President of the Socialist International Women (1997 to 2003) and has been Secretary-General of the Arab Women's Affairs Committee of the Arab Labour Organization since April 2001. Dr Chekrouni joined the Moroccan government in 1998 as Secretary of State for Handicapped People.

It was a great honour and an immense pleasure to participate in the UNESCO conference on "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World", held in Barcelona, a city of gatherings and demonstrations which have marked our contemporary history. On behalf of the government of the Kingdom of Morocco, I delivered a brief message at this event. It serves as a further testimony to the particular interest which His Majesty King Mohammed VI attributes to the dialogue between cultures and civilizations, on the basis of a new approach to Morocco's cultural role in its geo-strategic environment. The message focused on Morocco's approach to the challenges of new forms of ignorance:

The questions related to the topic of intercultural relations in a globalized world concern all of us. Together, we must therefore continue to work untiringly to overcome all forms of incomprehension of the other, in particular the North's incomprehension of the countries of the South.

We are convinced that dialogue between civilizations remains possible and necessary, and that we all are called upon to seek the best ways for making this dialogue a carrier of hope and a vector of confidence.

I take the opportunity to reaffirm that Morocco was, and will always remain, a land of dialogue and tolerance. Through the centuries, my country has known to ensure positive intercultural relations between Arabs, Amazighs, Africans and Europeans. Under Moroccan skies, Muslims, Christians and Jews have adored and continue to adore God. As democrats open to the values of progress, it is our mission to perpetuate these ancestral and timeless traditions.

In our present world dominated by crises, incomprehension, tensions and fratricidal wars, it is up to us to re-establish universal human values within the framework of a global cultural dialogue. In particular, we must aim to eradicate all phenomena of despair which result from observations saying that the present is dark and that the future is uncertain.

It goes without saying that the succession of civilizations in global history constitutes a shared memory and a common inheritance of humanity. Morocco will continue to firmly defend interpenetration in intercultural relations, and, using all means, it will work for the introduction of a new international cultural order, centred on the timeless values of tolerance, dialogue and respect of the other. Morocco remains conscious that the future of our planet is closely related to the anchoring of cultural diversity, the reinforcement of cultural ethics and freedom, and the support of experiences based on the notion of "accumulation". In pursuing these aims, we must take into account the different needs and specificities of each individual, opening up horizons for rapprochement, complementarity and the discovery of the other.

We are convinced that dialogue between civilizations remains possible and necessary, and that we all are called upon to seek the best ways for making this dialogue a carrier of hope and a vector of confidence, thus allowing us to conceive possible solutions to the problems and challenges of our time.

It is within this framework that we call for the establishment of a global cultural movement for the defence of peace and solidarity, against all the forms of extremism, terrorism and rejection of the other.

Lastly, I would like to reaffirm that Morocco, which ensures its anchoring in Africa and its openness to the Mediterranean, the West, America and the rest of the world, will always remain attached to the universally recognized cultural values.

SALVADOR ORDOÑEZ DELGADO

Secretary of State for Higher Education and Research, Kingdom of Spain

Having obtained a doctorate in Geologic Sciences by the Universidad Complutense of Madrid in 1974, Salvador Ordoñez Delgado embarked on an academic career as university professor and geologist. For over twenty years, Prof. Ordoñez Delgado taught at the Universidad Complutense, dealing with subjects such as sedimentary petrology, mineral deposits and industrial rocks. In 2001, he was nominated as Rector of the University of Alicante, a post that he occupied until 2004, when he became the Secretary of State for Higher Education and Research in the new Spanish government.

"Another education is possible" – this is the title of an article written by Fabricio Caivano about the "Dialogues" part of the "Universal Forum of Cultures - Barcelona 2004". It pleases me to refer to it at the very beginning of my brief contribution.

In the UNESCO Constitution of 1945, some disturbing words about ignorance can be found: "Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war." The importance of this disquieting phrase seems amplified in our globalized world today, as "new ignorances" have been added to the ignorance of cultural diversity: the invincible ignorance[1] of the increasingly acute social differences between continents, countries and even within each country, between the different social classes; the invincible ignorance of the future development of our planet, of our global village, as reflected in human actions and human negligence. However, all ignorances are comprised by the crass ignorance[2] of ethics, that is to say the norms that regulate human behaviour in relation to what is external to its very existence.

The Dialogue on "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World" was conceived to face these ignorances, the knights of educational apocalypse, through new literacies, that is to say through new knowledge and new responsible educational models.

Our world is presently divided into two sub-worlds, so near and yet so distant; one rich and one poor; one world of those who seek to work towards a better future and one world of those who do not have future. And between those two worlds, there is a cultural precipice and abyss which can cause intolerance, followed by violence, and which is the origin of injustices and feelings of hatred and revenge. Today more than ever, the educational institutions, and more specifically the universities, therefore have the obligation to be aware of our multiculturality, to reflect on it, to discuss it and to interchange experiences that serve the aim of a dialogue between cultures. From Barcelona at the coast of the Mediterranean – a mosaic of ethnic groups, religions, nationalities and languages, an authentic "Babel" – one must reach towards common values and shared solutions. This includes cooperation for sustainable development as well as cooperation in education and the creation of knowledge, within the framework of solidarity between peoples and respect for human rights as symbolized by the United Nations Charter. Neither economic globalization nor the globalization of terrorism, neither preventive war nor genocides can be an excuse for women and men of culture and knowledge to refrain from building bridges to attain the objective of convincing through dialogue.

This is the reason why universities – institutions dedicated to education and the creation of knowledge – are essential and have to be conscious of their responsibilities in these discussions aimed at a global literacy.

[1] "Invincible ignorance": ignorance of something due to one's inability to see the reasons for doubt.

[2] "Crass ignorance": the negligence to learn or to acquire what can and must be learned.

Creation, accumulation and critical transmission of knowledge is the Orteguian mission of the Humboldtian university, effective until the end of the twentieth century. The university of the twenty-first century[3] should be marked by citizens' continuous and life-long learning which enables them to become authentic motors for societal change, responding to the criterion of independent thought whilst simultaneously advancing the project of personal development and social integration. Such forms of learning are necessary to assure the existence of people with a rational and humanist vision, committed to sustainable development and quality of life, the respect of human rights and the environment. This conception, undoubtedly more appropriate for our times, is also adapted to provide an impulse for a university dedicated to training people not only as actors but, primarily, with the aim of analyzing it and looking for new horizons.

The work towards these objectives must consist of:

The university of the twenty-first century should be marked by citizens' continuous and life-long learning which enables them to become authentic motors for societal change.

a) Enhancing mutual knowledge of the "other cultures" without xenophobia and ideological, religious, ethnic or economic prejudices etc. – because where there is mutual knowledge, there is respect and acceptance.

b) Making use of ICTs, which are the basis of an authentic and uninterrupted world-wide conversation, that is, the network. In this respect, an advisor of a Spanish autonomous region wrote, "I am convinced that the ICTs must inescapably lead to the socialization of knowledge, as a basis for human development, freedom and equality of peoples".

c) Surpassing the differences between "culture – science – technology", whilst always respecting cultural diversity, the environment and sustainable development.

By thus eliminating ignorances as a basis of the social project, literacies, that is to say knowledge, will allow us to prevent the rooting and acceptance of poverty, hunger, disease, war or terrorism in the world. In the latter instance, the essence of the new university resides in participative learning; in the construction of knowledge; in teaching to think, to learn and to undertake; in doubting and

[3] As recommended in the *World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-First Century* (Paris, 1998), the universities and institutions of higher education would have to be transformed into centres of permanent education for all. To assume this challenge implies for them a series of transformations in their academic organization and working methods. However, when acting as training centres and centres of the permanent updating of knowledge, the human person should be the nucleus of their preoccupations and the justification of their task. This would be equivalent to saying that a new humanism would find shelter in the old Academy. A great diversification of supplies of educational opportunities at the third level will have to occur in higher education of the twenty-first century. More and more, the criterion prevails to conceive post-secondary education as a whole so that interrelations between the different modalities, clear linkages with the world of work, and possible lateral exits, credited with titles or intermediate diplomas, are contemplated.

unlearning; in creating attitudes among researchers, teachers and students, for change, for critical thought, imagination and creativity – without ever renouncing ethics, utopias and, most of all, the aim of being the *avant-garde* of thought and freedom.

That is why "another education is possible".

VALDAS ADAMKUS

President of the Republic of Lithuania

Valdas Adamkus was elected President of the Republic of Lithuania in 2004, having previously held office between 1998 and 2003. Born in Kaunus, Lithuania, he emigrated to the United States of America in 1949 and graduated as a construction engineer. From his student days onwards, Valdas Adamkus was active in the Lithuanian community in America, for instance as a member of the Board of the American-Lithuanian Community (LC) and as chairman of the American-Lithuanian Council. In the 1970s, Mr Adamkus began working for the American Environmental Protection Agency (EPA); he was the deputy administrator of U.S. EPA Region 5 (Mid-West) and later its administrator. In 1993, Valdas Adamkus headed the electoral campaign of presidential candidate Stasys Lozoraitis in Lithuania and took an active part in the 1996 parliamentary election campaign. Valdas Adamkus's numerous awards and honours include honorary doctorates from the universities of Illinois, Indiana and Vilnius, as well as the EPA Gold Medal for Achievements in Service and an award from the US President for outstanding service. Mr Adamkus has established an award benefiting Lithuanian environmental specialists. Since 2003, he is UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for the Construction of Knowledge Societies.

In our recent discussions on the dialogue of cultures and civilizations, we touched on the exchange of cultural and historical experience among different continents – Europe, America, Asia, Africa and Australia. Today we face a different situation. Due to large flows of migration, cultures and civilizations overlap in terms of space and time. A variety of different national cultures coexist in a country, a city or even a village. Such a high density of different cultures in one area resembles the effect of nuclear energy: it can lead to either a destructive explosion or the dynamic development of a culture. And the final result depends on our openness to other cultures, our tolerance and our efforts to live in a community which shares common interests.

Such a high density of different cultures in one area resembles the effect of nuclear energy: it can lead to either a destructive explosion or the dynamic development of a culture.

Greater interaction of different cultures is not the defining characteristic of the age of globalization. May we take an example from Lithuania's history: from the 14th century onwards, the Tartar, Jewish and Russian communities have preserved their language, traditions and religion in our predominantly Catholic country. Such a co-existence of cultures for nearly 600 years was not marked by discrimination or forced assimilation.

The present situation is different since the scope and acceleration of cultural interactions across the world is so great that it complicates the entire process. Globalization theories usually underscore the danger of cultural unification and monoculture, which kills diversity. I believe that this is a wrong approach since human activities lie at the heart of every culture.

I have spent a large part of my life in the United States. It was a melting pot of different nations and we all spoke English. At the same time, my generation of Lithuanians in America made an immense effort to preserve the Lithuanian language, folklore, customs and traditions. Today, the Internet and satellite technologies enable us to read Lithuanian newspapers, listen to the Lithuanian radio or even follow Lithuanian TV news in every corner of the world. I see it as an encouraging example of how a small nation can be united over space and time and able to use the benefits of a pluralistic dialogue among its members. However, we often overlook that new information technologies can help to preserve ethnic cultures and native languages as well as avoid the creation of isolated ethnic or religious communities.

Every nation should be open and tolerant to all groups, cultures and languages that co-exist within it. In Lithuania we have local radio and TV broadcasting in the languages of national minorities: Polish, Jewish, Russian, Ukrainian and others. We also have primary and secondary schools with instruction in these languages. All this contributes to the diversity and richness of our common culture. Strong and open ethnic cultures are not afraid of a dialogue with other cultures and civilizations. They take the best from them and transform it to serve their own needs. For example, Japan, which boasts a very ancient culture, is using the achievements of American and European civilizations for its own needs

and in its own ways. Certainly, it is easier to absorb the achievements of a civilization, an expression of technical progress, rather than culture, which represent historical experience and lifestyle.

The main question facing us now is how to learn live together. In Europe, this problem is getting increasingly topical. The European population is aging. To maintain the same high levels of productivity and economy, the European countries will have to rely in the coming years on millions of immigrants. They will depend on people coming from far away countries and cultures which are very different from the European tradition. Therefore, Europe has to learn to tolerate and better understand others, not allowing xenophobia, anti-Semitism and racism to raise their ugly heads. Otherwise, the motto "united in diversity", enshrined in the preamble of the new European Constitution, would not be true.

The last century has done much harm to the environment. Today, culture is facing a similar threat. It is high time we thought about the cultural environment. May we join our forces in this effort! If we fail to teach our children today to respect those who are different from them because of the language they speak, their skin colour and religion, we are bound to face a chain of conflicts.

The solution to many of these problems lies in education. The world spends 900 billion dollars each year on arms but fails to allocate 9 billion dollars, which is a three day military budget of the world, for giving every child in the world a possibility to attend school. According to a new study by the International Labour Office (ILO), youth unemployment has skyrocketed worldwide to 88 million, reaching an all-time high with young people aged 15 to 24. There is a negative tendency to replace education by training. Training is important in meeting the needs of growing industries but it cannot replace education, which shapes the personality and implants moral values.

Taking into account the challenges ahead of us, there is not much ground for being overly optimistic or enthusiastic. Nevertheless, it is my firm belief that the shared values of solidarity and tolerance as well as practical initiatives, a number of which are directed by UNESCO, could be a solution to the new ignorances of the age of globalization.

I am convinced that much more could be done at the regional and inter-regional level. The countries of the Baltic Sea region have already developed a viable institutional network for co-operation on economic, political and cultural issues. The next level is cross-border cooperation, involving the new Eastern neighbours of the European Union: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine, and reaching as far as the South Caucasus.

If we are successful, very soon the true strength of countries will be measured not by their military power or natural resources but rather by their ability to ensure peace and harmony among different cultures inside the country. The dialogue of cultures is a dialogue of personalities and communities. Dialogue is possible only when you understand the language of your partner and their moral values, and they understand yours. It is not mandatory to subscribe to these values. However, it is vital to respect and tolerate them.

Certain aspects of education also need to be considered. For example, history lessons at school are mostly about wars. Children are asked to remember the dates and the names of military leaders, while major scientific discoveries and cultural achievements are considered less important. Today a child spends twice more time in front of TV than at school. In this connection we should consider the influence that the media and the enormous amount of violence on the screen has on children. The studies on violence in the media, conducted by the UNESCO Observatory at Göteborg University, show that violence on the screen transforms into violence in life. It is imperative that we make the next step and rally the global civil society to fight violence on the screen. Too often have technology issues overshadowed the importance of content.

The digital divide was the buzz expression at the World Summit on Information Society. The digital divide does exist and it has to be overcome. However, it would be a great mistake to give technology all the importance and not think about the content of it. When Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, was informed about the installation of the first transatlantic telephone line between the USA and Europe, his question was: "What do they have to say to each other?" Thus, the success of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations will depend on how wisely we speak to each other and how attentively we listen.

> Dialogue is possible only when you understand the language of your partner and their moral values, and they understand yours. It is not mandatory to subscribe to these values. However, it is vital to respect and tolerate them.

ABDOULAYE WADE

President of the Republic of Senegal

Abdoulaye Wade was elected President of the Republic of Senegal in 2000. Having obtained a doctorate in Law and Economics from Grenoble University (France), he returned to Senegal, where he worked as lawyer, university professor and as Dean of Dakar University's Law Department. In this period, he also cooperated with the Organization of African Unity and the African Development Bank. In 1974, Abdoulaye Wade created the Senegalese Democratic Party and was elected to the Parliament in 1978 and again in 1983. He also occupied ministerial positions from 1991 to 1992 and from 1995 to 1998. President Wade is Vice-President of the Liberal International and Vice-President of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which he co-founded. He has received a number of academic distinctions from African, American, European and Middle Eastern universities. He is also a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour (France) and a Commander of the Order of Merit (Senegal). He has published a number of publications on legal, political, and development questions.

The "Barcelona Forum 2004" marked an extraordinary occasion on which people were brought together through something closest to their souls, namely through culture. The themes that provided the backbone to the presentations between 9 May and 26 September 2004 – namely sustainable development, cultural diversity and the conditions of peace – highlighted the need for safeguarding the ideals which are the reason behind all existence.

The background document to the UNESCO conference on "New Ignorances, New Literacies" cited the preamble of the Organization's constitution: "Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war." It thus places culture at the heart of all action for a world of peace, freedom, tolerance and respect for human dignity.

We live in a time when humanity, despite having experienced two World Wars, has not managed to rid itself of the causes which carried it into a deep abyss. However, the law of nature teaches us daily that under identical conditions, the same causes will always produce the same effects (ceteris paribus). After the end of the Cold War, people dreamed of an era of peaceful coexistence, yet the germs of violence have given rise to internal or regional conflicts with their sequences of human suffering. In this context, doctrines derived from a nebulous construct are sprouting, built around the rhetoric of a "clash of civilizations". With regard to this wholly unfounded doctrine, allow me to restate the position I expressed at a meeting of the Liberal International in March 2003, in a contribution entitled *Islam and Occident: the Liberal Point of View*: "the theory of the clash of civilizations is nothing other than anti-humanism with an intellectual coat. There is no clash of civilizations. There will be no clash of civilizations if Muslim intellectuals refuse false devotees, politicians disguised as preachers who impose on us a skewed view of our religion appealing to the poors who live at society's fringes." Cultures are not closed even if they are more or less open to integrate values of other civilizations. Education and information help us to appreciate the values of other civilizations. Fortunately, an international organization as relevant as UNESCO, faithful to the ideals which constitute its raison d'être, constantly remains on guard to refuse the absurd logic of confrontation.

In this age of globalization, we are legitimately concerned about the fate of humanity. However, our faith in the creative genius of man must help us transform this feeling into positive energy which nourishes the hope of a more reassuring future for the peoples destined to live together on this planet. And according to the fortunate formula of the UNESCO Constitution, "it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". Coming from a country which has respected diversity in all its forms as the basis of national cohesion, I am delighted to share with you my analysis on the theme of "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World". I would like initially to start with the observation of a world of paradoxes. Let us see together why this is the case:

At a time when wealth is accumulated to an unprecedented extent, half of the global population live on less than two dollars per day, with 70 per cent of the global income concentrated amongst 10 per cent of its population, according to a note published by the High Council for International Cooperation

in April 2004. In an age of space excursions and new information technologies, illiteracy touches nearly 900 million adults, and 113 million children do not have access to primary education. In many cases, the education systems still carry the marks of discrimination and social gravity. In this context, I refer you to the Framework of Action adopted at the end of the World Education Forum held in Dakar in April 2000.

People readily speak of a "global village", of free trade and interdependence. In truth, behind these paradigms of the twenty-first century, the world's actual image reveals a reality far from glittering! The very concept of the "village" indeed suggests a certain community of destiny, founded on a will to live together in solidarity and sharing. Yet, if in an objective way, the destiny of humanity can only be a common one, it is legitimate to wonder about the very consistency of the concepts of solidarity and sharing at an international level.

A single example drawn from current events suffices as proof: at the moment of our meeting, several African countries (one of which is my country) were confronted with a gigantic locust threat with dramatic consequences under the quasi-indifferent glance of the international community. The danger had been announced for several months and the plague occurred under our eyes. The world is informed in real time, technology and the means of facing it abound; however, with some rare exceptions, our calls to the international solidarity yielded late and ineffective responses which were clearly below the necessary minimum for the eradication of this plague.

Rest assured, however, that the people of West Africa have learned that above all, they must count on themselves. This is why we took matters into hand. The Dakar Conference of the Ministers of Agriculture and Armed Forces of 31 August 2004 confirmed the military direction of the fight against the locusts and linked it to the population, the young people, the women, exploiting popular experience in this field. The first wave of locusts is now under control, and we firmly expect the second. The international community understood us in our need, prioritizing equipment and products instead of money. This choice enabled us to accelerate the times of intervention.

The weakness of the pilgrim locust is that we know how it is programmed: the time of egg hatching lasts for ten days, followed by a larva period of 21 days, which gives us time to intervene. How is this related to UNESCO? It is the fact that the locust can sow desolation, famine and poverty. Furthermore, UNESCO recommends the development of science to the profit of man, and in January 2005, I therefore organized a seminar with different institutions and international personalities for a better knowledge of the pilgrim locusts and its destruction as we do it with epidemics.

The paradox of our era also comprises the sphere of world trade. The rich ask the developing countries to fully implement free-trade policies. However, contrary to the rules of the game, the rich countries spend subsidies of more than one billion dollar per day on their agricultural produce. On several occasions, especially in an article entitled "Africa and Globalization" (*Le Monde, 14 November 2001*), I have personally denounced this situation where the opulence of a minority is built on the ruin of the large majority

I would like to invite you to reconsider the very concept of "ignorance" with regard to our era and to the themes of globalization and literacy. The title of this publication is right in putting "ignorance" in the plural, since developments have made us discover new ignorances: ignorance of other cultures and thus of diversity, ignorance of other religions, other morals, other kinds of music, paintings and sculptures. All these ignorances will require particular "literacies". It is the viewpoint adopted by advocates of cultural dialogue such as Léopold Sédar Senghor, Jacques Chirac, President of the French Republic, Mohamed Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, against the theorists of a "clash of civilizations" such as Samuel Huntington.

First of all, let us ask whether awareness of our own ignorance is not already, in a certain way, the end of ignorance and the recognition of potentially new cultural values? Evidently, we will open up to education, to the means of destroying cultural barriers by accessing new cultural values. I evoked these aspects not so much as a form of pessimism, but rather in order to highlight the context in which we must learn to live together in a globalizing age through education, information and training. Let us have the frankness and courage to recognize that globalization is a fact which one cannot circumvent. In my opinion, the only question that deserves a concerted answer is how we can transform these new dynamics and the deep transformations that it imposes into a real opportunity for everyone's benefit.

With the formidable acceleration of scientific and technical progress, goods, services and ideas circulate in a freer way, generally ignoring the well-known norms of national sovereignty, respect of national borders and territorial integrity. New chances of communication are offered to individuals and to groups – sometimes without the knowledge of the state or even to its detriment. Communication reveals ignorance, but also creates opportunities for knowledge, owing to the new ICTs.

One communicates to make trade, to share knowledge, to look after patients through tele-medicine or simply to exchange news. However, people also use communication for less honest purposes: the diffusion of hate messages and racism at a global scale, organized crime, terrorism and so forth. In short, people communicate for the best and the worst. This is where the ambivalent character of globalization resides. Globalization is at the same time a factor of progress, of improvement and of rapprochement between the people, but also a fertile field on which fanatics of all varieties do not hesitate to sow chaos and destruction.

There is also a negative tendency towards the standardization of cultures, of consumption and ways of thinking. The recent past has taught us of the dangerous consequences of standardized thinking. Cultural monolithism deprives humanity of a priceless source of wealth, as it blocks the fertilizing breath of diversity. In this context, I would like to recall, the remarks of my compatriot, the late Léopold Sédar Senghor, in a speech held at UNESCO on 20 April 1961 regarding "the Values of the Civi-

Cultural monolithism deprives humanity of a priceless source of wealth, as it blocks the fertilizing breath of diversity.

lization of the Universal". Many people know that I was his political opponent, but between intellectuals, we always maintained deep mutual respect. It is therefore with strong respect that I quote him:

"Each man, each civilization possesses... all the values of the human condition... The civilization of the future, to be the expression of the new man, of the integral man, will have to be that of the Universal. It will not be the accumulation of heteroclite facts, but the symbiosis of all values, of all particular civilizations, which will be able to create a new order to the measurements of the new man".[1]

Cultural domination generates a feeling of revolt and of identity decline among the people who experience it, those creating hotbeds of extremism and antagonisms of all kinds.

Whilst physical borders tend to disappear, we are confronted with other barricades which are tougher to overcome, since they are born in the minds of men: ignorance, fear of the Other, incomprehension, contempt and prejudices are in my eyes the barriers which have to be lifted in order to create a world of peace, stability and harmony between the people. To achieve this, we must resolutely engage in the revolution of mentalities without delay and we must overcome ignorance through education, fight fear of the other through discovery, admit and develop our diversity through the recognition of the equal dignity of all cultures and civilizations. To overcome ignorance and fear is to accept this difficult yet salutary effort of introspection in a spirit of openness, confidence, humility and imagination. It is to view the Other in a way that appreciates him in his human dignity.

Let us contemplate the African wisdom which the late Amadou Hampâthé Ba, a long-time UNESCO companion, collected from his Master Thierno Bocar of Bandiagara in Mali: "what is necessary is to always concede to one's neighbour that he has an element of the truth, and to refrain from saying 'all truth belongs to me, to my country, my race...'. No! Truth is never complete. One cannot seize it because the truth is God." François Fénelon, a prelate and French writer renowned for his opposition to fanaticism, preached along similar lines and thus warned against the feeling of smugness which some people carry within them: he spoke of people "who think themselves to be educated and who are not, and whose ignorances is so great that they are not even in a state of feeling what they are lacking".[2]

Since we have only one planet on which we are destined to cohabit, it is necessary for us to learn to live together. This supposes at least three preconditions: firstly, to know each other so as to create the conditions for a sincere dialogue; then to communicate without prejudice in order to fight simplistic concepts and generally accepted ideas; and finally to give high priority to the peaceful resolution of our differences, thus avoiding falling into the traps of the twentieth century. In this respect, we have to consider the religious dimension if we want to learn the lessons of history by rejecting the obscurantist logic of fanaticism and reducing amalgams. All things considered, it is necessary for us to mark out the territory for a new Entente Cordiale between religions. The Conference on Islamo-Christian Dialogue that I will convene in Dakar in 2005 with the support of UNESCO forms part of this vision.

[1-2] Translated from French citation.

In this spirit of openness and dialogue I proposed, in Africa's name, the concept of "digital solidarity" at the World Summit of the Information Society (Geneva, December 2003). It is meant to fill the considerable gap which separates Africa and developed countries in the field of new ICTs. The Digital Solidarity Fund, established with voluntary contributions, will be used as mobilization mechanism for resources. They are used for an initiative which is based on a simple realization: for any communication there have to be at least two parties. However, in the universe of new technologies, the African landscape would a true "digital desert" if the current state prevailed. This situation, it should be said, would not benefit the North whose markets are already saturated. Digital solidarity has the advantage of transforming the handicap of Africa into as many opportunities for the continent as it does for its partners: it is a win-win situation.

As we have observed, learning to live together means to overcome our ignorances. It also means to put our arms around the body of the new literacies. "I know nothing except the fact of my ignorance", said the Greek philosopher. If only we were wise enough to admit, like him, our ignorance, to accept to know better and consequently to give priority to education. On this subject, I would like to share with you some innovative examples drawn from an ongoing experiment in Senegal, ranging from pre-school education to universities and including traditional teaching:

Through the "toddlers' house", we introduce our children from 0 to 6 years to modern and traditional educational plays. Thus, after having used modern toys, they lend an ear to old people at meetings with tales, legends, riddles and proverbs derived from traditional values. As a final result, we envisage the building of "toddlers' houses" in 14.000 villages, the overall objective being to educate Senegalese people for the third millennium, rooted in their traditional virtues and open to the modern world. "Tell me what youth you have, and I will tell you what kind of people you will be", I frequently say.

Our programme of the modern "Daara", a re-examined and improved version of traditional Koranic schooling, aims at combining Islamic religious teaching and vocational training. Thus, parallel to spiritual education, children are trained for a profession, which will facilitate their socio-economic integration. This programme, carried out in close cooperation with partners from the Koranic educational system, should benefit 800.000 children, equalling half the children of the formal sector (traditional schools).

I would now like to refer to our achievements in and prospects for the new literacies by evoking my personal and very advanced project of a "University for the African Future", which will become a pilot project and pole of excellence. I conceive this university as a privileged space for training and research, making use of virtual resources. It focuses on the different areas of development engineering, which our countries need in order to leave behind structural under-development, to fight against poverty, and to move towards sustainable development and growth with socially shared effects. In my eyes, this university – which, as a priority, will be attended by Africans of all nationalities – constitutes a response and an echo to the educational aspects of NEPAD in terms of human resources development. Through

satellite technology, students will follow the courses of the largest partner universities from the Western world in real time; the graduates will no longer need to go to Europe or the United States since their diploma will thus be identical and not only equivalent.

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The "University for the African Future" will thus become a privileged place for the sharing of global competences and for research and development in the major fields identified by NEPAD and which essentially distinguish between agriculture, in the broad sense of the term, the environment, health, new and renewable energies, biotechnology, hydraulics, teledetection and other fields. I share the hope of my African peers that in the short and medium term, this university will help us educate a critical mass of African professionals in an open and contextualized way – that is, people able to deal with the multiple challenges of development and growth conveyed in these different fields.

These are some examples of how Senegal continues to live in harmony with the realities of the modern world without losing the references which found its cultural identity. I have presented the different facets of the new "training and practice communities" which are created to lend shape to the opportunities offered by virtual training, long-distance learning or "e-learning". Before finishing, I would like to refer to the dialogue between cultures as a condition for optimizing the beneficial effects of globalization: we should build new strategies of solidarity and conviviality in order to counter the continuing threats of exclusion and the multiple forms of violence which are often based on stereotypes of all kinds. These stereotypes can develop without our knowledge, they may be of sexist or cultural nature, and they persist in an endemic manner. To this end, I recommend that education to cultural diversity be promoted as a transverse axis in the various segments of our education systems and that it be implemented in the countries of the South as well as in those of the North. Thus, education for the universal values of tolerance, peace and respect of the Other will have to be written into educational programmes in gold letters. The noble aim is to allow present and future generations to reach the ultimate stage of an ethical relationship with "otherness", which should not be reduced to a power relationship.

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I will conclude by reiterating my strong conviction as expressed on 18 July 2003 at the laying of the cornerstone of the Museum of Black Civilizations: "In the age of globalization and of a tendency of cultural standar-

dization, daily bludgeoned by technology and globally transformed into bits at the speed of the light, people must protect their culture in order not to impoverish humanity". This very conviction moves me to renew Senegal's support for the project of an "International Convention on the Protection of Cultural Contents and Artistic Expression", negotiated under the aegis of UNESCO. It also underlies the organization of a World Summit on Islamo-Christian Dialogue in Dakar (December 2005) and of the Third World Festival of Negro Arts (November 2006).

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS INFANTA DOÑA ELENA

Kingdom of Spain

Her Royal Highness, the Infanta Elena, Maria, Isabel, Dominica de Silos de Borbon y Grecia is the eldest daughter of King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia of Spain, and is second in line to the Crown, after her brother, the Prince of Asturias. In 1986, she became a qualified primary-school teacher (with a specialization in English language teaching) following teacher training at the ESCUNI University School in Madrid. Subsequently, the Infanta followed a course in Sociology and Education at Exeter University (United Kingdom), and obtained a degree in Education at the University of Comillas in Madrid. As soon as she came of age, she began to take part in institutional activities as a member of the Royal Family. She has also travelled officially to several European cities and to the United States, Argentina, Japan and the Philippines. In addition to her official responsibilities, the Infanta supports and participates in a number of educational and cultural activities. She is the Honorary President of the Spanish Paralympic Committee and attended the Paralympic Games in Barcelona, Atlanta and Sydney to support the Spanish participants.

I am pleased to contribute to this UNESCO publication on the theme of "New Ignorances, New Literacies – Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World." It follows on from the "New Ignorances" conference held under the auspices of UNESCO as part of the "Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004". Barcelona has always been modern and open to innovation. Through the Forum of Cultures, the city has once again drawn attention to matters of international concern, for which I have always felt a particular interest.

Globalization has brought humankind closer together. At the same time, however, disturbing forms of ignorance have emerged – or re-emerged in a new context. These different forms of ignorance can be labelled "new ignorances", comprising ignorance of diversity, ignorance of the Other, ignorance of ethics, and ignorance of the future. The different essays in this volume identify ways of combating the "new ignorances" by developing "new literacies", namely the knowledge, values and skills required for this task. In the light of such developments, the words of the UNESCO Constitution seem particularly relevant: "Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war."

The concept of "living together in a globalizing world" requires us to recognize difference and diversity as an opportunity and a valuable contribution to the common good. Disagreements and differences are part of human interaction. The notion of coexistence, however, emphasizes the necessity to accept, to understand and to respect other types of behaviour and other beliefs, values, cultures and points of view. It thus aims at consensus and commitment in line with the rules that govern all democratic society.

Today the promotion of coexistence, respect and understanding – which is of vital importance for peace, development and social cohesion – is directly linked to the realm of education. Although school continues to play a fundamental role, there is no doubt that education and training have to be provided at all levels in order to become sustainable. That is to say, school education has to be complemented by education in the family, in the work place, in the community and by education through the mass media. The complex pedagogical area of "social and emotional learning" ultimately aims at creating a society with true ethical yearning for improvement. Such educational efforts are particularly relevant today, with globalization becoming manifest in an unprecedented worldwide encounter of individuals, cultures and opinions. In a science- and technology-driven world, the role of arts and languages is often underestimated, if not ignored – yet they are key vehicles for mutual understanding.

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Globalization, impelled by the development of modern communication technologies and the media, fosters exchange and interaction. However, it also generates a potential digital divide, as well as misunderstandings, stereotypes and xenophobia, which is spread though textbooks and the Internet. All these challenges highlight the need to build a "culture of information" for the development of quality education, as was already asked by the World Summit on the Information Society, held in Geneva in the year 2003. From a strictly ethical point of view, educational policies must be democratic, thus educating through and for democracy. This is also an underlying notion of the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World, in which we are immersed.

The concept of learning to live together has to be promoted by political leaders and civil society, and it has to be understood as a complex and ongoing process. It implies the capacity of active citizens to develop a sense of global and local identity, as well as an ability to understand others and to appreciate diversity. It requires, therefore, to respect social norms, ethic, human rights and it requires people to know their own history and that of other social and cultural groups.

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I. CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS OR CLASH OF IGNORANCES?

GUIDO DE MARCO (MALTA)

Former President of the Republic of Malta

Guido de Marco was President of the Republic of Malta from 1999 to 2004 – the culmination of a distinguished political career that spanned nearly four decades: first elected to the Malta House of Representative in 1966, he was Secretary-General of the Maltese Nationalist Party from 1972 to 1977, Deputy Party Leader from 1977 to 1999, and Deputy Prime Minister from 1987 to 1999. During the latter period, Professor de Marco also held several ministerial portfolios as Minister of Justice, Interior and Foreign Affairs. A doctor in law who practiced in the Superior Courts and as Crown Counsel, he also holds a professorship in criminal law at the University of Malta. In addition to his national activities, Professor de Marco has also been active in a number of international associations and organizations, most prominently as President of the 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly (1990). His publications include *A Second Generation United Nations: for Peace and Freedom in the Twenty-First Century* (with Michael Bartolo, 2nd edn., 2003).

The theme of "new ignorances, new literacies" touches upon a very important question: are we facing a clash of civilizations or rather a clash of ignorances? When Samuel S. Huntington, author of *The Clash of Civilizations*, initially presented his views in a journal article, he put forward the theory that, since the end of the Cold War, developments in the international sphere no longer suggested a clash between two political blocs – East and West, NATO and the Warsaw Pact – but a fundamentally different clash: a clash of civilizations. To put it more succinctly: he wrote that future wars and conflicts would not be the conventional wars we have witnessed in the past. As a result of the "end of history" (as Fukuyama would say), the clash of ideologies would be substituted by the clash of civilizations. This clash between the West and other civilizations would ultimately lead to war; this could be conventional war, terrorism or other types of conflict. The clash of civilizations, were this theory to verify itself, would be the legacy left to our children.

Thinking about this topic, I would like to raise the following question: is, for example, the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians a clash between civilizations? I believe that the answer is rather clear: there is a territory which, after the events in Europe and outside Europe, led to a United Nations resolution creating two states: Israel and Palestine. We know that the Palestinians did not accept that a part of their territory would be occupied. We are also aware that, after a long period of tensions, the idea has now taken root that a two-state solution – with a Palestinian and an Israeli state – is necessary. As the great Israeli writer Amos Oz wrote, these two peoples must learn to live together each in their semi-detached house. If this is so, how does the clash of civilizations enter here? It is not a clash of civilizations, it is the clash of two Semitic peoples who want to live on the same land and have not found the exact mechanisms for doing so. Let us speak of other conflicts, for example in Iraq. Is this a clash of civilizations? I do not consider this to be the case; I believe that there are political rather than "cultural" reasons which caused the presence of the American forces in Baghdad.

I believe that in many such cases, we are trying to justify political events by giving them the appearance of a conflict between civilizations. I would therefore like to refer to Professor Huntington himself. When analyzing conflict, people often say that the problem is not Islam, but Islamic fundamentalism – and when we speak about fundamentalism, we speak about extremists. According to Huntington, the underlying problem for the West is not fundamentalism, but Islam: a different civilization whose people is convinced of the superiority of its culture and obsessed with the inferiority of its power. And the problem for Islam is not the CIA or the US Department of Defence, but the West: a civilization convinced of the universality of its culture and belief in its superiority. These are the components that feed the conflict between Orient and Occident.

We are hence creating self-fulfilling prophecies. I consider that the "clash" is not one between civilizations or cultures. At times it is a clash of ignorances. What one can say, however, is that a clash of interests often occurs; and for

I believe that in many (...) cases, we are trying to justify political events by giving them the appearance of a conflict between civilizations.

that reason, I think that the time has come to assume our common responsibility. We must not let ourselves be controlled by *clichés*, even though this temptation exists.

I am Maltese, and European. I am Catholic, by religious beliefs, and Mediterranean by belongingness, and I see the Mediterranean not as a sea of conflicts, but as the cradle of cultures and cradle of the three monotheist religions. We only live short distances away from each other. I remember flying from Gibraltar to Morocco – by plane the two places were only a few minutes away from each other, and the same would be possible for other zones. The major question we must ask ourselves and that I consider politicians' responsibility to face is: how can it be true that in this small area marked by our sea, the Mediterranean, we can tolerate the divisions that have been created? How can it be that I, as a Maltese, could think that the Libyans, the Tunisians or the Egyptians, who are so close, are so "different"? How can I accept a future in which my children and my grandchildren are going to live in divided areas, in spite of only few kilometres separating us? Does it mean that we do not understand the forces of history? Professor Arkoun has written and spoken about the great culture that Arab civilization brought to Europe. I was Minister of Foreign Affairs when the Euro-Mediterranean (EUROMED) process began, and one of my proposals was to create a prize for those who work for peace or contribute to peace in the Mediterranean. We should denominate it "Averroes prize", after the great Arab philosopher who made us aware of Greek culture in the Mediterranean area, in his times.

Through history, the Mediterranean has been an area where people have migrated and lived. We speak of a "*Pax Romana*" in this region – in a certain sense it was a practical example of peace, but it was imposed on the others by the Romans. There was also a time during which we counted on the Pax Arabica, mainly in the southern part of the Mediterranean, but also including an important part of Spain. Malta and Sicily also formed part of this Arab empire. Later, Sicily and Malta gained independence from Arab domination, and in the year 1492 the Spanish "*Reconquista*" changed the situation entirely. In later centuries, when the British increased their presence in the Mediterranean and established their empire, they said that the moment had arrived for a *Pax Britannica*. As part of this system, the Royal Navy sought to create stability in the Mediterranean. The *Pax Britannica* was followed, as a result of the Cold War, by a *Pax Americana*; "*pax*" in the Mediterranean. Is it not time to create a "*Pax Mediterranea*"? Would it not be possible for the Mediterranean countries themselves to secure peace? And are the factors which hitherto prevented a *Pax Mediterranea* linked to a clash of civilizations, or rather to a clash of interests (linked to the interests of actors outside the Mediterranean region)?

Is it not time to create a "*Pax Mediterranea*"? Would it not be possible for the Mediterranean countries themselves to secure peace?

We have nothing to win from a "clash of civilizations", we have much to lose. We need a dialogue among civilizations, because we all have much to learn from and about the other's civilization, about unity, in diversity, and we must construct the future accordingly.

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"These are problems which may remain problems for us even after this symposium has ended; they are too general to be approached by means of a sequence of isolated papers. But they underlie much of what we will be talking about, and in a certain way, they may determine the language we use. For we shall be mostly talking in sociological and political terms. Poetry will not have a place in our discourse, nor will the language of spirituality lead us astray. But who knows? Maybe at a certain moment in the proceedings, the three Qalandars will suddenly march in. Beyond all forms of academic orgy, they know the real story, and they are always good for a surprise."[1]

For several years, I have been asking the question "how to speak about Islam today". Having launched the idea and programme of an applied Islamology some thirty years ago, I have sought to reverse the historicist, determinist and fragmentary way that has structured and continues to dominate all representations of Islam. Instead of beginning with the myth of "origins" and the unrolling of a linear chronology from the Koranic Revelation transmitted by Mohammed to our days, the historical experience of the Algerian War convinced me that it is more instructive and relevant to decipher Islam (*fait islamique*) by reading history the other way round. Just as it is advisable to begin with the Algerian and French societies of the years 1940-50 and the sociology of protagonists confronting each other during seven years of colonial war, a similar approach is necessary for the events of September 11: through anti-chronological investigation in concentric geo-historic spheres, we must "reconstitute" the major forces at work in contemporary society, thus reaching the conflagration whose tragic consequences we still experience.

The new difficulty is to join up the analysis of the contrasts, the discrepancies and mutual exclusions between two complex, radically unequal worlds which have become denatured by two reductive names: "Islam" and "the West". Very clearly, the abundant literature following September 11 (even including works of critical analysis) is dedicated to the contrast between the two poles of Manichean combat: Good versus Evil. Apologetic categories such as "moderate Islam", "true Islam" and "Islam of great traditions" were constructed in order to mitigate the excessive effects of a presentation based on the protagonists' mimetic bidding to monopolize a "victim" status. The latter is essential in legitimizing the recourse to "just war" on the one side and, on the other side, to terrorist violence as sole answer in an unequal confrontation. The two protagonists refuse the unconditional self-criticism which would lead to overcoming the different ignorances – ignorances which continue to structure imaginary constructions of values and legitimacies. This does not mean a moral and/or spiritual return to the ideal brotherhood preached by modern religions or formal humanisms, nor does it mean the spiritually admirable forgiveness advocated by John Paul II, which in the long and short term is not very productive politically. Henceforth, the required self-criticism refers to all great living traditions (religious and modern) which refuse to leave behind the values based on the "mythohistories" of communities and nations. This would mean to use the same tools of thought and to understand together the archaeology of all "origins", all "supreme authorities", all systems of values, thought and knowledge which

[1] Josef van Ess, "Sufism and its Opponents. Reflections on Topoi, Tribulations, and Transformations" *in Islamic Mysticism Contested. Thirteenth Centuries of Controversies and Polemics,* edited by Frederick de Jong & Bernd Radtke (Leiden 1999), p. 44

extend to the edge of the twenty-first century – people's merry, proud and patriotic entrance into recurring "just wars" against constructed enemies.

In all cultures, the gods of war do not cease to reappear: through the consecration of "just wars", they create the values and legitimacies that nourish collective memories and that structure social imagination according to literary procedures – the rhetoric common to all the great narratives and mini-accounts of universal mythohistory. Only now do we begin to deconstruct the various mythohistorical historiographies which still serve as ultimate authorities where re-sourcing the true beliefs, the faith of the great spiritual witnesses, the philosophical and political convictions of the good cause modern militants. These rather general considerations will rightly be rejected as reductive speculations if they are not illustrated by a precise example of collective self-criticism which I recommend as an exit from the intellectual and cultural paradigms. It is these paradigms that authorize the mechanical reproduction of the game of interactive forces inside the anthropological triangle of "violence, the sacred and truth".[2]

The Installation of Institutionalized Ignorances

The concept of new ignorances deserves our attention as it helps reveal the ideological construction and militant range of the concept of a "clash of civilizations", which has not ceased to mobilize social imagination and to legitimize the "just wars" started since 1945 (i.e. the end of an intra-European war which opened the era of new forms of worldwide domination). "1945" is a landmark date which refers to other turning points in the yet unwritten history which I have described as the concept of "dialectic of powers and residues".[3]

The text of Josef van Ess cited at the beginning allows me to clarify a method and a cognitive strategy of intervention aimed at reaching beyond the modes inherited from the production and transmission of "meaning" and "values", and beyond all the contents of the systems of thought which still dominate the production of human history. I am aware that this ambition will amuse those who are harnessed with the multiple and random tasks of production and transmission of knowledge. By no means do I claim to satisfy the programme that I have just assigned to critical thought, scientific research, the production of the cultures and the activities of transmission. In fact, I want to submit to the different actors of intellectual, cultural and didactic history, especially at the level of UNESCO's global mission, possible ways of moving beyond the institutionalized forms of the reproduction, activation, imposition of ignorances which are perpetuated as intangible truths, as divine or scientific certainties and as sacred knowledge.

Only now do we begin to deconstruct the various mythohistorical historiographies which still serve as ultimate authorities.

2 See my analysis of this triangle in *The Unthought in Contemporary Islamic Thought*, (London 2002)

3 See my *Humanisme et Islam : Combats et propositions*, (Vrin, 2005), chapter 3.

I feel authorized to speak this way because of my assiduous collaboration with UNESCO programmes since 1965. Many personalities have given much time and competences to the great international authority born as the United Nations, resulting from the political and humanistic will to never again let humanity sink into the darkness of violence and the negation of human dignity. The fact that in September 2004, UNESCO convened in Barcelona – the city of many positive views and of emancipatory combats in the history of humankind – academic veterans, young researchers and creators to address "new ignorances and new literacies" is in itself the confession of a saddening failure and of a will to continue resistance to the obscurantist forces.

Van Ess's text is the conclusion of a masterly historical synthesis on Sufism and its opponents in the history of the societies shaped by Islam *(fait islamique)*. An admirable scholar educated in the great tradition of German philology Van Ess excels when expressing "reflections on topoi, tribulations and transformations" of Sufism not only as a social but also a global historical fact. The paper follows the usual linear course "from the origins to our days". However, the intellectual and scientific quality of the analysis has the virtue of facilitating the "reverse approach" that I recommend. Thus, the "regressive progressive" method, which I practise in my writings and lessons since my entry into research and teaching in 1956, is being consolidated. The practitioners of social science, like all the producers of meaningful works, always deal with a *present* which imposes its urgencies within the restricted spaces of the thinkable and unthinkable, and the variable weights of the unthought accumulated in each logosphere. The shockwaves which cross the present of each generation are more or less positive or devastating according to whether the shockwaves of the past are integrated into a critical historical conscience or hidden in the collective unconscious, and whether the shockwaves of the future are correctly anticipated through prospective, well-equipped thinking or are abandoned to the tribulations of social imagination. Thus, the deployments of the human condition always fit into the present of successive generations, who either repress the most decisive stakes of past accomplishments in what is implicitly lived *(implicite vécu),* or who instead transform these stakes into what is explicitly known *(explicite connu)* to produce a future more suitable for emancipation which can be universalized as much as possible.

> I want to submit to the different actors of intellectual, cultural and didactic history, especially at the level of UNESCO's global mission, possible ways of moving beyond the institutionalized forms of the reproduction, activation, imposition of ignorances which are perpetuated as intangible truths, as divine or scientific certainties and as sacred knowledge.

This way of contemplating historical action in the present of different generations is increasingly unthinkable in our free-market societies which are characterized by the consumption of disposable objects and culture, of manipulated communication, and by the laws of profit and survival. It is linked to

a *Realpolitik* which can only be practised by those who hold absolute technological power. The latter facilitates the successful realization of complex empirical actions, well confined in time and space, without embarrassing moral or philosophical considerations on the human cost of the operation. In particular, it is what "clean war" does. However, the humanistic criterion is not neglected: it accompanies the concerned action to confer an ethico-legal legitimacy to it. This is the so-called "double discourse" already used in the formative religious texts to make combat for the cause of God a canonical obligation.

The globalization of the play of systemic forces means that many contemporary societies are summoned to enter history, or to be reduced to residues condemned to disappearance in the long term. To invoke the weakening of these societies, the brutal disintegration of all their cultural codes and their symbolic functions, without the compensations or relays ensured by modernity in Western Europe, means to leave behind *Realpolitik* and to enter an unbearable moralizing discourse. A doubly repressed speech: from the societies which obstinately refuse critical reflection on themselves while (in the case of "Islam") affirming that theirs is the only model capable of resisting the "imperialist" and "materialist" model of the West; and also from the West, which uses humanitarian actions to relieve the human tragedies that it has largely contributed to program politically since 1945.

Let us return to the lesson of Van Ess. The Mongols' entry into Baghdad in 1258 precipitated the disintegration process marking interaction between religion, policy and society, starting from the eleventh/twelfth century as testified by the Sufi handbooks of Sulamî (412/1021) and Qushayrî (d. 465/1073). Between the third to ninth centuries, Sufism had remained a "personal curve of life" according to the fortunate expression of a great expert, Louis Massignon. The experience of the divine was expressed in spiritualistic poetic overflowing and powered great creative imagination. One century after Ibn 'Arabî (d. 638/1240), a great witness of mystical contemplation, Sufism became a collective practice in brotherhoods under the direction of masters who succeeded one another in family dynasties. Califal authorities regarded Sufism with suspicion; the centres of power, which multiplied and dispersed from the thirteenth/fourteenth century onwards, were more and more constrained to seek the support of brotherhoods which controlled broad social groups. This structural transformation of the religious, the political and the social is extremely important, as it continued and consolidated itself until the emergence of the post-colonial party-states of the years 1950-60. Following independence, a powerful wave of secularization – under the influence of international communism and directed by the Kremlin – emerged in the countries captured by socialist revolution, for instance Sukarno's Indonesia, Boumediène's Algeria, the Baath Party's Iraq and Nasser's Egypt. This included a policy of exclusion against the brotherhoods and *zawiya,* their radiation centres. At the same time, the party-states toughened the control of religious life as a potential force for mass risings. Islam became a state religion, managed by ministries for religious affairs. The faculties of divine law *(kulliyyat Al-sharî`a)* were allowed to function outside the modern universities, in order to improve educational control of the *ulamâ* and the *imâm* in their management of the sacred.

As long as it was politically urgent for the free post-war world to contain the expansion of Soviet ideology in the Third World, an obscurantist nationalization of Islam was encouraged to provide a fer-

tile fuel for popular mobilization. Iran's "Islamic Revolution" temporarily scrambled the seesawing of the party-states in their domestic policies and the powers of the free world. We know how the sudden end of false Soviet power opened an era of new geopolitical strategies for great powers who became a super-great power after the first Gulf War and the wars in former Yugoslavia. Now threatened internally, the party-states returned to an active policy of alliance with the populist Islam of the brotherhoods and the *zawiyas* to counter oppositional, terrorist Islam with a quietist, "moderate", i.e. more easily controllable Islam. This marked the return to the populist Islam of the "obscure" centuries (considered "decadent centuries"), when the masters of the brotherhoods had absolute control of the heart, the imagination and especially the body of each disciple and member of the brotherhood. Indeed, the master of the *tarîqa* encroached on the functions of the *ulamâ* lawyers, muftis and often theologians; towards the disciples, he used everyday language (i.e. local dialects); he did not return to the erudite books with their technical language, which were inaccessible to the majority. The master's discourse inculcates the visionary experience which transfigures concrete history (including biographies of the prophets and the saints as well as large political actors whose protection is learnedly negotiated) in the shape of interpreted dreams and of ideal behaviours for imitation. According to this practice, the Paragons of the Imitation for an accomplished "spiritual" life remain the prophet Mohamed, `Alî, the Companions and a series of masters from the family dynastic line excluding any member from the lines of competing brotherhoods. Control of the bodies was finally ensured by a fastidious and constraining ritual, ranging from clothing, food, drinking, behaviour at table, relations with others and sexual life to the achievement of the canonical obligations weighing on all Muslims. All of this contributed to binding each subject to a culture and ritual codes which replace free will with serf-will.

In such settings, constant recourse to the spiritual master's charismatic capacity of intercession is required by the confidence and guidance pact *(mîthâq)* which binds all the faithful. This pact is experienced as a transformation of the alliance contract tying all creatures to their supreme creator – from the first man to eternity. One thus enters into communion with God; His word is transmitted by the messengers whose local saints inherited the sacred emanation *(baraka)* which authorizes miracles, spectacular cures and salvatory intercessions. This economy of spiritual life, translated into an equalizing collective ritual, welds together the members of the brotherhoods who, around their master, all benefit from the communion with the *umma,* the great mystical body promised to eternal salvation. This simplified spiritual theology can easily be shared by all social groups, regardless of their cultural and linguistic levels. Even the learned clerks and doctors of law adhere to this minimal profession of faith, which is general and coherent enough to nourish a safe feeling of internal coherence and of membership in a vast community of salvation.

We understand why this confraternal Islam has not only survived the different forms of official state power, but has become more topical. It is a consequence of the totalitarian excesses of the party-states, channelled by the violence of radical movements which took hold of the sole symbolic capital of legitimacy – Islam – and put it within grasp of all the "faithful". For a long time, the ethnographers and sociologists of colonial times have been criticized for observing confraternal Islam to produce a "literature of surveillance", catering to the needs of colonial administration. Today, many political scien-

tists and, in any case, the media inflate a literature on the "Islamic danger" similar to the missionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This means that neither Muslims themselves nor their dominating observers concerned themselves with the essential: the combat for the restoration and revival of an intellectual space abandoned to the managers of an obscurantist culture. In society, this obscurantist culture has been disseminated in the form of a credulous piety, which for centuries has eliminated the intervention of critical reason. For a long time, both Islamic and Western scholarships have remained limited to the provision of useful reports for historians and administrations, without intellectual significance for the safeguarding of shipwrecked reason. In particular, this has been the case when it would be necessary to identify the forces shaping social frameworks of knowledge transmission and of alienating rituals for the human subject. With regard to the actions taken after September 11, this historical, sociological and political definition of obscurantist culture achieves an anthropological significance.

I must soften this severe judgement by specifying that the group of researchers who launched an itinerant symposium to study "Islamic Mysticism and Sufi Orders" (1982) succeeded in introducing a scientific counterweight to media conformism and the views of politicians who are satisfied to speak vaguely about a "moderate Islam". Politicians do so to attenuate the devastations of a concentration on international terrorism, *Jihâd* and *Fitna,* following the highly suggestive sequence of two titles of Gilles Képel. The proceedings of the six successive meetings in Paris (1982), Strasbourg (1985), Istanbul (1987), Belgrade (1989), Bamberg (1991) and Utrecht (1995) provide a wealth of information and critical analysis. They are absolutely unique and essential for a policy aimed at eradicating the new ignorances, in particular the large-scale manipulation of religion (*fait religieux*) all over the world. One of the structural features of the expansion of new ignorances is reflected in the fact that thus far, the six large volumes published in English and French are hardly read (and only by a limited number of academics). Therefore, they could not serve as a counterweight to the semi-erudite plethoric literature diffused and widely discussed in all societies. The Muslim public, which is first of all concerned by such publication, will hardly have access to it for reasons of language, price, distribution and an a priori rejection of "orientalist" products.

Globalization has triggered an intellectual divorce between, on the one side, the critical reason of the human sciences which could be more or less interdependent with philosophical reason and, on the other side, the pragmatic reason of technological and administrative knowledge.

My preceding remarks on the alienating impact of confraternal Sufism in the past and present context of Islamic will surely irritate well-known personalities in a great number of Sufi spheres installed in America, Europe and not only in the societies where large *zawiya* thrive. I spoke about populist culture and about language that is sociologically distinct from everything erudite culture attributes to popular cultures and popular codes. The populist phenomenon expanded in post-colonial societies under the direc-

tion of the party-states and under continuing demographic pressure which disrupted the social frameworks of knowledge between 1960 and 2000. Although the birth rate has begun to drop since the 1990s, the younger generation's weight in the social life of so-called under-developed societies continues to generate inadequately identified problems, which have not yet triggered the elaboration of appropriate policies. I may add that the label "populist" as a form of socio-cultural categorization raises objections which oblige us to re-examine its conceptual relevance. Indeed, the confraternal Islam which I referred to no longer only recruits among marginalized social groups, amongst people who may be illiterate and who are subjected to all kinds of social, cultural and educational deprivation. Doctors, lawyers, high-level civil servants, even ministers – men and women – share the same "spiritual" fervour, the same ritual fulfilment, the same certainty of belief which erudite culture and the appointed guards of orthodoxy used to condemn as popular folklore and superstition. Furthermore, the most motivated militants in the rows of radical Islamism have often been recruited among young people specialized in exact sciences, which prioritize the exercise of the tele-techno-scientific reason. Globalization has triggered an intellectual divorce between, on the one side, the critical reason of the human sciences which could be more or less interdependent with philosophical reason and, on the other side, the pragmatic reason of technological and administrative knowledge.

A further objection emerges and causes additional problems. In our modern societies, there are diverse manifestations of what we call a need for spirituality, for stable values, for authorities credible and large enough to ease the anguish, to reduce the distress and to save from internal odysseys a growing number of individuals in search of consistent identity and existential coherence. One must also think about the evolution of Christianity in its Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant denominations. Where the separation of Church and State is anchored in the institutions and the constitutions approved by democratic vote, progress of a culture of the unbelief largely contributed with other factors to cause a return of the religious. This occurred either in the form of a religiosity which reduces belief to a democratic menu of different choices for the individual, or as an unprecedented reconstruction of the human experience of the divine. Arguably – insofar as that this attitude rejoins the questionings and research programmes on what I call "the emergent reason" – the new spaces of intelligibility and of a deepening of the subject's interior life are imposing themselves at the same time as an inter- and transcultural creativity.

The preceding comments help us better define the structural basis and cyclical aggravations of what one may call the "new ignorances".

The anthropological triangle of "violence, the sacred, truth" makes it possible to move away from the problematic issues inherited from religious truth regimes articulated in theological-metaphysical spaces. It leads us towards the area of anthropology as a place of critical and comparative analysis of systems of thought and cultural construction, which violently meet in the space of democratic citizenship. From the eighteenth century onwards, the construction of secular, democratic and republican state-nations in Europe and North America extended, in the framework of a culture of unbelief, the theological-metaphysical truth regimes which were inherited from late Antiquity and from the Judeo-Islamo-

Christian Middle Ages (influenced by Hellenistic and Hellenic thought). In the three monotheistic religions, the religious orders and the doctors of divine law provide access to popular speeches and cultures erudite constructions of the anthropological triangle which have remained until our days in the implicit experience *(implicite vécu)* of the believing, erudite and popular consciences. The secularized state-nations substituted the secular love of the *patria* to the love of God, mediated by charismatic saints and the managers of the sacred who, thus far, have not been deprived of their authority. In Islamic contexts, they were re-crowned under the control of state-parties obliged to continue a mimetic bidding on the manipulation of religious symbolic capital, increasingly devoid of its mythohistoric functions.

Faced with the global rise of obscurantist forces, all totalitarian, antidemocratic or even "rogue" states ignore the very idea of a rights-based policy of critical reason. Even in advanced democracies, one can note the intolerable negligence towards this policy of reason, which has become urgent in cosmopolitan societies threatened by disintegration. Everywhere, *Realpolitik* tends to have priority. In the case of the party-states, the invocation of a nation remaining to be constructed is only a means of disguising a patrimonial practice of obscurantist power. With the expansion of radical Islamism, references to a religious Umma-Utopia tend to supplant the promises of nation-building which were invoked in the aftermath of independence. This therefore leads to what I call the systemic production of institutionalized ignorances in the historical phase of "modernity" and globalization. It is necessary to insist on the systemic character of a process which mobilizes the media, educational and religious institutions, cultural expressions, historiography, the transmission channels for official discourse and (where it can be expressed) oppositional discourse. Ignorances are amplified through pressure for selection, calculated omissions, polemic arguments, electoral struggles, tactical alliances... Thus the different social actors – individual citizens, associations, political parties, professional corporations, trade unions, ethno-linguistic and religious groups – follow their multi-level strategies of insertion in composite and divided societies so that no institution of authority can exercise audible and unanimously respected mastery. The systemic conditions of "meaning production" explain the "refuge" function assigned to associations, communities, sects and brotherhoods. These functions are contingent, compensatory and even dangerous in the case of communities evolving towards communitarian sectarianism.

> It is worrying that under the repeated shocks of history since 1945, sociological gravity continues to favour the production of new ignorances, parallel to the great scientific discoveries and technological inventions.

The debate on sects in democratic societies and brotherhoods in societies where tensions between mythoideologic religion and manipulative political power is important. This debate clearly reflects the general failure of the states vis-à-vis the necessary policy of reason and hope, and the incapacity of all religious authorities to go beyond the obsolete episteme of their discourse on sense, truth, values and theological virtues. The new ignorances – presented as true knowledge and intangible moral and spiritual values to live with and defend, despite all the denials put forward by actual history – can hence

be universalized much faster than the warnings and liberating experience proposed by the "new scientific spirit" which has been defended by Gaston Bachelard.

It is worrying that under the repeated shocks of history since 1945, sociological gravity continues to favour the production of new ignorances, parallel to the great scientific discoveries and technological inventions which reinforce the monopoly of power for nations capable of maintaining the accelerated rate of progress. For how long will we be faced with a widening abyss which separates the search for meaning and "universalizable" values on the one side, and the will for national or communitarian power on the other? What international law will be able to protect and channel the necessary resources to leave behind this dangerous systemic order? At the moment, this systemic order perverts the hopes nourished by democracy, the undeniable progress of scientific knowledge, and by the subversive works of thinkers, artists and the great witnesses of spiritual and moral resistance to the forces that seek to crush our spirit and human dignity. These questions repeat those which UNESCO has always posed to the best representatives of the search for sense and values. On 7 April 2003, in an appeal to the UNESCO Executive Board, I already said that it is necessary to release UNESCO from many institutional constraints so that the Organization's work can produce fast and decisive results.

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Jiri Dienstbier was Foreign Affairs Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia from 1989 to 1992. He subsequently served as a member of the Commission on Global Governance, as the Czech ambassador-at-large and personal representative of the Czech President to the Group of 16 Heads of States and Governments for Multilateralism and the Reform of the United Nations, and as the UNCHR Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In the period before 1989, he was one of the first signatories of "Charter 77", the rallying point of the Czechoslovakian civil rights movement. Subsequent to this, he served as spokesman of the Charter 77 movement, as well as being a member of the Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted. Because of his activities in the Czechoslovakian opposition, he was sentenced to three years in prison in 1979. Having begun public life as a print and radio journalist, Mr Dienstbier has also published several books, most recently *The Blood Tax* (2002), *From Dreams to Reality* (1999) and *Dreaming of Europe* (1990).

Some people have argued that we are experiencing a clash of ignorances rather than a clash of civilizations. In my opinion, the phenomenon that people seek to describe is more ambiguous. In the following, I will discuss some of the reasons why conflicts arise. Rather than focusing on "civilizations" or "ignorances", I think that we should consider the contemporary forms of arrogance: this can be the arrogance of all those who enjoy power (be it individuals or great states), the arrogance of groups that use religion as a pretext for pursuing their political objectives, and the arrogance of terrorists who assassinate innocent people through "asymmetric warfare". And it can also be the arrogance of multinational companies behaving without paying much attention to the people, and seeking to increase their power. If we want to be successful in our fight against conflicts and "clashes", we must think about the prejudices linked to arrogant behaviour.

In the West, we cherish our Euro-American civilization of common values. In this context, the respect of human rights, democracy and the market economy are often evoked. Evidently, the system is not perfect; however, it is clear that it has generated greater quality of life for its citizens. For that reason, we sometimes think that we must compel, force or push others to adopt our ways of life and our institutions – even though we are aware of cultural and historical differences. We therefore may have the feeling of understanding everything. But past years have highlighted that this is not the case. For instance, some people tried to convince me that if we exported Western institutions to Sierra Leone, we would produce a Western society with Western rights in this country – despite its different traditions and different historical experiences. In Afghanistan, Kosovo, Iraq and other countries, we could see how difficult it is to impose foreign institutions in societies with different traditions. Furthermore, in unstable settings, there is always the danger that extremists hijack free elections or terrify the populations to vote for them. I observed it again during my work as "Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia". The present situation in Kosovo six years after the bombing of Yugoslavia confirms this danger.

Our village or district has become global, and we cannot choose our neighbours. Maybe we do not like some of these neighbours, but we need mechanisms of pacific cohabitation.

We are experiencing a conflict born in a globalizing age: for a long time, contacts between different civilizations remained limited. In many cases they were uneven, as reflected in Europe's colonial expansion. It took European intellectuals, writers and artists very long to integrate the art and culture of other places into their work. This, at least, served to build a subconscious relation between different cultures. About one hundred years ago, Rudyard Kipling wrote that "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet". Unfortunately, many intellectuals continue thinking this way. However, in today's world, the constant encounter between civilizations has become a reality, facilitated by transport and the flow of capital and information. Our village or district has become global, and we cannot choose our neighbours. Maybe we do not like some of these neighbours, but we need mechanisms of

pacific cohabitation. The development of a common political culture has facilitated this. Contrastingly, when different cultures and traditions compete with each other, matters become very difficult.

The new technologies, radio and television have changed people's perceptions. If people see greater opportunities in another place, they will try to get there, even risking their lives to get to Europe and America. However, it is obvious that it will be impossible for all the people from poor countries to move to the rich countries. Therefore, "development" is not only a humanitarian question, but also a security matter. Security goes beyond the possession of sophisticated weapons, and many people have forgotten this.

The latter is all the more tragic considering the great number of civilian deaths in today's conflicts. Through bombing campaigns, as in the former Yugoslavia, the West can intervene without shedding a single drop of its soldiers' blood. One might say that there are limits to the will to defend the values that it appeals to – the defence of values is regarded as being sufficient to kill, but not sufficiently important for dying for them. In the defence of its values, one might say that the West often chooses the back patio.

The New York Times journalist Thomas L. Friedman raised the question why many people who reject the terrorist perpetrators of September 11 continue hating America. His answer focused on Iraq and the way that American action impacted on people's lives. Indeed, poverty and a lack of perspective for a decent life are conditions that foment any extremism. To the "fish" of terrorism, it is like ocean water. At the same time, the recent terrorists attacks confirm that they do not simply attack their "opponents": they have begun a war against a civilization which they perceive as morally corrupt. There is no excuse for hostage-taking or the murder of innocent civilians. We must fight against terrorism, and we must do so in a coherent way.

During the Cold War, both sides supported dictatorships in order to guarantee that the strategic territory they occupied was not going to change sides. The tendency to choose or to distinguish between "good" and "bad" terrorists responded to these interests: some terrorists were called assassins, whilst others were regarded as "freedom fighters". Through Western support, terrorist groups could count on aid in Saddam's Iraq or in Afghanistan, with the illusion that they could be useful for a future tactical mission. People often forget that terrorist structures have their own working programme, incompatible with our system of values. Even if they claim to fight for national liberation or to respond to human rights violations, there is no excuse for terrorists' crimes. From Chechnya to Bosnia and the Basque Country, terrorists are the most execrable violators of human rights because they kill innocent people and children. Even if the terrorists want to appear like freedom fighters, they are interconnected with international mafias or drug cartels to finance their actions.

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We must fight to improve the conditions of life in all places where people do not have hope. To do this, we must move from declarations to solidarity actions. If we want our values to be respected, we should promote them in a coherent manner, without any hypocrisy or civilizational arrogance: unilateral action and any behaviour undermining the values that we preach is only going to increase the divisions. In trying to bring about a world with respect for human rights, we will only be successful if we intensify Euro-American cooperation and if we use our historical advantage not as a source of arrogance, but as a way of improving communication and making possible a better life for all.

Hisanori Isomura (JAPAN)

Former President of the *Maison de la Culture du Japon* in Paris

Hisanori Isomura was the President of the Maison de la Culture du Japon in Paris and one of the most eminent Japanese commentators on international affairs. For several decades, he served as a public broadcaster for the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK), and retired as its General Managing Director in 1991. Prior to this position, he had been Director-General for News and Current Affairs at NHK's head office, Director-General for Europe in Paris, Director of the International News Division at the Tokyo Head Office of NHK, and Chief of the corporation's Washington office. Isomura's journalistic work included spells as special correspondent and as an anchorman and editor for Japanese TV news. Hisanori Isomura was appointed to the High Council of the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie* in 1999. He was appointed officer of the French Legion of Honour in 1996 and became *Commandeur des Arts et des Lettres* in 2001.

Unlike other contributors to this publication, I am not a former politician, nor am I an academic: I am writing as a representative of the mass media. For thirty-eight years, I worked for NHK, the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation, having been the company's executive manager for several years. As a journalist, therefore, I am going to concentrate on four key words which in my opinion reflect current trends and challenges. This will provide a general framework for my reflections on the theme of "clash of civilizations or clash of ignorances".

The first key word is "Toyota Shock". This term was very fashionable some twenty years ago and referred to the entry of Japanese cars into the United States market. After the Sputnik Shock, the Toyota Shock was a second blow to American confidence in the field of science and technology. Until then, many Americans had assumed that only they could produce quality cars. However, as it happened, a small Japanese car managed to conquer the American market. Analyzing the causes for this development, many observers reached the conclusion that the competitive disadvantage in Detroit, the Mecca of the American automobile industry, was not linked to technology, but to education: all employees of Toyota could read. In Detroit, headquarters of Ford and General Motors, thirty per cent of the workers were illiterate at the time. Furthermore, the Japanese tradition of workers' education was shared by the Korean, Thai and Chinese people. We must understand that education is inextricably linked to mastering economic challenges, especially in a globalizing age.

"Cultural literacy" is my second key word, and it is related to the field of education. Professor Jr.'s E.D. Hirsch Jr.'s *Cultural Literacy* made a significant impact twenty years ago: he claimed that schooling failed to promote knowledge of a common culture and common cultural values. The notion of "cultural literacy" refers to the need for cultural awareness, both of one's own culture and of other cultures. Surveys concerning the general knowledge of today's high-school students have revealed disturbing levels of cultural ignorance in fields ranging from geography to music and literature. It is necessary to educate for the development of cultural literacy: it is not only necessary to teach students to read and write; it is also necessary to transmit cultural values and understanding.

My third key word is the "military-industrial complex", a term which was coined by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, defining the dominating forces in politics and society. Globalizing developments have increased the potential influence and geographical spread of large companies. Many products – ranging from electronics to the automobile industry – are now manufactured in Asia: first Japan was a key supplier, and now much production has been transferred to China. One might therefore say that Asia has become the world's workshop. However, the decisions affecting these markets are taken elsewhere. Furthermore, with regard to global markets and domestic politics, many private-interest groups now promote the idea that anything "public" is negative and anything "private" is good. From my experience at the Japanese Broadcasting

It is not only necessary to teach students to read and write; it is also necessary to transmit cultural values and understanding.

Corporation NHK, I could speak of such developments in many areas, for instance with regard to the commercialization of the Olympic Games. In the UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, it is stated that "market forces alone cannot guarantee the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity, which is the key to sustainable human development".

The fourth and final key word is "mass media". After all, economic and industrial interests are often linked to the activities of the great media conglomerates. Many media groups nowadays operate at a world-wide level, having the power to influence our ways of perception. They can thus contribute to education and understanding, yet there is the very real danger of them fuelling prejudices and promoting stereotypes. Everybody believes in the notion of *cogito ergo sum*, but it is not a reality: the media are in the process of penetrating our minds, and it is a serious and necessary task to resist this process by promoting critical thinking.

Taking these developments and challenges into account, I would like to discuss the concept of a "clash of civilizations" as shaped by Samuel S. Huntington. There are three weak points in the reasoning linked to this notion: firstly, with regard to Asia, it is widely known that "purity" in this region does not exist. All Asian culture, of one form or another, is nothing more than a hybrid of multiple influences. Take Japan as an example: its culture is a product generated by the Silk Road, with influences from China, India and Persia. Hence, we are not culturally "pure". The experiences in Bosnia and Herzegovina have highlighted the atrocious implications of "ethnic cleansing". The second error in the concept of a "clash of civilizations" is the way in which it evokes dangerous links to the concept of crusading. Indirectly, it also creates fear of a new yellow peril, namely the danger of a union between Japan and China. The third and final error made in Samuel Huntington's book is that he underestimates the differences in the "West", namely between the United States and Europe.

It is necessary to be very cautious in debating the clash of civilizations: there is no single or simple root of human evil. One should also leave behind ideas of a simple opposition between democracies in the "West" and a threat from the "East". In dealing with other cultures and civilizations, modesty and cultural awareness are of great importance.

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II. OUR COMMON HISTORY: GLOBALIZATION AND MEMORY

JEAN BAUBÉROT (FRANCE)

Professor of the History and Sociology of Secularism and former President of the École Pratique des Hautes Études

Professor Jean Baubérot is Honorary President of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE), where he also holds the chair on "History and Sociology of Secularism". From 1995 to 2001, he was Director of the *Groupe de Sociologie des Religions et de la Laïcité* (CNRS-EPHE), and he was also a member of the *Commission de réflexion sur l'application du principe de laïcité dans la République*. Holding doctorates in history, philosophy and human sciences from the Sorbonne (Paris), Jean Baubérot has published and edited eighteen works on religion and secularism, most recently *Laïcité 1905-2005, entre passion et raison* (2004). Other publications include *Un Christianisme profane?* (1978), *Le pouvoir de contester* (1983) and *Pluralisme et minorités religieuses* (1991). He has given courses and lectures in twenty-five different countries and won a number of prestigious awards, including the *Concours Général* in History. He is a member of the National Order of Merit.

Understanding our common history is our objective, yet we cannot achieve it directly. We can, however, discern five stages in making progress towards this aim. First, we have to realize the dialectical relationship between history and memory. This dialectic is what makes history a scientific discipline unlike any other. Social life and personal life are full of memory – every human being talks about the past, about "recent past" and "distant past". In their relation to the past, some revolutions have tried to wipe the slate clean, yet they failed dramatically, despite linking their efforts to ideals of justice. Furthermore, in many places – including cities such as Barcelona – the past seems to be present everywhere one goes. Therefore, it would seem that historians have little work to do, as the past appears to be well-known. This, however, is not the case. Instead, the historian has the duty of establishing knowledge and of realizing that knowledge and ignorance are often intertwined. Historians seek to find the unknown past and to reconstitute the past based on new documents and new viewpoints. In doing so, they have to consult different accounts and create new ones, which will appear better founded, more scientific and more objective. They will thus attempt to produce a balanced historical text, which itself will become disputed and superseded by new accounts.

The second stage is the realization that history is plural, that is to say that there are several histories. The natural sciences taught in high schools around the globe are quite the same, even though there may be different approaches to it. Yet when looking at history, it often seems to focus on one particular country – the history of Japan, of Morocco, of Brazil, of the United States, of France and so forth. In other words, history tends to be circumscribed geographically – it is written as a history of territories or lineages. This has always been a factor for misunderstandings and conflicts. It is getting worse as the difference between this globalization and past globalizations is that the world's present is continuously presented all over the world, that is, in the instant that events occur. The mass media inform us on what is happening, yet their news do not have any historical depth, even though true knowledge of the present requires some historical depth. Consequently, we witness a modern production of "new ignorances". I therefore believe that the title of this publication (and of the conference that preceded it) is well-chosen. We think we know what is going on around the world, but we do not understand it. Understanding the other means to know that person's history; understanding current affairs implies to understand the event's historical context. Facts alone are incomprehensible and do not make sense, unless they are seen in the context of their history. Hence, this second stage means to know several histories and to be conscious of history's plurality.

Understanding the other means to know that person's history; understanding current affairs implies to understand the event's historical context.

The third stage reaches beyond this: to understand others, you also have to understand your own history and see how it is interlinked with the history of others. When looking at your own history, you have to consider how others might view it. A few years ago, I taught in Brussels which by high-speed train is only one and a half hours away from Paris. After coming to Brussels, I became aware of the ambivalent perception of the French Revolution – I encountered ambivalences different from French perspec-

tives on this period. Students in Brussels may well agree to the ideals of the French Revolution, yet they also consider how the French invaded their territories during the Revolutionary and Napoelonic Wars. When teaching outside France, not only do I try to tell people about the history of my country and to provide them with that information, but I also realize that I learn as well: I learn that I have to reconsider my own country's history. This helps me a lot and this is indispensable for me to approach greater scientific distance and objectivity. I cannot understand my history without seeing it through the eyes of others.

The fourth stage is what I call historic transversality. Historic transversality is when we exceed the history of a lineage or territory. By taking into account the diversity of all human histories, it leads towards a history which itself is globalizing. It would be a history that explores the existence of interactions, of influences, of historic exchanges, as well as exploring cultural transfers that are taking place. My area of historic research is French secularism (*laïcité*), and in contemporary France it is thought that secularism is a French specificity, as if France was its owner. Perhaps rather brutally, I would consider this a kind of paranoia. We sometimes feel that others cannot understand France because they do not understand *laïcité*. I think that this is wrong: secularism in its true meaning is the separation of Church and State, but with a specific objective, as reflected in article 18 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights:* to guarantee the personal freedom of each person, of each man and each woman when it comes to religion and personal conviction. Secularism also aims at the principle of non-discrimination and equal treatment; it seeks to dissociate civil rights from the adherence or non-adherence to a religion or philosophy. With this conception of secularism in mind, it becomes apparent that there are different routes to it. France influenced Brazil, but Mexico also influenced France. Other countries have influenced France. There have been mutual exchanges, and in these mutual exchanges each participant has both given and taken. There have also been certain drifts within secularism. So, for better or for worse, histories interconnect and exchange – there are reciprocal influences at work. We have to know this, understand this and do so without sacrilizing history. Instead, we have to comprehend history as being transversal.

When we look at such a "broad" history, we will realize its openness. History is a shield against ignorances. Therefore, its role is particular important if we think that we are currently experiencing a "clash of ignorances" rather than a "clash of civilizations". Today we have to be simultaneously citizens of our country and citizens of the world. The world is present everywhere and hence the histories of the entire world are present in every place. It is therefore indispensable to achieve and maintain an openness of spirit.

We need the past to view the future and we should know that we cannot simply wipe the historical slate clean; yet we must also realize that the future has to be free from the past. History is not a standard and not a norm. We should not get too hung up on history. This risk exists and is linked to the crisis of the ideology of scientific progress. We now know that scientific progress might be ambivalent and that scientific and technologic progress do not necessarily mean moral and social progress. We know that our tomorrow is perhaps uncertain and that it may not all be good. Therefore, there is a

tendency to look back at history. Not only should we need to write a transversal history, but we must also write an open history. Not only should we merely develop a new history of the world – we must also live a new history of the world.

Historic transversality is when we exceed the history of a lineage or territory. By taking into account the diversity of all human histories, it leads towards a history which itself is globalizing.

FARHAN NIZAMI (INDIA)
Founding Director of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies

Dr Nizami is the Founding Director of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (OCIS) and Prince of Wales Fellow in the Study of the Islamic World at Magdalen College, Oxford University. OCIS was established in 1985 as an associated institution of Oxford University, in order "to encourage the scholarly study of Islam and the Islamic world" as well as providing a "meeting point for the Western and Islamic worlds of learning". Having studied History at Aligarh Muslim University in India and Oxford University in the United Kingdom, Dr Nizami became a fellow of St Cross College, Oxford University in 1983. He is Editor of the *Journal of Islamic Studies* (Oxford University Press); Chairman of the Academic Council of Wilton Park, UK; Member of the Steering Committee C-100, World Economic Forum, Davos; and he is associated with a number of academic projects aimed at civilizational understanding and dialogue.

To a non-specialist, the idea of common history sounds like good manners: the willingness to recognize that others have their story to tell, and listening to it with the intention of learning something. However, in recent decades, the concern to include the memories of others in a common history has acquired more urgency. It is the best counterweight to those voices that speak of a "clash of civilizations" and an "end of history." Against this backdrop, and at a time when we are still thinking through the likely ramifications of the war on Iraq and of the continuing military response to the terrorist attacks on the United States, it is important to appreciate that these current events can have a momentum of their own. This momentum makes it very difficult to stand back and reflect on common history and shared memory. Nonetheless, in a climate such as the present one, a correct reading of history, in a sense, is a form of taking relevant action that needs to be strengthened and pursued with determination.

Bridges strong enough to carry us along together, and together with our differences, can be built if we understand our history correctly, and provided we persevere. We can influence the course of events in the direction of peaceful and respectful coexistence. Our common values – derived from our common history – encourage us to be optimistic. That is why we need to rediscover our common heritage. Let us therefore begin by affirming the values that our history teaches us: the preference for peace over war; tolerance over intolerance; justice over injustice; and for the rule of law over brute force, however technologically powerful and ideologically sophisticated that force may be. These preferences are not empty sentiments: they become real political issues the moment we apply them to specific situations. As for history, we know for instance that Europe and the Islamic world have been in close contact with each other for centuries. There has been a great deal of overlapping geography, a great deal of convergence, and a great deal of adapting and of borrowing between the two. Alongside confrontation, there has been peaceful and mutually beneficial coexistence. Historically, there has been no shortage of bridging points.

Over time, cultures acquire definite political and territorial, sometimes also racial, associations. However, cultural differences do not directly inspire conflict, except where conflict already exists for other reasons and then the cultural differences are readily exaggerated and exploited to provide better excuses for the aversion needed to sustain conflict.

Today, there is a growing stream of opinion which favours cultural and economic independence for the world's peoples to complement and dignify political independence. There is a demand for policies that will preserve cultural and civilizational diversity. There is a desire for coexistence and open dialogue to replace mutual fears and suspicions. In part, this is a response to the growth of transnational communities and the need to behave decently towards them; in part it reflects the increasing awareness of the common problems, especially environmental ones; and in part too, it is owed to the vague but strong feeling that material wealth and political power alone are not sufficient for increasing human worth and well-being.

We accordingly observe a significant shift in the direction of area studies. They are increasingly devoted to the collection of an integrated body of information that aims to represent the whole story

of how a civilization came to be. This story tells how a people managed their natural and human resources, the modes of cooperation and competition and how they evolved their crafts, commerce and trade, and their systems of values and definitions of well-being. It also highlights how people inherited their past and passed it on. Few if any peoples in human history were so isolated that their civilizations evolved without confronting and overlapping with the civilization of others. Civilization is thus always the story of adaptation both to a particular natural environment and a particular political environment, the neighbourhood of other peoples. This, of course, runs counter to the notion of a "clash of civilizations".

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One of the best reasons for preserving and cultural diversity is that under the pressure of globalization, people are finding it increasingly difficult to belong to where they are. It is therefore becoming necessary to reaffirm the human need for physically real neighbourhood, and to counterbalance the sheer mass of inputs that come from beyond the neighbourhood and continually take away individuals from themselves. Belonging to a culture and civilization is an essential component of self-identity and self-worth. The advances in transport and communication technology and the substantial migration of people across civilization boundaries have thrust people into the same neighbourhood over a relatively short period of time. Most peoples have been able to adjust their sense of identity to the new realities, but not all. Cultural cohabitation can be sustained by a common history and must be underpinned by certain courtesies that we may call "cultural diplomacy". It can proceed effectively on the basis of educational curricula and public encouragement for the wise use of free speech. This requires a determination to affirm the value and the tradition of others, to seek out the good therein. This should lead to a programme of genuine exchange, a sustained effort to translate and understand what others think and feel, to read their writers as well as one's own, to give them space to convey their thoughts and experiences in a manner that takes them off the defensive. This need not mean cynicism or relativism, but it does mean the need to adapt, and sometimes to adapt radically certain cherished principles.

All these points touch on the same general maxim: believe that there are shared fundamental values, that is common ground, and then proceed from that common ground, rather than from what is not. In that, one proceeds by consent rather than by force, and any achievement is likely to be for that reason more enduring.

It is necessary to make a sustained effort to undo certain negative stereotypes in general media representations of other cultures. In particular, the media should be encouraged to dissociate culture

and civilization from local events. As a necessary part of valuing other cultures, people have to be educated in the ways and traditions of others. In this area, academic institutions can play a useful role by promoting academic exchanges, by publishing the history and achievements of different peoples in an accessible form. Both education institutions and the media bear a special responsibility for the promotion of positive images in a pluralist society. Unfortunately, the information content and quality of images of minority communities tends to be rather poor. Consider for example the number of times Islam is represented on the television by playing the call to prayer as background to a news item. The content of the call to prayer is rarely relevant and never discussed. It is merely an identifying label which emphasizes the fact that the Muslim community is different. The function of labels is only to differentiate, not to explain or to make intelligible the differences.

Another example is primary schooling, where thought needs to go into the preparation of teaching materials that identify what is common as well as what is different between traditions. The aim should be reciprocal understanding and respect. There needs to be a clear and consistent message that people of different traditions can live alongside each other, and that over time, traditions overlap, change and take root in different places. Exchange programmes in the field of education are vital for the spread of understanding and an ethic of collaboration among people of different civilizational backgrounds. The ERASMUS project within the European Union is a good example, but it needs to be extended and should include more.

The domination of Western perspectives, however, is nowhere more evident than in the works of reference – encyclopaedias, general histories etc. – which help to define and periodize subject matter, to control curricula and to shape public attitudes. Just as formal history is nowadays not confined to the story of kings and conquests, but is the story of all the people, not just rulers, it should also be possible to follow more inclusive editorial policies. It would mean embracing the concerns and contributions of other peoples and times, and appreciating their achievements. It is astonishing that most histories on natural sciences and mathematics for secondary schools simply ignore the Islamic-Arabic contributions in these fields. Information well-known for a long time does not reach general public consciousness and it therefore does not help educate a conception of culture and civilization as a universal human heritage. If one looks at human civilization from a worldwide perspective, it is much easier to affirm the worth of the contributions of non-Western origins. I do not deny that it is good for an average educated Arab, Chinese or Indian person to know about the French Revolution or to appreciate the intellectual and political legacy of Thomas Jefferson. But how many educated French or American persons could name a significant event or a significant personage from early Chinese or Arab history? The answer will be very few. Of course there will be many informed specialists who do so, but this is not the point. Or, for instance, ask how many students at Oxford would be able to tell that long before Oxford became a centre of academic excellence, Timbuktu was a major centre of learning? It is most important therefore to supplement more inclusive editorial policies in the preparation of general reference materials. Resources should be allocated to the preparation (in accessible formats) of studies of persons and events regarded as seminal or defining in their different cultural contexts. That is perhaps a humble, practical note on which I wish to end – but such practical measures are essential if we are to

educate ordinary people to conceive of culture and civilization as a universal human heritage to which all peoples have contributed and which all peoples can help to share and to enlarge. That conception is one most relevant to our times, and its prevalence is the condition for worthwhile dialogue and interrelationship, which are the conditions for a reliable peace.

The best of our traditions teach us to observe and recognize the virtues of others, not just our own; to attend to their grievances as well as ours; to count and stand in silence for their dead, not just our own; to hear their narrative of our atrocities against them, and not be obsessed with revenging their wrongs against us. The best practice in Islam is to affirm our common humanity with our differences. The idea of a common history is a noble cause if it can help us do that more intelligently and consistently. It should be the most pressing, urgent priority for all peoples. It is our best hope against the passions and prejudices that lead nations and civilizations to war. Sadly, I am bound to say, it seems at present that the demands and priorities of global capitalism are driving inter-community and international relations in quite the opposite direction.

The idea of a common history is a noble cause if it can help us do that more intelligently and consistently. It should be the most pressing, urgent priority for all peoples.

MIGUEL ANGEL ARANAZ IBARRA (SPAIN)
Mayor of Gernika-Lumo

Miguel Angel Aranaz Ibarra is Mayor of Gernika-Lumo since 1999. He is also President of the Fundación Museo de la Paz of Gernika-Lumo and of the Gernika Gogoratuz Research Center for Peace. In 2004, Gernika-Lumo was awarded the UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize 2002-2003; the ceremony was held as a side event to the "New Ignorances, New Literacies" conference in Barcelona.

In a world characterized by international crisis, by anguish and uncertainty, when the international context is so complicated and when it costs so much to glimpse on the horizon the apsiration for a world of peace (as promoted by the United Nations and UNESCO), it is time to shift our gaze towards humanity's sites of memory. In particular, I refer to the symbolic sites which make us dramatically aware of times when humanity hit the rock bottom. Places such as Hiroshima, Auschwitz or Gernika can serve as milestones and markers on the path we are treading. This article deals with the experience and testimony of the city of Gernika-Lumo.

Historical memory. How can we promote a better understanding of our global history, helping us to live in a globalized world? With regard to Gernika-Lumo, I would begin with the notion of historical memory. I believe that it is necessary to inform people continually about what has happened – so that the past does not only exist in the memory of those who experienced it, but also of our contemporaries. To this end, Gernika-Lumo has established the Gernika Museum of Peace. The museum commemorates the bombing in the Spanish Civil War, but it also aims to spread a culture of peace and to motivate people to believe in peace: to look for it, to observe it and to confront it.

Recognition of history. It is necessary to recognize the past and, as regards the heirs of those involved, to ask for forgiveness. This request for forgiveness is necessary so that the children of the perpetrators and the children of the victims can turn over a leaf forever. In 1997, the German authorities asked for forgiveness from Gernika for what had happened. It would be necessary that the Spanish institutions, which are in some way the descendants (albeit fortunately democratic ones) of those that won the Spanish Civil War, request forgiveness for the crime against humanity which happened in Gernika on 26 April 1937. We will then be able to turn over a page in history – both for the current generation and for our children. I am convinced that this symbolic gesture would be very important and helpful for everyone.

It is necessary to recognize the past and, as regards the heirs of those involved, to ask for forgiveness.

Reconciliation. Following the recognition of history and forgiveness, it is easier to understand each other, to get closer, to live together and to reconcile. Reconciliation of the different war parties and of their children is vital for the following generations and for the wish for a common future. This is not only the case for Gernika, whose experience of reconciliation with Germany has been extraordinary: it is a more fundamental and general necessity. In our particular case, it is important to emphasisze the tasks of the Gernika Gogoratuz research center for peace and conflict transformation.

To avoid any kind of justification for violent conflict. We must categorically emphasize the need to avoid any kind of argument that justifes violent conflict, of course in Euskadi as anywhere in the world. There can not be any ideological bastion or justification to violent conflict or wars and terrorism.

How can we construct a globalization beyond its economic and financial dimensions? I will attempt a brief answer by referring to the activities of my own municipality. I believe that the first task is to get to know "the Other", thus bringing about a deeper globalization. Gernika-Lumo actively seeks to get to know other people at the state, European and global levels, welcoming those who arrive with total hospitality. We do so through twinnings with other cities, through solidarity action and participation in an increasing number of international networks. The second fundamental task is to maintain and to promote diversity. In Gernika-Lumo, we cherish and protect several forms of diversity:

Linguistic diversity. Gernika-Lumo is in the heart of the Basque Country, where Euskera (the Basque language) is spoken. I believe that it is the most appreciated treasure of the Basques – an exceptional language that expresses Basque culture.

Religious diversity. In Gernika-Lumo, the presence of the Christian faith has been an important reality. Perhaps it has helped to develop a desire for reconciliation rather than a desire for revenge.

Ideological diversity. Gernika-Lumo, like the rest of the Basque Country, plays host to a real diversity and plurality of ideologies.

Institutional diversity. Gernika-Lumo is a symbol of democracy and liberties, being the place where the Tree of Gernika and the Casa de Juntas are located. The latter is recognized as a cradle of rights and liberties. For the Basque people, it constituted the first experience of representative participation as well as being the place of our "historic rights".

Biological diversity. Gernika-Lumo is the seat of the biosphere reserve of Urdaibai, recognized by UNESCO in 1984.

Globalization should be based on and inspired by human rights, as expressed in the Universal Declaration of 1948 and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* and on *Civil and Political Rights of 1966*. We must globalize peace and promote the human right to peace. This objective makes it necessary to firmly request the renounciation of war and armies in the framework of a UN reform. In this context, an international network of bodies, institutions and associations for peace could make an important contribution.

We must categorically emphasize the need to avoid any kind of argument that justifes violent conflict.

III. OUR CREATIVE DIFFERENCES: LEARNING TO LIVE TOGETHER THROUGH ARTS AND LANGUAGES

OMER ZÜLFÜ LIVANELI (TURKEY)

Musician, Writer and UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador

Omer Zülfü Livaneli, a multi-talented Turkish musician and writer, has been UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador since 1996. His songs have been recorded by a number of artists and ensembles, including the London Symphony Orchestra, and his 1997 concert in Ankara was attended by over 500,000 people. He has frequently employed music as a medium for understanding and peace. In particular, Mr Livaneli has promoted Turkish-Greek reconciliation, for instance by co-founding the Greek-Turkish Friendship Society. Mr Livaneli's influence on cultural life in Turkey stretches beyond music and includes literature as well as film: his most recent novels, *Bir Kedi, Bir Adam, Bir Olüm* ("Memory of Snow") and *Mutluluk* ("Bliss") are currently being translated into English and French. The latter book has reached its 28th edition in Turkey. In addition to having written the musical scores of a number of films, Mr Livaneli also directed three movies himself – one of which (*Sist*) received the "Golden Palm Award" at the Valencia Film Festival (1989) and the "Golden Antigone Award" at the Montpellier Film Festival (1988). Mr Livaneli was elected to the Turkish Parliament in 2002 and is a member of the Turkish delegation to the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe.

This essay focuses on the relationship between culture – which can also be read as cultural difference – and technology. Previously unimaginable developments in the information and communication technologies have marked the age in which we are living. It is mostly due to these developments that we can say that "we are living in a global world". In all senses of the word, our world has never been more "connected".

What is the effect of such connectedness on the so many different cultures of the world? We can observe that there are two processes at work. On the one hand, communication technologies allow people from different parts of the world to learn about each other, to communicate their differences, to exchange ideas, knowledge and values. On the other hand, the same technologies disseminate a homogeneous and homogenizing culture that insidiously weakens authentic cultures and traditions. Unfortunately, lately the latter process seems to be working full force. Considering this to be the case, there are some important questions that we should ask ourselves:

— How will the accumulated culture of the past be carried over to this new world?
— What are the means that the "age of information" provides for the transfer of the cultural and artistic heritage of humanity to new generations?

It would be so easy if culture could be passed on genetically from one generation to another. Unfortunately, this is not the case. In every individual person who is born, the accumulation of the world begins anew. It makes absolutely no difference if someone is born at the foot of the great architectural creation known as St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, the magnificent buildings in Jerusalem, the Hagia Sophia or the Blue Mosque in Istanbul, or the pyramids in Egypt. Every individual person must learn everything from scratch – everything begins at ground zero.

When we were children and teenagers, it was only through reading books that we could experience something beyond our everyday lives. There was absolutely no other alternative. The pages of the books we read – just as Don Quixote's horse Rozinante did – took us to other worlds. At a time when communication was not as developed as it is today, we were able to learn about different cultures and people only through the works of novelists, painters, and poets. In my home in Ankara, I was able to learn about America – without ever having gone there – through such novelists and poets as William Faulkner, Walt Whitman, Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos.

Art was an enchanted language that brought the world closer together. Without having read Plato's Republic, without having muttered the lines of Roumi, without having read Dante, Shakespeare, Molière, or Stendhal, the world in which we lived would have been more shallow, more stereotypical. It seems that today's youth simply do not have the time and patience to learn about the world in the same way we did. They have different means at their disposal. For young people, the screen has become such an attractive and irresistible power as the Sirens who bedazzled Odysseus. Whatever their name – television, video, computer – screens of all kinds have become the new Mecca of humanity.

Today, cultures and traditions all over the world are under the hegemonic influence of a global cultural economy of signs and images. This visual culture is mostly governed by trends originating in the cultural milieu of the United States of America. That is to say, the US is probably just as influentialin worldwide morals and values as it is on the international economy. If such American trends reflected the values of the author and humanist William Faulkner, I should have no objection. However, the new values of which we are speaking have very little to do with those of Faulkner.

A most striking illustration of this is found in a volume by the former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, entitled *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* One passage begins: "At the dawn of the new millennium, the United States is enjoying a preeminence unrivaled by even the greatest empires of the past. From weaponry to technology, from higher education to popular culture, America exercises an unparalleled ascendancy around the globe." Such sentences from the pen of a strategist in foreign affairs are indeed revealing, but let us progress to the lines most pertinent to my topic: Kissinger writes that "American popular culture sets standards of taste around the world even as it provides the occasional flash point for national resentments."

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These lines are anathema to me. It is not because I despise the U.S. or object to the spread of its culture. Just as I feel respect for every culture on the face of this earth, I respect American culture as well. What I resent is the implication that *every culture* on our planet has to accept American culture as a standard. How can the mature cultures and traditions of areas so diverse as Asia and the Pacific, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and the Americas – all developed over centuries with the contributions of millions of individuals – ever be confined within any single standard?

It is we who represent today's civilization. We are responsible for protecting different cultural traditions and for nourishing our creative differences. Standardization will bring with it nothing but the drying up of rivers that have been flowing for thousands of years. Cultural homogenization is synonymous with the suicide of humanity.

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Herbert Marcuse, starting from the concept of genocide, coined the term "ecocide", that is, the destruction of ecosystems. I feel that we should go one step further and create a neologism for cultural standardization: "ethocide". We have no right to commit ethocide. The concept of human rights applies not only to those living today, but to future generations as well. In word and deed, we are therefore responsible for the heritage we pass on to our children. Future generations should not look back upon us as barbarians without regard for the rich and diverse resources of different cultural traditions.

In conclusion, I do not think that the cultural – and hence the ethical – heritage of humanity will be rejected in the information age. Technology is only a means. I would therefore like to think that human civilization can find ways of putting it to more sublime ends.

Adama SAMASSÉKOU (Mali)

President of the African Academy of Languages and Former Minister of Education of Mali

Adama Samassékou is currently President of the African Academy of Languages. He was Minister of Education of Mali (1993 to 2000) and Spokesman of the Government (1997 to 2000). In July 2002, he was elected President of the "Preparatory Committee" (PrepCom) for the first phase of the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). The World Summit, whose two phases are marked by assemblies in Geneva (2003) and Tunis (2005), addresses global questions regarding access to information and knowledge. Recent research papers of Mr Samassékou focus on "information for all" and "information societies". Having studied linguistics in Moscow and Paris, he later became Head of the Linguistics Department of the Institute of Social Sciences of Mali and then Director of the National Library of Mali. Heavily involved in civil-society issues, Dr Samassékou co-founded the People's Movement for Human Rights Education.

The Universal Forum of Cultures constituted an ideal space to speak about and to discuss culture. In this context, I would like to pay homage to all UNESCO representatives past and present who tirelessly worked and continue working for the advent of a better world through culture and language. How can one speak of "development" in a perpetually mutating world, which is at the same time diversified and collective, without referring to the cultural base that is indispensable for the existence of humankind itself? How can "life" be defined without either language or culture? If every people develops over time and space, adapting to external requirements, this adaptation leads to encounters which can provoke misunderstandings and difficulties of accepting the Other. How can we live together and ensure that all over the world, people accept each other and compose one single world, the same world, despite coming from different societies with different concepts of life? How can we respond to the everyday questions brought up by misunderstandings around the world? Why should it be necessary that the road to peace passes through violence, with people believing that those unable to follow the rhythm of the world's unique "civilization" must be left on the roadside? How come that in a pluralistic, ever-closer and ever more unified world people ignore each other more? These are the challenges confronting all of humanity, our humanity. The closer people get, the more they ignore each other.

I would like to start my paper by speaking of the world's present situation in terms of the divisions attributable to a certain understanding of globalization. This overview will allow us to realize that in lieu of a globalization of markets, we will have to create a globalization of peoples and cultures. In my opinion, this vision is the only way of envisaging happy prospects for the survival of humankind.

Globalization is first of all a rapprochement of markets. The one side buys what the other side possesses; yet it is not a fair deal, since it is the buyer who fixes the price and the modalities of transaction. It is a logic of the markets, and hence a logic of profits.

In fact, we live in a divided world – a world which is not one, but a number of worlds. In general, we speak of rich and poor countries, of North and South. We can detect deep contrasts between the world's different regions, but also within these regions. The latter aspect is often concealed, yet it is the populations of these regions who – more than anyone – suffer the side-effects of globalization. These side-effects reinforce different divisions: between those who are educated and those who can neither read nor write; between those who hold information and those who are deprived of it; between those who know and those who do not know; between those who govern and those who are governed. There are hence the globalizers and the globalized. According to the Human Development Report of 2003, published by UNDP, "global income inequality" has reached "grotesque levels" and generated "ambiguous trends". It is admitted that income is distributed in an increasingly unequal way between the planet's inhabitants: "The richest 5 per cent of the world's people receive 114 times the income of the poorest 5 per cent. The richest 1 per cent receive as much as the poorest 57 per cent. And the 25 million richest Americans have as much income as almost 2 billion of the world's poorest people."[1]

[1] Milanovic 2002, pp. 51–92 as quoted in *Human Development Report 2003: Millennium Development Goals. A Compact among Nations to End Human Poverty* (UNDP, 2003), p. 39 – citing the numbers given in Branko Milanovic, "True World Income Distribution, 1988 and 1993: First Calculation Based on Household Surveys Alone." in *Economic Journal* 112, 2002, pp. 51–92.

Income inequality creates one world of knowledge and one world of "non-knowledge". In countries with low income, the public provision of social needs – highly important in those states – is not satisfactory. Education, health and access to clean water are neglected. The difference in income creates a difference in markets. Hence, public services, which should benefit to the maximum of the population, are of such mediocre quality that the pressures for economic liberalization become stronger and stronger. Neither inside these countries nor between different countries are the services dispensed in an equal way to everyone. What do we have to admit? Those who possess know better or have better access to knowledge and influence those who are preoccupied with meeting their primary and alimentary needs. All sources of inequality derive from this: those who possess know better, are the wealthiest, and decide for the others. They give to those who demand nothing but who receive profitable aid as much as waste and pollution. From this instant, the relations are tainted, giving birth to superiority and inferiority complexes among individuals and peoples: "the hand that gives is always on top of the hand that receives" – the recipient is inferior in terms of rights and must consume if he wants to survive. Furthermore, ideas only have any value from one side: the other defines the needs of those whom he wants to help. Inequality of having thus leads to inequality of being.

The current challenges remain linked to old forms of ignorance such as illiteracy and to all ills of societies which have only unwritten words to express them. This situation is aggravated as new technologies make little use of local knowledge. This situation gives rise to new ignorances: ignorance of written knowledge, ignorance of communication technologies, ignorance of sharing and knowledge societies. If we want to confront the new plagues that arise exactly from these new ignorances (which themselves have taken root in old ignorances), we have to create a world of culture, a "cultural meeting of worlds", in order to appropriately counter the globalization of markets. Faced with the new ignorances, we have to develop knew kinds of knowledge, "new literacies", new aptitudes, new responses, and new behaviours.

However, it is recognized that the majority of conflicts are triggered by people's intolerance. Yet intolerance itself often stems from ignorance. And the source of ignorance is often found in representations, images, prejudices and stereotypes, which themselves are inherent in cultures. This is the reason why people wrongly speak of a conflict of cultures when in reality, it is a conflict of peoples.

The world, in its evolution, is a sequence of discoveries of successive truths. Each people in its course reaches the different stages at its own rhythm, allowing those who know better to adapt their discoveries to the contemporary realities and to call the others "ignorant, barbarians, backward, underdeveloped" and similar words which carry so many evils.

Furthermore, it cannot be denied that, just as spaces are diverse, climates are different and epochs distant, men and the societies in which they live and which they traverse are different. There is a fearful number of ignorances that do not remain limited to a simple lack of knowledge of the other, but which also lead to forms of behaviours which hardly qualify as human. Are not the most humanized societies those that have understood that "the beauty of a carpet derives from the diversity of its colours", as Amadou Hampaté Bâ has observed?

Arts and languages are the most appropriate means for the establishment of contact, as they are sources of curiosity. This curiosity, as well as allowing us to have a different perception, leads to discovery. The discovery of the Other appears in the representations of language and arts. The way we call a stranger and the way we represent him illustrate our perception and comprehension of the immediate world. When the individual possesses this culture and this vision of things, it is impossible to not understand others' point of view: to cite a Mandingo saying, "the man who has only one ear only obtains one version of the problem".

The rooting of each social or ethnic group in its proper cultural values is far from constituting a source of division: it mostly contributes to reinforcing the mobilization of social forces. As ancient wisdom holds, there is no better knowledge than knowledge of oneself. In other words, to better understand the Other, one first of all has to know oneself. Mutual comprehension, which is first of all achieved into one's own society, leads to social cohesion. Acquiring such comprehension in one's original environment also allows us to construct it in a more universal way. As we say in Mandingo, "it is good to know how to swim, it is good to know how to ride horses, but it is better to know oneself".

In Africa and in many countries of the South, this still natural attitude of coexistence is attributable to the conservation of educational principles and values aimed at promoting understanding, respect and mutual consideration between all individuals. All true communal values – namely solidarity, sharing, listening to the Other, aid, hospitality and consensus – allow the acquisition of behaviours and notions appropriate for the prevention and resolution of conflicts. On this matter, I would like to refer to some Mandingo expressions: we say that "men are born in the world by the hands of men, and they leave the world by the hands of men". We also say "I am a human being not because I think so, but it is the other's glance which confers on me the quality of being human".

Citing David Crystal, I would like to say that "diversity occupies a central place in theories of evolution, since it allows a space to survive in different environments. The current uniformization presents dangers for the long-term survival of one species. The strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diversified. If the multiplicity of cultures is a necessary condition for successful human development, the preservation of linguistic diversity is essential because written and spoken languages are the principal mode of cultural transmission."[2]

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Globalization should be perceived as a factor of enrichment and reinforcement of intercultural relations. However, today it presents itself mainly as a factor in the destruction of diversity and cultural

[2] Translated from French.

pluralism. It is too late now to ask ourselves whether we have to create another world or not, and how one can avoid the uniformization of markets. The main question is to know how to permit all people to gain access to global trade by establishing true bridges between the cultures and languages, and by ensuring better mastery of this process.

We must prevent globalization from becoming a menace to cultural diversity and turn it into a form of richness for all people. The former can be avoided if all cultures, despite their differences and their distance from each other, manage to express themselves. And this is possible thanks to the information and communication technologies. The World Summit on the Information Society marked an occasion to tackle such questions with acuity: it discussed how cultural and linguistic diversity could be promoted through ICTs.

Many citizens of this world have access to knowledge of cultures other than their own. A world enriched by its diversity, a great cultural space, would be the dream held by more and more people on this planet. We are finally waking up to the fact that knowledge and information are common goods to be shared by everyone, with the aim of creating a responsible globalization and destroying all barriers between people. The encounters thus created can be understood as cultural spaces begetting "affinities and alliances which play a fundamental role in civil society through all the systems of 'appropriating' public space as horizon of the twenty-first century's new democracies".[3]

Allow me to insist that the world which we must construct must be a successful synthesis of the different "humanisms" and different markets. This means that men and women must manage to humanize their markets, to bring about a humanized globalization. One must clearly say that globalization forces us to redefine our ways of living together. Current events have created different worlds and a new geopolitical situation. Beyond wars on terrorism, do we need a clash of cultures? We must manage to understand that every clash is an encounter, but that each encounter should occur without being a clash.

It is the battle of (cultural) identities which leads to a clash. As Hubert Védrine has written, we are engaged in a "ritual exorcism, that is, the dialogue of cultures".[4] Instead of conceiving an ideal frame of interaction between cultures, reaching beyond cold inter-state or mercantile relations, we only see the meeting of cultures as a potential threat, owing to violent encounters. Two visions are generally juxtaposed, each of them reductionist: the theory of the "clash of civilizations" which reflects people's withdrawal into their respective identities, and the vision of a global village which is an euphoric perception of globalization.

As Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, former Director-General of UNESCO, said in his opening speech at the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa, held in Accra in 1975, "National lan-

[3] Translated from French: Eduardo Delgado, "Vers une nouvelle articulation des espaces linguistiques et culturels" in *Coopération, Diversité et paix. Actes du IIe Colloque international des Trois espaces linguistiques Mexico, 2-4 avril 2003* (Mexico, 2003), p. 74

[4] Hubert Védrine, "Comment nier le choc Islam-Occident?" in Le Monde, 27 February 2003

guages and traditions are two of the most authentic African values. [...] Oral tradition explains the world, history, social organization, techniques, human relations and relationships among neighbours".[5]

In order to confront the new ignorances created, to some extent, by new challenges and by a bad conception of the market, we have to resort to languages – to all languages. They also constitute a means of measuring the exercise of democracy. It is therefore indispensable to translate the universally recognized values into all languages and to introduce them into educational systems all over the world.

In a knowledge economy (as represented by today's world), with all the changes brought about by globalization and the digital revolution, education must form the basis. Education – understood in its wider meaning – remains the most appropriate track for responding to the challenges of new ignorances. After all, in all educational systems, "learning to know", "learning to do", "learning to live together" and "learning to be" constitute essential principles. The educational systems of African countries have been confronted with all of these new challenges, and the participants at the Dakar Forum have forcefully pronounced "the necessity for curriculum transformation to give children, youth and adults the type of quality education that promotes appreciation of diversity, richness and dynamism of our cultures, with a goal to liberate us from psychological, economic and technological dependency".[6]

We should foster the potential competencies of young people through graphic arts, painting, music, etc. It is already at school that the young child acquires or develops its creative skills, and it is there that it develops its imagination. "The almost complete absence of artistic education in schools today is extremely detrimental to the mental and psychological balance of Africans, who are often ignorant both of the cultural and aesthetic values of their traditional environment and of the aesthetic laws of so-called modern civilization." [7]

Education – understood in its wider meaning – remains the most appropriate track for responding to the challenges of new ignorances.

With art knowing no frontiers, artistically skilled people are animated by pacific sentiments. This is why education must, as proposed by UNESCO, put the accent on:

- the appreciation of differences and of cultural diversity;
- the restoration of unjustly marginalized cultures;
- the acceptance of culture as a dynamic phenomenon.

[5] Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, *Speech at the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa* (UNESCO, 1975)

[6] *Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments* (UNESCO, 2000), p. 27

[7] Jean-Pierre Guingané, "Artistic Education in Sub-Saharan Africa" in Art and society: topical questions; the new technologies, funding and artistic education, (UNESCO, 1999), p. 147.

With regard to the second point, allow me a short digression: in his contribution to this publication, Dr Nizami refers to the long tradition of higher education in Timbuktu. Who knows where Timbuktu is? Not many people, and yet, everyone knows where Berlin or Paris are. Timbuktu is in Mali, my native land. In the majority of African schools, however, African history has for a long time been taught as if it had started in 1885, at the time of the Berlin Conference held by the colonizing countries. The division of Africa led to the contemporary map of Africa. Yet, at the same time, there was historical and social continuity through languages and cultures, which transcended the division of countries by artificial borders. I believe that we cannot learn how to live together if we do not learn to know ourselves and to recognize each other.

We will all agree that only the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity and of a dialogue among civilizations can save our world form the chaos towards which it is inexorably moving.

In this context, I would like to draw attention to UNESCO's guiding principles on languages and education in the framework of the setting of its *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*. They include:

i) Mother-tongue instruction as a means of improving educational quality by building upon the knowledge and experience of the learners and their teachers.

Do you know that Africa is the only continent in the world where children begin their schooling in a language different from the one they speak at home? How can these children be anchored in their cultures, if they are aggressed in their educational process by a language they are obliged to learn (learning new sounds, signs and meanings)? Do you know that Africa is the only continent in the world where an indictee called to trial is obliged to use an interpreter, even if the judge and the indictee speak the same language?

ii) Bilingual and/or multilingual education at all levels of education as a means of promoting both social and gender equality and as a key element of linguistically diverse societies.

iii) The use of language as an essential component of inter-cultural education in order to encourage understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights.

These three guiding principles should be part of the world's educational systems, as well as forming the basis of a global educational project. For this reason, I propose that – beyond the annual reports, conferences and meetings – we finally act concretely: we should establish a world educational project, built around what I will call the major teaching actors:

The first major actor is the family. It is necessary that at the family level, we restore the major positive values which enable the encounter with others through communication. These values are primarily founded on solidarity, sharing, on listening to the other and recognizing the other.

The second major actor is the school. All educational programmes and contents should be revised all over the world so that we can finally teach a true history of the world. That way, people would know that the Empire of Mali existed and that it extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Lake Chad. It

would also become known that in the thirteenth century, oral tradition reports that a major meeting took place around the year 1236 at Kurukan-Fuga square near Kangaba – a place which you do not know, but which you should know. This meeting issued what one could call the first Universal Declaration of Human Rights long before 1789 and 1948. It is essential that school teaches such developments and events – that school no longer teaches about wars and conflicts. School should raise students' awareness of the common histories in various cultural spaces.

The third major actor is constituted by associations with an educational purpose. Educational systems are important – but in every part of the world, in cities, in the countryside, we need associations which promote another vision of the Other, another relation with the Other as well as the positive values of meeting the Other and of listening to him or her. Their work would help us move away from conflicts, so that we re-learn to say, "I am a human being – not because I think, but because the way you see me makes me a human being". The political parties should also be involved in education for citizenship and democracy so that people can learn how to live together.

Lastly, the fourth and probably most important actor: the media. It is time for the media to find its vocation in presenting the world's civilizations and cultures and not the dramas, genocides and wars. It is dramatic in this world to see that one is killing the children, our future.

"New literacies" mean first of all to learn about the Other: they are the knowledge and the recognition of the history, the culture and the language of people who have been oppressed for decades or centuries all around the world.

This programme will make it possible to initiate an essential change. I must say that, when speaking about "new ignorances", we basically speak about the cruelty of the behaviours of those who kill our children, who destroy our cultural memory, who attack our tangible and intangible heritage. "New literacies" mean first of all to learn about the Other: they are the knowledge and the recognition of the history, the culture and the language of people who have been oppressed for decades or centuries all around the world. It is important that one knows that one cannot learn how to live together if one does not know oneself, if one is afraid of the Other, if one refuses to approach the Other and if one persists being unaware of him/her in one's everyday acts.

It seems to me that it is necessary that the international conscience awakes. I am always told that I must know what occurs in Berlin, in Paris, in Washington, in New York, in London. However, I know that people do not know what occurs in Maputo, in Luanda, in Brazzaville, in Bamako, in Dakar, etc. As long as that this state of affairs prevails, there will be no dialogue, no meeting, no knowledge, and even less recognition. Learning to live together initially means to learn how to listen and to respect the other. It also means to accept that together we can have a different glance on the same reality, thus jointly

building a world of solidarity, peace and dialogue. I think that there is only one way to avoid the dehumanization of interpersonal relations which we are currently experiencing: the humanistic societies (which still exist in this world) can help the industrialized societies (which have forgotten these human relations) to restore this true relation of conviviality amongst men and women.

OLE HENRIK MAGGA (NORWAY)
Chairman of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and
Professor of Saami Linguistics

Ole Henrik Magga has been Chairman of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues since 2002. Professor Magga's academic work focuses on Saami linguistics, education, history, culture and politics; he is currently professor of Saami Linguistics at the Saami University College in Guovdageaidnu. Prior to this, Ole Henrik Magga was a Professor in Finno-Ugrian languages at the University of Oslo and of Saami Linguistics at the University of Tromsø. Having focused on the rights of the Saami people for a long time, he was an Executive Member of the Nordic Saami Council from 1976 to 1978, and the first President of the Saami Parliament from 1989 to 1997. In 1975, Ole Henrik Magga was a delegate to the founding conference of the World Council of Indigenous People. Professor Magga was also a member of the World Commission on Culture and Development, which published the report *Our Creative Diversity* in 1995.

The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues was established in 2002; it has the mandate to discuss indigenous issues relating to economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights. Numbering some 370 million and spread throughout all habitable continents and some 70 states, indigenous peoples interface with today's world, while maintaining rich cultures and identities as groups, grounded in a common past and aspiring to a common future. Statistics indicate that indigenous peoples are the most disadvantaged of groups according to all social indicators (education, health, housing, employment, life-expectancy). They are among the world's most marginalized, among the poorest, with health risks disproportionately higher than the rest of the population, with poor formal education and high unemployment. Besides facing social exclusion, indigenous peoples are affected by internal conflict, killed, enslaved, further impoverished, internally displaced or fleeing as refugees, or simply migrating in large numbers within or across borders.

Given that indigenous peoples in most cases are poor and marginalized, we need to remind the world community again and again of the reasons for this. As we all know, this is the outcome of a long historical process. In 1537 Pope Paul III decreed in the Papal Bull Sublimus Deus that "Indians are truly men and …are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property…should the contrary happen, it shall be null and of no effect". Although these principles were adopted in Spanish and Portuguese law at that time, development took a completely different direction. Colonization and now globalization have seen indigenous peoples from all over the world denied their rights to their territories and resources.

The only way of learning to live together is based on knowledge of one another's lives, thoughts, dreams and aspirations. And there is some hope: I have seen in my country how a new relationship is developing between our people, the Saami, and the majority people after over 1,000 years of ignorance. During the past 25 years, I have personally worked and struggled very hard to give my people a voice in the education system and in the media. The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues has seen education and information as a basic tool in the process of improving indigenous peoples' lives. In the field of culture and education, we have called upon UNESCO and other international bodies and organizations working in this field. In our first session in 2002, we referred to this: the Forum invited

"UNESCO to guarantee the indigenous educational methods, views and psychology in its plans of action and should influence the government through its Education and Culture representatives to facilitate opportunities of access to education, coverage and educational quality for indigenous children and young people through grants, academic opportunities or a pertinent curriculum. Due respect be given to the teaching in indigenous languages. Indigenous peoples seek the recognition of their rights to their history, languages, oral traditions, stories and writings, of their traditional indigenous medicinal methods and of the contribution of their own names for peoples and places."

The only way of learning to live together is based on knowledge of one another's lives, thoughts, dreams and aspirations.

Furthermore, the Forum requested that

"Governments include in their programs and plans and in their educational and cultural policies the contents of indigenous knowledge, indigenous spiritual and religious traditions, indigenous customs and ceremonies as well as indigenous history, vision of the cosmos, philosophy and values."

In 2003, the Forum recommended UNESCO to "hold a world forum on education and indigenous peoples with participation of indigenous peoples that would contribute, inter alia, to enriching the indigenous education concepts and the pedagogic practices". UNESCO was also asked to invite indigenous experts and specialists to its education forums, congresses, conferences and meetings so as to ensure the recognition and contribution of indigenous scientific and technological knowledge. Indigenous peoples do not come to you only with problems for you to solve: we come with our own answers and they ask your assistance in ensuring that these solutions are systematically and fully implemented. For indigenous peoples, the most important knowledge is the knowledge of the interconnectedness of all that was, that is and that will be, the vast mosaic of life and spirit and land/water forms, which all humankind is an intricate part of. We have a rich reservoir of knowledge as a part of our cultures. We want to preserve it and to develop it – and we want to share it to the benefit of all humankind.

The World Summit in the Information Society (WSIS) took place in Geneva from 9 to 12 December 2003. In cooperation with the WSIS, the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues organized a Global Forum for Indigenous Peoples and the Information Society from 8 to 11 December. As an outcome, it agreed upon a *Declaration of Indigenous Peoples and the Information Society* as well as an action plan. The second phase of this process will be entered in Tunis in 2005. We need and we want to take part in the development of new possibilities for the information society.

In this field we can both contribute and benefit from new opportunities. However, most indigenous communities lack the economic and organizational resources needed to become an equal member of the world community. Again and again we are forced to realize that the most basic need is to ensure the implementation of basic human rights for indigenous peoples, both on individual level and on collective level. During the current three-year term, the Forum has received reports about atrocities committed against indigenous peoples in many countries. We repeatedly urged the United Nations system, including the Security Council, to take appropriate action. At the ECOSOC meeting this year, some governments have objected to our dealing with these issues.

For indigenous peoples, the most important knowledge is the knowledge of the interconnectedness of all that was, that is and that will be.

According to article 1 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* of 1966, recently referred to by the United Nations Human Rights Committee also in connection with the rights of indigenous peoples, a people should in "no case (...) be deprived of its own means of subsistence" (CCPR and CESPR 196 art. 1). However, this is exactly what happens: we lose our means of subsistence. Therefore, if we wish to cure the disease, it is insufficient to deal with removing the symptoms of a disease – we need to analyze and address the very cause of the disease. This is the most important challenge. At its sessions in 2002, 2003 and 2004, the Forum called upon the states to adopt the draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples before the end of the International Decade of

the World's Indigenous Peoples (1995-2004). The Draft deals with the rights of indigenous peoples in the spirit of the 1966 human rights conventions. And article 16 of the draft directly concerns the issues of old and new ignorances:

"Indigenous peoples have the right to have the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations appropriately reflected in all forms of education and public information. States shall take effective measures, in consultation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to eliminate prejudice and discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all segments of society."

Many indigenous peoples inhabit regions of high biological diversity. In fact, through our interactions with our traditional territories indigenous peoples actually increase bio-diversity. In the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), the Organization's Member States noted the linkages between biological diversity, cultural diversity and linguistic diversity. Indigenous peoples are active proponents of this diversity. Without this diversity, the world faces both linguistic, cultural and environmental homogenization and the treasure of difference risks being lost forever.

UNESCO carries out an important work by developing binding principles which aim at securing and furthering diversity. I also want to mention the important contribution from UNDP in the 2004 Human Development Report, entitled *Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*. I ask that we all strive together to ensure that indigenous peoples are visible and that we are given the opportunity to participate in matters that affect us. Quality in life for indigenous peoples means that our everyday life is based on our own culture, our knowledge, our own languages and learning/teaching traditions. From this platform, our peoples will be able to reach for the best in the global garden of knowledge. This is the path to true development as presented in UNDP's Human Development Report and advocated by many distinguished economists, development experts and the World Commission on Culture and Development: a "process that enhances the effective freedom of the people involved to pursue whatever they have reason to value". We are well aware of the challenges and limitations. Indigenous peoples are too often forgotten by governments and the international community. Visibility and equality are closely linked. Open resistance is not the worst thing – neglect is in fact much worse.

Steve SEIDEL (United States of America)

Director of "Project Zero" at the Harvard Graduate School of Education

Since July 2000, Steve Seidel has been the Director of "Harvard Project Zero" at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. It is the goal of this educational research group to understand and enhance learning, thinking and creativity in the arts, both at an individual and an institutional level. Having worked in both the arts (especially theatre) and education, Mr Seidel's main concern is the linkages between art and theatre on the one side, and education on the other. One focus in this respect has been on pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds. In addition to directing the "Project Zero", Dr Seidel is a Research Associate and Lecture at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Key articles of his include "Wondering To Be Done," in *Assessing Student Learning: From Grading to Understanding* (1998) and "Learning from Looking" in *With Portfolio in Hand: Validating the New Teacher Professionalism* (1998).

The title of this chapter – "Learning to live together through arts and languages" – provokes reflection on the words "ignorance" and "ignoring." In English, "to ignore" is understood as a wilful act of not noticing, of "turning a blind eye" on that which one does not want to acknowledge or interact with. This suggests an understanding of ignorance as not only that which one quite innocently knows little or nothing of, but that which one wilfully refuses to acknowledge. "Wilful blindness" is not an innocent act. And it is this kind of "wilful blindness" that comes to my mind when I think of "ignoring diversity."

Diversity in this context seems to have many possible meanings. Certainly, to speak of diversity calls to mind the varieties of human cultures on this planet. Ironically, as our world gets smaller, by virtue of travel, the media, and the Internet, differences among peoples and cultures both become more obvious and less defined. As our world gets smaller, we come into more contact with people we think of as different. At the same time, as we interact with people of different cultures, new cultures – combinations of older cultures – are invented and, in some ways, cultures become homogenized. In earlier times, when fewer people ever left the communities of their births, people simply were not confronted as often by those who were different from themselves.

But there are other meanings of diversity and these are associated with the arts and languages. In particular, I am thinking of the great variety of ways in which the arts provide us with multiple languages to express our attempts to make sense of the complexities of human experience. Artists invent new languages all the time, particularly through the use of new media or the use of old media in new ways.

Loris Malaguzzi, the founder of the remarkable pre-schools in Reggio Emilia, Italy, talked of the "hundred languages of children," referring to the many ways children find to communicate their thoughts, feelings, and perceptions. This leads to a key topic of this essay, namely "the education of the eye." In order to understand and truly make sense of the "hundred languages of children" or the countless languages of the diverse media used by artists to create their works, we must become "literate," we must "educate our eyes" to read those works. The richness of children's art yields itself no more easily than the richness of any art work hanging in a museum. I do not believe it is easy to develop this kind of literacy – in fact, I think it is quite hard. However, I do think it is possible. And I do think it is essential to learning to live together in this complex, difficult, and unsettling world.

The playwright, poet, and professor of literature at Harvard, William Alfred, once gave a series of lectures on several of the Greek tragedies. At the end of a remarkable analysis of these plays, he concluded that perhaps the most important message the plays deliver to us as human beings, across the centuries, is that we need to grapple with the fact that, as he said, "we are slow to learn." The engine of a tragedy, he suggested, is that we fail to learn what we need to know in time to save our lives. The

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playwright sees what the central character needs to learn. As does the audience. As do other characters in the play. We can all see what will happen if these lessons are not learned, but we are powerless to affect the situation. So we watch, in fascination and horror, as Othello or Lear or Medea refuse to see (is this "wilful blindness"?) what has become obvious to the rest of us…and then it is too late. At least, this is one interpretation of what happens in a tragedy. I believe we are living in a time of many tragedies and a period with the potential for far more tragedy…if we are too slow to learn what we need to learn in order to save our lives. In a drama, the failure to learn is most often an individual's failure, though that failure may cost many lives. On the international stage, it is often a failure to learn on the part of both individuals and entire populations that leads to tragedies. In the United States, we are struggling to learn from our recent experiences. The lessons are hard. We are a frightened and confused nation and fear is a particularly powerful inhibitor of learning. The costs of our failure to learn are catastrophic, and this is not a play. So I am glad that we are meeting here in the context of an attempt to address multiple "ignorances."

I travel between pessimism and optimism. In all honesty, I sometimes feel that my pessimism is far more grounded in actual evidence than my optimism. But I am an educator. That simple statement is, in itself, an expression of optimism. I believe in the human capacity to learn. The idea of a pessimistic educator seems to me oxymoronic. Education is a fundamentally hopeful enterprise…or it should be. Through this article, I would like to share some thoughts drawn from the two major periods in my career in education – that of an artist/teacher and that of an education researcher.

I spent seventeen years teaching and making theatre with working-class high school students. I felt in many ways that I was a language teacher. Most of my students had never participated in making theatre. Many had seen very little, or any, live theatre. Learning the syntax, grammar and vocabulary of the theatre was challenging and thrilling to them. Theatre is a language designed to describe complex human experiences, especially the complex emotional and moral dimensions of human experience. Many of my students had never had access to a language so well designed to communicate those critical aspects of their lives. Learning theatre gave these young people a language with which to communicate that, once learned, allowed them to speak eloquently to a large number of people.

Interestingly, theatre is a language much easier to learn to read than it is to speak. In other words, learning to be a good audience member for the theatre is relatively easy; learning to make effective theatre is far more complex. But learning to read many kinds of art work can be very difficult. It requires a special form of literacy. I have been approaching this problem of learning to read art works from an interesting angle in my work as an education researcher – that is, from studying children's art works.

About sixteen years ago, I began to work as an education researcher, trying to understand much more completely how people learn. With echoes in my head of William Alfred's suggestion that "we are slow to learn," my research reminds me that learning should never be taken for granted. Learning is difficult, especially when we are talking about learning as the significant evolution or transformation of

fundamental ideas, theories, or beliefs. Ironically, it seems that as we get "older and wiser" we may actually learn less and less and have a much harder time changing our minds about any of our important understandings of the world. Learning languages is definitely far more difficult as we grow older.

My colleagues and I have been trying to understand how to improve teaching, specifically, how to teach with the goal of helping students achieve deep understandings, not just accumulate information and skills. We have been trying to understand how children understand and make sense of the world, especially those aspects of the world that are strange or foreign to them and might not make sense right off. For example, why do some things float when others don't? It is not, as many children theorize, a result of the size of the object – some very big things float and some very small things sink. Interestingly, when confronted with evidence that clearly contradicts their theories, most children find ways to explain away the evidence and hold on to their original theories. This is not all that different from most adults. Whether it is sinking or floating, the plays of Shakespeare, or why nations go to war, children, like adults, develop theories and – like adults – have a very hard time changing their minds.

Ironically, it seems that as we get "older and wiser", we may actually learn less and less and have a much harder time changing our minds about any of our important understandings of the world.

My colleagues and I have come to believe that it is essential to understand children's understanding if we are to help them construct new ideas to replace their old ideas. In this process, we need to provide them with many opportunities to share their thinking, to consider various kinds of evidence, to create theories and test them out, and to encourage them to take pleasure in considering the ideas and theories of others, even to enjoy changing their minds.

My interest in understanding children's ways of understanding the world has extended into the close examination of the things children make in school. For me, this has meant a special focus on children's art works, though we have also looked at many other kinds of academic work as well. After almost 15 years of looking at student work with countless teachers, I will argue that most of us are significantly illiterate when it comes to reading student work. We "ignore" that which is not easy to "correct" or critique. This is a particularly tricky, even dangerous, form of "ignoring diversity" when we refuse to attend to that which is different from what we expected or can easily explain. The student work that does not fit our expectations gets labelled as "wrong" or gets ignored – in other words, we become "wilfully blind" to it. And once their work is ignored, it is very hard to convince our students that we are truly interested in them and their minds. They know that their work is a product of their hearts and minds. When we do not care about those products, they figure we do not care about them and all too often lose interest in caring about their work, too.

We have therefore worked to develop both processes/protocols for the close examination of student work, and the creation of settings in which to conduct those conversations. This is what I consider the "education of the eye." The regular practice of collaborative study of student work is an exercise in seeing more and seeing what might have once remained invisible to you. We have created protocols for these conversations. I will not explain them in detail, but I will note several elements of these protocols that have proven especially valuable in "educating our eyes."

First, we look at the work with others. Starting with description, we are more concerned with what we can see and point out to others rather than with our judgments of the work. In fact, we practice withholding our judgments throughout the examination of the work on the theory that our judgments – whether we consider the work good or bad, whether we like the work or not, and so on – actually get in the way of our ability to see what is there in the work. We listen to each other's descriptions and, invariably, one of us will draw the others' attention to aspects of the work that would have been missed otherwise.

Second, we actively seek to identify questions we have about the work. The descriptions provoke our curiosity. Why did this young sculptor choose this subject? Why did that young painter choose those colours? Why did those muralists use that technique for creating perspective? And we always ask ourselves what we think the student was working on. What was she trying to achieve? What technique was he trying to master? What were they trying to communicate? And we are always interested in what surprises us about the work...and why we are surprised. When our expectations are challenged, we fight to keep ourselves open to new ideas, possibilities, and understandings. Sometimes we even change our minds about things we had previously believed. That does not happen quickly, of course, but we have, for example, come to believe that young children have capabilities that we had not expected. For example, we came to believe that children's work in the arts is best understood when approached as one would approach the work of serious and accomplished artists. In the United States, this is simply not a common perspective on young children and art-making.

For example, a painting produced by a young girl was shown to different groups of people. When examining this work, many interpretations emerged about what was being represented: some saw the sun, others the moon. One person saw a fried egg and a piece of bacon. Another saw, on the left, the back of a giraffe's neck. Another saw a pier extending out over water from an aerial view. Others saw a tower. When I subsequently shared other works done by the same young artist in the same series of paintings, many more ideas about what she is working on emerged. Sometimes people will suggest that she was working on mixing colours and, indeed, based on our interviews with this child, we know that she was quite concerned with figuring out how to mix colours. In fact, she seems to have stopped working on the series at the ninth painting because, she says, she finally "got the brown I wanted."

Now, this is particularly challenging for some adults because Sophia, the artist of these works, was seven years old when she made these paintings and there is a belief in the United States, among

some people, that children of that age are not capable of mixing colours with any intent and control. Despite this evidence to the contrary, some of these educators, like the children who insist that size is what determines which objects will sink or float even as they watch rocks sink and large boats float, insist that Sophia is an aberrant child or a puppet of the teacher or both.

Why am I sharing this work with you and discussing at such length these inquiries into children's art work? I believe these principles for the close examination of student work – withholding judgments, the quest for questions, and the embrace of surprises, among others – suggest some useful ways to approach the "education of the eye."

I want to argue that the literacies we need to develop in order to live together in a globalizing world require that all of us, not just the young, learn how to read in a new and deeper way – seeking surprises, embracing confusions, and engaging in confrontations with our ignorance. The new literacy demands that we do not "ignore" what is in front of us, that we "educate our eyes" and reject the impulse to "wilful blindness". This is hard. It makes us uncomfortable. It provokes arguments and can be very unsettling.

In 1975, the American philosopher Nelson Goodman gave a talk about the educational role of the art museum. He argued that most people did not know how to read the works in art museums and that "the museum has to function as an institution for the prevention and cure of blindness in order to make works work. And making works work is the museum's major mission". Since my article has dealt with the difficulty of teaching for understanding – in other words, the difficulty of deep learning and the relative ease of ignorance – I would like to cite a paragraph from Goodman's talk:

"Works work when by stimulating inquisitive looking, sharpening perception, raising visual intelligence, widening perspectives, bringing out new connections and contrasts, and marking off neglected significant kinds, they participate in the organization and reorganization of experience, and thus in the making and remaking of our worlds. If that sounds grandiloquent, I must insist that I am not romanticizing or rhapsodizing here, not talking of ecstasy or rapture or the miraculous or the visionary, but calling attention to down-to-earth facts abundantly attested by observation, by able writers on art, and by psychological experiment. The myths of the innocent eye, the insular intellect, the mindless emotion, are obsolete. Sensation and perception and feeling and reason are all facets of cognition, and they affect and are affected by each other. Works work when they inform vision; inform not by supplying information but by forming or re-forming or transforming vision; vision not as confined to ocular perception but as understanding in general."

With that I will conclude and simply note that, as Goodman suggests, art works have a special potential for being catalysts of understanding – but we have to know how to read them. We must engage in an "education of the eye" that may be a critical element of the new literacies. This is as much a matter of spirit and will as it is of any technical mastery of grammar, syntax, or symbol systems. It is a rejection of "wilful blindness" and an embrace of truly seeing what is front of us, however strange or unsettling. And it is, I believe, an act of hope.

IV. TOWARDS NEW AND RE-EMERGING FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION? HUMAN RIGHTS LITERACY FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

HÉCTOR GROS ESPIELL (URUGUAY)
Professor Emeritus at the University of the Republic
and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay

Héctor Gros Espiell is Emeritus Professor of Law at the University of the Republic, Montevideo. From 1990 to 1992, he was the Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs and subsequently served as his country's Ambassador to France and as Permanent Delegate to UNESCO. Following a career in law and in the diplomatic service of Uruguay, Professor Espiell became the Secretary-General of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) in 1973 and remained in this position until 1981. In the 1980s, his different functions included Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (1980), Judge on the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organization (1981 to 1990) and Director of the Inter- American Institute of Human Rights (1985 to 1989). His many publications include *Temas internacionales* (2001), *Uruguay: el equilibrio en las relaciones internacionales* (1995), and the study *The Right to Self-Determination: Implementation of United Nations Resolutions* (1980).

With regard to human rights, some people have said that we are facing a "clash of ignorances", rather than a "clash of civilizations". And indeed, as far as human rights are concerned, reciprocal ignorance plays an essential role: ignorance of human rights can cast a shadow over globalization. Globalization has a positive and a negative side, and we have to understand both sides if we are to establish appropriate human rights strategies.

What is the positive side? Globalization has shown the need to find a universal interpretation of the concept of human rights. Human rights in today's world – leaving aside the question of whether they are respected or not – are based on the notion of universality. You cannot identify a human right in one civilization and deny its existence in a different civilization – inherently, human rights are meant to be universal. Human rights as a whole stem from the basic notion of human dignity. This idea of human dignity as a source of human rights is fairly new. The first time that the word "dignity" was actually used in an international instrument was in 1944, in the Philadelphia Declaration of the International Labour Organization, followed by the United Nations Charter and, in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. From then on, no international instrument or document, be it regional or universal, omitted mentioning human dignity as the source of inspiration for all human rights. This is, therefore, the way we overcame the di- or trichotomy according to which human rights have one source for one particular civilization, and other sources for other civilizations. Today, conceptually, it is universally admitted that human dignity is the source of all human rights *all over the world*. Nonetheless, this universal aspect of human rights does not mean that we should forget diversity either. For this reason, universality and diversity are two factors, which dovetail together in a dialectic and mutually enriching relationship. We cannot have true universality, which of course should never be monolithic or imperialistic, without equally recognizing the wide diversity of culture. Universality underpins diversity, and without diversity you will not have real universality. It is hence a positive aspect of globalization that we have reached a universal concept of human rights, without prejudices regarding the recognition of diverse cultures and the special features pertaining to spiritual, regional, traditional, religious groups and universes.

We cannot have true universality, which of course should never be monolithic or imperialistic, without equally recognizing the wide diversity of culture.

What is globalization's negative side with regard to human rights? The profoundly negative facet – which can be seen in the current political and military crisis we are immersed in today – is the notion that human rights are a Western idea. It is said that human rights belong to only one culture of the many which we find in today's world. As a Western concept, it is linked to a certain tradition or certain religious ideas. Therefore, the big danger is that the imperialism of the human rights idea is linked to a specific philosophy. The only way to avoid the tragic consequences of reducing the concept of human rights to an idea that exists only in one part of the world – which happens to be the most military powerful or the most economically powerful part of the world – is to affirm the idea of universality based on diversity.

The Importance of Teaching Human Rights in Today's World

It is important to teach human rights in today's world. There are certainly similarities and differences with regard to traditional teaching in this field. First of all, for many years it was thought that the teaching of human rights was basically a legal issue, which should be taught only in universities' faculties of law. This is a double mistake: human rights are a legal issue, but not exclusively so. This may mean to adopt a "legalistic thought", with which Latin American thought has been associated (this may be open to criticism and yet true), namely that by using legal rules and regulations, social, human and economic problems can be solved. This is not true. There is a legal side to human rights, but this legal side is just part of the picture, rather than the whole picture itself. Without the necessary material conditions for human rights to prosper, legal norms do not have any meaning. Legal norms have a real importance but are not sufficient.

The second mistake is to believe that human rights education is only a university issue. Human rights should of course be taught at universities and faculties, but also in secondary and primary education. In addition to this, they should be taught in informal education at all levels. The media, TV, radio, the press, the family – all these circles are tremendously important when it comes to teaching real human rights. A child who is brought up in a family where violence, coercion and discrimination are predominant, where he/she only sees discrimination of the husband against the wife or vice versa, and will not grow up having a *penchant* for defending human rights. This person will never be able to understand human rights just by reading books, unless he/she experiences human rights, seeing what human rights are in real life. For this reason, the new way of looking at teaching human rights is to provide legal and non-legal teaching. Human rights should not only be taught but also seen to be taught and examples should be given.

For human rights to actually exist and for them to be taught, you require not only legal and moral norms, rules and regulations, but also the basic material conditions which will make human rights possible. The two international covenants on human rights of 1966 (the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, and the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*) recognize this, and their preambles affirm the necessity to struggle for the material conditions that are necessary if human rights are to be respected. Can we really talk about respect of human rights when people do not have food, when people do not have medical care, when they do not have decent labour conditions, when we do not have the instruments to provide people with health care? This is not a materialistic concept of the issue. This is simply to recognize that for human rights to really exist, for a full-integrated life, you do require the basic material conditions in order to make one's life dignified.

New Forms of Discrimination

Equality and non-discrimination have emerged from a single concept. Non-discrimination is simply one side (or is the result) of affirming the basic principle of legal equality of all human beings. For this rea-

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son, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of 1948 affirms that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights in article one. Article 2 is dedicated to the concept of non-discrimination, which directly stems from this notion of equality. Let us go back to 1948 and consider how wise people were then: in those days, people did not know about current forms of discrimination – the 1948 document prohibits all kinds of discrimination based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. It thus leaves the issue open-ended: it provides a list – not an exhaustive list – and gives a few examples. It leaves this list open so that later on other forms of discrimination can be included, taking into account the social, political, economical and cultural changes in society.

Through the subsequent series of declarations and covenants, we have gradually provided ways of fighting against certain kinds of discrimination, for example, racial discrimination, discrimination against women, discrimination against ones political or social opinions.

In addition to all these forms of discrimination, we have seen the birth of other kind of discriminations which are particularly dangerous. Without going into detail, I would like to provide a brief overview. First of all, there is cultural discriminations which was not included in the original list in 1948. In a world with great cultural differences, cultural discrimination is increasingly significant. This means that all states have to carry out specific policies to ensure that discrimination based on different levels of culture should not be used to discriminate negatively against anyone. A second "new" form of discrimination is the so-called "positive discrimination". It means giving preferential treatment to people who are least favoured, so as to provide legal compensation for inequality and theoretically to reach a final stage of equality. Aristotle discussed some of these issues, yet from a legal point of view, positive discrimination is a relatively new way of fighting against negative discrimination.

A form of discrimination for whose combat there is no international regulation is discrimination stemming from migration. Migration is one of the most burning issues today, at a time when entire populations move, with this population movement giving rise to discrimination against immigrants. Even though such discrimination is combated through national legislation, to date, there are no adequate international legal provisions to help in the struggle against immigrant's discrimination in the fields of social security, work and public health.

Finally, another important issue is the matter of genetic discrimination and its importance is increasing with every passing day. This issue was not even a matter for debate until 1997, when the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the *Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights*.

This international instrument was unanimously approved by the General Conference and, for the first time in international law, was one year later unanimously approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Section a) of article 2 of this Declaration says something entirely new: "everyone has a right to respect for their dignity and for their rights regardless of their genetic characteristics." In other words, all human beings are genetically different, except for clones or identical twins. Human beings may not been discriminated based on genetic grounds. This was a groundbreaking declaration. Four years later, another declaration was approved by UNESCO, the *International Declaration on Human Genetic Data*. First of all, the title of Article 7 ("non discrimination and non stigmatization") is very innovative. In international law up to that point, the word "stigmatization" had never ever been linked to non-discrimination. We must hence repudiate discrimination and also repudiate and punish the stigmatization which is based on discrimination. Article 7 says that "Every effort should be made to ensure that human genetic data and human proteomic data are not used for purposes that discriminate in a way that is intended to infringe, or has the effect of infringing human rights, fundamental freedoms or human dignity of an individual or for purposes that lead to the stigmatization of an individual, a family, a group or communities." In other words, genetic data cannot be used to discriminate against us or to stigmatize us. The same idea is more widely developed in another UNESCO declaration, which is currently being drafted, the *Declaration on Universal Norms on Bioethics*. It will be the third column of this "building" on the human genome and human rights.

Conclusion

We need to teach human rights and we need to teach non-discrimination. We must look at these matters in a world which is very different from the world of fifty years ago. We have to examine matters much more closely and be prepared to look at them from different points of view. We need to maintain the same principles as before and we need to apply them to changing realities. Yet we should never forget our responsibility to provide human beings with all the dignity that they deserve. Globalization, of course, is a reality, regardless of whether we desire or oppose it. Different kinds of measures must be adopted to ensure that globalization is not detrimental to cultural diversity. After all, it is cultural diversity that enriches and provides globalization with meaning as well as universality.

FATOUMATA DEMBELE DIARRA (MALI)

Judge at the International Criminal Court in The Hague

Fatoumata Dembele Diarra is currently a judge at the International Criminal Court in The Hague. Prior to this, she served as Ad Litem Judge in the Trial Chamber I at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Following studies in Bamako, Dakar and Paris, Fatoumata Dembele Diarra held a number of positions in the justice system of Mali, most recently as National Director of the Justice Administration (1999 to 2001) and as President of the Criminal Chamber of the Bamako Appeals Court (1996 to 1999). The key focus of Judge Dembele Diarra's legal publications is on women's rights, and she presided over Mali's national preparatory committee for the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995). On 30 December 2001, she received the National Order of Mali.

Discrimination is defined in the "Petit Larousse" dictionary as "the act of isolating and treating differently certain individuals or a group in relation to others". [1]

"Discrimination" can also be defined in a more pragmatic way, and can be considered as inequality brought about by the denial of rights to an individual or a specific group. Discrimination can also manifest itself through the granting of excessive rights to an individual or a group as a way of ranking them above others. Thus some groups in society are privileged to the detriment of others. If understood in this sense, it is difficult to speak of an "emergence" of discrimination, as discrimination has nearly always existed in society.

These different forms of discrimination are linked to the desire of some segments of society to dominate others or to enrich themselves at the expense of others – through the appropriation of their property, their labour capacity, and, in certain cases, through absolute control over their very existence. Most often, this domination is accompanied by the repression of ideas and of any hope of emancipation. In this respect, too, it is more appropriate to speak of the persistence of discrimination, rather than of its "re-emergence". Despite the enduring nature of discrimination, we can nevertheless consider whether new forms of discrimination have emerged.

In the context of this essay, we will not discuss slavery, colonialism and Nazism as possible forms of discrimination, as they undeniably constitute some of the most abject and abhorrent forms of the denial of human dignity. Today, discrimination takes many forms: it manifests itself as exclusion, exploitation, inequality, injustice, violations of fundamental rights and freedoms for certain groups of people, and in one of its most extreme and heinous forms, even as genocide.

Upon adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations General Assembly specified that the declaration was intended

"as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance..." [emphasis added]

Events such as the UNESCO conference on "New Ignorances, New Literacies" contribute to the implementation of these common aspirations, such that the application of the principles proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights may one day put an end to all forms of discrimination. Indeed, subsequent to articles 1 and 2 of the Universal Declaration which explicitly prohibit all forms of discrimination, the Declaration's articles proclaim the entirety of human rights for all human beings. Among others, the rights identified include the rights to life, liberty, security of the person, health, dignity, education, work , family, due process, ownership of property, as well as freedom of conscience,

[1] Please note that this is an unofficial translation of the original French definition of "discrimination" from the *Petit Larousse*, which reads as follows: "l'action d'isoler et de traiter différement certains individus ou un groupe entier par rapport aux autres."

religion and opinion, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and the right to participation in public life.

Currently, in a world that has become a "global village" due to the forces of globalization, there are many people who are not only denied the enjoyment of the rights mentioned above, but who hold little hope of ever enjoying them.

Who are these people, and what forms of discrimination do they endure? What can be done to eradicate the discrimination of which they are victims?

I. Victims and the Nature of the Discrimination They Face

Identifying victims of discrimination necessitates an examination of the different categories of rights and of their varying levels of implementation.

a) Economic Rights

Isolation is an element of the definition of discrimination and is also a consequence of socio-economic inequity and poverty. The fight against poverty is thus also a fight for the achievement of equality and the dignity of every human being. As set out in the preamble of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, which entered into force in 1976 and which thus far has been ratified by 149 state parties,

> "in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights." [*emphasis added*]

It is therefore evident that in order to give meaning to the concrete commitments set out in the Universal Declaration, we must turn our attention to economic and social rights. Victims of misery and socio-economic exclusion cannot hope to enjoy fundamental rights and aspirations. It goes without saying that economically vulnerable people can be found all over the world, but primarily in the countries of the south, living in conditions of extreme poverty. The state of their deprivation is such that it compromises all their other rights. The so-called "globalization" which forms part of our common parlance does not allow all men and women to enjoy the same standard of living, and most certainly does not prevent the continuation – if not the growth – of blatant inequality between a rich minority and the great majority of poor in the world.

The inequalities caused by globalization have been described as follows: "globalization does not render the world a space with clearly delineated borders, but rather a mosaic of zones of prosperity and zones of poverty which fragment and intermingle in perpetuity".[2] The geographic distribution

[2] Translated from Paul Robert, *L'Atlas géopolitique et culturel du Petit Robert des noms propres* (Paris, 2000), p. 108

of poverty is complex, yet is particularly strong in Africa: even though Africa is home to nearly 10 per cent of the world population, its economies constitute less than 2.5 per cent of global trade.[3] Countries such as Mali and Burkina Faso have an annual gross domestic product (GDP) of about 1,000 dollars per person (compared to 28,000 dollars in Japan and 23,474 dollars in France) and their level of debt is 100 per cent of their gross national product (GNP). Children from this region are born into debt and begin their lives disadvantaged by the lack of economic development suffered by the African continent and its crushing burden of debt.

What are the causes of these countries' persisting exclusion from prosperity and from their full enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms? There are numerous factors: firstly, bad governance and weak levels of education and training (or the absence thereof) among the producers of that part of the world are culprits, to which one must add the rudimentary nature of the means of production existing in these regions. In some cases, extreme poverty is aggravated by the phenomenon of "dumping". The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank continue to prescribe purported measures in the name of assistance to these regions to allow them to re-shape their economies.

In parallel to the fact that the world's resources are not equitably distributed, we must also acknowledge that women pay the heaviest price in terms of this unequal distribution, and particularly in cases of economic crisis. Women are always among the most poor, and in general are paid less than men. At a global scale, their pay for work of equal value is on average 30 to 40% lower than that of men.[4] Women are those who carry out the most arduous and thankless tasks, and their role in the home often prevents them from being able to effectively participate in profitable activities or in public life to the same extent as their male counterparts.

The relocation of business is one of the economic manifestations of discrimination. To allow companies to produce at low cost, factories are relocated from countries where, for example, the hourly wage is 15.00 Euros (France) only to be established in countries where workers are paid only 4,5 Euros (Poland), 3.5 Euros (Brazil) or 0.4 Euros (China).[5]

b) Social and Cultural Rights

The problems of economic under-development faced by the countries of the South are not only linked to low levels of industrialization and to their means of production; they also manifest themselves in the form of health problems, difficulties in accessing necessary medical treatments, a lack of reliable medical services, low levels of schooling, unemployment, and a poor state of public services (security, administration, justice and public transportation). Article 12 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* stipulates "the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health". This provision still remains illusory for the citizens of less developed countries.

[3] Ibid., p. 114
[4] See Janusz Symonides and Vladimir Volodine, *Droits des femmes. Recueil de textes normatifs internationaux* (UNESCO, 1998), 1998, pp. xxv
[5] See report on Journal TV4 , 26 August 2004, 8.30 pm

Furthermore, in many countries fraught by a high incidence of HIV/AIDS, the inability to contain the epidemic leads to a tragic loss of their most dynamic resources – their educators, farmers, professionals, and businessmen and -women. The inequality of access to costly treatments is the consequence of other injustices. The effect is thus a deepening of the chasm that separates the economies of these countries from the economies of the north. We therefore find ourselves in a vicious cycle such that the dire economic situation deprives the populations of less developed countries of basic healthcare, of schooling for their children and of adequate public services. These scourges deny the economies of these countries the indispensable human capital so desperately needed for their emergence and progress.

Article 13 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* assures the "right of everyone to education", recalling that "education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups". Despite this fundamental human right, the distribution of knowledge is unequal and adequate education still remains a privilege granted to only the richest in this world.

Women in particular face significant hardship in terms of access to education, and yet education is the pre-condition to social development and advancement. In fact, of the 130 million children in the world who do not have access to primary education, more than 80 million are girls. Roughly two thirds of the billion of illiterate people in the world are women, and on average, by the time they reach the age of 18, girls have spent 4.4 years less at school than boys.[6]

c) Political and Civil Rights

Despite the protections contained in international human rights instruments– in particular the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* – there remain nevertheless many obstacles to overcome before a more equitable access to civil and political rights can be achieved.[7] In countries where people die of hunger, illness and poverty, what hope do citizens have to participate in public life, or even to enjoy those basic fundamental rights proclaimed in the international instruments?

With the exception of a handful of European states, women are excluded from political life – or are meagrely represented – and inequalities therefore remain a reality. According to statistics provided by the Interparliamentary Union, women currently represent only 15 per cent of all parliamentarians around the world. [8]

d) Diplomatic Sphere

Socio-economic inequities that exist between individuals and among states are heaped upon discrimination that is diplomatic in nature. The world is divided today into close to 200 states, and the international institutional order, built around the United Nations is itself a place marked by an imbalance of

[6] *La promotion de la femme – Notes pour l'orateur – du Département de l'information, Nations Unies* as cited in *Droits des femmes. Recueil de textes normatifs internationaux,* edited by Janusz Symonides et Vladimir Volodine, (UNESCO, 1998), pp. xxxii.
[7] Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and adhesion by the General Assemby through resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966. Entered into force on 23 March 1976, conforming to the dispositions of article 49.
[8] See the website of the Interparliamentary Union: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm

power and an inequilibrium that distinguishes some states from others. In principle, all states (despite differences in their relative size, rate of development and power), share common interests and have committed to respect the same principles. Yet reality is more complex than this, and the inequality of power within the United Nations, and particularly within the Security Council with its veto right privileging only five permanent members, is a startling reality. Member states of the international community face impasses that are political, economic and security-based in nature, often linked to this unequal sharing of power, and it is evident that weaker countries are frequently disregarded in this system. Military might, economic power and thus political influence continue to be poorly distributed among states. If states are sovereign, they are nonetheless unequal at the level of the United Nations. The most powerful countries are in a position to maintain and even reinforce their hegemony often to the detriment of the greater common good.

II. What Can Be Done to Eradicate Discrimination?

The international community has adopted several legal provisions with regard to equality and the protection of fundamental human rights and liberties. It appears thus that the eradication of discrimination in a globalized world is framed mainly in terms of the implementation of these numerous provisions. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights lists the existing international human rights instruments and this list – available online – comprises more than 100 instruments, without taking into account the instruments that are currently being elaborated, or those developed at the regional or national level.[9]

In examining the norms relating to individual rights, the rights and prerogatives of states as well as those norms governing economic relationships, they appear to provide very broad levels of protection by advocating equality, justice, dignity and respect for all human beings. An instrument specifically dedicated to the fight against discrimination, the *International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*, which entered into force in 1969 and has 169 state parties to date, explicitly recognizes the relationship between discrimination and the maintenance of security and peace. In its preamble, the Convention specifies that

> *"discrimination between human beings on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin is an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and is capable of disturbing peace and security among peoples and the harmony of persons living side by side even within one and the same State."*

Despite the over one hundred instruments – among them over ten instruments specifically dedicated to the fight against discrimination – economic and political inequalities persist around the world. Many individuals barely subsist at the limits of survival, whereas others enjoy a richness and abundance of resources, fully exercising the rights guaranteed to all.

[9] Available at http://www.unhcr.ch

Is it not imperative to reduce the differences between rich and poor? It is evident that a multi-sectorial approach is required and that beyond the implementation of these legal instruments, it is the duty of governments to dedicate resources to improving the quality of life of people living in abject poverty, and to ensure access to education to allow them to regain their dignity. The spread and increasing reach of human rights law and of the legal tools available constitute an important part of a multi-disciplinary strategy against the pernicious effects of globalisation. Both collectively and individually, we have the responsibility to act and to commit to the struggle against exclusion and misery in the name of justice and the respect of human rights, an idea captured by Joseph Wresinski :

"La lumière ne peut être saisie qu'à partir de la nuit totale; de même, on ne peut comprendre et saisir les droits de l'homme qu'à partir de ceux qui en sont intégralement privés. Il devient urgent d'introduire les plus pauvres, leur condition, leur parole, dans la pensée contemporaine sur la société, sur la démocratie, sur les droits de l'homme." [10]

The policies needed to fight poverty must therefore aim to restore decision-making power to excluded people. It goes without saying that in order to defeat exclusion and discrimination, one must begin by understanding the lives of the poor and the most disadvantaged in society. It is in trying to define the concepts of inequality, of extreme poverty and of exclusion that we will be able to better understand human development and to put to an end to this "ignorance of the other".

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As regards the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, we must bear in mind that all those who want to defend individual rights must follow up this will with action so that this text, which was meant to be a charter for everyday life, does not remain a document adorning libraries and conferences. Humanity has achieved victories against slavery, Nazism, and colonialism thanks to the commitment and the foresight of men and women full of good will and promise. These victories remind us that eradication of these present-day scourges on our society are within our grasp. I join UNESCO in its belief in education and awareness-raising as some of the most effective means to reach this objective.

It is evident that the effective application and implementation of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* could put an end to a great number of plagues in our societies which thwart the world today: among them modern forms of slavery, paedophilia, illiteracy, corruption and apathy within public services, economic "dumping", violence against women and children including "honour" crimes, rape, forced pregnancy, the forced enrolment of child soldiers, police violence, torture, lack of healthcare, famine, illegal immigration and expulsions, child trafficking, racism, xenophobia, and genocide.

[10] See "Livres Ouverts" in *Mondialisation et pauvreté. Revue Quart Monde,* no. 175 (2000), p. 57, citing Daniel Fayart and Damien-Guillaume Audollent (eds.), *Combattre l'exclusion,* (Paris, 1999).

I congratulate UNESCO for its initiative as well as all those who are dedicated to the promotion of human rights and who participate actively in efforts made to this end. Your contributions are essential to overcome the obstacles that still exist in the fight for justice and for dignity for all.

Such initiatives aimed at enhancing understanding and the free exchange of ideas, knowledge and experiences are essential to suppress new forms of ignorance that threaten peace today. The UNESCO conference on "New Ignorances, New Literacies" aimed at the identification and the development of new competencies and strategies is a response to the need to eradicate all forms of discrimination and all inequalities that afflict our shared human experience.

Facing the opaque reality of the denial of human dignity to such a sizeable portion of humanity around the world, we can view the establishment of the International Criminal Court as a glimmer of hope. The Court is the first ever permanent institution for the punishment of the most heinous crimes. Even though its recognition faces certain limitiations (97 state parties and the exclusion of economic crimes from its jurisdiction), the International Criminal Court provides for an unprecedented role for victims and represents an important complement to the campaign of education and awareness of the need to end injustices and human suffering. By ending impunity for crimes that incense the collective conscience of humankind, it represents an important step toward a culture of responsibility, and may even act as a means of deterring potential perpetrators of atrocities.

It is evident that the effective application and implementation of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* could put an end to a great number of plagues in our societies which thwart the world today.

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Discrimination is regrettably as old as humanity itself, and it begins in the minds of men and women. It rears its ugly head in all parts of the world, compounded by key imbalances in power relations. Some forms of discrimination, such as racial discrimination and gender-based discrimination, are longstanding. Others are newer and equally disconcerting, and they are identified below. Often and tragically, people are afflicted with not only one form of discrimination but multiple forms. This is evident in the following example: people can suffer discrimination because they are women, because they are women from a minority or indigenous group, because they are with a disability, because they are refugees or migrant workers. There is thus multiple victimization and damage, and the traumas are intergenerational.

The worst excesses of discrimination lead to violence and even war. If peace is to begin in the minds of men, women and children, therefore, it is essential to probe the multi-faceted features of discrimination and to prevent and overcome it by means of human rights advocacy and literacy.

In contemporary forms of discrimination, there are shades of the old, and shots of the new:

1. *Discrimination in relation to individuality.* In principle, individuals around the world are recognized as having basic rights, human rights. These vary from various civil and political rights to economic, social and cultural rights. Often the most visible area of discrimination vis-à-vis individuals is when they seek to act and express themselves differently from group or governmental norms. This is interlinked with freedom of thought, conscience, religion and expression – the linchpins of democracy. It also interplays with individuals who wish to form themselves into groups to advocate their rights – freedom of association and assembly. Yet, they are often suppressed and oppressed at the hands of authoritarianism and state manipulation of the so-called collective interest to silence individual views and aspirations.

Often and tragically, people are afflicted with not only one form of discrimination but multiple forms.

2. *Discrimination in relation to collectivity.* This is linked to the fact and law that groups, peoples – collectivities – also have some rights in their capacity as a group, and yet they find themselves constrained or impeded by at times national actors, at times international actors, at times transnational actors. The most classic case was/is colonization which tramples on peoples' right to self-determination and independence. Today, although that travesty has receded to a large extent, there are new impingements on and infringements of collective rights, particularly those pertaining to minorities and indigenous peoples. This is particularly evident in the conflicts concerning possession, ownership and utilisation of natural resources, and a sense of cultural or ethnic identity.

On another front, there is rampant racism and xenophobia (fear of foreigners) against a whole array of groups on the basis of racial, national, ethnic, religious or social origin. Today, this is much linked with

the plight of ethnic groups, refugees and migrant workers. The worst forms of discrimination, for instance "ethnic cleansing", have led to crimes against humanity, including multiple murders, torture and/or genocide.

3. Discrimination in relation to sexuality. Gender and sexual orientations, manifesting different expressions of sexuality, are faced with age-old chauvinism, conservatism and extremism in some communities. Can the latter be nurtured to become more liberal? Classically, women and the girl child have been discriminated against egregiously. While many advances have been made in relation to reforms of laws which discriminate on the basis of sex/gender (*de jure* discrimination), there remains the lacuna of discrimination in practice (*de facto* discrimination), which needs to be dealt with through a sustained educational and socialization process.

However, in recent years, the world has had to address more directly the issue of sexual orientations, particularly the angle of homosexuality and transgender preferences. Many international and national actors consider homosexuality to be a normality, not abnormality. What then is to be done if there are various cultural or religious doctrines which preach against it? I once had the opportunity to deal with this issue, dialoguing with one religious group. Although we disagreed on whether homosexuality is a sin or not (and I certainly do not accept it as a sin), the religious group, as a middle path, was ready to accept that homosexuality should not be regarded as a criminal behaviour or act. The position of some extremists who wish to persecute homosexuals is thus not acceptable or permissible, and this is also the position of international law and human rights.

Naturally, other issues remain. A key area which has arisen for judicial interpretation in recent years is this: should transgender cases be allowed to change their gender on their birth certificate? There remains a diversity of views on this question, but let the dialogue at least be peaceful, moving step-by-step progressively, not retrogressively.

4. Discrimination in relation to disability. One of the saddest forms of discrimination is the one facing those with disabilities. This varies from legislative anomalies to attitudinal and behavioural patterns which discriminate against those with physical and/or psychological disabilities. How to move towards a more inclusive, and not exclusive society? How to enable children with disabilities to enjoy the benefits of classrooms where they can be together with the other children to learn and play, rather than be segregated and marginalized? What about the ramps and lifts needed for those in wheelchairs? What about those with HIV/AIDS who need anti-retroviral drugs at a reasonable price, and their need to be treated with a sense of dignity at work, in school and in life?

A key issue side by side with discrimination is access and accessibility. This depends on actions to ensure more access and accessibility to and from those with disabilities so that they can enjoy the basics of life on par with other people. The advocacy of the human rights of those with disabilities thus needs stronger concretization through sensitization and mobilization of the public.

5. Discrimination in relation to technology. The march of science and technology brings with it many potential and actual benefits. Yet, it is also a paradox. While science and technology are, in a sense, value-neutral, it is humanity itself which, in the utilization process, often adds the biases and prejudices which result in discrimination and violence. A prominent challenge is bio-technology. While it can offer great rewards, it may also lead to excesses such as distorted "engineering" and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It is therefore a key issue to harness bio-technology to be used ethically. This calls for linking up between a whole variety of actors, not just human rights activists, but also scientists, technologists, ethicists and others, to act as checks-and-balances against abuses.

6. Discrimination in relation to genetic identity. There is the interrelated issue of human genes, science and technology. While advances in gene-related research can help to develop medicines and other instruments to help humanity, there is also a note of caution to be sounded, particularly the fear of gene-based discrimination. On this front, UNESCO has already propelled the global adoption of the Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights 1999, with the following key principles:

– reproductive human cloning shall not be permitted;
– no one shall be subjected to discrimination based on genetic characteristics;
– no research applications concerning the human genome shall prevail over human rights and human dignity of individuals and groups of people.

Interestingly, in Hong Kong, not so long ago there was a court case related to the issue of genetic discrimination. The court decided against the civil service involved in such practice by declaring that it was unlawful to discriminate in employment against persons with a family history of mental illness. Incidentally, the plaintiffs who had been barred from employment showed no signs of mental health problems and no genetic testing was carried out.

Learning from the old with regard to the new is important, particularly to overcome political amnesia. One can recall various attempts to pass eugenics law during the past century which were precursors to genetic discrimination. Some quarters erred (and are still erring), with Frankenstein-like proportions, in believing that humanity should be engineered or re-engineered, in the name of so-called racial purity and public health. This has appeared more recently in the draft law of one country, intended "to avoid new births of inferior quality and heighten the standards of the whole population".

7. Discrimination in relation to Internet activity. In a more modernistic setting, there is the challenge of the Internet, the personification of today's globalization. On the one hand, the Internet is potentially and actually a fabulous communications and educational tool. On the other hand, there is an emerging Internet gap between the haves and the have-nots, the Internet-literate and the Internet-ignorant. This accentuates the discrimination against those who have little access to the Internet, especially in developing countries.

There is another angle to the Internet. Citizens on the Net, alias Netizens, can surely vouch for the enormous power of the Internet as a tool to advocate human rights and democracy; indeed a living,

technological manifestation of freedom of thought and expression. There is an emerging group of cyber-dissidents, alias Net-mocrats, who make great use of the Internet to counter abuses of power and monopolies. Yet, an insidious form of discrimination is also arising due to new laws and new scrutiny against cyber-dissidence. In one country, for instance, it is forbidden to own a computer without permission from the authorities. In another country, a spate of laws and regulations have appeared to curb use of the Internet interrelated with human rights and democracy. The following regulations from one country are obviously intended to dampen liberal aspirations under the national law, as it is a crime to:

– incite to overthrow the government or the Socialist system;
– promote feudal superstitions;
– injure the reputation of State organs;
– spread rumours that could lead to social disorder or damage social stability.

8. Discrimination in relation to security. In today's world after the terrorist attack on New York's Twin Towers in 2001, security is a very prevalent word in national and international discourse. On the one hand, it should be emphasized that terrorism is a crime and a violation of human rights. Precisely because it often targets innocent civilians to pressure governments to make concessions as part of its political blackmail, it embodies a pernicious form of discrimination by using civilians as targets for violence. Yet, one should not ignore the environment behind terrorism. At times, it is a whole series of acts of violence, neglect and discrimination which lead to ultra-frustrations which then lend themselves to terrorist acts. Thus the vicious cycle. Many governments have acted rationally against terrorism. However, some authorities have taken draconian measures which step beyond the rational, and infringe human rights. Some of the new anti-terrorist laws at the national level are currently excessive, and have been used against ordinary civilians rather than terrorists. There is also the appearance of "ethnic profiling" which adds to the discrimination perspective. In this case, the citizens of various countries/regions or ethnic groups are singled out for special scrutiny as "risk" cases which might be involved in terrorism. This is highly discriminatory, inflammatory, and may lead to ethnic backlashes. It is also a travesty of the presumption of "innocent till proven guilty" under the universal Rule of Law, embodying safeguards for all against abuse of power.

It is thus necessary to beware of the ever-changing physiognomy of discrimination, old and new.

In this context, human rights literacy is essential both to prevent and thwart the many-headed forms of discrimination. Guidance on this front is already available. First, there are already a number of universal human rights treaties and declarations which advocate against discrimination. These include the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the 1966 *International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights*, and *on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, the 1965 *Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, the 1979

Human rights literacy is essential both to prevent and thwart the many-headed forms of discrimination.

Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the 1989 *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, and the 1990 *Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families*.

UNESCO has concretized various conventions concerning discrimination in education. Currently, the world is also drafting a new treaty on the rights of those with disabilities, the key thrust of which will be action against discrimination. There is also a variety of international committees and special procedures, such as United Nations Special Rapporteurs, which deal with the issue of discrimination and ways to overcome it. These are complemented by regional conventions and systems to protect human rights.

Second, there are global programmes of action which directly or indirectly try to mobilize the global community against discrimination. One of the most recent is the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference against Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance 2002. Under its umbrella, there is a call for multi-pronged actions including legislation, education, mobilization, participation and socialization against intolerance.

Third, there are already many national constitutions, laws and policies against discrimination, either generally or with regard to specific groups, for example those with disabilities. The laws vary from anti-discrimination laws to laws promoting equal opportunities. Yet, more often than not, it is not the law which is lacking but its weak implementation.

Fourth, there are notable programmes such as human rights and peace education programmes in many countries which address also the issue of discrimination. This has been part of the United Nations Decade on Human Rights Education.

Fifth, various mechanisms and personnel are tackling the issue of discrimination head-on. This is reflected in the work of a growing number of national human rights commissions, equal opportunities commissions, courts of law, and ombudspersons in all regions, which have acted to protect many individuals and groups against discrimination. There is also the key role of civil society, particularly non-governmental organizations, active media and community watchdogs, which act as a vigilant force against discrimination.

Yet, behind all these norms and actions, discrimination, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance regrettably seem to be on the rise in many settings. This is partly due to the fact of globalization itself, which has positive and negative characteristics. On the one hand, globalization is seen as very much linked with liberalizing global trade, commerce and communications. Yet, there is a negative side in terms of the spread of global crime, corruption and unethical conduct, environmental degradation, increasing insecurity in the face of violence/terror, growing intolerance (such as fear of foreigners, especially refugees and migrant workers), at times highly politicized and mediatized for nationalistic vote-gathering and electioneering, dysfunctionality of international and national actions, and double standards practised by various powers-that-be.

It is the issue of education and literacy which must be promoted more extensively, not simply through norms and laws, but also through forming attitudes and behaviours – tolerant and empathetic towards "diversity in humanity".

There is another angle which deserves exploration as the more positive side of globalization: the liberalization of the mind. In this context, it is the issue of education and literacy which must be promoted more extensively, not simply through norms and laws, but also through forming attitudes and behaviours – tolerant and empathetic towards "diversity in humanity". This is best fostered from a young age, not so much by bookish learning but more by "learning by doing", especially experiential learning.

This implies learning processes interacting with life situations, such as to promote student programmes that reach out to different communities, especially on a cross cultural basis. Buddhist, Christian, Muslim and atheist children – and more – should learn and play together. They should also learn to go out into the community to help others, such as through voluntary service or "*pro bono*" programmes. I would call this "proactive" human rights literacy; not simply to know one's rights through education, but also to nurture and act with attitudes and behaviours respectful of human rights, through constructive interaction with other people.

Behind all this, there is the spiritual challenge in the face of globalization. How to foster globalization with a human face? Human rights literacy provides the much needed edge of personal and local sensibility, sensitization and sympathy for others which acts as the key preventive mindset against discrimination. In this manner, globalization should go hand in hand with the process of localization through human rights education and literacy, in terms of encouraging people locally to act as part of a global caucus for human rights. To discard the avaricious type and hype of globalization which eats into our world without compunction, which one Maori writer has called "gobble-ization"!

Now is the time to promote a caring spirit by means of good examples, practices, and peer pressures that add local wisdom to global processes. That healthy mix of localization/globalization, alias "glocalization"!

On a personal note, I would end by adding an example of "learning by doing", as part of human rights literacy against discrimination. Please do not forget to give a warm hug to your children, our children as an example, and start the human rights literacy and sensibility at home, in the home. Why not also reach out to others and set a personalized example for globalization? Offer a caring hug to the other children of the world – in the manner that many of us are very proud to do so, to, for and with the children affected by HIV/AIDS.

V. LEARNING TO LIVE TOGETHER: FIGHTING STEREOTYPES FROM TEXTBOOKS TO THE INTERNET

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In particular in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, textbooks were an instrument to fuel prejudices, to mobilize students for war and to develop racist attitudes, rather than preparing societies for living together peacefully. The great catastrophes in modern history – the politics of colonialism, the First and the Second World War, the Holocaust and many other genocides – were not caused by textbooks, but textbooks time and again helped to legitimize them. In some parts of the world, textbooks inflame ethnic or religious hatred even today. There have been as many attempts to combat this misuse of education. For example, in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars of 1912/13, a now little-known initiative was launched by the American Carnegie Foundation to clear textbooks in the Balkan countries from the stereotypes that had stirred up nationalist sentiments. In the 1920s, teachers' organizations in Germany and France jointly developed alternatives to the official textbooks, which for decades had reinforced the stereotype of Germans and French as so-called "arch-enemies". In the political conditions of inter-war Europe with its many unsettled territorial disputes, its many minority conflicts and its large number of revisionist claims, all these initiatives, however, more or less failed to influence official educational policy.

The idea to use textbooks as an instrument for peace-building, however, was put back on the agenda after World War II. International textbook revision became almost an academic "discipline" as a means of overcoming the legacy of war. In particular in my country, in Germany, which had to come to terms with its responsibility for the Nazi crimes, the idea of freeing textbooks from stereotypes against others became part of the country's endeavours to recognize its responsibilities towards the victims of its war-time policy and to build a peaceful future. With the establishment of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, the idea to eliminate stereotypes from textbooks through international textbook cooperation even received an institutional basis. International institutions such as UNESCO have also encouraged this idea from the beginning. Since then, bilateral or multilateral textbook revision between former countries at war with each other has proven to be a powerful instrument in fighting stereotypes and preparing the young generation for peaceful coexistence. In Germany, for example, joint textbook cooperation with France was inaugurated during the early post-war years, leading very soon to a substantial revision of textbooks on both sides. German-Polish textbook cooperation, starting in the early 1970s under Cold War conditions, almost became an example that even with the legacy of a bitter past and a deep ideological divide, it was possible to improve textbooks for better understanding. Joint textbook cooperation in both cases thus contributed to the overall process of reconciliation. Since long, the German-Polish and the Franco-German textbook commission have moved on from their initial intention to eliminate stereotypes to the production of joint teaching material. A common German-Polish teacher's guide was produced two years ago and is used in schools in both countries, whilst a German-French textbook group is publishing common Internet teaching materials and has even started to produce a joint Franco-German textbook. These two examples might illustrate that joint textbook revision among former "enemies" can not only lead to the elimination of stereotypes but also turn textbooks into a matter of common education.

Many other countries have followed this idea. Not all of them were successful. Despite some initiatives, for example, textbook cooperation between Japan and Korea in order to come to terms with

a disputed historical past still has not materialized, and textbooks time and again have turned into a matter for diplomatic conflict between the two countries. In cases where the memory of experienced violence is still vivid, joint textbook cooperation becomes extremely difficult. The Balkans certainly are an example for that. The attempts to establish textbook cooperation between the three ethnic groups of Bosnia-Herzegovina have only very recently and only under strong pressure made any progress, and they are still facing considerable problems. Where violence is not terminated, textbook cooperation very soon might collapse, as in the Middle East, where the ongoing violence has almost completely undermined the optimistic beginnings of joint Israeli-Palestinian textbook cooperation, which had been introduced after the Oslo peace agreement in the 1990s.

Despite some discouraging experiences, the idea of textbook cooperation certainly has not lost its relevance. It still exercises much power. It can and should be applied whenever two countries have gone through a conflict. But it needs a favourable political environment, a strong elite commitment and general support within the society to be successful and lead to some sustainable results. In this sense, the Franco-German or the German-Polish experience as much as similar examples elsewhere can be taken as a model and a stimulus.

The fight against stereotypes in textbooks has, however, gone beyond the task of overcoming the legacy of past wars and conflicts among states. It faces a much broader agenda and must meet a number of new challenges. These challenges reflect the tremendous changes our contemporary world is confronted with. Some of these changes, imposing new demands on textbooks, might be mentioned here:

For more than a decade, we have been witnessing an increasing number of ethnic violence and internal wars in many parts of the world, and culture often plays a mobilizing role in these conflicts. In these cases, education and textbooks do not only have the responsibility to eliminate stereotypes, which have often contributed to these conflicts, but also to reconcile former neighbours who have turned into murderers. Education and textbooks must help to reintegrate societies which are deeply affected by the traumatic experience of mass murder or genocide. Admittedly, we still know very little about if and how textbooks can contribute to these tremendous tasks. The experiences from countries such as Rwanda, Cambodia or Bosnia and Herzegovina illustrate how difficult it is for textbooks to play a role as a reconciling force in post-genocide societies. Therefore, some societies have simply preferred not to talk about the past violence in their textbooks and in schools. Whether this is a useful approach remains open to discussion.

Furthermore, September 11 and its aftermath have clearly increased the problem of rising cultural distance. It is not only the pitfalls of cultural ignorance we are confronted with, but the danger of serious cultural misperceptions. We are currently facing a tendency to revive scenarios of cultural enmity, and education is far from being free of this tendency.

Finally, globalization and migration confront education and textbooks with hitherto unknown challenges regarding their fight against stereotypes. Our societies are becoming increasingly hetero-

geneous. Growing integration makes mutual understanding and unbiased knowledge about each other a social and even an economic imperative. However, an increase in intercultural contacts also produces the danger of conflicts, in particular if they are accompanied by social inequality. To strive for homogeneity is no longer an option, and therefore, contemporary education can hardly be based on the idea of constructing homogeneity, at least not homogeneity on the basic of ethnicity or culture. Dealing with difference in textbooks will continue to be the major challenge for the future, even in countries which still consider themselves to be homogeneous national states.

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Are we prepared to cope with these challenges in our textbooks? Looking at the European experiences, I hesitate to say "yes". I think we are not prepared, at least not really. Without any doubts, textbooks, not just in Europe or in the so-called "Western" world, have improved substantially over the last decades. They have become more sophisticated in dealing with other cultures. Overt negative stereotypes, racist or religious prejudices, which still could be found some decades ago, may not have disappeared totally from the textbooks – but all in all, they have clearly lost ground in many countries in and outside Europe.

Stereotypes, however, seem to have changed their quality: while openly hostile images are less frequent in the textbooks today, hidden prejudices often remain, and while political or ideological stereotypes have lost their relevance, cultural stereotypes are still present and might even increase. Even where other cultures are treated with a great deal of empathy, they often appear as exotic and as a symbol of "otherness".

Some examples might illustrate what I have in mind: the picture of Africa in German textbooks, for example, is not characterized by any racist prejudices, but – just the opposite – by a great deal of empathy. Colonialism is presented in all its consequences. The responsibilities of the "first world" for the continent's many problems are not ignored. Nonetheless, in its underlying assumptions, the picture of Africa is one-sided and biased: in the textbook, it is a continent predominantly identified with poverty, war and disease – an Africa, which is almost exclusively rural and "non-modern". Driven by a kind of patronizing solidarity, textbooks thus ultimately devaluate African culture and societies against the intention of their authors. A similar conclusion can be drawn from looking at the picture of India in our textbooks. Again, a country, currently going through a tremendous economic change and being increasingly successful in the field of information technology, is still often presented from the perspective of "non-modernity".

The reciprocal perception of Islam and "the West" is probably one of the greatest challenges for textbooks today. I would not be as strict as Professor Arkoun who stated that our textbooks are producing mass ignorance on this topic. Many textbooks in the West have tried hard to develop a better

understanding of what Islam really means – something which is not easy in textbooks, as they have no more than a couple of pages for this topic. However, there is an undoubted danger that education is influenced by a growing atmosphere of cultural antagonism, which is fuelled by each act of terrorism carried out in the pretext of religion, and by the war in Iraq. In some Western countries, textbooks published after September 11 seem to have shifted their picture of Islam towards a perspective presenting it culturally distant from "Western" values and "Western" modernity. At the same time, textbooks in Islamic countries often stress the incompatibility of their religion and their culture with what they consider to be a morally decayed and hostile "West". We urgently need a textbook-dialogue on these issues in order to avoid this danger of introducing new stereotypes and simplification into our textbooks.

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A final example of the danger of new and often hidden stereotypes is the way in which the nation, is still the undisputed focus for education in many countries: fostering national identity remains the basic objective of many textbooks. Even without explicit prejudices against other ethnic groups, the hidden agenda of these textbooks runs into the danger of becoming exclusive and ethnocentric. Minorities are often neglected in the textbook narrative, or they appear only as "suspicious" elements. At best they are treated as a separated community which – even without being openly discriminated against – does not really belong to the "nation". Furthermore, migrants who are becoming a growing social group in many societies, are often not treated properly in many textbooks. Some countries with a long tradition as immigrant-societies such as Canada or Australia have developed impressive teaching materials in dealing with migrants. Again: it is not the problem of open prejudices, but of the underlying assumptions which often transmit subtle biases. Over the last years, German textbooks (I apologize for again referring to my own country) have increasingly included the phenomenon of migration in their narrative. They explain the reasons for migration, building up empathy for the migrant's motives and their social background and stressing their enriching contribution to our society. Nonetheless, migrants still appear as "others", as being at the "margin" and not at the "core" of our society.

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What has to be done? As often, it is easier to start off by saying what should no longer be done:

i. Homogeneity cannot be an educational objective. The increasing heterogeneity of our societies and of our classrooms has to be respected and reflected in our textbooks.

ii. Respecting and reflecting heterogeneity, however, cannot mean to stress cultural or ethnic diversity alone. Societies need a certain coherence, and textbooks have to contribute to this. It is not, however, ethnicity, culture or religion that this coherency can be built upon, but values which reach beyond differences such as human rights, the respect for diversity and the principle of non-violence.

iii. Fostering national identity cannot be the priority of textbooks and education. I understand the temptation to stress national coherency in countries which have only recently gained their sovereignty or which have gone through internal fragmentation. Textbooks oriented towards the priority of nation-building, however, will always tend to encourage exclusiveness and – either explicitly or implicitly – marginalize others, not belonging to the ethnic or religious majority. This does not mean that textbooks have to refrain from dealing with national identity, yet it should not be at the core of their narrative.

It seems to me that we need a much more courageous restructuring of our curricula and our textbooks in order to make them more efficient as instruments against stereotypes. New and other topics, going beyond the traditional ones, are necessary and helping to develop the skills for living together: what I like to call the "history of cultural exchanges" should be a central issue for our textbooks, the many processes of cultural exchange and transfer that all societies have witnessed in their histories, making the idea of something like an exclusive national culture absurd in itself.

The many experiences of cultural contact in the past – both the positive and the negative ones – are another topic which should run high on the agenda of textbooks, as well as the experience of states and societies which were not organized on the principle of ethnic or national homogeneity like multinational empires or "pre-modern" societies, in which ethnicity did not play a major role. To deal more with these examples could contribute to qualify the apparently "natural" character of our today's nation-states. The nation-state historically is a rather new phenomenon and it is doubtful if it is the only or the best form of government.

The history of migration and minorities, the ways how different cultures perceived each other, the images through which these perceptions were represented, as well as the misuse of these images for ethnic or religious mobilization are other topics which should all be made a more prominent and explicit matter of our textbooks. They can help to develop a more critical understanding of the role of prejudices and stereotypes than the traditional topics of our national history.

We must, however, be realistic about the limits of textbooks and probably even about the limits of education as such in the fight against stereotypes. Textbooks certainly still have a strong normative power. Despite new learning technologies they are still a major instrument for educating students, and

in many countries, they are the only one. In all countries, their content and their values are seen as something which the state and the society want their students' identity and behaviour to be built upon. Nonetheless, the idea that a good and sophisticated textbook prevents a conflict is too simplistic. Textbooks are only one, and following what we know about the practical impact of education, maybe one of the less influential instruments of socialization. They cannot substitute bad politics and they cannot neutralize irresponsible media. They have to work within a society and a political culture, which essentially supports their objectives. This, however, should not prevent our joint efforts to make textbooks better.

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Stereotyping, or the process of forming and perpetuating generalizations or assumptions about various characteristics of all members of a group, is a very prevalent phenomenon in many societies worldwide. For some communities, the impact of stereotyping has been very harmful, especially when embedded within the framework of the even more serious problem of racism. Especially in situations of conflict, negative stereotypes between opposing parties have served to justify reciprocal "blaming" and "demonization" of the "enemy" leading to the escalation of the conflict. Clearly, if peoples of diverse cultural heritage are to learn to live together within a culture of peace, stereotyping needs to be challenged and overcome, a task which calls on comprehensive, assertive and creative educational strategies.

Looking back on my upbringing in Malaysia, initially under British colonial rule, I now realize how I came to uncritically accept some stereotypes of the "Other," whether in local or global contexts. Informal education or socialization within my family and wider cultural community, including the popular media, together with formal education in schools, all slowly but powerfully shaped my perceptions of and attitudes towards peoples of other cultures and traditions, including my own. I remember how my curriculum in history, geography and social studies-related areas included textbooks and teacher-imparted knowledge that presented a one-sided view of colonialism, including stereotypes of colonized lands and peoples as "primitive", "backward" and somehow less "civilized" compared to "European/Western" cultures.

Then there were the Hollywood movies, especially of the "cowboys and Indians" genre, which projected the well-known stereotypes of North American indigenous or First Nations peoples as "savages" who had no right to block the "progress" offered by modern farming and industry, and hence needed to be conquered and "civilized" by the culturally and religiously "superior" European settlers. My first misunderstanding of Africa came not only through textbooks and literature but also films such as the Tarzan series. Again, I learned similar stereotypes of non-Western colonized peoples and cultures. But the stereotyping I grew up to "accept" was not only from exogenous sources. Within the Chinese cultural community, I learned to view "Others" in the by then multi-ethnic Malayan society as "lazy" and hence justifiably "economically backward" or as "untrustworthy," while in Chinese languages, Europeans were characterized as "red-haired devils." At that time, I was not as aware of stereotypes that the "others" shared about my own culture (e.g. money-minded, clannish, sense of cultural superiority).

This is not to say that all of my life experiences, whether informal, non-formal or formal, growing up in Malaysia, promoted only negative stereotypes and placed barriers in learning to live together. I shall return to the implications of positive non-stereotypical educational formation later in my reflections. But in regard to stereotyping, it has been a long journey of unlearning and demystification through various educational experiences. Even when I had an opportunity to undertake tertiary education in Australia in the late 1960s, it was not my initial undergraduate curriculum (largely because it was exclusively in the sciences) that helped me to challenge stereotypes I had passively accepted about aboriginal and indigenous peoples in Australia and globally. Rather it was only in my teacher education programme, and later my graduate studies in international and intercultural education in Canada, that I

learned about the terrible consequences and suffering experienced by Aboriginal or First Nations peoples under colonialism. Hence, as my focus shifted to the paradigm of peace education, I was able to overcome the decades of learned stereotyping. As I also engaged in direct exposures and interactions with indigenous peoples and communities, I learned to appreciate the wisdom of indigenous spirituality and to understand the urgency of conflict transformation needed for indigenous and non-indigenous peoples to live together in the world. Similarly, I became aware of alternative paradigms of development and the role of powerful transnational corporations and international financial agencies in often accentuating the marginalization of the poor. This awareness helped to deconstruct stereotypes I had learned about the causes of world poverty and the "beneficial" role of the North in bringing about modernization and "progress".

I have referred to some aspects of my own life story to illustrate how stereotypes are learned, whether through informal or non-formal education in families, communities and the wider society, or in formal educational contexts such as schools or even tertiary institutions. Of course, back in those days, I had little access to other forms of media, such as newspapers or television, and IT was not yet around. But for educators today, stereotypes need to be challenged across a variety of sources and influences, including curriculum, textbooks, popular media, and increasingly the Internet. My reflections will begin with some of the realities and exemplars of the problem of stereotyping via these multiple channels and then suggest some educational strategies for challenging stereotyping. In conclusion, however, I would like to advocate for the contextualization of this urgent task within a holistic framework of educating for a culture of peace if the goal of learning to live together is to be fully and sustainably fulfilled.

Vehicles of Stereotyping

a) Textbooks and Curricula

The role of textbooks and curricula in informing and perpetuating stereotypes of the "Other" is nowadays well known and ubiquitous, spanning diverse nations and cultures. Such stereotyping has served to buttress the wider frameworks of discrimination and racism that marginalize and oppress ethnic or cultural "minorities" or even "majorities." It can also help to lay the seeds, in the minds and hearts of younger generations, for continuing conflicts and violence between antagonistic communities and groups.

For educators today, stereotypes need to be challenged across a variety of sources and influences, including curriculum, textbooks, popular media, and increasingly the Internet.

The case of apartheid in South Africa illustrated, for example, how textbooks inculcated in the dominant white population racist and highly negative stereotypes about Africans as "primitive" and as "thieves, marauders and murderers," while elevating whites to a "higher" civilization "chosen"

by "the hand of God" (Bernstein, 1971: 62-63). In many contexts, as I recalled earlier of my own childhood experience, history textbooks have also often promoted bias and stereotypes of groups to the advantage of the powerful. Lieven's (2000) interesting study of just one historical incident – the British invasion of Zululand – concluded that 70 textbooks from the 1880s to 1960s largely portrayed the Zulus as "war-mongering and savage" to be blamed for the war. This stereotyping was further reinforced by similar stereotypical images and representations in early popular "adventure" stories such as those by Rider Haggard. But undoubtedly, Nazi propaganda picture textbooks exemplified so starkly how young children could be indoctrinated into extremely negative physical and moral stereotypes of Jews as a tool of the anti-Semitic ideology "justifying" the Holocaust (Mills, n.d.).

Worldwide, many indigenous and aboriginal peoples have also validly raised their voices to challenge the stereotypes that have distorted their cultures and histories in textbooks (and also, as discussed later, by other channels, especially popular media) (Loewen, 1995; Lincoln, 1998). By portraying indigenous peoples as being predisposed to "wars", practising superstitious or "pagan" rituals, "uncivilized" and "backward" in social, political and economic terms, such textbooks have helped to reproduce discriminatory and racist attitudes of non-indigenous peoples towards indigenous or aboriginal communities, and in turn support systemic and institutional policies of assimilation and repression (e.g. land dispossession, "stolen generations", residential schools, etc.). In addition, there are newer stereotypes of the "imaginary Indian" characterized as ecological-oriented. In the Philippines, indigenous peoples and the Moros (who have engaged in a long armed struggle for autonomy) have also suffered from textbook stereotyping (e.g. "backward", "pirates") that accentuates divisions and disrespect from the dominant majority.

Textbook stereotyping has been similarly experienced as hurtful, dehumanizing and alienating.

For peoples who have come to North "multi-cultural" or "multi-ethnic" society, either involuntarily (e.g. slave trade) or as migrants or refugees, often assuming so-called "minority" status, textbook stereotyping has been similarly experienced as hurtful, dehumanizing and alienating. African-Americans have therefore critiqued and challenged stereotypes in texts or literature which view them as inferior in 'intelligence", "naturally subordinate", superior in athleticism, and increasingly prone to "violence", crime and addiction (Harris, 1990). More recently, studies have documented negative stereotyping of Middle Eastern cultures, Arabs and Muslims in American textbooks and fiction (Barlow, 1994; Kissen, 1995), while Asian-American analysts have shown, for example, how Hinduism can be stereotyped (as "superstitious") in world history or social studies textbooks (Rosser, n.d.).

Further important exemplars of the problem of stereotyping via textbooks are located in sites of current intense political conflict, or relate to historical memories of conflicts that persist to the present, thereby posing barriers to peaceful relationships among communities and even nations. In this regard, one high-profile case has been the recent controversial debate over Palestinian textbooks. In

response to a CMIP study that charged the textbooks as being anti-Semitic and promoting incitement against Israel (Marcus, Moanor, & Billing, 2001), other analysts, the Palestinian authorities and the European Union have refuted these allegations as unfounded and biased (Brown, 2002; Morena, n.d.). This is not to say, however, that the Palestinian textbooks are entirely free of omissions or stereotypes, but as other researchers have shown, Israeli textbooks can be likewise criticized. Clearly, there is a need for both sides to acknowledge and remove areas of stereotyping in order that textbooks, for Palestinian or for Israeli students, can promote the principles of non-violent resolution based on principles of justice, non-racism, tolerance and reconciliation (Firer, 2002; Meehan, 1999; NorBruch, 2002; IPCRI, 2004; Firer & Adwan, 2002; Kriener, 2003).

Another also recent example of textbooks playing a "politicized" role in a zone that has witnessed bloody ethnic confrontation is in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where after the peace accord, schools and official textbooks initially served to reinforce narrow nationalistic identities accompanied by intolerance and hatred towards the "Other" (Low-Beer, 2001). In the rather well-known case of Japanese history textbooks, the controversy over how the textbooks treat the infamous Nanking massacres and other Japanese war-time acts in countries such as China and South Korea, has shown that governments and powerful interest groups can sustain textbook stereotypes to cast Japan's militarism in a more "positive" memory (Crawford, 2002).

Furthermore, there are textbooks in some contexts where stereotyping of the religion or faith of "Others" occurs to the detriment of inter-faith understanding, respect and harmony, and possibly lays the seeds for direct conflict and violence between different faith communities. For example, as a group of Christian and Muslim scholars found out, Islam has been inadequately represented in a majority of the schools, while an ongoing project will be looking into how Christianity has been presented in school texts in Muslim countries (Lahnemannm, 2003).

Last but not least, there is the problem of textbook or curriculum resource stereotyping of entire regions, notably the South, in terms of issues and themes of local, national or regional "development" textbooks. When students, especially in North contexts and even within South societies, are exposed in social studies and world history or current affairs to the problems of global poverty and hunger, there is often stereotyping of "poor" countries and regions (Osunde, 2004; Toh, 1987; Toh & Floresca-Cawagas, 1996). According to the modernization or what can now be called "globalization from above" paradigm of development, South peoples and cultures are regarded as lacking the required values for modern economic, social, political and even cultural development. Poverty and hunger are attributed to internal deficiencies which can then be remedied through relationships of aid, trade and investments. Thus transnational corporations, the WTO, G8 states and supra-national agencies or organizations (e.g. World Bank, IMF) are stereotyped as helpful providers of capital, advanced technologies, global free market mechanisms, and even values of individual entrepreneurship and consumerism without which poor countries will remain "underdeveloped" or "less developed". This stereotypical approach to teaching and learning about "development" in South regions clearly fails to help students critically understand the root causes of structural violence within and across nations, and to empower them to overcome local

and global injustices. In contrast, the development education movement that grew from the 1960s and which is now a key component of peace education, provides learners with hopeful exemplars of such "globalization from below" challenging "globalization from above".

Stereotyping is not, of course, the only potential limitation of textbooks and curriculum resources. But that it exists needs to be understood as part of a wider framework of the production and reproduction and distribution of "knowledge" in societies and in the world. As critical analysts have argued, textbooks constitute social constructions mediated by structures of power inequalities and competition among groups to define "legimitate" curriculum knowledge (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Crawford, n.d). Recognition of this ideological and political role of textbooks is vital when considering strategies for overcoming the problem of stereotyping.

b) Popular Media

While educators, especially those in schools and teacher education institutions, recognize the need to overcome stereotyping in textbooks and other curriculum resources, we, as well as parents, community advocates and non-formal educators, cannot disregard the even more powerful impact of popular media. The "others" are constructed as "inferior" in intellect, morals and temperament, which then facilitates their control by dominant society and reinforces the attitude of dominant groups that they "deserve" to rule (Woodward, 1997). In an age where consciousness and worldviews of citizens are so much shaped daily by TV, radio, films, newspapers and magazines, there is an equally urgent task of dismantling stereotypes through these channels of "information" and cultural formation or socialization.

Increasingly, ethno-cultural groups and indigenous peoples have spoken out against a long history of highly negative stereotypical representation in films, TV and print media, including newspapers and even comic books. As I mentioned at the beginning of my reflections, my earliest learned stereotypes of North American indigenous or First Nations or of African peoples came out of Hollywood movies pitting "good" cowboys and other usually white settlers against "bad" and "savage" "Indians", or in the case of the Lone Ranger tale, Tonto as a faithful companion symbolizing a "good Indian". Moreover, as Strickland (1997) additionally noted, Hollywood presents a distorted and inaccurate understanding of Indian tribes (who they are, locations, cultural diversity). In more recent decades, stereotyping of indigenous peoples in North America, or of Aboriginal peoples in Australia have continued to be perpetuated in mass media (e.g. depictions of being "lazy", "drunk", "criminals", "protesters") (Plater, 1993).

Similarly, African-Americans have long suffered from stereotyping in popular media, whether as "contented slaves", "comic Negroes", or later as "muggers" or "gangsters" (Gray, 1996; Hooks, 1996). A similar analysis has been made of blacks in the United Kingdom (Solomos & Back, 1996). Not only does this denigrate and subordinate them in the eyes of the rest of society, especially the dominant "white" population, it can lead, as Gray notes, to an internalization of those negative stereotypes by the "Other" being stereotyped. The racialization of crime by media stereotyping black people as "undesirable" and "dangerous", prone to violent crimes, drugs and related social problems, is complemen-

ted by a culture of policing that may "support and reinforce racism in the everyday practices of police" (Henry & Tator, 2003).

For Asian-Americans, popular media stereotyping has also been challenged. Films or TV have perpetuated images of the "yellow peril", "Asian men" as "evil", martial arts experts, unintelligent sidekicks, and Asian women as "exotic China doll" partners for white heroes (Mahdzan & Ziegler, 2001; Shah, 2003). In newspapers, Asian peoples are also stereotypically depicted as "violent" (gangs) and as "illegal immigrants" who threaten the social order (Rau, n.d.; Lui, 2004). Latin-Americans too have suffered from similar stereotypes in films, including "bandidos", "male buffoon" and "Latin lover" (Berg, 1990).

As an ethno-cultural community, Arabs too have long been subject to racist stereotyping in popular media, including portrayals in the Western (especially US) film industry as being wealthy but "evil", as "fundamentalist" and "terrorist", and the "Other" who is "heathen, evil and uncivilized" (Deep, 2002). Shaheen (1997; 2004) also extensively documented in his studies of how Arabs are portrayed in TV, comics and films, the predominant imagery served to consumers of popular culture included distortions such as: lumping all Muslims as Arabs; demonizing Arabs and Muslims as "terrorists"; equating fundamentalism with fanaticism or extremism; Islam as "monolithic"; "oppressors/abusers" of women; denigrating names in cartoon characters; jihad is reduced to "holy war"; Islam as "a false religion". After September 11, such stereotyping by major TV networks, the film industry and print media has only worsened the climate of "fear" towards and scapegoating and racist profiling of peoples of Arab and/or Muslim heritage (Shaheen, 2002; Abdel-Latif, 200; HREOC, 2004; Media International Australia, 2003). Clearly, in the post-September 11 world as powerful states wage their "war on terrorism", peoples of Arab/Muslim identity have been the most targeted victims of stereotyping in popular media, notably those produced in American contexts but nonetheless with wide-reaching impact in the globalized market of popular culture. In the case of Australia, the highly politicized and manipulated issue of recent asylum seekers (mostly Muslims) has added to the media stereotyping of the Islamic community (HREOC, 2004).

More generally, as Sardar (1996) noted, many popular computer games are "updated versions of the great European voyages of discovery", and perpetuate stereotypes of a "superior" Western civilization conquering or colonizing non-Western and indigenous peoples.

Last but not least, the serious role that popular media can and has played in fuelling conflicts and violence through stereotyping and hate-related propaganda is tragically demonstrated by the Rwanda genocide. The Hutu leaders and propagandists, among whom three media executives have since been convicted by the United Nations tribunal, used their newspaper and radio outlets to spread stereotypes of Tutsi calculated to instil "fear" among Hutu and incited them to genocidal violence (Human Rights Watch, 1999; Smith, 2003). The utilization of media by conflicting parties or states to cast their enemies in highly negative stereotypes and to promote "nationalist" fervour and history is also exemplified in the recent Balkan wars and in other "vulnerable" societies facing violent conflicts (Price, 2000; Forhardt & Temin, 2003).

c) Internet

Not so long ago, computers and the Internet did not exist. Today, an increasing number of children and adults worldwide, especially when personal and social resources permit, are travellers in cyberspace. While the Internet has undoubtedly facilitated ease and speed of communications, unparalleled access to information and provide creative tools for education, nevertheless its significant role in promoting stereotypes and increasingly hate, racism and ideologies of violence needs urgent attention.

As Glaser and Kahn (2004) noted, some characteristics of the Internet, especially anonymity and relative lack of regulation, can facilitate more overt expressions of stereotypes and prejudices, while the ease and efficiency of communications have also enabled the proliferation of racist hate groups. It is among the latter that the most serious, concentrated and harmful expressions of racist stereotyping are found. Various estimates of the numbers of hate websites range from hundreds to thousands, encompassing text, computer games, racist music, open publishing and interactive mediums (emails, chat-rooms, discussion groups) (Anti-Defamation League, 2000; Back, 2002; HREOC, 2002). In terms of content, extremist Internet sites include "white" or non-white supremacist ideology, anti-Semitism, and hatred of other religions, cultures or social groups, while they also serve as powerful tools to recruit new members and linking diverse extremist groups (Gerstenfeld, Grant & Chiang, 2003; Anti-Defamation League, n.d.; Nizkor Project, 1995; Potok, 2003). Increasingly, the availability of free software has helped hate groups to produce racist games such as "Ethnic Cleansing" in which players assume roles of "cyber-Klansmen" and "stalk minorities through a virtual urban landscape" (Eng, 2002).

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With the exponential expansion of the Internet virtually in all countries and regions, clearly the vision of learning to live together becomes more complex and challenging. If stereotypes and hatred can be so easily propagated in terms of speed, cost, and efficiency, educators and informal teachers like parents and community elders need to be very energetic in educating the younger generation to be critical explorers and users of the Internet. As suggested later, there is now a widening pool of strategies to challenge and overcoming stereotyping in cyberspace.

Strategies to Overcome Stereotyping

Drawing on the above analysis of realities of stereotyping through three major channels, as well as situating the problem of stereotyping within the wider context of not just schools, but educational systems in societies and globally, a number of creative and necessarily inter-related strategies for overcoming stereotyping may be considered:

(i) There is no doubt that the task of textbook analysis accompanied by the revision and re-writing of textbooks and other curriculum resource revision is essential in countering stereotyping and helping promote the goal of learning to live together. In this regard, there are active organizations and initiatives dedicated to this task, such as the George Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Germany. In the US, the Council on Interracial Books for Children, for example, has, since 1965, critically reviewed many books for cultural stereotypes and historical inaccuracies, and encouraged minority-group writers to submit manuscripts that help children unlearn stereotypes (Banfield, 1998). The series on *Lessons from Africa* (edited by Merry Merryfield) has also served to overcome stereotypes about Africa, and presented more relevant perspectives on African histories and realities (Schmidt, 1990).

In the Middle East and Europe, as earlier mentioned, networks of scholars are seeking to overcome biases and stereotypes of representations of Islam and Christianity in various countries' textbooks (Lahnemann, 2003) while IPCRI's (2004) ongoing analysis of both Israeli and Palestinian textbooks will be useful for revisions that overcome mutual stereotyping.

Under the Tbilisi Initiative, the Council of Europe is collaborating with historians in various former Soviet Union regions to rewrite a textbook for Caucasus children that would be "free of ideological and political stereotypes" (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). In Japan, advocates such as Professor Ienaga have patiently used the legal system to try to correct textbook biases and prevent official screening or censorship to promote a more positive national identity (Crawford, 2002). Presently, Virginia Cawagas and I have been engaged in the coordination and writing of a new series of elementary civics and culture textbooks for private schools in the Philippines, based on a framework of social studies education that would eschew stereotypes, notably of the Moros and indigenous peoples, thereby laying the foundations for peoples of diverse cultures and faiths to live together in peace.

This urgent task of textbook re-writing is not, however, always easily accomplished, as political divisions and distrust in war or post-conflict situations constitute barriers in such contexts as Bosnia and Herzegovina (Low-Beer, 200; Pingel, 2004); or Israel/Palestine (Firer, 2002). Furthermore, it cannot be assumed that textbook content is simply taught and learned. As Crawford (2000) noted, teachers can and do re-select, re-define and re-interpret textbook knowledge, which has implications in another strategy discussed below, namely in teacher education. Bigler (1999) calls for the use of counter-stereotypic multicultural materials and curricula to counter racism in children in ways that recognize the complexities of psychological development of attitudes. Last but not least, countering stereotyping does not necessarily require re-writing all textbooks and other curriculum resources. Aronson (n.d), for

This urgent task of textbook re-writing is not, however, always easily accomplished, as political divisions and distrust in war or post-conflict situations constitute barriers.

example, shows how she could use literature texts to help 10th grade students analyze and critique stereotypes of African Americans, Germans, and Jews (in the Holocaust).

(ii) Teacher education undoubtedly plays an essential role in helping students unlearn stereotypes and learn to live together. As many analysts and advocates have argued, this means exposing student teachers and in-service teachers to a paradigm of critical multicultural education (Sleeter, 1991; Chavez & O'Donnell, 1998). This means an approach to multiculturalism and multicultural education which transcends the liberal "4Ds" ("dance, diet, dress, dialect") or a festival approach that superficially celebrates unity, but overlooks difficult problems like racism and historical injustices faced by indigenous and ethnic groups (Toh, 2002; Banks, 1994). In a critical paradigm, students also learn about the deep values of their own and others' civilizations and cultures, with an openness to learning from each other's wisdoms, as well as being self-critical about one's contradictions. This underpins the spirit of international forums and declarations for the dialogue of civilizations (Grachev & Lomeiko, 1996). Important too is the avoidance of "essentialism" of identity, and to recognize possibilities and realities of positive "hybridization" in "multicultural" identity formation (Canclini, 2000). Teachers grounded in a critical multicultural education paradigm will be able to collaborate with administrators, parents and students to build a school culture which upholds intercultural respect and reconciliation. In this regard, there are inspiring exemplars of school or community-based projects that are helping to build bridges of understanding and reconciliation between students and adults from different cultural or faith groups in zones of conflict, such as in Mindanao and in Israel/Palestine (Silsilah Dialogue Movement; Ozacky-Lazar, 2001).

(iii) Critical media literacy is also a very powerful tool for demystifying stereotyping. As various groups and NGOs such as the Media Awareness Network, the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Centre have shown, helping learners to be critically aware of what they read or see in media will help them to make sound judgements that reject stereotyping and hate. The Media Awareness Network's website includes advice to teachers, parents and elders on how to talk to kids about racial stereotypes. Through showing films and a dialogical approach, Gray (1996) has been able to catalyze his students to recognize stereotypical images of African-Americans.

Similarly, in the area of Internet stereotyping, learners need critical education to be mindful of and reject stereotyping, racism and hate as they surf in cyberspace. The Anti-Defamation League, Race Relations and WebAware for example have useful sections on their websites to guide users or parents to educate their children about online hate, and to safely navigate the information superhighway.

(iv) The fourth but equally important strategy for countering stereotypes towards learning to live together necessarily involves the wider community and society. This is because schools, textbooks, teachers and students do not exist in a vacuum. Wider family, community and societal (including global) forces and educational dimensions impact on the work of educational systems.

In the field of popular media, for example, community associations and civil society organizations all need to be proactive and assertive in challenging stereotyping. In Australia, there have been calls for Arab and Muslim organizations to set up media monitoring groups that can "react quickly to stereotypes and prejudice and seek redress, correction or at least, balance" (Manning, 2003). In the US, in response to a New Yorker magazine cover that stereotypes an Arab child as a "terrorist", the group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) met with the magazine's publisher and editor, who eventually featured an article on Jewish extremism (Shaneen, 1997). In addition to such lobbying with media leaders, other community and societal mechanisms to challenge stereotyping in the media include public education on available procedures and avenues for complaint/redress, as well as constructive engagement with the media (e.g. regular dialogues, news releases on positive contributions of racialized groups to the wider society (HREOC, 2004). In Mindanao, a zone of long-standing conflicts between Moros and the government, journalists committed to reconciliation and peacebuilding have formed a network to help educate about peace and to present news in ways that can promote understanding rather than fuel antagonistic public stereotypes of the conflict and parties. In other post-conflict places like Colombia and South Africa, media has similarly engaged in projects in which it can contribute to building peace, rather than foster stereotypes and other distorted communication that aggravate and perpetuate conflicts (Price, 2000).

In the realm of films and TV, alternative and more culturally sensitive and respectful portrayals of hitherto marginalized groups have also emerged to challenge the Hollywood stereotypes earlier discussed. Asian-Americans, for example, have produced "triangular cinema" to promote "(1) community building, (2) mobilizing people to take action and (3) telling stories about the Asian experience in America from a (counter-stereotypical) "Asian perspective" (Shah, 2003). Some producers have succeeded to make Hollywood films which reject simplistic stereotypes of Asians or Hispanics, and provide complex, multi-dimensional readings of lives of the traditionally racialized "Other" (Chatterjee, 1996; Flanagan, n.d.). The well-known critic of Hollywood stereotyping of Arabic people, Shaheen (1996) has also noted efforts by a number of film and TV producers and directors to avoid negative stereotyping help to educate about Arab cultures, and tell others about Arabs as people who do contribute positively to society and the world.

The Media Awareness Network in Canada advises people to contact their Internet service providers to adopt Acceptable Use Policies that do not allow hate or racist sites; to report online-hate to the police to enforce anti-hate / anti-racist laws; and to file complaints with the Canadian Human Rights Commission. Furthermore, one continuing difficult area to transform in order to more effectively combat extremism in cyberspace is in the law at national and international levels (Anti-Defamation League, 2000; Anderson, 2001; Frydman & Rorive, n.d.). Nonetheless, effective resolution needs to be accomplished given the proliferation of hate and racist sites on the Internet.

Increasingly, too, the role of inter-faith dialogue has been very constructive for overcoming stereotypes of faith and spirituality identity which can be a very significant dimension of a person's cultural background. Through local, national and global organizations and movements (e.g. the Parliament of the World's Religions, which gathered over 8000 faith representatives most recently in Barcelona for its fourth conference; World religions and Peace; United Religions Initiative), inter-faith dialogue has helped to build deeper understanding, respect and reconciliation among diverse faiths and catalyzed collaborative action to resolve common social issues and problems (e.g. armed conflicts, poverty, injustice, human rights, ecological sustainability, debt, refugees). In this regard, over the past year, through a new Multi-Faith Centre at Griffith University in Australia, such inter-faith dialogue toward a culture of peace has yielded gradual but fruitful outcomes of greater understanding and a willingness to express common positions in solidarity (e.g. support for refugees and asylum seekers; reconciliation within indigenous peoples).

Concluding Reflection

In this paper, I have sought to unmask a range of stereotypes of the cultural or racialized "Other" through three major channels: textbooks; popular media; and the Internet. Unless the educational processes and content embedded in these channels can help learners to challenge and overcome such stereotypes, the vision and goal of learning to live together will be difficult to accomplish. However, one very crucial caveat is needed in my view, namely that the task of countering stereotyping, while very important, cannot be confined to its own narrow boundary. It cannot be simply the unmasking and replacement of negative stereotypes with "positive" portrayals and images.

Rather, may I suggest that overcoming stereotyping in order to learn to live together also needs to be related dialogically with a holistic framework of educating for a culture of peace. This is because all the diverse conflicts in the world, from local to global levels of life, have complex root causes that are so often inter-related with other problems and issues. Stereotyping is one critical source of conflict, for sure, especially when it deepens into racism and racialized hatred. But, as articulated *inter alia* in successive UNESCO declarations and documents to promote education for peace, human rights, democracy, dialogue of civilizations, tolerance, and international understanding, education to counter stereotypes needs to relate this issue to all the other dimensions of a culture of peace, whether it be *dismantling the culture of war, living in justice and compassion; promoting human rights and responsibilities; building intercultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity; living in harmony with the earth; and cultivating inner peace.*

For example, the stereotyping of one group as inferior and the like can often be a rationalization, perhaps in a masked way, for other root causes of the conflict (e.g. control of and competition for resources). So even if stereotyping ceases, the root cause of structural violence will still need to be resolved. When one is stereotyped and suffers from the violation of one's human rights, surely we must simultaneously meet our responsibility to uphold not only our own rights, but also the rights of others. Howe-

ver, inspired by the vision of peace-builders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Aung San Suu Kyi, and Archbishop Tutu, and grassroots movements worldwide, we need to overcome the deep roots of stereotypes through active non-violence.

And last but not least, the capacity and commitment to transform stereotyping towards compassion, living kindness and equity springs from deep within our selves. It calls for the cultivation of inner peace, which together with the outer or social peace infused in all the other themes or petals of building a culture of peace, will not only overcome stereotyping but slowly bear the holistic fruit of peaceful selves, peaceful communities and societies and ultimately our "one peaceful world" (Toh, 2004).

**A full list of the references cited in this article can be obtained from the author. E-mail* s.toh@griffith.edu.au

CHARLOTTE COLE (UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)
Vice-President for International Research of the Sesame Workshop, New York

Charlotte Cole, Ph.D., is Vice-President for International Research at the Sesame Workshop, New York. Over thirty years ago, "Sesame Street" was developed in order to utilize television as way of providing a positive educational experience for young children. Today, this immensely popular TV programme – to whose development teams of education and psychology specialists have contributed – is still broadcast in the USA as well as in about 120 other countries. So far, "Sesame Street" has also initiated 20 international co-productions. Dr Cole oversees the research and curriculum development of the Workshop's international co-productions as well as new show projects. Prior to joining Sesame Workshop. Dr Cole was a consultant to the Harvard Institute for International Development.

This essay deals with ways in which the media can be used to promote one facet of living together: respect and understanding. I am writing as an educator who uses media to transform: to help children learn. There are essentially three points I would like to make: first, I want to examine what I mean by "respect and understanding"; next, I will note some of the components of effective media that counter stereotypes and bias; and finally, I will describe ways in which my company, Sesame Workshop, has worked toward promoting respect and understanding in our international co-productions of Sesame Street.

We all know that media are an important part of most children's lives. While electronic media such as TV, radio and the Internet are only one factor – and children learn through a broad array of influences – children spend a lot of time interfacing with the media. So, whether by design or unintentionally, children learn through the media. As educators, we want to make sure that the content to which they are exposed provides positive opportunities and promotes skills to help prepare them for the future.

As regards my first point – a definition of what I mean by respect and understanding – it is difficult to capture these meanings in just a few words. I am talking about using the media to break down stereotypes, and to show positive images of people from different cultures: to, in effect, humanize the face of the "Other". One way to define this is to examine the traits of people who are respectful and understanding. These include: good self-esteem; empathy; appreciation for similarities and differences; the ability to resolve conflict through non-violent means; and willingness to take responsibility toward others at both community and global levels.

Whether by design or unintentionally, children learn through the media. As educators, we want to make sure that the content to which they are exposed provides positive opportunities and promotes skills to help prepare them for the future.

It is these traits we at Sesame Workshop are trying to instil through our media. To come to terms with this, it is helpful to examine some characteristics that oppose respect and understanding. These include prejudice, bias, and stereotypes. Looking at what we hope to counter, helps illuminate what we are endeavouring to achieve. To do this, I would like to take a moment to examine how prejudice, bias and stereotypes develop.

Children make meaning of the world by categorizing it. In fact, good parents and teachers help children learn to organize the world by identifying and labelling categories. For example, as parents, we work to educate children to make such distinctions: an apple is red; another is green; both apples share some characteristics, but differ in other dimensions. Children need to learn to categorize and label in order to navigate the world. Without such nomination, children would have difficulty communicating, expressing themselves, and, indeed, learning basic concepts.

However, such categorization becomes problematic when linked to negative associations. Sadly, for children, bias labels typically have their origin from direct influences in their lives such as the adults who care for them – and the media to which they are exposed. Studies throughout the world show that children begin developing stereotypes at a very early age. In our own work in Israel and the Palestinian Territories, for example, we have found that Israeli and Palestinian children as young as three and four use negative words to describe each other. Israeli four year olds in a study we conducted just a few years ago, verbalized such labels as Palestinian are "stupid;" Palestinians said of Jews, "they are bad people." You can read more about this work in the *International Journal of Behavioral Development*.[1] Similarly, a study in Northern Ireland conducted by Dr Paul Connolly found that Catholic and Protestant preschoolers have negative perceptions of each other.[2] Clearly, such evidence shows us that if we are going to move toward change, we need to do so at an early age. We need to start with young children.

Yet, despite the research findings, my message is one of hope. There are ways to counter these beliefs. And the media can play a large role in doing so. This brings me to my second point: the components of effective media to promote respect and understanding. The model we have used at Sesame Workshop is based on what social scientists call an ecological systems approach which provides a useful framework for our work.[3] The model moves from knowledge of self to increasingly greater awareness of the world beyond. For the media to promote respect and understanding, they must first expose children to a positive sense of themselves. Children need to see positive images of children like them engaged in activities they, themselves, encounter in their daily lives. They need the routines that they personally engage in reflected in the media. In short, they need media that are culturally specific. Yet, for many children, the television and other media to which they are exposed are produced in cultures other than their own; and so the stories and images children see reflect values and situations that are distilled to what is familiar. If we are going to promote respect and understanding, we first need to provide images of children's own cultures so that children can build pride in themselves, where they live and how they conduct their lives.

The second component of the model, after self, involves gaining an awareness of others. For children, this needs to come from a context that is meaningful to their interests and lives. They need to see other children engaged in activities that have relevance: in school; with families; at play; with friends; doing household chores; spending time with grandparents; playing with toys. Children need to see that the lives other children lead have similarities to their own as well as important differences.

And finally, the third component after an appreciation of others, is understanding our interdependence. Children need to have a sense of how their actions impact others. They need to appreciate the way in which the world is intrinsically linked environmentally, culturally, politically, and in other respects.

[1] C.F. Cole, C. Arafat, C. Tidhar, W.T. Zidan, N.A. Fox, M. Killen, A. Ardila-Rey, L. Leavitt, G. Lesser, B.A. Richman and F. Yung, "The educational impact of Rechov Sumsum/Shara'a Simsim, a Sesame Street television series to promote respect and understanding among children living in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza", *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 27 (5), 409-422.
[2] P. Connolly, A. Smith, and B. Kelly, *Too Young to Notice? The Cultural and Political Awareness of 3-6 year olds in Northern Ireland* (Belfast, 2002)
[3] This type of conceptualization is based on the work of Urie Bronfenbrenner and his model of ecological systems theory. For more information on Bronfenbrenner's work, please see: U Bronfenbrenner, "Ecological systems theory" in R. Vasta (ed.), *Annals of child development: Vol 6. Six theories of child development: Revised formulations and current issues* (Greenwich, CT, 1989)

To achieve these three elements – knowledge of self, the other, and awareness of our interdependence – we need to develop media that feature children in their daily lives and that are not focused on exotic instances or what some social scientists have called the "touristic" elements.[4]

Media content needs to be culturally specific and authentic. To assure this, we must begin with messages produced about a culture and created by people from it. There is power in being the person telling the story, and that power needs to be placed in the hands of people from the culture the story is about. Media need to feature diverse casts; celebrate similarities and differences, and when possible include follow-up discussion and themed activities that punctuate the educational messages presented.

With these components in mind, I will close by briefly presenting Sesame Workshop's work, my third point. We now have over 20 local adaptations of the television series, Sesame Street. These are productions developed in different countries by local educators and producers. Table 1 provides a list. They have their own settings – in the United States, an urban street; South Africa – a train station/market place, and in Spain, Barrio Sésamo/Bari Sèsam takes place in a neighbourhood. Each are populated by local characters – a merekat in South Africa, a big yellow bird in the United States, and Gaspar in Spain. Live action films feature children in real life situations, with educational plans that emphasize local needs for each programme: girls' education in Egypt; HIV and AIDS in South Africa; and basic skills in Bangladesh.

Media content needs to be culturally specific and authentic.

Table 1 – Past and Current Sesame Street Co-Productions

Bangladesh (Sisimpur)
Brazil (Vila Sésamo)
Canada (Sesame Park)
China (Zhima Jie)
Egypt (Alam Simsim)
France (5, Rue Sésame)
Germany (Sesamstrasse)
Israel (Rechov Sumsum &
Sippuray Sumsum)
Japan (Sesame Street)
Jordan (Hikayat Simsim)
Kosovo (Rruga Sesam & Ulica Sezam)
Kuwait (Iftah Ya Simsim)
Palestine (Shara'a Simsim &
Hikayat Simsim)
Mexico (Plaza Sésamo)
Netherlands (Sesamstraat)
Norway (Sesam Stasjon)
Philippines (Sesame!)
Poland (Ulica Sezamkowa)
Portugal (Rua Sésamo)
Russia (Ulitsa Sezam)
South Africa (Takalani Sesame)
Spain (Barrio Sésamo/
Barri Sèsam)
Sweden (Svenska Sesam)
Turkey (Susam Sokagi)

** Countries listed in bold are in production and/or currently broadcast*

[4] For more information, see, for example, the anti-bias work of Louise Derman-Sparks.

Before ending, I should comment on the impact of our work. Research is an essential aspect of our process – both formative research to inform our production efforts and summative to evaluate the effect of our work. Studies over the years show that our media have wide reach and that children are learning from what we produce. Recently, for example, a cultural anthropologist in Egypt, observed families in their homes before and after exposure to *Alam Simsim*'s outreach programme. The research found that families incorporated the health practices taught by the Sesame Street project's community outreach into their daily lives. There were improvements in terms of behaviours such as washing hands before eating and including more fruits and vegetables into the family diet. Knowledge of factors such as vaccinations also increased.[5]

Also in Egypt a multi-wave study of reach of the TV series conducted by Synovate (formerly the Middle East Market Research Bureau[6]) found that in both rural and urban areas, the percentage of a national sample of households with children in our target age who watch *Alam Simsim* is so high that we have stopped reporting the figure for fear that people will not believe it. Suffice it to say that a large majority of preschoolers in the country are exposed to and learning from the series.

Research in other countries echoes the findings in Egypt. A recent study in South Africa, for example, conducted by the Human Science Research Council,[7] found a benefit of *Takalani Sesame*'s community outreach programme in South Africa. Another study completed by AC Nielsen[8] which looked at the reach of our television and radio found that even children in deep rural areas in South Africa are exposed. These examinations of reach are important: if children do not have access, they cannot learn – so we always try to include studies of reach in our production process.

[5] S. Loza and I. Soliman, *Alam Simsim Outreach Impact Report. Social Planning, Analysis, and Administration Council (*Cairo, 2004).
[6] Synovate Research Reinvented. (September 2004). *OMNIBUS Survey Results, Wave 4*. Cairo.
[7] Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) *Impact Assessment of Takalani Sesame Season 1. Commissioned by SABC Education* (Durban, 2003)
[8] AC Nielsen, *Takalani Sesame* (Johannesburg, 2003)

VI. DOES DEVELOPMENT IGNORE THE FUTURE? EDUCATING FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

ASHOK KHOSLA (INDIA)

President of the Development Alternatives Group, New Delhi.

Since 1983, Ashok Khosla has been president of the Development Alternatives Group, a New Delhi-based organization that, among other things, analyzes sustainable development options as well as developing and disseminating environmental management systems and technology. Between 1976 and 1982, he was employed by the United Nations Environment Programme as Director of INFOTERRA, the International Referral System for Sources of Environmental Information. Prior to this, he had been Director at the Office of Environmental Planning and Coordination at the Department of Science and Technology, Government of India. His commitment to sustainable development questions is also reflected in his membership in several NGOs and taskforces working in this field. Dr Khosla was a special advisor to the World Commission on Environment and Development and has been on the Boards of IUCN, WWF, the International Institute for Sustainable Development and other international bodies. He is Vice-President of the Club of Rome.

When I receive invitations from UNESCO, I usually panic: I work with poor people and peasants in the villages, and not at the levels of sophistication in culture, science and education that large international organizations such as UNESCO are used to. However, I was very pleased to be invited to the UNESCO conference on "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World" since, over the past thirty-eight years, my professional life has been concerned with exactly this subject: how do we reach into the future with our limited knowledge about the processes that determine our lives in society and nature – and how do we do so in a way that will make this planet a better place for our children to live on? I would like to present examples from my own work, to illustrate some concrete ideas on how we might effectively deal with issues of sustainable development:

There are people among us (something on the order of maybe a billion and a half) who can aspire to nearly anything in this world. And yet, there are others (some three billion of them) who live on devastated lands with the natural surroundings, on which they depend for their day-to-day living needs, dying around them. This is what the developing world is beginning to look like – in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America. Every year, we lose 50,000 km^2 of land to deserts. The United Nations says that at present, there are 1.3 billion people who do not have clean drinking water. According to their definition, if there is a source of drinking water within a distance of 1.6 km from someone's home, he or she is considered to have drinking water. So the number of persons who do not have drinking water supplied to their kitchen in the manner you and I have is probably quite a bit larger. This means that a very large part of the world's people cannot protect themselves from many diseases. And water is not the only resource in short supply to the poor. 2.5 billion people do not have toilets; 2 billion people do not have commercial energy and 3 billion do not have electricity. This is a world in which there is great inequity. Out of the 73 million babies that are born every year, some 30 million are undernourished to the extent of being stunted. And anyone in UNESCO will tell you that more than 1.5 billion are illiterate, whilst some 1 billion (according to national statistics) do not have jobs.

An insightful map produced by UNDP shows how many areas of the world have more than 20 per cent of the population living on less than two dollars a day. The map also highlights that in South Asia, in many African states and several other countries, the share of people living below this level exceeds 50 per cent. At present, the graph of global income distribution has the shape of a champagne glass: the world's top 20 per cent get around 85 per cent of the overall income and wealth of the world, while the bottom 20 per cent gets less than 1.5 per cent. The ratio of the top 20 per cent to the bottom 20 per cent has grown continuously over the past decades and today it is close to 90. The global population's wealthiest 20 per cent get 90 times as much as the bottom 20 per cent.

If we go on living this way, by 2020-25 (with a projected eight billion people living on this planet using material consumption), the "human footprint" will be so immense that it will require three earths to support us. We do not have three earths – so how do we plan to deal with the problem? I believe it is everybody's responsibility; the rich have to do a lot, and so do the poor. There has to be an attitude of give and take, of what, some fifteen years back, I started to call "convergence" to a common goal, bringing down the level of over-consumption in the North and over-fertility in the South. This means

that development must become a basic human right. We have to lower the ceilings and raise the floors. It is the only means, and also the result, of creating a fairer and hence more sustainable world. What we need is not global wealth distribution in the shape of a champagne glass, but of a beer glass – an income distribution in which there is a much higher level of equity than there is today.

Development must become a basic human right. We have to lower the ceilings and raise the floors.

Today's so-called dialogue (in which all of us are engaging) is not a dialogue at all, but a form of talking past each other and fighting for economic space. People in the North say, "you produce too many babies"; people in the South say, "you consume too many resources". Neither is prepared to take responsibility. Today's international negotiations are actually only a blind game, with the South saying, "you must give more", and the North saying, "you must have better governments". So who is right? Certainly the South is right in saying that it needs more money – and this has to come from where it is most available: not just through development assistance and aid, but also through trade and investment. But this money must be used in a much better way for much higher impact on the lives of people, in a manner that is substantially different from the way it is used today. Its purpose should be to strengthen local communities and their economies. Better governance is also needed – there is no question that many of our countries in the South have been badly governed and therefore have lost a very large part of the opportunities they had. But good governance is not simply a matter of eliminating corruption and crony capitalism. It must, as Mahatma Gandhi said, put the last first. The primary job of governments has to be to take care of those who got left behind and to do so, it must nurture local enterprise.

I believe that every one of us – every country, community and person – has a responsibility, and this responsibility can be summarized by a concept called the "factor of ten".

It is not possible to go on being greedy and to make this planet work.

"Factor of ten" applies in different ways in different parts of the world. Factor of ten for the rich – whether you are in the North or even in the South (after all, in my country there are also some very rich people) – means that they must adopt new ways of living, that their consumption patterns have to change and that, above all, the use of material and energy have to be reduced by at least a factor of ten. This is possible even today through more efficient use of energy, through better cars, better houses and building materials, better systems for lighting and heating, better refrigerators, better clothes, better kinds of food. All of these are ways by which you can reduce the use of material by a factor of ten, without sacrificing the overall quality of life. But there have to be fundamental changes, too. It is not possible to go on being greedy and to make this planet work. We therefore have to dematerialize: we will have to get rid of the very intensive ways in which we use materials; we will have to learn to share the use of underutilized assets; we will have to increase the durability and the lifetime of our products and many other things. And above all, we will have to live much simpler and more humane lives. Instead of judging ourselves by what we have, we must now start to learn to judge ourselves by what we are.

The poor also will have to deal with the "factor of ten". They will have to set up production systems that create livelihoods and jobs on a large scale, and the efficiencies of their production processes will have to go way up. This is possible even today, but it does require very substantial changes in our technologies, economies and systems of governance. Since World War II, the global economy has grown by a factor of twenty. Development assistance from the wealthy countries to the poor countries has amounted to something like one trillion dollars. But, one may well ask, where did it all go? In spite of all these inputs, there is more poverty, more pollution, there are more people and more marginalized people in the world today than there were ever before.

The causes are many, but misplaced priorities are the biggest problem. I believe that if we do not change those priorities, sustainable development will not be possible. Sustainable development is essential for creating educated people, enterprising people, people with decent earnings and decent lives, people who are empowered. If you go on the web today, you will get over a hundred definitions of "sustainable development". However, I believe that there is only one simple definition: it means to meet the basic needs and human rights of everyone – and to meet them in such a way that the resource basis is not destroyed.

What is the most basic need of all? Jobs and livelihoods – because if you have a job, a livelihood, an income, you can take care of your other basic needs. In India, for example, we will need to create 250 million jobs over the next ten to fifteen years. Because of increased productivity, agriculture will only absorb a few of those. We therefore have to create 15 million jobs a year in my country alone. In the globalized economy it costs something of the order of 100,000 dollars to create one job in industry. If you multiply 100,000 by 15 million, it means that you need ten times the Indian GNP just for creating workplaces every year. With no money left over for anything else: food, water, clothes, houses – anything. So evidently, they will not be created and every year, there will be more and more jobless people.

We must change our approach entirely, and that includes our value systems, our knowledge systems, the way we structure our lives, the consumption patterns and our relationship with nature. Sometimes it may involve inconvenient choices, too. Eating meat, for example, uses up a great deal of the world's natural resources and if we are going to maintain 10 billion people on this planet, it is unlikely that they will all be able to get meat very often. We will also have to look at the role of the practitioner, the professional. Professionals can no longer hide from their fundamental responsibilities as the guardians of the health of our planet, just as the Hippocratic Oath ensured that the medical practitioners of earlier days were responsible for the health of their patients. And we will have to design totally different policies and institutions to encourage local governance and local markets to develop new kinds of infrastructure. One could say that the entire matter actually revolves around the choice of technology.

Choice of technology is a dynamic, ever-changing thing. I am not referring to the way the world will be in one hundred years – I am concerned with the present. It is a fundamental problem that we have accepted (not even chosen) a world in which technology has taken over our lives. In dealing with

technologies, the fundamental choices we have are: do we *copycat*? Do we adopt technology straight from America or Japan, or in the case of India from Spain, and adopt it as our own? Or do we *piggyback*? Do we basically take technologies, adapt them to our conditions and use them to our advantage? Or do we *leapfrog*? Do we jump over into a new age of technology altogether? Copycat technologies: the car has destroyed most of the countryside; it has a tremendous appetite for fossil fuels. Large centralized production systems, coal-based power station, urban sprawl, fixed-wing aircraft – these are dinosaur technologies that we do not have to copycat. On the other hand, there are many piggyback technologies such as public transport, telephones, urban infrastructure, light air craft and so on that we could adapt to our advantage.

And then there are leapfrog technologies. I will deal with two types: one is for the basic needs, the needs of those three billion people who live on less than two dollars a day around the world, and one refers to technologies for people when they have achieved a certain living standard. Leap-frog technology for basic needs includes processes that reduce, recycle or renew the use of resources and satisfy basic needs. These include things like wireless telephones, local water harvesting structures, handlooms, recycled paper making and so on. Let me give you examples of the ones I have personally worked with over the last twenty years. About 150 people are employed at the headquarters of our organization in New Delhi. The building has virtually no cement, no steel, no wood, no brick and no air conditioning. Thus, our average monthly electricity bill is roughly the same as a home in Madrid or in Barcelona. We have completely changed the concept of energy and material consumption, yet it is a comfortable building where we work and are productive. We are creating jobs through making textiles, recycling paper, making stoves that women and housewives in villages can cook on, using fuels of various types including solar energy and using weeds.

With regard to the generation of energy, our organization uses a weed called *ipomoea* which came in as a stowaway from Latin America about 150 years ago. In Hindi it is called *Besharam*, which means "shameless" because the more you cut it, the more it grows. We put this weed into a gasifier and transform it into gas, which is fed to a diesel generator to make electricity. This electricity is sold to the local village at a rate cheaper than the national grid supply. Our company also makes houses out of mud, using a machine that was developed for this purpose, and it is actually a very beautiful building material. In fact, the national exhibition centre in Delhi, the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, is made out of this "mud". You can make all kinds of things in ways that are very different from what has become conventional practice, using local materials and skills and in local industries instead of manufacturing them in large factories and transporting them all over the country.

We also sell machines to make tiles for roofs – they are so beautiful that even the rich use them. Yet they are competitive with thatch, as they can be made in a village for a total cost of three Euros per m^2. Organic farming and horticulture can help develop waste lands into forests with virtually no expense. Finally, our answer to the big dams are new kinds of small dams, which can create jobs for 20,000 to 30,000 people at a total cost of 4,000 Euros. This is an approach very different from large-scale undertakings we have witnessed in the past – these are leapfrog technologies.

I will not go into detail, but I can say that there is one technology that is crucial in all this. Out in the village, there is virtually no access to knowledge, and without knowledge you cannot do anything. In order to get knowledge, my organization has explored and set up an Internet facility designed, in time, to cover every remote community, every village. We have established a website named www.tarahaat.com. *"TARA"* is our company name, and *"haat"* means "village marketplace". The site is our web-based equivalent of a marketplace. It is all in local language and if you cannot read, it speaks to you. Through the website, people can contact virtually all the sources of information needed to set up their industries, to send their children to school and to achieve many other things. Now, unfortunately, in my country there is not much electricity and not many telephone lines, so we had to solve these problems through very pragmatic solutions – by setting up special systems, little cybercafés, satellite dishes and so on. The idea is, however, working and it is commercial. It is not a top-down charity handout from the government; rather, it is working as a business and growing rapidly. Information technology is one of the technologies of the future: it enables people to access the knowledge they need in order to solve their problems.

To solve the environment and development problems of the developing countries, a whole new approach is needed that goes beyond the shibboleths and dichotomies of the past. The future cannot be either this or that, either one thing or the opposite. We need to evolve technologies and delivery systems that combine the power of the big and centralized with the responsiveness of the small and local; the motivation of the private sector with the social objectives of public institutions; the dynamism and efficiency of the new with the wisdom and sufficiency of the traditional – and the individuality of the right with the social justice of the left.

EDWARD S. AYENSU (GHANA)

Chairman of Ghana's Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and President of the Pan-African Union for Science and Technology

Edward Ayensu, Chairman of Ghana's Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), is also the president of the Pan-African Union for Science and Technology and Chairman of Edward S. Ayensu Associated Ltd. He has worked on a wide range of issues in international development and science, having originally obtained a PhD from London University where he graduated in the biological sciences. Professor Ayensu has broad experience in the field of biodiversity; he was Director of the Office of Biological Conservation at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. In addition to chairing the Ghana National Biodiversity Committee, he founded the African Biosciences Network. He also acted as vice president for the International Institute for Sustainable Development in the late 1990s. In 1998, Professor Ayensu was appointed to the World Bank Inspection Panel, whose Chairman he was from 2002 to 2003. Professor Ayensu was Distinguished Professor of the University of Ghana and twice the recipient of the Ghana National Science Award. He is also the recipient of the 2004 Third World Academy of Sciences Award in the biological sciences.

Sustainable development is recognized as a key challenge to contemporary society and the life of future generations. Major awareness of the importance of sustainable development has been created since the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm, 1972), and especially since the report published by the World Commission on Environment and Development ("Brundtland Commission") in 1987 and the two Earth Summits in Rio (1992) and in Johannesburg (2002). The key question has been how we can respond to the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

To address this question and others, the United Nations General Assembly is now preparing to launch the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014). The Decade aims at ensuring that education will play a key role in achieving sustainable development. There are two key questions that I would like to bring to the attention of all those who are concerned about sustainable development.

— How can we build the capacities and competencies to achieve environmental and ethical awareness, values and attitudes, skills and behaviour that are consistent with sustainable development?

— How can we develop and expand education for sustainable development both in terms of content and coverage?

Following the world's major and minor international conferences and symposia, we are beginning to appreciate the fact that despite all the damage we have done to the environment, with careful environmental management, a lot can be undertaken to correct and maintain the integrity of the biosphere. Our present knowledge, especially in the biological and physical sciences, enables us to unravel and understand the complexity of ecosystems and to find ways of dealing with the environment in a sustainable and wise manner. The World Conservation Strategy (1980, commissioned by the United Nations Environment Programme) demonstrated that in a number of places, there has been an attitudinal change for the better with regard to our biosphere. The natural ecosystems which were in retreat are gradually being re-established in some places. However, the managed ecosystems involving agricultural lands and human settlements still pose environmental problems, despite the fact that there are a number of technological and sociological solutions, which we can bring to bare to resolve some of these major problems.

> By resorting to appropriate environmental management, by integrating the inseparable economic and environmental systems, and by creating environmental awareness among the masses of our people, we can choose ecologically compatible paths to sustainable development.

We are all aware of the fact that we can trace almost all of our major environmental problems, including the denudation of our forests, overgrazing, industrial pollution, sewage pollution, communi-

cable diseases and malnutrition, to two areas: population growth and poverty. Knowing this, we must convince ourselves that the situation has not reached the point of no return. By resorting to appropriate environmental management, by integrating the inseparable economic and environmental systems, and by creating environmental awareness among the masses of our people, we can choose ecologically compatible paths to sustainable development. Such action cannot happen without the serious political commitment of our governments. Experiences from all over the world clearly indicate that environmental management, as a means of social change, can only take place with full government backing. Countries that have profound governmental political commitment to environmental protection and conservation of their natural resources most often do better than those which do not.

But apart from governments, each and every one of us has a role to play in the *protection and re-building* of the environment. This can be achieved through sustained civil-society activism. Some of the major tasks before us include: population control and quality health care, integrated land use planning and watershed management, revegetation of marginal lands to halt deforestation, the greening of eroded lands to stop desertification, water management in all its manifestations, water pollution control especially in industrial areas of both North and South, solid waste management through recycling, and of course, conservation of our biodiversity.

When we speak of the conservation of our biodiversity, we must in reality focus our attention on the consumption of our biodiversity. Various studies by the World Bank, UNESCO and the United Nations on the median estimates of population growth indicate that we do not live sustainably off our biodiversity. The prospect of adding 3 billion people to our current world population should be a major course for concern. Unsustainable human activities are virtually destroying our life support systems. In the developing world, 1.3 billion people live in conditions of absolute poverty. Every year some 15-20 million people die of hunger and hunger-related diseases. The majority of this are small children. Such a situation in a so-called "technologically advanced" world, is not only immoral, but also poses a real threat to the earth's environment. Think about our mishandling of our tropical forest ecosystems; think about how we all take our water resources for granted; look at how we also take our soils for granted.

With regard to energy, we often forget to consider whether our current use of this commodity, generated from all sources, can be sustainably maintained. In all countries whose industrial expansion is oil-based we have to ask ourselves whether we have given serious thought to the sustainability of its production. Evidence from reliable sources indicates that some major oil fields are already being exhausted. Even at this current rate of oil production and its attendant pollution of the biosphere – its impact on the ozone layer as well as its contribution to global warming: have we given serious thought to the hazards it will create for future generations? For many years, we have been talking about the replace-

But apart from governments, each and every one of us has a role to play in the *protection and re-building* of the environment.

ment of a certain percentage of fossil fuel with nuclear energy with its attendant risks. What about solar energy on a mass scale – or wind energy where feasible? What about hydrogen fuel whose current production does not seem to present any appreciable risks?

Finally, let me comment on the role of environmental education. As suggested above, environmental education is most essential in the attainment of sustainable development. The key issues of environmental education have been discussed at length in various meetings over the years. While all of us recognize the importance of such education, very few people have a clue as to how the ideas embodied in environmental education should be made operational, and at what level should take place to have maximum impact. Should it take place at university, in secondary schools, at primary-school level, in urban and rural areas where civil society resides? Do the teachers of these institutions actually know and understand what we mean by sustainable development?

It is my hope that in the course of the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), appropriate strategies will be developed to ensure that new and innovative methodologies are made available worldwide to help secure the livelihood not only for our generation, but also for future generations. We must therefore strife to establish strong, sustainable links between economic growth, the alleviation of poverty and our environmental condition. This is the only way we can turn our vision for a sustainable way of living into reality.

ARJUN SENGUPTA (INDIA)

Chairman of the Centre for Development and Human Rights in New Delhi

Arjun Sengupta is Chairman of the National Commission on Enterprises in the Unorganized and Informal Sector, Government of India, Chair of the Centre for Development and Human Rights in New Delhi, and Adjunct Professor of Development and Human Rights at the Faculty of Public Health of Harvard University. At the latter institution, he is also co-director of the "Right to Development Project", which is based at the university's François-Xavier Bagnaud Center for Health and Human Rights. Arjun Sengupta has taught at a number of academic institutions and was Professor at the School of International Studies of Jawarhalal Nehru University in India. His economic and political work concentrates on the right to development. He served as United Nations Independent Expert on the Right to Development, and is currently Independent Expert on Human Rights and Extreme Poverty. Prior to this, he held several positions in economics and politics, having served as Indian Ambassador to the European Union, as Economic Advisor to the Prime Minister of India, and as an Executive Director at the International Monetary Fund. Publications include *Research for Action: Aid and Development Policy in the 1990s* (1993), and *Reforms, Equity and the IMF: An Economist's World*, (2001).

I like to look at the problems of sustainable development from the perspective of human rights. How can we ensure that peoples and governments – the social agents – can make their best efforts to organize themselves and the society with a view to attaining the specific goals of sustainable development? Programmes of sustainable development have been known for many years, but the question is how these programmes can be implemented and how the authorities and other agencies of society can reorganize their activities to achieve those goals. To that purpose, I will elaborate on a proposition that the essential element of living together is to accept that all human beings, irrespective of race, religion, culture and sex, are equally entitled to human rights. Sustainable development extends this idea of equal entitlement to human rights to successive generation. Whereas the human rights discourse concentrates on equity *within* the generation, irrespective of different classes and castes etc., sustainable development is based on *inter-generational* equity: the notion that the current generation and future generations should have equal rights.

You may ask: "what is the advantage of evoking those human rights principles?" The main advantage is that the human rights paradigm has provided us with a new method of organizing ourselves. Although human rights have been talked about for a long time, the human rights paradigm we are referring to was bequeathed to us relatively recently, namely through the United Nations Charter and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. These documents retained the main thrust of the human rights principle, which was introduced in the *American Declaration of Independence*, through which the American people stated that certain rights were considered to be inherent in human nature. They also said that governments were formed for the purpose of protecting those rights. If a government does not do this, the people have the right to overthrow it.

This qualification is very important. If certain rights are accepted as human rights, then the governments, the authorities and also, in our day, *all agents* of society that can do something to realize these rights (including corporate agents such as multinational or national corporations) have the duty to see that those rights are realized. Performing this duty gives them their legitimacy. However, if the governments do not protect and promote these rights, they are illegitimate and we have the right to overthrow them.

Whereas the human rights discourse concentrates on equity within the generation, irrespective of different classes and castes etc., sustainable development is based on inter-generational equity: the notion that the current generation and future generations should have equal rights.

The advantage of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was that it has been recognized as international law. That means that all states who are members of the international community pledge themselves to respect, to protect and to promote human rights, and also to cooperate among

themselves to fulfil this aim. If a state does not fulfil its obligations, there are means to correct this aberration. The Treaty Bodies could review the situation and recommend corrective actions. Peer pressure is not the only way to deal with such lapses. This has led to many cases of humanitarian intervention – sometimes in the form of sanctions, sometimes through different kinds of concerted pressure. The idea behind this is that, if rights are not fulfilled, there is the possibility of collective action to correct the situation.

What about sustainable development? Sustainable development is (a) development, and (b) the idea that development has to be sustainable. In 1986, development was recognized as a human right. There is a very clear definition of development as a human right: it is a process of development which allows all individuals and peoples to realize the fundamental freedoms and human rights. This means the rights that have already been recognized: the right to food, the right to health, to education, to shelter, and the right to opportunity of employment. They also include all the civil and political rights that have been recognized as a part of international law, for instance freedom of speech and freedom of association. Development is the process through which these rights can actually be realized. It is a process, because development is not an event, but a succession of events or outcomes progressively realized. Their outcomes are an expansion of freedoms, recognized as right. The process which results in the outcomes is also consistent with the standard of human rights, such as equity, non-discrimination and accountable and can be claimed as a right. And sustainable development means that this right – which is based on equity within a generation (i.e. the idea that you and I are equally entitled to those rights) is extended to future generations. The next generation is equally entitled to each of those rights.

Let me give you a simple definition of the right to development and sustainable development. According to Professor Robert Solow "sustainable development" means that the present generation is bequeathing to the next generation a state of affairs that endows them with whatever it takes to achieve a standard of living at least as good as our own, and to look after the following generation in a similar way.[1] This is generational equity. The notion of "standard of living" is dependent upon the notion of well-being: the standard of living is what determines the level of your well-being.

I am mentioning this because this level of well-being or standard of living is often mistaken as the command over goods and services. In fact, the original Brundtland definition of "sustainable development" is also based on the concept of needs: it refers to "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs" – where "needs" really means commodities, goods and services consumed today and tomorrow.

Yet "needs" is too narrow a definition. In development economics, we now talk about much more than commodities: we talk about freedom. Development means to increase the capabilities, to achieve things which improve the well-being of the people to be and to do what they want to do. This is the notion of development as freedom. Goods and services are just one aspect: "development" covers the entire way

[1] See Robert M. Solow, "Sustainability: An Economist's Perspective", *The Eighteenth J. Seward Johnson Lecture* (Woods Hole, MA, 1991)

In development economics, we now talk about much more than commodities: we talk about freedom. Development means to increase the capabilities, to achieve things which improve the well-being of the people to be and to do what they want to do.

that society is organized. As soon as you accept development as a human right, all social agents have the responsibility to see that this right is fulfilled – civil society, the governments, the international community, the international institutions and the national corporate agents. In the case of sustainable development, they have the same responsibility: to see that future generations have the same kinds of privileges that we enjoy.

What do you mean by "expansion of freedom"? How do you know that at one particular point, your freedom has expanded? To know the answer to such questions, we have to develop indicators. For each item, there is already a lot of literature about constructing such indicators. On food – the right to be free from hunger – we need an indicator that would not only consider the availability of food, but also whether food reaches all sections of society, including the poor. Similarly, the right to education consists of both access and availability, and we have to build up indicators which take this into account. For sustainable development, we must also have proper indicators. Combining the elements of sustainability with elements of development. But once you have developed such indicators, the problem is to design a set of policies which help us to reach our objectives. Every right has an obligation; every right has certain duties or policies that the duty-bearers have carry out to fulfil the obligations. In this particular case, the fundamental policy is to design policies or a programme so that our specific goals (as reflected in our indicators) can actually be realized.

One question will immediately arise in this context: if we are talking about intergenerational equity and if, at the same time, the right to development refers to "current generation equity", is there any conflict? If you want to believe in the right to development, the first emphasis has to be on poverty eradication. Whatever one may say about equity, the glaring case of inequity is that a whole lot of people are poor – they do not have access to any of the freedoms we are talking about. It is not only the income-poor; it is, as we call it, the "capability-poor". They do not have food, health or education – they do not have the capacity to look after themselves. The first element of the right to development is therefore the fulfilment of the vulnerable and marginalized sections' welfare. Is there a conflict between poverty eradication and sustainable development? In answering this, I can provide a telling quotation from a World Bank report which highlights how removing poverty is linked to sustainable development:

"The poor are both victims and agents of environmental change. About half of the world's poor live in rural areas that are environmentally fragile, and they rely on natural resources over which they have little legal control. Land-hungry farmers resort to cultivating unsuitable areas – steeply-sloped, erosion-prone hillsides; semiarid land where soil degradation is rapid; and tropical forests where crop yields on cleared fields frequently drop; sharply after just a few years. Poor families lack resources to avoid degrading their environment. The very poor, struggling at the edge of the subsistence, are preoccupied with their day-to-day survival. It is not that the poor have inherently short horizons; poor communities often have a strong ethic stewardship

in managing their traditional lands. But their fragile and limited resources, their often poorly defined properly rights, and their limited access to credit and insurance markets prevent them from investing as much as they should in environmental protection."[2]

Hence, if you can remove poverty, you immediately resolve a substantial part of the problems contributing to environmental damage. There is, however, the question of balance – the possibility of a trade-off between the two objectives. I want to put forward the argument that if you are unable to remove poverty, but you still can work for sustainability, then there is a case for international action directly addressed to removing poverty so that the current generation's equity is ensured together with environmental sustainability.

This is the point which stems from the notion of a right to development, in which the national governments, the authorities of each country, have as much responsibility as the international community. The United Nations Charter's articles 55 and 56 categorically state that all States have the responsibility to cooperate so that the rights are realized. International cooperation is an obligation – and international cooperation today is not just giving foreign aid, but helping the countries to increase their trade, to reschedule their debt, and to do something for their intellectual property. It is a fundamental restructuring of the international economy.

In a globalizing world, the international economy would function essentially along market demands and supplies, where activities will be guided mostly by market incentives. But if that does not conform to the requirements of an international economy to ensure sustainable development together with equity, between nations and peoples within the different nations, or in other words enable the realization of the right to development, we must be able to set up mechanisms to correct the situation, and influence the market forces to achieve those results.

Such obligations to set up appropriate mechanisms of international action exist as soon as you talk about the right to development. All countries which have accepted and signed those agreements are bound by these international obligations. If we can relate these obligations to the case of sustainability, it implies that the causes of environmental damage and degradation have to be tackled by proper international programmes. Such programmes have to conform to human rights standards, of equity, both inter-and intra-generational, as well as transparency, participation, accountability.

I therefore submit a rights approach which believes that you and I have the same right and that this generation and the next generation have the same right, following from the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. The idea that every individual is equal in rights to each other would be the best answer to the problems of sustainable development. Equity is an essential element of any human rights approach. If you recognize this, then you have a method of dealing with the problem, with the nation-states, the international community, IMF, World Bank, WTO and others being equally involved together with the national agents. Such a rights paradigm engages all the institutions responsible to make changes and to restructure the social organization.

[2] World Bank, *World Development Report 1992: Development and the Environment* (Oxford, 1992), p. 30

Christiana THORPE (Sierra Leone)

Founding Chairperson of the Sierra Leone
Chapter of the Forum of African Women Educationalists (FAWE)

Christiana Thorpe became a member of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) in 1994. In 1995, she founded FAWE's Sierra Leone chapter, and remains its chairperson. She is also a former Under-Secretary and Secretary of State for Education in Sierra Leone. FAWE seeks to empower girls and women, who have often been victims of violence during the civil war in Sierra Leone, through educational means. Furthermore, the organization has created community peace education programmes and initiated peace clubs for children in Sierra Leone. In the implementation of its past projects, FAWE Sierra Leone has co-operated with a number of different organizations, including UNICEF. In 2000, Ms Thorpe's efforts to build the basis for sustainable peace were recognized through an honourable mention in UNESCO's Peace Education Prize.

I want to approach the topic of education for sustainable development from the angle of educating girls who have been through war – girls who have been with the fighting forces. My country has just emerged from ten years of bloody and gruesome war. As a consequence of this conflict, Sierra Leone ranks last in the UNDP Human Development Index. Since I started the Sierra Leone chapter of FAWE (Federation of African Women Educationalists) in 1995, the organization has been able to assist not less than 10,000 women and girls that were sexually violated during the war. At the end of the war, when people spoke about demobilization and integration, the men who were in the fighting forces received a lot of assistance, whereas the women were left abandoned, marginalized and, worst of all, demoralized.

Why am I and why is my organization so concerned? In the first place, we have eighty per cent female illiteracy in Sierra Leone. Can you talk about sustainable development in that sector, when 51 per cent of the population are women, and eighty per cent of them are illiterate? Secondly, we believe in the dignity of womanhood: for the sustainable development of our nation after the war, we must restore that sense of dignity, that sense of honour to our women and girls for them to be able to contribute to national development. Thousands of them have been raped. We say, "yes, you have been raped, but you still have a future". Dozens of them have been handicapped – with their hands or feet cut off. We say "yes, but you still have a life – you still have a future". We offer them hope.

How do we do it? Through education. Most of the girls who come to us are illiterate. We have therefore established fifteen skills-training centres, specifically aimed at girl-mothers. They are girls between the ages of eleven and twenty-one, and over the last eight years we have had between 7,000 or 8,000 of them passing through our institutions. Each centre caters for fifty to eighty trainees per year. The training period itself depends on their entry point – whether they require primary schooling or other forms of education. The period lasts between six and eighteen months.

Throughout their time with us, we try to give them a holistic package. The first six months have a psycho-social focus – the girls get to talk and talk and talk. A lot of counselling and a lot of medical assistance is given at this stage. Towards the end of these six months, you begin to see the glimmer of life coming back into their eyes. Most of the girls who participate are with babies – of course the babies do not have any fathers. Some of these girls have to be taught how to wash the babies, how to change the nappies and, most of all, how build a bond between mother and baby. Naturally, if the baby is the product of rape, the mother does not want to see the child at first. We start with a different premise: "Look, whatever you say and whatever you do, half of this child is you. So forget about the other part, just concentrate on the part of the child that is you, and begin with that." And this usually works.

We believe in the dignity of womanhood: for the sustainable development of our nation after the war, we must restore that sense of dignity, that sense of honour to our women and girls for them to be able to contribute to national development.

By the end of the six months, they begin to see what they can do. That is the time when we start to introduce specific skills training. We try to build upon the skills the participants acquired when they were in the bush. Most of them were not fighters – they were the ones who were building the platforms, who were mending things, who were finding and distributing medicines and who were doing the planting. Therefore, the girls already have some skills – for example, those who have been engaged in building and constructing work could have the capacity to become carpenters. At our centres, they will then start to learn how to be a good carpenter. Similarly, those who were cooks go into food sciences. Others are instructed in vegetable gardening – dealing with plants that they can grow, sell and use.

Above all, we establish crèche services. When the mothers are in class, the babies are in the crèche – apart from the times they are with the mothers for breast-feeding and the like. However, we also make use of the fact that the babies are in the crèche to get the girl-mothers to learn about baby care.

Where does all this lead to? At the end of about eighteen months, you see life coming back into people who had given up hope. Let me tell you about a little incident from when I was on my way home after getting my visa for the UNESCO conference in Barcelona. I had to go to Guinea to get my visa for Spain: Sierra Leone is still suffering from the aftermath of war and we still do not have embassies in our country; if you want a visa, you have to go abroad. My journey would normally have been six hours, but it took twelve hours because the roads were so bad. At the border, a lady of about eighteen to twenty years of age came up to me. She carried a plastic bag, and in that bag, there were two soft drinks. Since I had been travelling for so long, I was very thirsty. The young women came up to me and said "Auntie, Auntie" – that is the name we give to someone who is a semi-mother. "That is for you", she said. I asked her why – and she responded: "Oh Auntie, you don't recognize me. I was in your centre and did catering and food sciences." The girl then showed me her place: she had a little kiosk at the border, where sells drinks as well as making sandwiches and selling them. Her baby, which had been in our crèche, has now been enrolled in the primary school in the area. All the fatigue caused by my journey just disappeared. I felt so happy as I could see the difference one can make.

For me, this is what we call education for sustainable development at the basic level – because human resource is what sustainability is all about.

VII. TOWARDS A GLOBAL LEARNING VILLAGE? MEDIA, NEW TECHNOLOGIES, AND THE CHALLENGES OF PLURALISM AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

THÉRÈSE LAFERRIÈRE (CANADA)

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Thérèse Laferrière is Titular Professor of Pedagogy at Laval University as well as an associate researcher at the Institute for Knowledge Innovation and Technology, University of Toronto. Her research focuses on human interaction and the use of new technologies inside and outside the classroom, teacher learning and socio-cognitive processes. She has published widely on these issues, including recent research articles in the *Revue des sciences de l'éducation*, the *Journal of Information Technology and Teacher Education*, the *Canadian Journal of Distance Education, and the Alberta Journal of Educational Research*. Professor Laferrière was President of the Canadian Education Association (2001-2002) and has held different positions within the Canadian Society for Studies in Education (CSSE). From 1987 to 1995, she was Dean of Education at Laval University. Between 1995 and 2002, she led the research theme "Educating the Educators" within the TeleLearning Network of Centres of Excellence.

New technologies play the role of simplifying and prolonging our lives, but the case can also be made that they spoil the environment. My intention is not to address this complex issue, but to highlight how in education, we can take advantage of one of them, namely the Internet, for the formation and evolution of learning and knowledge-building communities. It is in this context that I will share my views on the question of new technologies vis-à-vis the challenges of pluralism and cultural diversity. I will therefore present some ideas and advances on various ways of benefiting from the Internet to know oneself, others and the world while participating in knowledge-building communities.

Knowledge

My humanistic and behavioural studies in education – for which I am grateful to my mentor Paul Nash (Boston University) – make me distinguish between three types of knowledge: self-knowledge, interpersonal knowledge, and public knowledge. According to the philosopher Martin Buber, each individual manages to attain better self-knowledge through dialogue with the other (the "I" and "thou"). Interpersonal knowledge is the knowledge of the Other, and also knowledge of the ways to reach the Other's universe and to even share his or her life. Public knowledge is the knowledge of the world, of the cultural heritage of various civilizations (old or contemporary), of the most astonishing scientific discoveries as well as what preceded them, without forgetting the knowledge of the still existing problems or even the new problems which are created locally or globally.

Conceptual and Technical Tools

Each community disposes of tools (concepts, technical and cultural artefacts, media) that it uses to transmit and to create knowledge. The relation to knowledge is a distinctive characteristic of human beings. This distinctiveness can be reinforced and put at the service of humanity, for the sake of mutual comprehension between nations. In this respect, books have given us a lot, and they continue to do so. Electronic tools (radio, television, the Internet and, *inter alia*, the Web) are part of these tools, and it is important to utilize them for societal advancement. Usually, this is achieved through education. Berners-Lee (1999), the inventor of the Web, and his colleagues sought a means of simplifying information exchange and of supporting the collaboration efforts amongst researchers. This technology became popular and its adoption is spreading. More and more Internet applications are making use of the Web thanks to its accessibility (e.g. electronic mail). Many education systems are integrating it into teaching and learning practices.

Learning Communities

Those who adopt a new technology usually do the same thing as before, but a little more quickly, a little more frequently or a little better. The world of education is no exception and, most of the time, the Internet is used to search for or to transmit information and pre-organized content (online courses).

Academics use it to publish the results of their inquiries, as do classes in the primary, secondary or tertiary sector when they have access to a server, thus producing webpages or websites.

Educators also use the Internet, for instance to facilitate school correspondence between various classes, to have their classes participate in Internet learning activities organized by third parties, or to carry out joint projects with other schools. In Quebec, a Canadian province with a French-speaking majority, we conducted an activity associated with the "Universal Forum of Cultures - Barcelona 2004. It was entitled "*Mieux vivre ensemble*", and was financially supported by our government. Learning projects were planned and implemented by more than 70 teachers, assisted by university interns with an interest in both teaching and the integration of information and communication technologies (ICTs) into the school curriculum. Each of the Barcelona Forum's three topics (cultural diversity, peace education and sustainable development) was tackled, and the concept of a "network culture" was emphasized.[1] Each interested teacher could register their class directly on the virtual learning community website (http://www.mve.qc.ca), which supported the steps that school classes took to advance their knowledge.

Work in learning communities was favoured, and the site offered teaching resources for the introduction of democratic processes into group classes in order to lead, *inter alia*,[2] to the identification of common learning goals. A learning community is also characterized by its steps towards understanding authentic problems, by its progressive dialogue on the object (objects of inquiry), by its cohesion and its openness to the outside world through Internet use, as well as the inclusion of outside participants who then add to the knowledge and competencies of the community members.[3]

In most cases, the projects carried out by the learning communities involved other classes. They were particularly interested in the knowledge of other cultural communities, be it from the North or the South. Illustrations and results of their exchanges were put online in order to allow the classes to convey their new knowledge, and to demonstrate different possibilities to the teachers. The virtual community on the practice of citizenship education, formed by the participants (teachers, prospective teachers, teacher educators and experts), is based at Laval University, and is made sustainable through partnership with other educational organizations. This rather successful use of the Internet and the Web has already led to the formulation of other plans aimed at knowing the Other, in particular the implementation of the concept of the "remote networked school".[4] In order to present their cultural community to others, pupils learn more about their own community, and some even undertake extensive inquiry that requires contributions from members of their local community. Thus, by engaging in a process of knowing the Other, they learn about themselves as members of a given cultural community.

[1] This concept has a technical dimension, since the access to a computer connected to the Internet is a basic component. However, its social dimension is also important, if not more important: participants must be able to count on their knowledge of one another or, at least, on their interest in knowing other people, other communities.
[2] The experience of democracy in the classroom forms part of a new topic in the Quebec school syllabus: citizenship education.
[3] See http://www.iscol.org and, *inter alia*, http://www.iscol.org/prepar2/preparf/milestones/milestones.html
[4] A Quebec project where the Internet is used in schools of small rural villages. Among the most appreciated activities are those where classes come into contact with other classes from different cultural backgrounds. Documentation is available via http://www.eer.qc.ca.

"Knowing the Other" is a possibility that gains amplitude through the Internet, yet it is also a requirement that today's technology makes more pressing. This is why an interest in knowing the other (individuals and communities), in his/her difference, should be cultivated among pupils: it is critical for exercising competent citizenship in the twenty-first century. The same applies with regard to knowing how to learn in collaboration with others: after all, the era of globalization that we now live in has generated a considerable number of complex problems that require "plural intelligence" for their resolution. These are the two literacies that we consider to be indispensable. If we fail, the ignorance of cultural diversity and of collaborative skills will become increasingly manifest in our learning and work activities, with all the positive and negative consequences. However, there is a third ignorance that we have to highlight: learning to establish a rapport with knowledge that expresses the major conviction that any idea can be improved – regardless of whether the idea has been produced in the East or the West, regardless of whether it is the result of adults' or young people's thoughts, and regardless of whether it has yet been sanctioned by a community.

Knowledge-Building Communities

The Declaration of Principles adopted at the World Summit on the Information Society (Geneva 2003) declares "[the] common desire and commitment to build a people-centred, inclusive and development-oriented Information Society, where everyone can create, access, utilize and share information and knowledge [...]". Cognitive sciences, which have made substantial advances in the theory of learning, support such an assertion (see Bransford, Brown and Cocking, 1999).

Research shows that young people are interested in difficult problems and able to make contributions that advance the collective knowledge (meaning here the knowledge of their classroom). The latter is transformed into a knowledge-building community, as the teacher applies the knowledge-building principles (Scardamalia and Bereiter, 2003; see also http://www.ikit.org). Their successful application becomes manifest, *inter alia*, when analyzing the written discourse resulting from the use of Knowledge Forum. When properly used to support the discourse of the community, this electronic forum extends its members' possibilities of interaction for the purposes of "knowing". In such cases, analysis shows that:

— the ideas are real, the problems are authentic;
— the ideas are diversified;
— the ideas are understood as being improvable;
— the ideas are integrated, discussed and new ideas emerge;
— the pupils are not only active in their learning process but capable of meta-cognition and reflection at the epistemological levels;
— the pupils use the sources of authority in a constructive way;
— the community engage in a discourse that changes and that progresses;
— the community engages in embedded and transformative evaluation;

— knowledge is being democratized;
— knowledge is valued for communitarian rather than individual achievement, and collective responsibility is exerted;
— the knowledge of the community members advances in a symmetrical way;
— knowledge-building occurs in more than one context (written speech/discourse, oral speech/discourse).

On the basis of the ideas circulated in this forum, it would be possible to have learners (pupils or students) from the primary, secondary or tertiary classes engage in steps towards collaborative knowledge-building. Let us take, for example, the idea of a "global history" that aims to support mutual comprehension between various cultural communities. The implementation of this idea is certainly complex, yet it responds to an authentic problem. It is, however, possible to conceive the participation of young people from secondary schools in such an initiative. They would, of course, be guided by their teachers as expert-learners within their class as they transform it into a knowledge-building community. They would also maintain contacts with knowledgeable people from outside the classroom, who are likely to help with the formulation and the improvement of the pupils' ideas. Together, all members of a given knowledge-building community would consider the contribution of their own cultural community to the history of humanity.

With regard to contemporary cognitive perspectives, this idea improves upon the original idea as it provides the learners with an active role in researching the facts, in negotiating the sense and in creating knowledge. However, the idea itself is improvable and, for this purpose, we have launched an experiment in collaboration with the Department of Education of Catalonia (Spain) and other cultural communities in the Knowledge Society Network under the direction of Professor Scardamalia of the University of Toronto. Examples of the possibilities of such communities – comprising, inter alia, young people – who develop a rapport to knowledge where all ideas are improvable, are available via http://ikit.org/mvt/. The virtual tours that are presented there illustrate what the knowledge-building communities have learned, and what they agree to make known to other interested people or communities.

The upcoming meetings of the "International Association of Educating Cities" as well as the fourth centenary (2008) of the city of Quebec, recently admitted to this network, would be natural occasions for the meeting of representatives of communities interested by writing a world history that would make space for young people.

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Manuel Joaquim da Silva Pinto holds a doctorate in communication science and is currently Associate Professor at the Institute of Social Science, University of Minho. His current research on media is complemented by his involvement in several projects on journalism, the media and citizenship, including the "Mediascopio" project. Professor Pinto also acts as ombudsman for the Portuguese newspaper *Jornal de Notícias* in Porto. Between 2000 and 2002, he was a member of the Scientific Council at the Institute of Educational Innovation of the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, between 1996 and 2002, he directed specialized courses in "Education for Social Communication" at the Institute of Childhood Studies, University of Minho.

The title "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World" and the different themes treated under this heading draw attention to the key issues which we must deal with in the years to come. With regard to the role of communication and the media, the Declaration of Principles adopted at the First Summit on the Information Society outlines the key objectives. It refers to the "common desire and commitment to build a people-centred, inclusive and development-oriented Information Society, where everyone can create, access, utilize and share information and knowledge, enabling individuals, communities and peoples to achieve their full potential in promoting their sustainable development and improving their quality of life" (World Summit on the Information Society, *Declaration of Principles, "Building the Information Society: A Global Challenge in the New Millennium)*

In examining ways of reaching these aims, my paper focuses on two central questions: firstly, what are the new forms, new spaces and new institutions needed for the construction of a "global learning village"? And secondly, what forms of knowledge, values and competencies are necessary to promote the emergence of a knowledge society in the digital age? Both questions are ultimately concerned with reducing future forms of ignorance.

I. Our Ignorances as Individuals

In dealing with old and new ignorances, we have to confront our own ignorances. At the UNESCO Conference in Barcelona, this question was raised by Adama Samassékou: he enquired how we could best promote the education of critical, solidarity-promoting, kind and tolerant individuals: people who are capable of recognizing the qualities of others, and who feel recognized by others. In dealing with these tasks, one is led to the topic of "viewing" and "perceiving", to the role of images and the things that one sees and that one does not see, as well as the conditions of seeing. With regard to "visibility" – the process of being seen and recognized – we have to address a number of different questions:

— How can we develop a capacity for imagination – that is, the power to evoke images with closed eyes? Moreover, how is this possible when we are constantly bombarded with images, sounds and messages of all kinds?
— Given the excesses of external luminance, is there perhaps a shortage of internal luminance which could prevent us from being shaken?
— Is it possible and desirable to approach and to construct the future without being conscious (i.e. being ignorant) of the vital necessity of personal development and internal richness ?

In constructing a global village, it is necessary to work with a holistic and ecological model, which takes into consideration the different aspects of the rapport between media and society, as well as the role of the media around the globe.

I am very much aware that we cannot exist outside our relations with other human beings, and that we cannot be subjects without the existence of other subjects. However, relations of all kinds cannot exist without all partners bringing something individual into a human relationship.

II. Affronting Fragmentation: for an Ecological Approach to Communication and the Media

The notion of a global learning village presupposes the pre-eminent role of information and communication technologies, in particular the media. In constructing a global village, it is necessary to work with a holistic and ecological model, which takes into consideration the different aspects of the rapport between media and society, as well as the role of the media around the globe. This "ecological" approach is not a new proposition: since Marshall McLuhan and even before him, people have spoken about media ecology. However, we may have to establish a less techno- or media-centric concept, which would have to be structured around social relations. Such a concept has to be understood as a part of the human environment, of which the media and the new digital networks are at the same time an expression and an agent.

This environment is increasingly vital in social interaction and other basic processes. We must therefore pay more attention to it, thereby assuring that this symbolic atmosphere is characterized by socially examined qualities. If the mass media and the new networks are present and even determinant in social and cultural life, why should we not imagine new alliances in the future – could not consumers' movements and ecological movements extend their traditional spheres of action? In other words: is it not high time to integrate the dimension of symbolic production and the entity of cultural activity into our understanding of the "environment"? Our common house, our global *oikos* – in its natural, social and symbolic dimensions – cannot be defended outside the framework of global understanding. In fact, the different chapters in this publication constitute an excellent agenda whose path leads the direction which I have described.

III. Exercising New Rights and Responsibilities as Citizens vis-à-vis the Media

The power of the great media conglomerates is enormous and the tendency towards media concentration and convergence in the media-economic sector continues. We therefore have to accompany and study this process very seriously, and we must develop initiatives with a view to limiting this power at different levels. It would be tragic if we, in our capacity as citizens, used this power as an excuse for our inactivity.

For these reasons, authors such as Roger Silverstone or Ignacio Ramonet have recently spoken about the need for the construction of a "fifth estate", comprised of citizens, in order to fill the gap left by the fourth estate's incapacity of acting as a "counter-power". I neither share some people's apocalyptic visions about the media, nor the enchanted visions of others. And I do not believe that it is necessary to put the media and its professions on the scaffold and to condemn them as if they were a

homogenous and monolithic entity without any internal contradictions. Instead, we should explore all different existing or feasible forms through which citizens could become more participative – forms which provide the people with their own voice, and which ensure that citizens' voices are heard. This is linked to people's knowledge of their fundamental rights vis-à-vis the media, as well as the knowledge of ways to exercise them. This framework, however, has to be underpinned by two fundamental axes:

i. the need for effective mechanisms of media accountability with regard to regulation, auto-regulation and co-regulation (at the legal and ethical level; deontological).

ii. the development of diversified and socially extended mechanisms of public scrutiny regarding the media. The spectrum of forms and modalities of this concept includes production; research; the dissemination of information, movements shaping public opinion / lobbying; education of teachers and parents; media education.

A communication and media ecology can benefit greatly from this extension of the concept and practice of citizenship.

Reza DEGHATI (Iran)

Photojournalist and President of the Association *Aïna*

Born in Tarbis, Iran, Reza Deghati is an internationally renowned photojournalist. In the past twenty years, he has worked for distinguished publications such as "Newsweek" (being its Middle East correspondent from 1978 to 1981), "Time Magazine", "Vanity Fair", the "New York Times Magazine" and the "National Geographic", having frequently covered a great number of conflict areas. Furthermore, Reza Deghati has worked with the United Nations humanitarian programme in Afghanistan in 1989/1990, and contributed to UNICEF reports between 1989 and 1996. In 2001, Reza Deghati co-founded "*Aïna*", a non-governmental organization that unites different artists in their support for democracy and freedom of expression in Afghanistan. In many of its activities, "*Aïna*" cooperates with UNESCO, which assisted in the NGO's establishment of the Afghan Media and Culture Centre in Kabul in October 2002.

Twenty years ago, I came to encounter a people trapped in a war which had been imposed by the largest and most powerful army in the world. As time passed, with me staying secretly in the mountains, villages and trenches amongst the men, women and children of this country, I discovered a magnificent landscape. I also discovered a people with a magnificent soul. Their looks and glances said a lot: they spoke of interior depth and beauty, and also of the suffering brought about by years of war, by exodus and famine. Back then, I undoubtedly met a people living through the darkest years of its history, which also concerns the history of humankind.

As a young photo-reporter in Afghanistan and elsewhere, I covered wars and some of the world's cruellest events. My work led me not only to Afghanistan, but also to Soweto in South Africa, to the Philippines, to refugee camps in Pakistan and later to those of Rwanda and Burundi; it led me to witnessing Lebanon's civil war, the tragedy of Palestine and that of Garabagh in Azerbaijan… However one must not simply remain a witnessing spectator. I therefore started to reflect upon war, repression, exodus and the burden of acknowledged deaths – and also on past solutions: missionaries and the Red Cross are regarded as the pioneers of humanitarian aid; and the "French doctors" of whom we spoke in the 1970s looked after the physical rebuilding.

However, in the secrecy of wounded dignities, there rests an invisible destruction: the wounds of the soul.

When the guns of war go silent and the armies withdraw, tangible reconstruction becomes an urgent necessity. Armies of "men with shovel" commence their work, endeavouring to leave no traces of the ruins. Roads, houses, school and private clinics form part of the infrastructure to whose reconstruction many non-governmental organizations are devoted. With devotion, others bandage the suffering bodies: they provide prostheses, operations, vaccinations, bindings, crutches… Thus, the handicaps and sufferings caused by war are cured. However, in the secrecy of wounded dignities, there rests an invisible destruction: the wounds of the soul – wounds that are open, yet invisible, anchored deep down in human beings. In the long run, they can destroy the efforts of a country's physical reconstruction and prevent an entire nation from rising again.

Aïna works for the emergence of independent media and cultural expression in all its forms, wherever freedom of expression remains a fragile value.

The culture of war generates war. Those who do not receive intellectual and cultural weapons will return to their sole point of reference: the deafening noise of rifles and guns. This is the reason why *Aïna* was founded. *Aïna* means "mirror" in Persian. The organization seeks to be a tended mirror for people in search of the identity they have lost in the course of war – through this mirror, they can rediscover their destroyed culture. *Aïna* works for the emergence of independent media and cultural expression in all its forms, wherever freedom of expression remains a fragile value.

Aïna is defined as a humanitarian association of the third generation. Its actions bandage the wounded souls whilst providing logistical support and training for local actors in the fields of culture and the media. In Afghanistan today, the actions of *Aïna* contribute to the emergence of a civil society and to the democratization process in a country emerging from twenty years of conflict.

Today, we have an independent culture and media centre in Kabul as well as similar centres in seven other cities, namely Herat, Mazar-e-Charif, Kunduz, Jalalabad, Khost, Ghazni, Kandahar. We hope that further cities will soon have these independent media and culture centres, too. Furthermore, there are hundreds of Afghan media/culture actors, covering a wide range in the print media through eight publications: two magazines for women (*Malalaï* and *Seerat*), a general weekly magazine (*Kabul Weekly*), a children's magazine (*Parvaz*), a society magazine (*Sabawoon*), a satirical review (*Zambil E gham*), the first French magazine (*Les Nouvelles de Kaboul*), and *Aïna News*, which is similar to the *Courrier international*, allowing Afghan people to read what the world thinks of their country and their actions.

With regard to video production, *Aïna* has trained Afghan women (who make up 50 per cent of the country's population) to tell the country's history of the past twenty years through their testimonies. Thus, the camerawomen trained by *Aïna* interview and film other women. Through their work, we get to discover another Afghanistan, which had been concealed for a long time – an Afghanistan seen through female eyes. Furthermore, *Aïna* has initiated training courses for young photojournalists. The participants are girls and boys who are currently fifteen years old. They will be amongst the first Afghan photojournalists, featuring the country's very first female photojournalists.

Aïna also works in other areas of media and communication: this includes a radio station making heard the voices of Afghan women. As a vector of education, we have also established a film production unit. It consists of eight mobile units, constituting a mobile cinema which travels from village to village to show educational films to those who cannot read or do not have access to print media. These educational films create a true form of visual and informal education for the village population – for those who live in the most isolated parts of the country. We work with all kinds of cultural initiatives, including photo exhibitions, paintings exhibitions, theatre plays, concerts. In other words, we work with all the means that can provide for this people a true breath of life in regard to cultural reconstruction.

In all of *Aïna*'s fields of intervention, local training and production activities are supported by advanced technological tools. Becoming aware of the logistical gap between Western media professionals and their Afghan counterparts has led us to directing these tools of freedom to a country seeking to turn a page. I call them "tools of freedom" and refer to the capacities acquired in the West and not by the Afghan people. In this respect, *Aïna* supports a group of journalistic and educational actors from Afghanistan, thus contributing to an education for peace and freedom.

I remember an encounter in 1990 – at the time, I worked for the United Nations in the provinces of Badakhshan, Takhar, Baglan, Kunduz, distributing wheat, helping to rebuild roads, irrigation canals, private clinics. On this particular day, I heard the laughter of some children. I turned over. A boy was

leaving his school with a small plant in his hand. At school, he had learned how to take care of it. He had sprinkled it carefully and it sprouted. Someone had then authorized the boy to take it home. There was immense pride in his eyes whilst he held this plant in his hand. When I took my photograph, I asked him, "what are you going to do with this plant?". His answer is perhaps one of the reasons why I founded *Aïna*, perhaps one of the reasons why I still return in this country: "I will make a tree of it."

Today, *Aïna* is similar to this plant. It has its roots in the rich culture of Afghanistan. I hope that it will become a tree, a tree of culture and peace – for the moment, in Afghanistan; and for the future, in any other country where freedom of expression remains a fragile concept.

VIII. ETHICS OF SCIENCE: WHAT SCIENCE FOR WHAT SOCIETY?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE (CANADA)

Founding Director of the Centre for Medicine, Ethics and Law at McGill University in Montreal

Margaret Somerville is the Founding Director of the Centre for Medicine, Ethics and Law at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. Having studied both law and pharmacy, she is now Gale Professor of Law and Professor of Medicine at McGill University. Her work focuses on the legal and ethical aspects of medicine and science, and she has become one of the most renowned academics working on bioethical questions. One of her most recent publication, written with a general public readership in mind, is *The Ethical Canary: Science, Society and the Human Spirit* (2000). In addition to being the Founding Chairperson of the Ethics Committee of the National Research Council of Canada, Professor Somerville also acted as a consultant to numerous government and non-governmental bodies, working with the World Health Organization, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and UNAIDS. In 2004, Professor Somerville became the first laureate of the Avicenna Prize for Ethics in Science (2004). She also received the Order of Australia (1989) and became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1991.

I. Applied Ethics as a New Literacy…

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines a mantra as "an instrument of thought". Under this definition, the title "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World" could be a mantra for the role of ethics, in particular, for the role of ethics in relation to the new science, in a twenty-first century world.

Literacies are ways of knowing. Some scholars, for instance, the philosopher John Ralston Saul in his book *The Unconscious Civilization*, classify ethics as one of the basic ways of human knowing. All ways of human knowing are forms of human literacy. They include: reason; intuition, especially moral intuition; human memory (a more evocative term for history); examined emotions; common sense; imagination and creativity; and ethics. We read the world through all those ways of knowing – or at least we should.

One current danger is that reason, especially as expressed through science, has pre-empted the other ways of knowing. Important as reason is, as is true for all ways of knowing unbalanced by the other ways, it can lead us astray. That is especially likely when we fail to balance the reason of science with the ethics of science. Hence, one way of viewing the emergence of the field of applied ethics in medicine and science in the last thirty years, is to regard it as a "new literacy". Indeed, both the process involved in applied ethics and the substance that results from it can be viewed as new literacies. An important methodology for applying ethics in science can be summarized in the phrase "ethics talk". By engaging in "ethical conversation" or "ethical dialogue", we identify or develop the fundamental human moral principles that can guide us ethically. However, this dialogue must be carefully structured – it is not simply random talk or chatter. In short, working out how best to engage in that dialogue can be regarded as developing a new literacy (that is, the process is a new literacy), as also can the ethical insights and consensus (the substance) that result from it. The theory behind "ethics talk" is that language and morality are both unique to humans and, therefore, are the characteristics that most identify us as human. By engaging in dialogue about the morality and ethics of, for instance, certain scientific research or its uses, we can find shared values and a shared ethics, which we can use to help us in our search for meaning in life – also a uniquely human attribute.

One way of viewing the emergence of the field of applied ethics in medicine and science in the last thirty years, is to regard it as a "new literacy".

Some religious people have criticized this approach to ethics – and especially to morality – as a purely humanist one which excludes religion. That would be a very serious fault, if it were correct, not least because vast numbers of religious people would refuse to engage in the "ethics talk" needed to find shared values. I believe, however, that it is not correct. Rather, the challenge is to create an ethical base to which we can all adhere – what I like to refer to as a conceptual or metaphorical "ethics space"

that we can all enter – whether or not we are religious and, if religious, whatever our religion. I believe that applied ethics, properly understood, developed and used, holds the promise of creating a shared ethics base for a globalizing world and, in doing so, can help us to live together as fellow humans.

Although science is of ancient origin, the amazing new knowledge it has opened up to us recently is of a different kind, not just degree, from that of the past – it is a new literacy, not least, as is true of all literacies, in terms of the vastly augmented power it places in our collective human hand. To take just one example: scientists tell us that we humans are the product of approximately 850 million years of evolution of life on earth. We can now change our human genome that has taken 850 million years to evolve in a fraction of a second by changing a human embryo's germ cell line and in doing so, we would change all the future descendants of that embryo in the same way. If we think of what we knew a hundred or even just twenty-five years ago and what we know now, the range of knowledge has increased beyond our wildest dreams. We have explored the far reaches of vast outer-space with astrophysics – we can think of this as "spacing out" – and we have "spaced in" to previously unimaginable vast inner space with genetic research and nanotechnology. Yet paradoxically, this completely unprecedented new scientific literacy has opened up new ignorances – or, I propose we should experience it as doing exactly that, if we want to use this science ethically. Let me explain: it is a truism, but no less important for being so, that good facts are essential to good ethics. Everyone understands that means we need to be aware of what is known in making ethical judgments. But, equally importantly and often ignored, is that it also means we must be aware that there is much that we don't know (that is, be aware of our ignorances), if we are to act ethically.

II. New Ignorances...

Depending on how we view new knowledge, it can open up new perceptions or new ignorances. That is no less true of scientific knowledge than other knowledge. We can see that when we explore the two main ways to view the new science, which reflect two different worldviews.

a) 'Pure Science' View

People who adopt what I call the "pure science" view believe that eventually everything will be able to be explained by science; everything that exists is knowable through science – we just may not know it yet. This approach usually results in a reductionist stance, for example, that humans are essentially "gene machines" and that even those traits that have traditionally been thought of as identifying us as human, as compared with other animals, such as altruism, will be able to be fully explained by genetics. This is science as scientism – science as a twenty-first century secular religion. It also strongly denies that "ways of human knowing" other than reason, have any valid role to play in our perception of ourselves, others and the cosmos. And it vehemently rejects the need to embrace any sense of mystery.

For "pure" science adherents, reason is not just one way of knowing, it is the only way of knowing. That approach leads to a certain approach to ethics. Ethics based other than on pure reason, for

instance, that based on long-recognized moral intuitions or long-established human memory, should not get in the way of science. And nothing is regarded as absolutely wrong; it all depends on the circumstances – a pure utilitarian approach.

b) Science-Spirit View

In contrast, people who adopt what I call a "science-spirit" worldview – a combination of deeply valuing both science and the human spirit – gaze in wonder and awe at the knowledge the new science has opened up. They believe that we now know so much more than we did previously, that we know that we know hardly anything of what there is to know. This view is captured for me in a Japanese saying:

As the radius of knowledge expands

the circumference of ignorance increases.

I imagine the radius of knowledge as a laser beam going out into the darkness of our unknowing – our ignorance – and providing us with two kinds of new perceptions: the new knowledge which it illuminates, and the new knowledge of what we now know we do not know – the expanded darkness opened up by the enlarged circumference. This view has space for mystery - this does not mean that people who adopt it must be religious or believe in the supernatural, but it is not antithetical to holding such beliefs and can accommodate them.

People who adopt a "science-spirit" view are much less absolute than those who adopt a "pure science" view or its counter-opposite a "pure mystery" view that rejects science and can be linked to some fundamentalist religious beliefs. They are more comfortable living with uncertainty than either of the other two groups (being comfortable with uncertainty is a safeguard against making ethical errors and a certain degree of discomfort in one's own moral home can reflect a high degree of morality); they accept that there is much they cannot and some matters they should not try to control; and they recognize that many ethical issues can be in a grey area.

III. Answering the Question…

"What science for what society?" is the overall question of this part of the publication. The short answer is: ethical science for all societies present and future, in particular, the present and future global society, if we want to have ethical societies. Unethical science must be seen as bad science – ethics is integral to science and neither an add-on after the science is done nor an impediment. Scientific advance without the accompanying ethical advance would be a hollow victory. However, while the answer may be short, to implement it is an enormously complex proposition.

IV. Implementing Ethics in Practice…

a) Recognizing our Ignorances…

Ethics requires, first, that we recognize our ignorances and their nature, if we are to deal with them ethically. For example, some people still believe that all that is needed to ensure that science is ethical is that scientists act in good conscience. While good personal conscience is necessary for ethics, it is far from sufficient. We need ethical research and analysis that is as sophisticated as the science to which it relates and it must be wedded to the science. Carrying out ethics research requires human, educational and financial resources. It is wishful thinking, and not ethically acceptable, to assume that ethics will just happen.

b) Dealing with our Ignorances…

We can find good examples of doing just that in contemporary applied ethics. For instance, the "precautionary principle" of environmental ethics reflects such a stance. That says that when we are uncertain of the risks and harms our interventions will generate – that is, we are ignorant – before we may proceed, we have the burden to prove that running those risks or imposing those harms is ethically acceptable.

c) Understanding Ethical Analysis…

The first question is: should we undertake this research at all – is it *inherently wrong* to do so?

For example, is it inherently wrong to create human embryos through therapeutic cloning for stem cell research? What ethical issues does such research raise? Important ethical issues arise with regard to the respect for the transmission of human life and respect for human embryos, the earliest form of human life. Is it wrong to transmit human life: (i.) through asexual replication, not sexual reproduction; (ii.) with the intention of killing the embryo by taking its stem cells; and (iii.) in order to make therapeutic products for the rest of us, that is, to create a human embryo in order to use it as a product?

If, after the general questioning on "right" and "wrong", the research under consideration is not found to be inherently wrong, the next question is: are its risks so great, including the risk of misuse, that the harms and risks outweigh the benefits and therefore it should not be undertaken? Research in the life sciences on "dual use" technologies (military and civilian use) and nanotechnology are areas where such a question becomes particularly pertinent.

There is disagreement about whether research can be unethical in itself (e.g. human embryo stem cell research) or only because harms and risks outweigh benefits, for instance because of its potential for misuse (e.g. some counter-bio-terrorism research) or because of unknown risks (e.g. some nanotechnology research).

Ethical analysis is concerned with:

— identifying the ethically relevant facts (good facts are essential to good ethics);

— identifying the values that are in play;
— determining whether they conflict;
— prioritizing values when they conflict;
— and, the essence of doing ethics, providing a justification for not honouring the values that are contravened.

d) Levels of Doing Ethics…

Ethical responsibilities exist simultaneously at different levels: individual or micro; institutional or meso; societal or macro; and global or mega. These responsibilities are cumulative, not alternative _ ethics is like a cake (everyone can have a slice), and not like a football (one person gets rid of it and another then has it). And these responsibilities may not all be of the same content: for example, at the individual level, a physician has a primary obligation of personal care to each patient and to act ethically must always put the patient's interests first. In comparison, it is ethical for a hospital's obligation to a given patient to be tempered by its obligations to all of its other patients. Likewise, all persons and institutions involved in science have ethical responsibilities but the precise content of a scientist's responsibilities might not be identical to that of a scientific institutions', although they will be consistent with each other.

Ethics is like a cake (everyone can have a slice), and not like a football (one person gets rid of it and another then has it).

e) Involving the Public in "Ethics Talk"…

"Ethics talk" must include the public. This opens up many challenges and responsibilities for scientists and scientific institutions, for instance to engage in public discussion, to make research results open to public scrutiny, to participate in media (which many scientists hate to do), and not to denigrate the public in relation to their knowledge of science.

f) "Mixed Ethical Systems"…

Mixed ethical systems raise special and difficult ethical issues. The university-governmental-industrial complex involved in much research today is such a system; to use Jane Jacob's terms in her book *Systems of Survival,* it is a mixed guardian moral syndrome / commercial moral syndrome system. The guardian moral syndrome is based on "blind" trust – "trust me to look after you and decide for you, because I have knowledge that you don't and I will act in your best interests". In the past, universities and governments have been largely based on a guardian moral syndrome. Industry is based on a commercial moral syndrome or "earned" trust in an egalitarian relationship – "trust me because I will show and continue to show that you can trust me". Each system has internal safeguards to guard against abuse, but these safeguards differ from each other and when the systems are mixed, none of them may function.

g) Misidentification of Ethical Issues…

Misidentifying ethical issues as communications or public relations problems is a major source

of ethical mistakes. The issue is then "spin-doctored" by professionals in these fields which usually greatly augments the original ethical problem. After all, we must bear in mind the three basic rules of public relations:

— Never say you don't know.
— Never say you were wrong.
— Never apologize.

It could be labeled a formula for causing ethical problems.

h) Ethics Leadership

Research shows that the "ethical tone" in large institutions is set by a very few leaders at the top. That raises two related issues: not all people at the top are leaders and not all leaders are ethical. The worst case scenario is leaders who are not ethical, the best, leaders who are ethical.

i) A Globalized Ethics…

Science is not territorially bounded; therefore, the search for the ethics to govern science is one of the major arenas in which we are searching for a shared ethics for a globalized world. In short, that means that ethics in science is not just about ethics in science, but ethics in a much broader sphere and whether we can find a consensus on what the substance of that ethics should be. The challenge in creating a global ethics is to create a "space" that can hold all of us, one that we can all buy into. To do so, we must recognize the complexity of such an endeavour and the multiple, diverse, cumulative actions we must engage in to realize our goal.

V. Conclusion

The new technoscience has brought us face to face with an enormous challenge and presented us with an unprecedented opportunity to fashion a shared ethics for a twenty-first century small world. Recognizing and accommodating both our new ignorances and new literacies will be an important step forward in meeting that challenge and fully realizing the potential for ethical progress that opportunity offers.

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Only an ethics of science understood as an *ethics of freedom and life* – and not just an ethics of science at the service of freedom yet at the expense of life – will be able to contribute to countering the terrible challenges posed by scientific and technological progress.

"What science for what society?". The question highlights our doubts regarding science's capacity to take up all by itself the challenges it poses to humanity. An ethics of science is indispensable. In fact, the question "what science?" directly triggers the question "what ethic?". The response to these two questions will allow us to answer the question "for what society?".

The notion of an "ethics of science" is far from clear, as it covers two opposing concepts. Ethics used by science for its orientation, justification and foundation cannot be the same ethics which a global society elaborates as the set of rules and norms intended to guide all sectors of collective and private activities and which is indispensable for everyone's well-being. In the absence of prior agreement on what an "ethics of science" comprises, the answer to our overall question can only express an individual opinion, which of course has to be defended and justified.

My opinion is that only an ethics of science understood as an *ethics of freedom and life* – and not just an ethics of science at the service of freedom yet at the expense of life – will be able to contribute to countering the terrible challenges posed by scientific and technological progress. Such an ethics has to be based on a solid faith in the "entirety" of what is specifically human, using a plural, multidisciplinary approach.

To illustrate and defend this opinion, I believe that it will suffice to briefly evoke the formation of the modern ethics of freedom and individual conscience, as well as its extraordinary development until its current impasse. The reaction to this deadlock includes an increasingly convergent recourse to the reality of life as a fundamental and preliminary condition of freedom – and this reaction gives birth to a fundamental ethics of freedom and life, or bioethics. This understanding of bioethics is likely to highlight the meaning of "what is specifically human", which subordinates and structures scientific practices and social institutions.

I. Ethics of Science, Historical Ethics of Freedom

Those who speak of "ethics" speak of "reason", and those who speak of "reason" mean access to the truth of reality, of man and of the "entirety" of man:[1] what he is, who he is, and why he is. As long as men – thanks to revealed or simply innate and natural reason – believed themselves capable of reaching the order of reality of which they constitute a part, the basis and standard of ethics merged with this order of reality. From this ethics, they derived the principles to establish and justify their judge-

[1] In the context of this essay "man" and "he" are used in a gender-neutral sense and refer to both men and women.

ments and behaviour, their private, social, political, national and international moralities. Religious and traditional ethics, as well as philosophical ethics such as Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and Spinoza's *Ethics*, pertain to this kind of ethics, being based on the order of reality that is accessible to reason (of course understood in different ways).

The revolution which brought about modernity consisted, roughly speaking, of the self-positioning and self-assertion of man as author-subject of action (in his specificity as free subject, independent from the real natural world, operating outside of it, and paradoxically also superior and autonomous with regard to it). Self-positioning and self-assertion imply the negation of the real natural world and affirmation of oneself as a liberty which founds sciences and technics. These sciences and technics reduce the world's reality to a world of objects, deprived itself of a proper end, and transformed into a property of liberty, thus radically modifying our prior conceptions of man, of real, as well as our conception of liberty and ethics.

Ethics ceases to be based on man's real, rational relation to the world, and instead claims to be based on subject's relation to itself, which is both positive and normative: a relation of self-positioning, of self-assertion as subject and norm, as subject-author of one's own law. The relation, everything considered, is one's self-justification as subject. The reason by which man positions and asserts himself as a free, autonomous subject is the same reason by which he authorizes himself (as a sovereign being) to reduce the real world to a world of objects, and to claim its property by making it subordinate to his aims. The reason of scientific and technological manipulations arises from the reason of affirmative liberty, which derives its legitimacy, its justification, and also the legitimacy and justification of its works solely from itself.

This basis of the modern ethics of freedom and individual conscience is paradoxical. Man is rational in his subjectivity as author, as an independent actor, as an individual that exists autonomously and outside the real world. However, in the relationship through which he positions himself as the ultimate meaning of the world, as universal sovereign, as "master and possessor of nature", he is perfectly irrational. Modern man assures himself of his autonomy and his rational capacity (both technical and scientific) to reduce and transform reality into his property and into an instrument for the achievement of his destiny; yet he is less and less certain that the self-assertion of freedom as origin and end of scientific progress serves the ethical basis of human society. On the contrary, he is increasingly certain that this conception of freedom in terms of absolute will and perfect autonomy lies at the root of innumerable and different wars of colonization, fought by modern man (the absolute individual) against man and his real, traditional societies. These wars lead to the destruction of traditional societies, to their transformation and organization (owing to sciences and technology) into a world of freedom for freedom, and consequently to their subordination to this very freedom – victorious and triumphant, its own master and also, through exploitation and domination, master of nature and reality.

The modern man is also increasingly certain of the particularly harmful effects of the victory and historical domination of individualistic liberalism which – detrimental to the real natural world of

things and men – has succeeded in producing a coherent system of facts, objects, representations, and values created and animated by and for freedom: a globalization of individual freedom. With each passing day, the harmful effects of globalization become more threatening: they threaten not only real nature as a whole, not only man and his real, traditional societies, but also individual freedom, which could not really be utopian (that is to say without an assignable place) without running the risk of transforming itself into a power tempted by the absolute and by arbitrariness, yet deprived of any meaning, and thus totally absurd.

In this context, the major risk created by a world which is globalized by an ethics of science at the primary and almost exclusive service of individual freedom, of its own law and private interest, is the unlimited growth (linked to the unlimited progress of sciences and technologies) of a power which discriminates between reality and freedom, which subordinates *reality* to *freedom*. It is a freedom which is increasingly incapable of endowing man his status and his role in this world with a meaning.

II. From an Ethics of Individual Freedom to an Ethics of Freedom and Life, or Bioethics

Today, the faith in individual freedom and scientific rationality – submitted to freedom and almost at its exclusive service – has developed and continues to develop an historical power which is unique in its kind. It is unlimited and cannot even be limited by any other power, including individual freedom itself. As a result, an increasingly pervasive doubt has emerged, underpinned by the historical fact of globalization. This doubt exists not only in public opinion, but also amongst those who hold scientific and political power. It concerns people's capacity to limit, frame and finalize the power which is generated by the engagement in scientific and technical rationality, and the capacity to do so on the sole basis of faith in freedom and individual conscience. Consequently, there exists a doubt on whether the ethics of individual freedom is able to turn scientific rationality, ethics of science, into an access road to what is specifically "human" and to the means of preserving of what is specifically "human" as well as to its defence against the challenges of technical progress.

This doubt is related to the idea of the clear incapacity of freedom understood in such a way (and the scientific-technological rationality which it implies) to ensure happiness of *l'homme concret* in his real relation to the world, which they negate and de-realize; to preserve and guarantee the autonomy of the free subject vis-à-vis the global system which they generate; and to assign to the conflictual and even contradictory ensemble of humanity a meaningful authority.

Thus, the ethics of personal freedom and the ethics of science which it implies winds up in a crisis. This crisis, to which they have largely contributed and continue to contribute, appears increasingly insurmountable, unless there is a serious will to radically question absolute individual freedom as well as the unlimited progress of science and technology. Indeed, the crisis worsens incessantly, and – also incessantly – increases the weakening of the material bases of existence, the continuing destabilization of social institutions, and the daily banalization of the sacred. This is what makes it almost impos-

sible to conceive and consider man as a complex "whole" and hence as a concrete individual, yet at the same time as a free and autonomous subject which is always in search of meaning.

In reaction to this, the need for a recourse to the living *homme concret* who is both object and subject of ethics, has been sharply felt. And since then, one can witness a new way in which the problem of ethics is being presented. Gradually but steadily, the centre of gravity is shifting from the "atomic" and individualistic conception of man as subject-author of his own law and absolute individual towards a "holist" conception of man as an undoubtedly free and autonomous subject which, however, is also a concrete individual in relation with the natural world of things and men and in relation with the Absolute, in perpetual search of meaning. This shift of the centre of gravity which we observe today initiates the change of our understanding of freedom and human rights and, simultaneously, our concept of rationality and the sacred.

A new form of general ethics, named "bioethics", is being born from the recognition of man as both a living reality and a free subject in the real world, in symbiosis with what creates unity in diversity – the universal.

Bioethics – as concept and expression – stems, however, from the practices and techniques of medical and biological sciences, when the scientists were confronted with the challenges raised by the rapid progress of their own practices and attempted to avoid the dangers which they presented for man and for life in all its diversity. In this context, the scientists felt obliged to reach well beyond their simple professional rules of deontology to find, among themselves as well as in their interaction with the general public, rules and norms inspired by the respect for life, by *human dignity* (the dignity of man in his essence as a being which forms an "entirety" anterior and superior to its parts), by *individual freedom* (the original, conscious capacity to act towards certain aims, conforming to one's laws), as well as by *justice* (the ability and authority to act in conformity with the order which confirms and guarantees each individual's "part" in society as it does in nature and the universe).

This marvel of life, which gives the historical ethic of liberty and scientific research its legitimacy, is present in the anxiety to accompany, endow and marry scientific progress to life in its evolution and expansion, and to humanity in its entirety. In short, the ethics of science tries to overcome itself without putting itself in doubt.

However, for the past few decades, the perils caused by the ceaseless progress of science and technology, the increase and accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of a small number (which is reduced by the day) has given birth to the need for a global ethics which would found the historical ethics of science and freedom and which goes beyond the circles of men of science and power.

The current and increasingly global awakening to the necessity to exceed this "globalized" historical world of sciences and freedoms, and to found a new one, is now shared by the entire international community. Under the aegis of UNESCO, the international community has initiated a gigantic effort

of continuous, plural and critical reflection, discussions and debates, based on principles which are a matter of fundamental consensus, which are no longer bases solely on the historical primacy of science and individual freedom, but also (and in solidarity with them) on the principles concerning the sanctity of life, the primacy of the human person, the notion of autonomy made of responsibility, of human rights understood in an historical context and environment. These discussions are aimed at the elaboration and establishment of universally applicable standards.

Thus, bioethics, this fundamental ethics of our times, has arisen and is imposing itself. Reaching beyond the metaphysical ethics of the natural order and the historical ethics of the scientific order of freedom, it gradually constitutes itself as a global ethics and as the wisdom of nations: it comprises the acute meaning of man's solidarity vis-à-vis nature and the universe, as well as the plural and multidisciplinary reflexive approach to the methodological, practical, pragmatic and democratic elaboration of rules and norms applying to everyone. This occurs with the wise determination of obedience to the established norms, recognizing the limits which define the role and status of man in nature, society and the universe.

III. Bioethics, Science and Society

It is from the perspective of bioethics that we will now attempt to tackle the question of "what science for what society?".

The question "what science for what society?", just as whatever answer we might find to the question, is a function of man's perception of himself and of the reason that allows him to ask this question and answer to it. As we have seen, bioethics provides us with a new concept of man, with a new type of rationality.

Bioethics changes man's centre of gravity. From being individuals which position themselves as autonomous, independent and absolute, bioethics moves us towards understanding ourselves as individuals who are still autonomous, but as *concrete* individuals within this world. Man's duality between his freedom as a subject, and his reality as a concrete individual is taken into account in the (doubtless problematic) plural unity of the concrete "whole" of the man as "the being-there".

Furthermore, in the self-assertion and self-formation of man and of the world (for himself) that is, of a specifically human society, bioethical man must resort to a "holistic" rationality. This imposes upon technological and scientific rationality the need to transform and subordinate itself and its aims to the ends of man taken as a "whole". This also makes it necessary to subordinate the ends of a society which positions itself as an association of free and sovereign individuals (i.e. a society of sovereign states) to the ends of a global society where communities and states are meeting and combating in search of a hierarchical union, without domination and alienation, but not, of course, without rank or difference.

Without leaving the field of the general considerations on which we are concentrating, let us briefly deal with the general question of "what science for what society" as a way of concluding this essay:

1) The emerging bioethics provides us with a practical approach which is rational, multidimensional and multidisciplinary; and which allows the elaboration of an architectonic concept of man, the establishment of a system of norms which can be imposed on all our social institutions, and the overall orientation towards a common sense of the sacred.

2) Therefore, bioethics brings to the rationality of sciences, states and state-societies, and, by that same token, to the rationality which is specific to symbolic systems of religious or philosophic discourse, the means and instruments to change, to rectify and to adjust their contributions to the universal as it manifests itself as simultaneously *bond, connection* and *law*. The lesson to be learnt is that in science as much as in the state, in technology as much as in politics, the establishment of laws must, as much as possible, take account of the bonds which allow the laws to be more than commandments or categorical imperatives.

3) Bioethics directs sciences and states in innumerable combinations, structures and systems, where they are constituted and combined. It encourages them to practise and support the respectful and free cooperation of concrete solidarity based on equity.

Through this, bioethics will contribute to the advent of a new world, which will undoubtedly still be the same as our current one, but better adjusted, better directed, improved, pacified, and open to *man in his entirety* and to the real world. It will do so through efforts to fill the gaps which individualistic liberalism has opened up between subject and object, between master and slave, between the rich and the poor, between power and meaning, by ceaselessly reinforcing the power of a world more scientifically and technical organized, globalized in an increasingly egoistic way, and therefore, alas, also more devoid of meaning. Bioethics, more than an ethics of science, is a form of wisdom made of pluralistic and multidisciplinary science; it alleviates the crushing weight of individual profit at all costs, and it aims at a global society in the state of "holist" law.

Bioethics will contribute to the advent of a new world, which will undoubtedly still be the same as our current one, but better adjusted, better directed, improved, pacified, and open to *man in his entirety* and to the real world.

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Fittingly, the section on "Ignoring Ethics" makes up the final part of this publication on "new ignorances" and "new literacies": after all, ignorance of ethics consists partly of ignorance of diversity, ignorance of the other, and ignorance of the future. I have chosen to illustrate what this means by referring to the practice of organ transplantation. The examples that follow have been based on Filipino experiences but are very similar to those that have been taking place in many other countries.

Ignorance of Diversity

The delivery of health care and the practice of medicine have been rapidly and overwhelmingly affected by globalization in a way that illustrates intriguing contrasts and conflicts between cultures. When new treatment technologies are proven effective, they are quickly transferred from originating countries to others. In the process, the new technologies are adopted by people in different cultural contexts. In many cases, they are passed around and adopted easily. However, they could also pose serious challenges to societal values. These challenges have to be understood and dealt with in a way that respects the integrity and diversity of cultures.

After the Philippine Organ Transplant Law was passed in the 1980s, doctors felt free to be more aggressive in the use of brain dead donors. In one case that was to catch the public's attention, the transplant doctors used the organs of a patient whose relatives were not there to give permission. The hospital administrator authorized the removal of organs. When the relatives eventually discovered what had happened and filed a case in court, the newspapers seized the opportunity to arouse public indignation:

The *Manila Standard* cried "Transplant Murder".
The *Manila Times* announced "Docs Butcher Patient To Get Vital Organs".
Today reported "Docs Charged For Stealing Vital Organs".

Clearly, the newspapers did not see the story the same way as the medical professionals concerned. The lawyer for the prosecution saw the story differently as well. Notwithstanding his legal training, he could not personally accept the provisions of Philippine law defining death as the absence of brain activity:

When new treatment technologies are proven effective, they are quickly transferred from originating countries to others. In the process, the new technologies are adopted by people in different cultural contexts.

"For practical purposes and from a layman's point of view, [the victim was] alive at the time his kidney, liver and pancreas were illegally taken out of his body. . . [and] assuming [the patient] to be in a serious comatose condition . . . or [even to be] clinically or brain dead, yet for all intents and purposes and in reality he was still alive when his vital organs were . . . taken from him." (Sandiganbayan, 1994, p.2)

The prosecutor had to deal with the conflict between two cultures inside

him. On the one hand, there was the scientific culture that saw death in terms of legally affirmed medical criteria. On the other hand, he had to be true to the local traditional knowledge that saw death as the absence of heartbeat and breath – criteria that could be confirmed by the lay person. Clearly, the concept of clinical death as construed in medical science may not be viewed as death in other contexts or world views. The court eventually resolved the conflict in favour of the transplant team. The legal judgment affirmed the validity of the hospital administrator's decision to authorize the removal of organs from the accident victim and confirmed the brain-based definition of death.

The ethical implications of scientific progress in this particular case were clear. The controversy generated so much suspicion on the part of the public that the sustainability and acceptability of organ transplantation as a means of responding to the needs of seriously ill patients became doubtful. For a few years, doctors became afraid to perform organ transplants. As authorities were ignorant of the need to understand and accommodate contrasting cultures, the scientific advances produced negative results.

Ignorance of the Other

The trauma relating to the controversy described above has been nearly forgotten. More medical centres are carrying out more organ transplants. The advantages of kidney transplantation as compared to dialysis are being widely advertised. Many patients, aware of these advantages, are actively seeking possible organ donors.

Kidney specialists have also recently argued that organ transplantation from live donors presents better prospects for recipients than transplantation from cadaver donors. They say that finding a cadaver organ at the appropriate time depends largely on luck. On the other hand, the availability of an organ from a living donor can be arranged. A living organ donor and an organ recipient can negotiate – together with the doctors – an acceptable date and time for the transfer.

In another case, one prominent and rich Filipino was informed by his doctors that he needed a kidney transplant. The family immediately started looking for a possible donor. For several months, the search was unsuccessful. Eventually, the family chauffer decided to offer one of his kidneys for transplant. He said he could not stand the thought of his employer dying when he was in a position to prevent it. As in many rich households in the country, the driver lived in his employer's huge house. His wife served as a laundrywoman and also lived there. Thus, they both recognized a debt to the patient. However, the employer did not approach them to ask if they would donate an organ to him. The employer did not pressure the driver to make the organ donation. The driver knew about the employer's condition and decided freely to donate a kidney.

I have sometimes cited this story as an example of a praiseworthy heroic sacrifice. With the advances in organ transplant technology, we have been offered novel opportunities to affirm our expanded relationships as part of a global family. The poor man showed exceptionally altruistic behaviour that

involved a very high risk. And he did it for someone who was not a blood relative. In this particular context, what prevailed was a culture of extended families. For the driver, the family is not limited to those who are related by blood. The family extends to those who are in desperate need of one's help. In this sense, he considered the employer to be a part of his family. However, the example also illustrates a one-sided relationship. It is exploitative and unjust because it is not reciprocal. One may ask: if the driver were the one who needed a kidney, would his employer have come to his help and offered his own? The answer would have been a resounding "no". In this kind of hierarchical family, the likelihood of high-level altruism falls only on one side. It is also characterized by a one-sided ignorance of the other.

A further example has to do with a Member of Parliament's ignorance of the Other. When the MP was told that he needed a kidney for transplant, one of his sons offered to provide it. The father refused, saying that he did not want to put his son's life in danger. He preferred to receive a kidney from an unrelated living person. When I discussed the case in my class, one student said, "The Member of Parliament did not realize that the unrelated living organ donor would have had a father also who would not have wanted to put his own son's life in danger!" He was mindful of his own son's interests but ignorant of the similar paternalistic mindfulness of the possible donor's father.

Other experiences in organ transplantation involve injustices stemming from an ignorance of the other at a broader level. There is one hospital in my country where only ten per cent of the organ transplant recipients last year were Filipinos although one hundred per cent of the donors were local citizens. At another hospital, one hundred per cent of the organs were contributed by local citizens and transplanted to foreign beneficiaries. This example of medical tourism has resulted in Filipinos being "the Other" and being ignored in their own country.

Science for whom, we ask? Surely, science for the rich and science for developed countries, but only incidentally for the rest.

One might say that the opportunity to earn money has corrupted the local culture's regard for the sanctity of the human body and replaced it with a culture of opportunism and convenience. However, the poor are not wholly to blame for allowing themselves to be bought. We have to do more to understand the culture of poverty and desperation that renders the poor highly vulnerable.

Even when the recipients of transplanted organs are Filipinos, the direction in which donations go has largely been one-sided. Poor people's organs have been used to save the lives of rich people. If it is any consolation, one can point out that among Filipino organ donors males outnumber females. In countries where cultural traditions have perpetrated male superiority, women have been expected to make the greater sacrifice in organ transplantation. Organs are mostly being transplanted from females to males. Women are regarded as "the Other", and are being ignored. Unfortunately, this kind of ignorance of the other is sometimes justified in the name of cultural traditions and cultural diversity – but that is another story.

Ignorance of the Future

Under the threat of serious illnesses and beguiling technological advances, it is easy for people to make mistakes. It is easy for well-intentioned people to make wrong decisions. Hence it is important to put safety measures in place that can steer humankind in the proper direction. Let me present just three items that I consider timely and indispensable:

i. A recognition of the need for universal common ground. Even in the face of cultural diversity, the global community has to find a viable starting point. For example, we can all accept the inherent dignity of the human being and the irreducible value of human life. In concrete terms, the UNESCO initiative towards a Universal Declaration on Bioethics deserves support. The ongoing consultations should be seen as a necessary, though modest step towards establishing a common ground from which we can proceed.

ii. Developing ethics literacy at all levels of scientific discourse. In biomedical practice, the prior ethics review of research proposals has been gathering broad support internationally. With the creation of multisectoral ethics review committees that are independent of government and independent of commercial interests, biomedical research has been moving towards democratic dialogue. The people representing various perspectives who constitute such committees learn from one another while seeking to ensure that scientific enterprise proceeds on the basis of common ethical ground. On a limited basis, the practice is also gaining adherents in biosafety committees. Efforts should now be exerted to include other areas of scientific development and research.

iii. Aggressively promoting the equality of men and women in all aspects of scientific development and research. I have nothing new to add on this point but I feel that we must not get tired of saying it until it resonates clearly in the minds of all men and occupies a prominent part in the policies of all governments, agencies and organizations.

The most difficult – and pervasive – of all ignorances is the ignorance of ignorance itself. In a very highly specialized community, many scientists do not realize that an ethical dimension is imbedded in many decisions that are thought to be fully and purely scientific. Even when they realize that their decisions have ethical significance, they leave it to others to work out the implications. Many of the injustices in the practice of organ transplantation are taking place because the doctors are pretending to be blind to what is going on. This situation has to change. If we do nothing about it, we will perpetrate the injustices by ignoring the pervasive ignorance of ignorance.

GERMÁN VELÁSQUEZ (COLOMBIA)

Coordinator of the Drug Action Programme, Essential Drugs and Medicines Policy of the World Health Organization (WHO)

Dr Germán Velásquez was born in Colombia. He graduated from Javeriana University, Bogotá, with a degree in Philosophy and Humanities which was complemented by a Master's in Economics and a PhD in Health Economics from the Sorbonne University, Paris. In 1989, he joined the World Health Organization and is currently Associate Director of the Department of Technical Cooperation for Essential Drugs and Traditional Medicine. From 1979 to 1988 he was an adviser in primary health care programmes to various ministries of health in Africa, notably Mozambique (five years) and Mali (four years). During this period, he spent much of his time drafting and implementing drug policies and advising ministries of health on the management and monitoring of the pharmaceutical sector at national level. He began his career working for INC Pharmaceuticals in Indonesia and Switzerland, carrying out various tasks including Planning and General Manager as well as Financial Director.

During the Middle Ages and other periods throughout history, millions of persons died from epidemics such as the plague. At present, close to 10 million children under the age of five die each year in developing countries. Roughly 8 million of these deaths are caused by communicable, perinatal and nutrition-related diseases. A large number of these deaths could be avoided if persons at risk had access to essential medicines. Over 90 per cent of the 40 million persons living with HIV and AIDS do not have access to treatment and some 8,000 people worldwide, most of them young, die each day from this disease.[1] A third of the world's population does not have regular access to medicines and the 75 per cent of the world's population who lives in developing countries consume a mere 8 per cent of the medicines sold worldwide.

The major difference between the situation in the Middle Ages and twenty-first-century deaths is that in those days, no treatments were available to prevent epidemics whereas nowadays, modern society can avail itself of science, technology and medicines to prevent a large number of deaths. However, lives are still being lost because access to life-saving medicines depends on market forces rather than on the right of individuals to obtain them.

Medicines – a Public Good or Commodity?

Economists generally agree that in the case of medicines, market forces do not work in favour of consumers due to what they term market failures or distortions.[2] **"**For commodities such as cabbages and candies, producers, sellers and consumers are all equally aware of the quality of the product and its value for money. However, if one party to a transaction knows more than the other about product quality this creates space for markets to fail.**"**[3] In the pharmaceutical sector, information about quality, safety, efficacy, value for money and specific appropriateness of individual drugs often varies between the parties involved. Information imbalance (or asymmetries) probably constitutes the most serious form of market failure in the pharmaceutical sector. For instance, regarding free price competition, many patented drugs on the market disallow competition among various manufacturers for a period of 20 years or more.

The World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference held in Doha, Qatar in November 2001 approved a resolution that contained three salient points, namely: 1) by accepting a separate declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and public health, it grants special treatment to medicines; 2) it accepts that a medicine that can prevent illness, save lives or restore health is not just a commodity; and 3) it paves the way for recognizing that the debate over access to life-saving medicines is not a legal or trade matter but rather an ethical and human rights issue.[4]

Human rights refer to the relationship between the state and the individual and give rise to state *obligations* and individual *rights*. All human rights are interdependent and interlinked. Health is a fundamental human right that is indispensable to the exercise of other human rights, such as the right to

[1] Cf. UNAIDS/WHO, *Status of the World AIDS Epidemic, December* 2003
[2] S. Bennett, J. Quick, G. Velasquez , *Public-Private Roles in the Pharmaceutical Sector* (WHO Health Economics and Drugs Series No. 5 WHO/DAP/97.12)
[3] Op. cit. p. 18, Geneva, 1997.
[4] *Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health* (WT/MIN(01)/Dec/2, 20 November 2001)

work, for example. One of the principles of the United Nations is the promotion of human rights, as its Secretary-General has confirmed on several occasions.

The first expression of the right to health can be found in the preamble to the 1946 WHO Constitution: "The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition. Governments have a responsibility for the health of their peoples which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures." Furthermore, Article 25.1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) states: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services..."

In addition to the constitutions and national laws of several countries, the right to health is also recognized in a number of other international treaties, namely:

- *European Social Charter* (1961)
- *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966 - see Articles 12.1 and 12.2)*
- *Declaration of Alma-Ata* (1978)
- *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* (1981)
- *Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Areas of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1988)
- *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989)

Article 12-2.d of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* states that that the right to health facilities, goods and services includes appropriate treatment of prevalent diseases at community level and *access to essential drugs*.[5] The Covenant, signed by 145 countries, deserves a more in-depth analysis.

According to the International Covenant, each State Party undertakes to fulfil its obligations progressively to the maximum of its available resources BUT some should be fulfilled immediately, such as the exercise of rights without discrimination of any kind (Article 2.2) and the taking of steps with a view to achieving the full realization of the rights enshrined in Article 12. Such steps should be deliberate, concrete and geared towards the full realization of the right to health.

Health is a fundamental human right that is indispensable to the exercise of other human rights, such as the right to work.

[5] *The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights - General Comment No. 14* (May 2000)

The minimum standard for each of the rights enshrined in the International Covenant can be interpreted according to the provisions of the *Declaration of Alma-Ata* as follows:

- Non-discriminatory access to health facilities, goods and services, particularly for vulnerable and marginalized groups
- Basic food, housing and sanitation
- Essential medicines as determined by the World Health Organization Action Programme on Essential Drugs
- Equitable distribution of medical services and health products
- A public health strategy and a national action plan

A "national action plan" in the area of medicines is what WHO has termed a "national medicines policy". With regard to the minimum standards required by the Covenant, WHO-recommended medicines policies encompass two mechanisms that may considerably affect access, namely:

1) Price controls: they are regular and strict in industrialized countries but virtually non-existent in developing countries; and

2) Fostering competition through generic medicine programmes. Many tribunals in industrialized countries hear cases involving uncompetitive practices in the pharmaceutical industry whereas in the majority of developing countries, laws protecting competition either do not exist or are not enforced.

The signatories of the International Covenant also have international obligations. States are bound to respect and protect the enjoyment of the right to health in other countries by facilitating access to essential facilities and services in other countries and providing necessary assistance where appropriate. The instrument also indicates that international agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank should refrain from imposing embargos and similar measures that restrict the supply of medicines and health products to countries.

Certain countries and international organizations are promoting or at least permitting the conclusion of free trade agreements (FTA) which, in terms of requirements for protecting property as applied to medicines, may well contravene the international obligations of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*.

Free Trade Agreements and Access to Medicines

In the past three years developing countries have won a battle in the area of health in the context of the multilateral negotiations of the Word Trade Organization (WTO). However, bilateral agreements signed between the United States and Australia, Bahrain, Costa Rica, Central America, Morocco, Chile, Jordan and Singapore unfortunately seem to go one step backwards.

Developing countries took many years to discover and promote recognition of the safeguard mechanisms contained in the WTO TRIPS Agreement, particularly those designed to protect public health

and access to medicines. At the Doha Ministerial Conference, those rights were ratified under pressure from developing countries. For the past three years it has been accepted within the multilateral trading system that the right to health takes precedence over trade obligations. In order to achieve this, the mechanisms and flexibilities contained in the TRIPS Agreement intended to protect access to health have been confirmed. The friction between health and trade seems to be dying down but the requirements of bilateral agreements – FTAs – in the area of health-related intellectual property now seem to be casting doubts on what appeared to be a step forward that had been accepted and ratified by the international community.

Many bilateral and regional trade agreements claim to incorporate intellectual property measures that go beyond the conditions agreed in the TRIPS Agreement. The provisions known as TRIPS-plus include the protection of data for drug registration, linkage between patents and drug registration, the extension of patent protection beyond the 20-year period, restriction of parallel importation, new restrictions of the grounds for compulsory licensing, broader definition or criteria of what constitutes patentability, second-use patents, and the restriction of the use of international nonproprietary names (INNS) for pharmaceutical substances.

The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* considers that failure to take all possible measures to guarantee the right to health in cases such as the following is a violation of its provisions:

"Failure to adopt and implement a national health policy designed to guarantee the right to health for all. Inadequate spending or poor allocation of public funds. Absence of monitoring in terms of realization of the right to health at the country level. Failure to take steps to curb unequal distribution of health care facilities, products and services".

From the perspective of international commitments[6] and international public law, it could be argued that if stricter intellectual property rules send prices up but reduce access, then such measures would not be consistent with the obligations of these agreements.

National Response: Access to Medicines Considered as a Right[7]

Apart from the right to health in the context of the United Nations or the various international agreements, recently national jurisprudence has dealt with a number of cases involving the right of access to health and medicines. In several countries the national constitution and national public law are starting to be used to promote the rights of citizens.

In South Africa, for example, the Supreme Court of Pretoria ruled in favour of human rights organizations and groups of sick persons that demanded a readily available supply of nevirapine. The claim was founded in the right to health and the right of the child to a life of dignity.

[6] Conventions, agreements and resolutions of the Commission on Human Rights, and WHO resolutions
[7] Xavier Seuba Hernandez, *El derecho al acceso a los medicamentos esenciales y el comercio internacional de productos farmacéuticos, trabajo de investigación* (Barcelona, 2004), p. 21 to 37.

In Brazil, pursuant to the law passed in 1996, AIDS-related drugs must be supplied free of charge by the state. Even prior to the passage of the law, a group of sick persons from São Paulo won a case against the state for a complete course of antiretrovirals. The court's ruling was based on the rights to health and to life. The case was binding on the government, which was ordered to provide the treatment to all HIV and AIDS carriers who needed it.

In India, the Supreme Court has ruled several times in favour of sick persons, citing the right to life. Regarding intellectual property and medicines policies, India was governed between 1970 and 2002 by the Patent Act, which limited patentability in the areas of health and food. That law facilitated the development of the generic medicines industry.[8]

In Argentina, according to the centre for legal and social studies (CLES), during the first quarter of 2001 over 200 appeal cases involving the non-supply of medicines were heard in the province of Buenos Aires. The Supreme Court held that, based on international treaties that have constitutional status — in this case the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* – Argentina was bound to guarantee the right to preserve health, as part and parcel of the right to life, through affirmative action.

In Colombia, under the new Constitution, sick persons have begun to demand legal protection from the state against the ordinary courts for the supply of medicines. Subsequently, the Supreme Court of Justice ordered the widespread supply of antiretrovirals. Currently, the state's obligations are not limited merely to antiretrovirals but cover all primary health medicines. A similar situation occurred in Venezuela where the courts ordered the government to take the necessary steps to guarantee the supply of medicines to persons living with HIV and AIDS.

WHO Policy Perspectives: the Right of Access to Treatment

Access to medicines should be centred on four different perspectives, namely:

The ethical perspective: medicines should be considered as a public good and access to care as a human right.

The *(regional and international)* legal perspective: sub-regional and international public law disposes of the necessary legal instruments to protect this human right.

The national legal and institutional perspective: two points should be considered: a) the Constitution and national laws that protect human rights; and b) the economic viability of health systems, in the sense that if the "package" of medicines which the state offers to citizens within the framework of a given social security system exceeds the state's financial capacity due to the high cost of medicines, the entire system may be brought into question.

[8] Xavier Seuba Hernandez, op cit., p. 28

Finally, this perspective of "right" should go hand in hand with a *medical and public health perspective:* the selection and rational use of medicines authorized for circulation on the national or subregional markets. WHO recommends that between 400 and 500 medicines should be adequate to treat diseases for which a therapy exists. Unfortunately, some countries have between 15 000 and 20 000 specialized pharmaceutical products on the market.

Given that the good intentions of governments and resolutions of United Nations agencies have not been enough to guarantee access to medicines, national and international public law will have to be used to promote this right. This would mean using the judicial system to promote the right of access to medicines; according to Paul Farmer, "the more effective the medicine, the greater the injustice against those that have no access to treatment".

IX. CONFLICT PREVENTION, RESOLUTION AND RECONCILIATION: CAN WE ALL GET ALONG?

Alexander BORAINE (South Africa)

Chairman of the Board of the International Center for Transitional Justice and former Vice-Chair of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Alexander Boraine chairs the Board of Directors of the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) since 2004, after having founded the Center as well as having acted as its president for three years. In 1995, Dr Boraine became vice-chairman of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, serving until 1998 alongside the Commission's chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu. From 1974 to 1986, Dr Boraine was a Member of the South African Parliament for the opposition Progressive Party. From 1970 to 1972, he served as president of the Methodist Church of South Africa, having been ordained as a Methodist minister in 1953. In the 1980s and early 1990s, he was active in South African organizations committed to ending apartheid. Dr Boraine has published several works on South Africa, most recently *A Country Unmasked* (2000) and has taught at the Law School of New York University (1998 to 2001), where he directed the University's "Justice in Transition" programme. He is currently a Senior Global Research Fellow at the Law School.

Introduction

"Learning to live together" at first sight seems such a basic necessity that it sounds almost trite. But human experience shows that this desired objective has been and remains unbelievably difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. Countless wars, both civil and inter-state, tell the tragic story of divisions, human rights violations, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and even genocide. Ironically, the world gets smaller and smaller but there is apparently no end to deep-seated conflict in many parts of our so-called Global Village. In fact, the very concept of globalization has brought with it diverse views and an outcry from the less developed nations that globalization is actually exacerbating the current yawning gap between the haves and the have nots.

Therefore, we approach this question of learning to live together with considerable trepidation but also with urgency. Obviously if we do not learn to live together we will go on killing one another. There are no easy solutions; there is no quick-fix that will usher in peace and harmony. However, there are some pointers, some guidelines, which may help us at least to ensure that the attempts we make to achieve a sustainable peace will be grounded in reality and are substantial rather than superficial.

One of the factors which bedevil the search for peaceful coexistence is what is termed the "ghosts of the past". In other words, in societies attempting to resolve conflict there is a clash between remembering and forgetting. Two classical examples of this dwelling in the past, and as a consequence a deep and continuing distrust, are Serbia and Northern Ireland. In this brief paper, I want to suggest a holistic approach to dealing with the past so that the chances of a relatively peaceful present and a more decent, more human future, becomes a greater possibility.

Accountability

The rule of law and the fair and even administration of justice deserve our greatest respect. No society can claim to be free or democratic without strict adherence to the rule of law. Dictators and authoritarian regimes abandon the rule of law at the first opportunity and resort to brazen power politics leading to all manner of excesses. It is of central importance, therefore, that those who violate the law are punished. But there are limits to the law and we need to embrace a notion of justice that is wider, deeper, and richer than retributive justice. It is not only impossible to prosecute all offenders, but an over-zealous focus on punishment can make it more difficult to secure sustainable peace and stability. Furthermore, to achieve a just society,

> To achieve a just society, more than punishment is required. Documenting the truth about the past, restoring dignity to victims, and embarking on the process of reconciliation are vital elements of a just society.

more than punishment is required. Documenting the truth about the past, restoring dignity to victims, and embarking on the process of reconciliation are vital elements of a just society. Equally important is the need to begin transforming institutions; institutional structures must not impede the commitment to consolidating democracy and establishing a culture of human rights. It follows that approaches to societies in transition will be multi-faceted and will incorporate the need for consultation to realize the goal of a just society.

Truth Recovery

One of the non-judicial mechanisms that has gained great prominence over the last ten years is the truth and reconciliation commission. It was first used in Latin America but has since spread to many other parts of the world. There have been approximately 27 such commissions, with varying degrees of success. Currently, there are at least four commissions under way: namely Morocco, Sierra Leone, East Timor and Ghana. Several others are in the offing, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Iraq.

The truth commission, as indicated by its title, is concerned first and foremost with the recovery of truth. Through truth-telling, the commission attempts to document and analyze the structures and methods used in carrying out illegal repression, taking into account the political, economic and social context in which these violations occurred. In some ways, it is unfortunate that the word "truth" is used. Beyond its Orwellian overtones, many critics rightly feel that it is impossible for all the truth to ever be known. Antjie Krog, a South African poet and writer, tells of her own difficulty with the word "truth":

"The word truth makes me uncomfortable. The word truth still trips the tongue. I hesitate at the word… I'm not used to using it. Even when I type it, it ends up as either "turth" or "trth". I've never bedded that word in a poem. I prefer the word "lie". The moment the lie raises its head, I smell blood because it is there…where the truth is closest."

Reconciliation

A number of commissions have talked not only about truth but also about reconciliation. Any discussion concerning "living together" must focus on the central issue of reconciliation. If the word "truth" conjures up problems for many people, so does the word "reconciliation". It has religious connotations, especially in the Christian faith, and there are many who would prefer that the word and the concept of reconciliation not be used in commissions, which are seeking to recover the truth and focus on victims. At its best, reconciliation involves commitment and sacrifice; at its worst, it is an excuse for passivity, for siding with the powerful against the weak and dispossessed. Religion, in many instances, has given a bad name to reconciliation, because its representatives have often joined forces with those who exploited and impoverished entire populations instead of being in solidarity with the oppressed.

> Reconciliation can begin when perpetrators are held to account, when truth is sought openly and fearlessly, when institutional reform commences, and when the need for reparations is acknowledged and acted upon.

When reconciliation calls for mere forgetting or for concealing, then it is spurious. In Argentina, the concept of reconciliation is regarded with deep skepticism. In that country the Roman Catholic Church in large measure supported the military junta, and the perpetrators of human rights violations were always the first to call for reconciliation. The same is true of Rwanda, where religious groups and priests and nuns participated in the massacre of the Tutsis. In this context, talk about reconciliation is highly suspect and can be viewed as a call for amnesia. Unless the call for reconciliation is accompanied by acknowledgement of the past and the acceptance of responsibility, it will be dismissed as cheap rhetoric and will be a severe setback to peaceful coexistence.

Perhaps one of the ways to achieve at least a measure of reconciliation in a deeply divided society is to create a common memory that can be acknowledged by those who created and implemented the unjust system, those who fought against it and the many more who were in the middle and claimed not to know what was happening in their country.

Richard H. Niebuhr put it succinctly:

"Where common memory is lacking, where men and women do not share the same past, there can be no real community and where community is to be formed, common memory must be created. The measure of our distance from each other in our nations and our groups can be taken by noting the divergence, the separateness and the lack of sympathy in our social memories. Conversely, the measure of our unity is the extent of our common memory."

An example of this search for "common memory" is vividly portrayed in South Africa's recent history.

The process of reconciliation can begin at different points in the transition of a country from a totalitarian state to a new form of democracy. For some, it begins at the negotiation table; for others, when perpetrators are indicted and prosecuted. The release of political prisoners or the acceptance of a new constitution that guarantees fundamental freedoms may facilitate the beginning of reconciliation. For others, it is when free and open elections are held in which all citizens can participate. There are many starting points, but it is never a one-step process. The process is ongoing, especially in countries where oppression has been deep and lasting. If reconciliation is to succeed, it must have an impact on the life chances of ordinary people.

In my view, reconciliation, both as a process and a means of seeking an often elusive peace, must be understood through the lens of transitional justice. Reconciliation stands a better chance and is better understood if victims believe that their grievances are being addressed and that their cry is

being heard, that the silence is being broken. Reconciliation can begin when perpetrators are held to account, when truth is sought openly and fearlessly, when institutional reform commences, and when the need for reparations is acknowledged and acted upon. The response by former victims to these initiatives can increase the potential for greater stability and increase the chances for sustainable peace. The process of reconciliation has often been hindered by the silence or the denial of political leaders concerning their own responsibility and the failure of the state.

On the other hand, however, when leaders are prepared to speak honestly and generously about their own involvement or at least the involvement of their government or the previous government, then the door is open for the possibility of some reconciliation amongst citizens. President Aylwin of Chile highlights what I believe is the irreducible minimum for reconciliation to have a chance, that is, a commitment to truth and justice.

When he received the Report of the Chilean Truth and Reconciliation Commission, he emphasized the following point:

"This leaves the excruciating problem of human rights violations and other violent crimes, which have caused so many victims and so much suffering in the past. They are an open wound in our national soul that cannot be ignored; nor can it heal through mere forgetfulness. To close our eyes and pretend none of this ever happened would be to maintain at the core of our society a source of pain, division, hatred and violence. Only the disclosure of the truth and the search for justice can create the moral climate in which reconciliation and peace will flourish."

Institutional Reform

For truth and reconciliation to flourish, serious and focused attention must be given not only to individuals but also to institutions. Institutional reform should be at the very heart of a transformation. The truth commission is an ideal model for holding together both retrospective truth and prospective needs. Unfortunately, most truth commissions have chosen to focus almost entirely on individual hearings. This is important and critical, but if commissions were to hold institutional hearings, it would enable them to call to account those institutions directly responsible for the breakdown of the state and the repressive measures which were imposed on citizens of that state.

In at least one commission an opportunity was created for spokespersons from the military, the police, the security forces, politicians, faith communities, legal representatives, the media and labour to give an account of their role in the past and – importantly – how they saw their role in the future. In other words, it is simply not enough to be merely concerned about the past. We must deal with it, but we must not dwell in it. We deal with the past for the sake of the future.

On a recent visit to Serbia it was quite clear that one of the major problems preventing that country from moving out from its very dark and ominous past into a brighter democracy is that the institutions remain almost exactly the same. The same policemen were controlling the police forces; the same

generals were controlling the army. And this was true of the major institutions. As I moved from one group of leaders to another, it was clear that unless and until institutions are radically restructured, there will be little opportunity for growth, for development and for peace in Serbia. This is true not only of Serbia but it is true of the former Yugoslavia as a whole. It is true of all states which have failed and are in transition. In deeply divided societies where mistrust and fear still reign, there must be bridge-building and a commitment not only to criminal justice but also to economic justice. For that to become a reality, institutions as well as individuals have to change.

Reparations

Reparations too have a long history, but until now they have not received sufficient systematic attention. The individual reparations issued by the Federal Republic of Germany marked a watershed moment in the history of reparations. Until 1952 reparations were solely an inter-state affair – payments by the losing state to the victorious one, as in the Versailles Treaty. Reparations to victims of the Holocaust were the first instance of a massive nationally-sponsored reparations programme to individuals who had suffered gross abuses of their human rights.

It is worth emphasizing that from the standpoint of the victims, the reparations programme occupies a special place in the transition to democracy. For them, reparations are the most tangible manifestation of the efforts of the state to remedy the harms they have suffered. Criminal justice – even if it were completely successful, both in terms of the number of perpetrators accused and in terms of convictions – is in the end a struggle *against perpetrators* rather than an effort *on behalf of victims*. From truth-telling, victims will obtain significant benefits that may include a sense of closure derived from knowing the fate of loved ones, and a sense of satisfaction from the official acknowledgement of that fate. But in the absence of other positive and tangible manifestations, truth by itself can easily be considered to be an empty gesture, as cheap and inconsequential as talk.

Reparations play an important role for victims and are one of the few efforts undertaken directly on their behalf. However, a freestanding reparations programme, unconnected to other transitional justice processes, is also more likely to fail, despite its direct efforts for victims. The provision of reparations without the documentation and acknowledgement of truth can be interpreted as insincere – the payment of "blood money".

In many ways, the dilemmas and challenges in reparations are a microcosm of the overall challenges of transitional justice. How does one balance competing and legitimate interests in redressing the harms of victims and ensuring the democratic stability of the state? Similar to other areas of transitional justice, such as truth-telling or institutional reform, simple judicial decisions cannot provide the comprehensive solutions demanded by such interests. Rather, solutions must be found in the exercise of judgment and a creative combination of legal, political, social and economic approaches.

Indeed, the success of reparations programmes, and transitional justice strategies in general, depends on the ability to form broad political coalitions. Victims, by virtue of their resilience and strength, can become a coalition that demonstrate the resolve and solidarity of society as a whole and can become in Khalil Gibran's words, "A voice that causes the heavens to tremble."

Conclusion

I began by stating that the art of living together between individuals, societies and nations is extraordinarily difficult and is a process which is never completed, but always ongoing. What we are talking about essentially is how to make states work and how to enable states to live together. This is a many-sided problem but I want to conclude by emphasizing the need to balance moral and ethical imperatives with political restraint. The overall aim should be to ensure a degree at least of coexistence which will encourage and make possible social and economic development. If we do not succeed in bridging – at least in part – the inequality between nations, there cannot be any hope of achieving our aim of living together. Economic justice, therefore, is a goal which must be strived for, fought for, and won. This is an incredibly difficult challenge but the alternative is continuing conflict and even chaos.

Salomón LERNER FEBRES (Peru)

Former Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru

Salomón Lerner Febres was the President of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru from 2001 to 2003. He is now President of the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, having been Rector of the University from 1994 to 2004. At the same time, he is President of the Union of Latin American Universities (UDUAL) where he had previously been vice-president for universities in the Andean region. Having studied law in Peru and obtained a doctorate in philosophy from the Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium), Dr Lerner Febres worked at a number of academic institutions and is currently a research associate at Tokyo University. In addition to several other awards, Dr Lerner Febres was honoured as "Great Official of the Order of Merit of Peru" by Peru's Ministry of Domestic Affairs (2003).

The elaboration of suitable strategies to reduce violent social conflicts, or find equitable solutions to it, necessitates reflection on a series of political and ethical questions. The overall task is to engage in a necessary dialogue with ethics. In other words, resolving violent conflict demands consciousness of alterity; a recognition of the other as an owner of rights, even if he is conceived as an enemy; and an understanding of human space as inter-subjective space. Furthermore, the elaboration of such strategies is an activity aimed at policy, since our perception of the other and of his dignity cannot be limited to appreciating him as an abstract being: it must advance towards a consideration of the concrete relations in which he is immersed, that is to say, of the space that – for him and for us – constitutes the daily horizon of interpersonal interchange shaped by customs, norms and institutions, i.e. a political community.

This already defines the scope of the field of our reflection and our conciliation practice. The procedures and institutions called upon to preserve or to re-establish the order of the political community cannot be understood in a purely strategic or instrumental sense. They are processes at the service of human freedom and dignity. A genuine reflection on peace has to be tributary of a notion of rationality, transcending the limits of utilitarianism and calculation.

This practice is subject to a second condition: proportionality vis-à-vis the magnitude of the social rupture that is faced. When that rupture has managed to disturb existing mechanisms of dealing with conflicts, the solution can only lie in the restoration of the social fabric and the recovery of interpersonal bonds. Such work will assume the form of reconciliation only if the members of the political community become protagonists, that is to say, if they recognize their direct and indirect responsibilities in having perpetrated crimes, in having concealed the truth about those crimes, or in the elaboration or acceptance of slanted narratives which justify them.

These brief preliminary considerations help us approach a concrete case such as the reconciliation proposal presented by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru one year ago, as well as the endeavours to achieve this result.

I. Peace-Building: the Experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru

I have suggested that any search for solutions to the wounds left by intense violent conflict requires, in the first place, a certain commitment from the political community. This commitment effectively preceded the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by the transition government

When that rupture has managed to disturb existing mechanisms of dealing with conflicts, the solution can only lie in the restoration of the social fabric and the recovery of interpersonal bonds.

which followed the dictatorship of Alberto Fujimori. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was created in June 2001 with the mandate "to clarify the process, the facts and responsibilities of the terrorist violence and the violation of human rights experienced between May 1980 and November 2000, imputable as much to the terrorist organizations as to the agents of the state, and to propose initiatives destined to affirm peace and harmony between the Peruvians".

The process of violence began in May 1980 with the actions of the so-called "Shining Path", a Maoist grouping which was responsible for numerous and atrocious violations of human rights and crimes against humanity. Another subversive group, the Revolutionary Movement *Túpac Amaru*, also participated – and so did the state's security forces (that is, the army and the police) which, in certain moments and places, also engaged in a systematic violation of human rights. The intensity of the violence is demonstrated by the numbers given by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: nearly 70,000 people died or disappeared, and to this number, one must add extensive economic loss, as well as the destruction of rural communities and severe physical and mental consequences for the survivors.

Faced with this tragedy, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission did not only have the mission to recover factual truth, but also to indicate the routes and means for reconciliation. Truth and reconciliation had to go together as the only form to give justice to the victims and to make the ever-delayed national democratic project viable. To this end, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission took on the fundamental task of initiating a collective examination of conscience that included the recognition of direct and indirect, particular and collective, material and moral responsibilities.

II. Truth and Reconciliation: its Foundations

Truth and Reconciliation

The investigation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission not only documented and brought to light the numerous crimes and violations of human rights perpetrated with ferocity and extreme cruelty. It also showed that the precariousness of the bonds between Peruvians and the injustice that underlies their social relations contributed to the conflict's gravity. Thus, the responsibilities exposed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission transcend the individual sphere to include, although in different degrees, the entirety of the social body. To emphasize the latter is fundamental for any project of moral regeneration and civic education. This complex conception of collective responsibility corresponds with an understanding of fault as being implicit in all action or disposition to action, in all ways of being or social habits sharing a certain ethos. It leads to reflections on the overall character of a society that manages to remain passive in the face of two decades marked by the massive usurpation of the basic rights of its poorer citizens.

This reflection puts reconciliation in a different light. It appears as an essentially ethical task, oriented towards the understanding of the past and the present, and towards our self-recognition as owners of a will aimed at discovering and, primarily, at constructing means of "never again". It implies

the creation of a superior social agreement, inspired by respect for human dignity, justice and solidarity and by the proclamation of the absolute value of human rights.

Thus, the first ingredient of reconciliation will be the truth linked to the exercise of a collective memory. Only by unveiling the common past and by exercising a collective and meaningful memory will reconciliation become possible.

Memory and reconciliation

Every community bases its present relations on the way it understands its past. Therefore, the more authentic the dialogue tracing this common past, the simpler the task of reconciliation will be. For that reason, a collective memory deliberately deformed by those in power – a memory that falsifies or hides the facts and thus destroys the primary means of curing the victims – is the first obstacle to succeeding in a reconciliation process. On the other hand, it is important to avoid, with the same resolution, a purely vindictive memory which, instead of releasing us, makes us slaves of the past.

How can this dialogic, creative and liberating memory be established? In the case of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, that memory was searched by opening up to the experiences of those who suffered violence in their own flesh. The words of the victims, who habitually do not have a public voice, opened up routes to an inter-subjective encounter, to a voluntary (and therefore free) act of integration among all those that chose to remember. This remembering is conceived as a non-transferable heritage: nobody remembers in our place; our memory cannot be imposed from outside, but grows into us or between us. In this radical inter-subjectivity of the memory resides its essentially ethic nature: the past is recovered, but not as an exercise of power – of control and dominion – but rather as a founding act for the community. *When we recall, we commemorate.*

Reconciliation, justice and forgiveness

However, if truth is a condition for reconciliation, it is not truth without intentions, but truth which paves the way for justice. It is, therefore, not only condition but also consequence of reintegration. Justice must be understood in a wider sense. In its judicial nature, it implies legal action against the perpetrators of crimes. It means to end arbitrariness. In social and political realm, justice requires material and moral compensation of the victims. In any case, it must never be confused with the revenge.

However, if truth is a condition for reconciliation, it is not truth without intentions, but truth which paves the way for justice.

As a criminal justice or restorative justice, it is, on the other hand, an indispensable condition for reconciliation in a political community, a community of citizens. Through forgiveness, this reconciliation can – yet not necessarily *must* – rise to another non-political level, perhaps superior because more complete. The individual act to forgive belongs to the scope of the

unconditional where the only incentive is the free will to reinitiate the relations there where damage and offence interrupted mutual understanding. Therefore, faced with rupture and dismemberment, forgiveness emancipates us from the causal and always conditional mechanism which triggers an "offence-revenge" dynamic – as long as this forgiveness goes together with repentance, the acceptance of mistakes and the corresponding punishment.

In order to make reconciliation concrete, within the framework of existing institutions, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission made diverse recommendations for society and the State.

III. Final Considerations: a Culture of Peace and Development

In its investigations, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission referred to the Peruvian institutions' incapacity to offer solutions to the circumstances which had made the violence possible. Diverse institutional reforms were therefore recommended: these included measures to strengthen the mediating role of political and social organizations, reforms in the management of the justice system, and support for a balanced rapport between the democratic institutions, the armed forces and civil society. However, all such efforts require the elaboration of educational policies that turn schools into an area of respect for the human condition and into a space where personal development is underpinned by the promotion of democratic values.

To a great extent, the tragedy experienced in Peru is the bitter fruit of the so-called "violence of abstraction". The dogmatic and unilateral idea of revolution on the one side, and the attempt to impose law and order without concrete human reference on the other side, led to the perpetration and justification of terrible crimes. However, peace must not commit the same sin of abstraction which fed the violence. It will only be a true peace if it is concrete and incarnated with a human face. With the objective of bringing about justice and overcoming indetermination, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission proposed an Integral Compensation Plan, aiming to accomplish a series of compensations at different levels. This included symbolic compensation which meant to re-establish the bond between the state and the people by recognizing the inflicted damage. Seeking to help victims continue or restart their personal and professional lives, the Compensation Plan also recommended to establish a recovery programme focusing on physical and mental health. In addition to this, repairs in education are oriented towards improving access to education and helping people to continue education if they had to interrupt it. It was also considered necessary to facilitate the total exercise of individual, political and social rights for those who never had legal faculties or who lost them during the conflict. Finally, a programme of collective compensations was included in the Compensation Plan, aiming at infrastructural reconstruction, institutional consolidation, and the generation of employment and income for the harmed population.

The recovery of peace is, then, linked to a complex process of reconciliation whose fundamental ingredients I hope to have suitably explained. The success of this process will depend on the extent

to which the members of the divided organism assume common tasks that tie them together as integral parts of a shared past. Hence, the nucleus of reconciliation is the way in which we (as individuals) position ourselves vis-à-vis the others. It is clear that people will choose coercive methods in the resolution of concept if they adhere to a narrow conception of rationality and if goals are postulated and truths enunciated without taking wider society into account. In contrast to this, the task of authentic reconciliation means to become a participant in rational dialogue. In this respect, we spoke of genuine rationality, understood as the faculty that comprehends, feels and values. It therefore lends inter-subjective meaning to the world's facts as well as facilitating the cooperative discovery of truth as the discovery of what had been concealed. In this regard, let us remember that one idea has been reiterated in countless currents of political thought: the notion that violence is dumb and that only public action legitimized by social agreement has binding, dialogic (that is to say rational) character.

Reconciliation is, then, neither a result of deliberate or routine forgetfulness, nor a process of artificial forgiveness, nor an exercise of revenge. It is the fruit of a social agreement that must fulfill a basic condition: giving a voice to those who were silenced. The exercise of free speech amongst free and equal citizens (despite dissimilar interests and different cultures) is the ethical setting where memory, truth and justice truly start to cure and regenerate, that is to say, to reconcile.

Luis Eduardo GARZÓN (Colombia)

Mayor of Bogotá

Luis Eduardo Garzón has been Mayor of Bogotá since 2003. Having had to work from the age of ten, he attained his school-leaving certificate through evening classes and later studied law at the Free University of Bogotá. He became involved in the workers' movement at an early age, rising to the vice-presidency of the Worker's Trade Union USO and subsequently heading the Colombian Federation of Workers. During its thirty years as a trade unionist, Luis Eduardo Garzón survived an assassination attempts from the extreme right. In 2002, the Democratic Pole put him forward as its candidate for Colombia's presidential elections, and he subsequently became head of the Independent Democratic Pole (IDP).

The question of this chapter's title is highly relevant: "can we all get along?" Even though it seems obvious, it is essential to try and answer it for a number of reasons: first of all, we must bear in mind that, at an international level, policies are emerging which act against a positive answer to this question. The differences and the apparent incompatibilities between the world's civilizations are used as an argument to sustain such a negative answer: extrapolating from this, the differences seem to suggest that we cannot live together – or, at least, that we will be considered to be "enemies" if we do not achieve a high degree of agreement (or submission) to what the most powerful ones are thinking.

Emphasis is not put on what unites us, but on what separates us. A spirit of concerted action or of dialogue is not adopted and therefore, there is no desire to look for the portion of truth always held by the other party. Such concepts open the way to authoritarian, exclusive and sectarian policies, to policies that can perfectly be summarized in phrases such as "if you are not with me you are against me" or "if he does not agree with me, he cannot be right". This conception is even applied when the principles of democracy are respected. The winner – who obtains a mandate from the people, as expressed at the ballot box – considers that through his mandate, he is in the position to exclude, to eliminate contradictions and to suppress the differences. It is a sort of "democratic fundamentalism" which, when being endowed with an electoral mandate, in fact considers the latter to be the source of its authoritarianism.

It is necessary to break with this paradigm and to struggle for the establishment of a new one. We must pass from the authoritarian paradigm of "democratic fundamentalism" to the truly democratic paradigm of "confliction" and inclusion. What does this mean? In the first place, it means that we do not regard conflict as something negative, undesirable and, therefore, deserving to be suppressed. This is based on the idea that conflict is simply the expression of difference, of the manifold and necessary differences between human beings, and, hence, that conflict is a positive and desirable occurrence. It is not the aim to avoid conflict as such, but to avoid that conflict is solved by violent or exclusive means, in authoritarian or fundamentalist ways. At this point, the new and positive paradigm comes in: it is the paradigm of the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

The peaceful resolution of conflicts is nothing else than the transformation of non-violence into political alternatives: we argue, we expose, we interact, we act concertedly. We can even generate political pressure. And at the same time we listen, but with defined parameters, with concrete schedules and agendas which do not allow to turn the principle of concerted action into an eternal delaying exercise. Finally, we reach agreements: agreements in which the different parts yield, offer and give, but also receive and harvest; agreements constructed through inclusion and respect for difference.

The peaceful resolution of conflicts is nothing else than the transformation of non-violence into political alternatives.

Bogotá wants to be an example of this new paradigm. This is why our development plan was formulated from a human rights perspective. We believe that our action and public policy must become instruments to improve citizens' condition for knowing, for demanding and for enjoying their rights on a daily basis and in a progressive way. This approach is the only one that truly allows that social, infrastructure and human development policies are articulated consciously, based on a fundamental motto: to advance inclusion.

One of the fundamental axes of our government's programme is therefore called the "axis of reconciliation". It is the setting through which we develop a policy of coexistence, whose ultimate result will be improved security conditions for the benefit of our citizens. And it is in this setting that we put into practice our policy of participation and fortification of the community and local authorities. It is a policy of citizen's empowerment for the exercise of their political, social and economic rights – a policy to make the community stronger and to provide it with better political instruments for the enjoyment of its rights.

In a country like ours, which has been living with longstanding internal armed conflict, this method is the only possible way to achieve a fast transition to a political situation which can integrate the forces that are fighting today and the immense majority – civil society – which is a permanent victim of this conflict. Bogotá struggles to avoid being captured by war in an interminable hurricane of destruction. However, it does not aim to isolate itself: it aims to build a model of inclusion, tolerance and respect that can protrude into all of Colombia. For this reason, we consider security as the expression of better forms of social coexistence.

We have there for impelled alternative mechanisms of conflict resolution: family police stations, which are instances where the victims of intra-family violence are protected and where the sources of conflict can be conciliated; coexistence centres where peace promoters and community mediators interact with the community to solve conflicts that, without this, would either enter the long transit of the traditional judicial circuit or that would open the way to people taking justice into their own hands. We have also designed human-rights-based policies for the victims of conflict, as well as policies to build citizens' capacities to demand and exercise their rights. Furthermore, our policies are aimed at including sectors traditionally excluded from social life and from political participation. "Bogotá against the war" will be, finally, the slogan that expresses citizens' civil resistance against a threat to their rights to life and freedom, among others.

Colombia will leave behind the internal armed conflict that it is experiencing at the moment, if it manages to bring about democratic transition towards an inclusive regime and if it manages to extend democracy to such an extent that a majority of the population endow the process of reconciliation with an ample and sustainable political legitimacy. Reconciliation in Colombia will be more than the result of political negotiations that obtain a balance between justice, impunity, pardon, forgetfulness, repair and truth. Such a balance is indispensable, yet it will have to be based on a democratic political reality. In our country, the democratic fight of today is the defence of the constitution of 1991. This consti-

tution opened the floodgates of democracy and political participation, of a social state and the rule of law. No task is more important than to prevent the reversion of its main conquests. Furthermore, besides its defence, it is essential to develop it further, with the aim of turning Colombia new horizons into a reality.

For this reason, we categorically respond: it is perfectly possible to live together, in spite of all differences. The way towards reconciliation, not only between the Colombians but also at an international level, is to identify the elements of a "minimum ethics" – a sort of common denominator of what is acceptable for all human beings, beyond the cultural differences and the values that nations, ethnic groups or religions profess. This minimum ethics could perfectly be found in that great cultural achievement of modernity which we call "human rights".

X. ANNEXES

The Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004

Following a proposal by the government of the Kingdom of Spain in 1997, the UNESCO General Conference unanimously decided at its 29th session that UNESCO would be the main partner of the "Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004". Through resolution 26, UNESCO acknowledged that "the objectives of the Forum were closely linked to those contained in UNESCO's programmes, particularly with regard to the culture of peace and intercultural dialogue".

As a result, the "Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004" took place from 9 May to 26 September 2004. As an international event for the public at large, the Forum focused on three core themes – "cultural diversity and the dialogue of cultures", "sustainable development" and the "conditions for peace" – which lie at the heart of UNESCO's concerns. A charter of principles and values of the Forum was the basis for expanding on these themes through a variety of events tailored to different kinds of audiences. Conferences, exhibitions and interactive installations, performances and multicultural experiences were designed to provide constant interaction between the public and artists, intellectuals, politicians, scientists, economists and experts from every region of the world.

The Forum and most of its activities and exhibitions were held in premises located at the heart of a vast urban development area of the city of Barcelona, including a new congress and conference centre. At the same time, the city of Barcelona hosted a number of exhibitions and events in the city's cultural and scientific institutions. Over 3 million people visited the Forum or attended the events held there. Four major exhibitions occupying a surface area of some 11,000m^2 were held at the Forum: "Voices" (a multimedia illustration of linguistic diversity and the need to safeguard endangered languages), "Inhabiting the World" (on the challenges of increasing urbanization in the world), "Crossroad Cities" (on the importance of crossroads as social, cultural and economic centres of cities) and an exhibition displaying a number of the terracotta warriors of Xi'an.

Under the title "Dialogues", some 40 international meetings of various formats brought together representatives of agencies of the United Nations system, leading political, economic and social figures, the press and the general public. These events constituted an innovative platform for debate on a host of issues relating to cultural diversity, education, the media, science, sustainable development, freedom, security and peace. Some 65,000 people from 170 countries attended the "Dialogues" meetings and 2,400 people spoke at them. Almost 800,000 people followed them on the Internet. The Dialogues were organized by the Forum in conjunction with national and international governmental and non-governmental organizations, and academic and research institutions.

In order to ensure the project's continuity, a Foundation has been set up with its headquarters in Barcelona, comprising 12 members, including the Spanish Government, the Autonomous Government of Catalonia and Barcelona City Council, chaired by Barcelona City Council. UNESCO was offered a seat on the Foundation. The aim of the Foundation is to monitor the publication and dissemination of the reports of the Dialogues and assist cities wishing to organize a Forum in the future in carrying out their project.

More information on the Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004: www.barcelona2004.org

Dialogue "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to live together in a Globalizing World" Background Information

The Dialogue "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World" focused on new or re-emerging forms of ignorance. Organized by UNESCO as part of the "Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004", the three-day conference aimed to identify ways of countering these "new ignorances" by developing "new literacies". The latter term comprises the knowledge, values and competencies necessary to meet the challenges of a globalized age.

"Learning to live together in a globalizing world" implies a renewed commitment to learning about each other, to developing the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, to increasing communication between peoples and to developing shared values. These tasks are of central importance for peace, development and social cohesion, even though the obstacles may often appear daunting, especially where deep-seated animosities, stereotypes and intolerance undermine mutual respect and interaction.

In a series of panels, preceded by a high-level segment with two Heads of State, the Dialogue assembled eminent personalities from different fields, ranging from politicians to academics, from NGO activists to representatives of the private sector. By focusing on specific challenges and outlining key areas of intervention, speakers helped identify the building blocks required for the construction of "new literacies".

All panels were moderated by high-level Spanish journalists, namely:

- Enric Sopena – Journalist and former Director of *ComRàdio, Radio Nacional de España* and *TVE Catalunya*
- Xavier Batalla – Journalist and Specialist in International Politics at *La Vanguardia*
- Mònica Terribas – Journalist and Professor at Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona
- Manuel Campo Vidal – Journalist, former News Anchor and former Director of *Antena 3 TV*

High-Level Segment: New Ignorances, New Literacies

The three-day conference was inaugurated by a high-level segment. It aimed to set the tone for all subsequent discussions. The participants (including Her Royal Highness Infanta Doña Elena, President Valdas Adamkus and President Abdoulaye Wade) explored the challenges of the "new ignorances" as well as the ways of addressing and counter-acting them.

Keynote Dialogue: Clash of Civilizations or Clash of Ignorances?

The keynote dialogue sought to identify the knowledge, values and competencies needed to reach the ideals of solidarity, tolerance, justice and mutual respect in today's globalizing world. Global events since September 11 have focused the world's attention on the need to better understand the origins of conflicts. As the Secretary-General of the United Nations has stated in 2001, "we must intensify our efforts to move from a culture of reaction to one of prevention". Accordingly, conflict prevention must be treated as a central pillar when building a collective security system for the twenty-first century. The multi-dimensional root causes of conflict are a primary focus of prevention. Some have argued that the coming century will be dominated by a violent and intractable meeting of "civilizations", religions, cultures and ways of life; others assume that globalization is and will be accompanied by an ever-increasing social, cultural and economic fragmentation, or even polarization, from which conflicts will inevitably emerge. Others challenge this view, stating that differences between nations and communities are essentially caused by mutual misunderstanding and a lack of reciprocal knowledge, which can be overcome through education and an appreciation of cultural diversity.

The participants of the keynote dialogue discussed these issues and proposed ways of preventing future "clashes".

The Panels

Eight thematic panels were organized as part of the conference. Each panel was structured around major concerns of our contemporary world. In their presentations, the panellists attempted to tackle the questions identified by UNESCO prior to the event. These questions covered the following topics and themes:

a) Ignoring Diversity

Panel 1: Our Common History: Globalization and Memory

Globalization is as old as the history of humanity. Emphasis has been placed on the most recent forms of globalization, especially on its financial and economic dimensions. The diversity of human history, the existence of crucial historical interactions, influences and exchanges are largely ignored, and thus contribute to discrimination and intolerance. A truly "global history" would not only attempt to highlight the specific contributions of civilizations and cultures. It would also encourage the development of a sense of a common destiny, based on recognition of the diversity of humanity. As part of its discussions, the panel considered different ways of moving towards a more "globalized" understanding of history.

Key questions:

- Faced with the challenges of intolerance and xenophobia, do we not need to better understand our common global history, and the history of successive globalizations?
- To what extent and in what way do we need to "globalize" history, taking into account the contribution of all disciplines and of all regions and cultures?

Panel 2: Our Creative Differences: Learning to Live Together through Arts and Languages

Globalization results in an unprecedented meeting of individuals, cultures and opinions. In a science- and technology-driven world, arts and languages are often underestimated, if not ignored – yet they are key vehicles for mutual understanding, the free exchange of ideas, creativity and the preservation of cultural heritage. They are central for humanizing globalization, and for ensuring the participation of indigenous peoples and minorities. This panel examined the range of policies and practices necessary to meet these challenges.

Key questions:

- What should be done to ensure that our differences lead to fruitful and creative interactions and exchanges, rather than to intolerance, conflict and wars?
- What policies can best promote respect and understanding of diversity?
- What particular role can arts and languages play in fostering peace and mutual understanding?

b) Ignoring the Other

Panel 3: Towards New and Re-Emerging Forms of Discrimination? Human Rights Literacy for the Twenty-First Century

Critics of globalization predict a world where the rule of law, international institutions and justice will gradually break down in the face of unregulated exchanges, unilateral approaches to international cooperation, the rapid growth of corruption, as well as the denial of rights and justice especially for the poorest and the most excluded. They point to the emergence of new and often lesser known forms, victims and spaces of discrimination, which develop in the context of extreme poverty, armed conflicts, trafficking, urbanization, migrations.

Key questions:

- What types of governance and justice are needed in an increasingly interrelated world?
- What values, institutions and capacities are required to address the challenges of emerging and re-emerging forms of discrimination?
- What role for women in this context? How can civil society contribute to meeting these aims?
- How can one make sure that globalization is truly beneficial to all and that it be "owned" by the people themselves?

Panel 4: Learning to Live Together: Fighting Stereotypes from Textbooks to the Internet

Globalization favours exchanges and interactions. It also generates misunderstandings, stereotypes, and xenophobia– being spread through textbooks as well as the Internet. Taken together, these challenges point to the need for a truly inclusive culture of information, and for the development of quality education. This panel discussed (re-)emerging trends and specific responses, including issues such as textbook revision, curriculum development and teacher training, whilst also focusing on the new spaces, approaches and technologies for developing knowledge about the Other, including the ICTs and the mass media.

Key questions:

- How can education at all levels help fight stereotypes and encourage learning to live together?

- Are the media sufficiently involved in supporting the learning of tolerance, mutual understanding and respect?
- What new civic competencies and tools are needed in an increasingly interconnected and interrelated world, and how can they become integrated in programmes of formal and non-formal education?

c) Ignoring the Future

Panel 5: Does Development Ignore the Future? Educating for Sustainable Development

Ever since the Brundtland Report (1987), the first and the second Earth Summits (Rio, 1992; Johannesburg, 2002), sustainable development has been recognized as a key challenge for the future of contemporary societies. This panel discussed how sustainable development could be promoted – in other words, "responding to the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

Key questions:

- How can we build the capacities and competencies to achieve environmental and ethical awareness, values and attitudes, skills and behaviour consistent with sustainable development?
- How can we develop and expand education for sustainable development, both in terms of contents and coverage?

Panel 6: Towards a Global Learning Village? Media, New Technologies, and The Challenges of Pluralism and Cultural Diversity

For many, the development of media and communications technology holds forth the promise of a "global learning village", truly representative of the cultural diversity of today's world. However, critics have also drawn attention to the dangers of a culturally homogenized world and of a widening "digital divide". The panellists therefore dealt with the topics discussed at the World Summit on the Information Society. Significantly, the latter's Declaration of Principles (Geneva 2003) had declared the "common desire and commitment to build a people-centred, inclusive and development-oriented Information Society, where everyone can create, access, utilize and share information and knowledge".

Key questions:

- How can the media, the ICTs and the institutions of distance learning be harnessed to ensure the dissemination of all forms of knowledge, of cultures and languages?
- What new forms, new spaces and new institutions of learning do we need today in order to construct a "global learning village"?
- What forms of knowledge, values, competencies and skills are necessary to promote the emergence of knowledge societies in the digital era?

d) Ignoring Ethics

Panel 7: Ethics of Science: What Science for What Society?

Ethics of science constitutes a major challenge for peace and security. The World Conference

on Science (WCS, Budapest, 1999) opened up new perspectives by recommending that "All scientists should commit themselves to high ethical standards, and a code of ethics based on relevant norms enshrined in international human rights instruments should be established for scientific professions" and that "Ethics and responsibility of science should be an integral part of the education and training of all scientists".

Key questions:

- What are the ethical implications of scientific progress, and what is the price for ignoring them?
- How can an ethos of sharing scientific progress be constructed?
- What competencies, capacities or institutions are needed to respond to these challenges?

Panel 8: Conflict Prevention, Resolution and Reconciliation: Can We All Get Along?

In the last decade, the world has experienced new forms of wars and conflicts and has been confronted with radically new threats. Their complex origins have again highlighted the increasing relevance and necessity of multifaceted prevention, conflict resolution and reconstruction strategies. Conflict prevention and the reduction of threats is not only a political question, nor is it simply a development issue: it is also a challenge to cultural and educational systems. This is in particular the background to the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010), for which UNESCO acts as lead agency within the United Nations system.

Key questions:

- What can we learn from our past experiences when developing peace-keeping and peace-building efforts?
- What are the essential ingredients to ensure the success of reconciliation processes?
- How can we foster a culture of peace and dialogue in conflict and post-conflict areas?

Companion Events to the Dialogue

Between 6 to 8 September 2004, several companion events were organized as part of the conference so as to illustrate related dimensions of its topic "New Ignorances, New Literacies – Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World". These included: the award ceremony of the 2003 "UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize" (in cooperation with UNESCO's Culture sector); a meeting of the MENTOR Association for Media Education; the public screening of the Afghan film "Shadows", and participation of two conference panelists in the Forum's "141 Questions" event.

UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize

In the afternoon of 6 September 2004, the ceremony for the UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize was held, rewarding municipalities' efforts to strengthen social cohesion, to improve living conditions in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and to develop genuine urban harmony. The biannual award referred to activities undertaken in 2002-2003 and was connected to a US$ 20,000 donation for each laureate city. In his speech, the Director-General of UNESCO emphasized the key importance of local authorities in promoting intercultural dialogue, tolerance and the values of "living together". The following municipalities – one from each region – were awarded the 2002-2003 Cities for Peace Prize:

- Africa:
  Harar (Ethiopia)
  Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) [*ex-aequo*]

- Asia and the Pacific: Dushanbe (Tajikistan)
Honourable Mention: Yala (Thailand)

- Arab States: Ras El Metn (Lebanon)
Honourable Mention: Aswan (Egypt)

- Europe and North America: Gernika-Lumo (Spain)
Honourable Mention: Stuttgart (Germany)

- Latin America and the Caribbean: Bogota (Colombia)
Honourable Mention: Porto Alegre (Brazil)

The event concluded with a musical performance by world-renowned pianist and UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador Miguel Angel Estrella. He played and introduced compositions of Isaac Albeniz, Milonga de Cedron-Cortazar, Maurice Ravel and Angel Villoldo

MENTOR Association for Media Education

Focusing on one particular aspect of the Dialogue on "New Ignorances, New Literacies" – namely media literacy – the inaugural presentation of the MENTOR Association for Media Education was held in the evening of 7 September 2004. The association seeks to build upon UNESCO's work in the field of media education and brings together academics from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain), the University of Cairo (Egypt), the University of Minho (Portugal) and the Universidad Pontificia de Chile (Chile).

The event was opened by the Dialogue's director, Jean-Yves Le Saux, and included contributions from Samie Tayie (Egypt), María del Mar de Fontcuberta (Chile), Manuel da Silva Pinto (Portugal) and José Manuel Pérez Tornero (Spain), all four of them members of the association's executive committee. Some 80 people attended the session and explored the role of media education as an aspect of citizenship education, the importance of regional approaches, and the scope for activities at both a formal and a non-formal level.

Screening of the Afghan film "Shadows"

After the panel discussions on 7 September, an open-air screening of the documentary "Shadows" (2004) took place on the site of the Universal Forum of Cultures. The film produced an insight into the work of conference panellist Reza Deghati. Working with UNESCO support, his organization, the Association *Aïna* had set up a Women's Film Group in Afghanistan, which so far has resulted in both "Shadows" and an earlier film entitled "Afghanistan: Unveiled". The documentary was directed by Mary Ayubi (Afghanistan) and Polly Hyman (UK). "Shadows" focuses on the situation of women in Afghanistan and is the result of interviews conducted between April 2003 and November 2003.

Participation in "141 Questions"

Every evening, the Forum offered visitors the chance to debate with an internationally recognized personality. As part of this daily public question-and-answer session "141 Questions", Jiri Dienstbier, one of the conference's keynote speakers, participated in a public event on 6 September 2004. He spoke about the transition to democracy and the obstacles that post-conflict societies have to overcome when seeking to achieve it.

The screening of the film "Shadows" on 7 September 2004 was immediately preceded by a "141 Questions" session with *Aïna's* founding president Reza Deghati. Mr Deghati answered questions from a diverse and numerous audiences. In doing so, he referred both to his work as a photojournalist and to his experiences in Afghanistan.

These public sessions were each attended by an audience of 300 to 400 persons. They were broadcast on a public-access TV channel in Barcelona.

"Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war".

These words from the UNESCO Constitution (1945) resonate today with new urgency. Globalization has brought people closer together, yet it has also been accompanied by the emergence of disturbing forms of ignorance – or by their re-emergence in a new context.

Taken together, they form the "new ignorances". They must be combated through the development and promotion of appropriate skills, values and competencies: the "new literacies".

The UNESCO conference "New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in A Globalizing World", held in Barcelona from 6 to 8 September 2004, brought together over 40 distinguished speakers from politics, academic and international organization.

This publication features essays based on their contributions, with nine thematic chapters addressing the key-topics explored at the event.

United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organization
Bureau of Strategic Planning

For further information about
UNESCO's activities
please see: http://www.unesco.org

"The purpose of writing world history is not only to highlight the specific contribution of civilizations and cultures but also to build awareness of a common destiny based on an acknowledgement of the diversity of humanity. We must therefore devise new forms of learning in order to improve our knowledge of both our own history and that of others. This is a crucial factor in ensuring not only better dialogue but also reconciliation among peoples."

Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO