Religions and Poverty

Seminar Report

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Report on a Seminar on 'Religions and Poverty Eradication' convened in Tokyo 8-10 March 1998.

Organised by the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

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Preface

The United Nations World Summit for Social Development (WSSD), held in Copenhagen in March 1995, brought into sharp focus the reality of poverty.

Nearly 800 million people in the developing world do not get enough food. A full half-billion, including more than a third of the world's children, are chronically malnourished. Approximately 17 million people in the developing world die every year from preventable infectious and parasitic diseases such as diarrhoea, malaria, respiratory infections and tuberculosis. The numbers of dire poor are increasing. Forty-seven people each minute join the ranks of those in dire poverty, measured at less than US$370 income per year.

As compelling as these figures are, they do not capture adequately the pernicious effects of poverty for individuals, families and societies: the undermining of health, the dulling of minds, the crushing of spirits, the disintegration of social institutions, the escalation of social tensions, and the degradation of rights fundamental to our humanity.

An Ethical, Social, Political and Economic Imperative
The stark conditions and the growth of dire poverty resulted in the Summit's call for the complete eradication of dire poverty. Heads of State from more than 180 countries signed the WSSD Declaration, describing the goal of eradicating poverty as "...an ethical, social, political and economic imperative of humankind." Signatories of the declaration pledged specific actions toward the goal, "in the shortest time possible."

Alleviating Poverty's Impact
In response to the Summit's Declaration, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1996 as the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty (IYEP). This year served as the starting point for the first International Decade for the Eradication of Poverty, giving rise to a new hope that significant and sustained progress could be made on alleviating the impact of poverty on people's lives.

This solid and formal commitment urged a renewed focus on developing and sustaining comprehensive programs committed to the goal of eradicating poverty, both within the UN system and in partnership with other social institutions. While the power of such a commitment, implemented country by country, has yielded important and tangible results, nevertheless the dimensions and extent of global poverty continues to present an unprecedented challenge.

Transforming Social Institutions

It is obvious that only a far-reaching change in behavior and attitude can remedy the deprivation facing so many of the world's population. This extensive engagement, however, is conceivable only if all relevant sectors of society are jointly focused and coordinated in common efforts toward complimentary goals. This challenge, however, arises at a time when growing xenophobia, racism and extremism of all kinds has forced many peoples apart. Moreover, an increasing competitiveness for scarce resources and reported 'donor fatigue', combine to dramatically reinforce the need for initiatives capable of reinvigorating global efforts to eradicate poverty.

Religions and Poverty Eradication

There is a growing recognition internationally that religious communities are uniquely situated to press in public arenas the need for greater action on poverty-related issues and in actual development programs themselves. This assessment has been forcefully strengthened in recent years through a series of highly effective multireligious interventions in various critical emergencies, illustrative of the constructive roles available to religious communities when they cooperate. Religious elements may sometimes conspire to exacerbate conflict, but when effectively mobilised, they can also function as highly effective agents for assisting social transformation and development.

Most particularly, the social, moral and organisational characteristics of religious communities endow them with an unparalleled capacity for communication and action at all levels of society. Dispersed throughout the world and reaching into every town and village, religions are major social institutions, afforded wide public respect and a privileged influence among decision-makers. Religious communities have a highly credible record of sustained engagement in democratisation, community development, and in supporting civil institutions, and are a valuable resource for galvanising diverse constituencies and interests.

Moreover, religions' social infrastructure provides a unique asset for sharing and disseminating information through locally based personnel, providing a unique resource for developing culturally sensitive community programs. Religious bodies also possess substantial practical experience in implementing health, welfare, and educational projects, with the accompanying efficiencies and long term benefits that arise through engaging with and empowering local communities. These resources can be of enormous strategic importance in the task of promoting social development and eradicating poverty in the shortest time possible.

Promoting Public Values

Furthermore, religious communities have a natural role to play in promoting public values supporting development and poverty eradication. Founded on deeply-held ethical visions, religions are capable of summoning believers to creative and committed forms of social action. The moral commitments of religions themselves are powerfully authoritative, drawing on values and traditions that have been clarified and enunciated over many generations. For many religions, these ethical

norms are inherently universal in intent, providing moral sensitivities capable of influencing an adherent's behaviour towards all human beings, believers and non-believers alike.

Beyond this, religious adherents themselves are frequently inspired by the example of those who, provoked by the moral force of their tradition, have responded to social deprivation and division, providing a rich heritage upon which to draw when seeking to promote values that emphasise mutual responsibility and care for others.

Furthermore, in many societies, religious values continue as the foundational principles underlying social norms and practices, so that even among those who reject religious belief per se, there may still be a strong adherence to the religious ethic that underlies civic relations. These moral claims, if effectively mediated, can provide an enormous impetus motivating people to take responsibility for ameliorating the effects of social deprivation and abuse.

Valuing Multireligious Cooperation

Moreover, these unique and substantial assets available to individual religious communities can be strengthened greatly by cooperation among religions. Multireligious efforts can be more powerful, both substantively and symbolically, than the efforts of a single religious community acting alone. Cooperation can serve to promote tolerance in circumstances where tragically religious people contribute to divisions. It can reduce competition for scarce resources, avoid accusations of partisanship, and draw together effective coalitions and the broadest set of competencies available to address issues and implement programs. Multireligious cooperation possesses an enormous capacity for advocacy and building consensus at all levels of society, across social, ethnic, racial, and religious divides.

Tokyo Seminar on Religion and Poverty Eradication

The unparalleled potential of religious communities to assist global efforts to eradicate poverty has prompted increasing cooperation between the World Conference and Religion and Peace (WCRP) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). As an indication of this engagement, the Social Development and Poverty Elimination Division and WCRP cooperated to convene a gathering of religious leaders and development experts in Tokyo, 8-1 1 March, addressing the theme of ' Religion and Poverty Eradication'.

The Tokyo seminar had two basic goals: to investigate common values and perceptions relating to poverty eradication across diverse religious communities; and, to map out a rationale and strategy for further engaging religious communities in poverty

1. Outline common concerns among religions on the issues pertaining to the eradication of poverty and the promotion of social development;

2. Outline a rationale for cooperation among religious communities in programs addressing the eradication of poverty, including public advocacy;

3. Consider a range of proposals for potential cooperation among religious communities in activities addressing poverty eradication;

4. Consider such other matters as would assist the implementation of the above, including the utilisation of religious media and communications networks in promoting such cooperation.

The Seminar program addressed four priority areas for poverty eradication, as identified by UNDP. Topics addressed included: Empowering Women for Eradicating Poverty, Building the Assets of the Poor, Globilisation and Global Equity, and Pro-Poor Development, as well as The Challenge of Poverty Eradication and Religion, Development and Civil Society: A Rights Approach. The preparation of papers beforehand permitted generally brief presentations to be made, with ample time for discussion. Excerpts from this lively discussion are included in this Report.

As such, the gathering considered relevant issues from a variety of faith perspectives and sought to map out a strategic response to these concerns. A small Advisory Group was convened prior to the gathering to prepare the program, background documentation and to outline areas of potential areas of cooperation. An enlarged Advisory Group met immediately following the Seminar to synthesise the outcomes of the meeting and to recommend next steps. The WCRP Governing Board, meeting immediately prior to the Seminar, also endorsed a statement on 'Religions and Poverty Eradication', asserting a broad religious consensus on poverty eradication as a moral and social priority. The Governing Board also formalised the establishment of a new WCRP Standing Commission to further encourage multireligious cooperation in this area.

On This Report

This Report gathers the major papers presented at the Tokyo seminar on 'Religions and Poverty', interspersed with segments of the ensuing discussion. These are presented to indicate the breadth of topics addressed and to provide an insight into how religious communities respond to such issues. It is hoped that the papers presented in Tokyo, supplemented by others in order ensure religious balance, will shortly be published in a single volume.

Religions and Poverty

Tokyo Seminar, 8-10 March 1998

PROGRAM

Sunday, 8 March

2:00pm **Welcome**
Dr. Adamou N'Joya
Moderator WCRP International Governing Board

Introduction of Participants

2:15pm The Challenge of Poverty Eradication
Ms Rosina Wiltshire
Deputy-Director, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP

Responses & questions

Religions and the Challenge of Poverty Eradication: Introduction
Rev. John Baldock, Associate Secretary General, WCRP International

Responses & questions

3:30pm Tea & coffee

4:00pm Empowering Women for Eradicating Poverty
Ms Olive D. Luena
Vice-Chairperson, Tanzania Association of NGO's, Tanzania

Ms Rosina Wiltshire
Deputy-Director, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP

4:30pm   Discussion and consideration of action responses
              Open discussion with input from designated participants

5:30pm   Authorisation of WCRP Governing Board Statement on
              Development and Poverty Eradication. Recognition of
              International Women's Day. Launching of WCRP Standing
              Commission on Development

Tuesday, 10 March

9:00am   Convening of Advisory Group
          Seminar Responses & Prioritisation of Actions to November 1999

10:30am   Tea & coffee

12:00am   Seminar Closing

Monday, 9 March

9:00am **Building the Assets of the Poor**

People-Centred Poverty Eradication
Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne
Founder, Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, Sri Lanka

9:30am **Discussion and consideration of action responses**
Open discussion with input from designated participants

1 0:30am Tea & coffee

11:00am **Globilisation and Global Equity**
Dr. Chandra Muzaffar
Director, JUST, International Movement for a Just World, Malaysia

1 1:30am Discussion and consideration of action responses
Open discussion with input from designated participants

1 2:30pm Lunch

2:30pm **Pro-Poor Development**
Mr. Manlio Dell'Ariccia
Joint Distribution Committee, Italy

3:00pm **Discussion and consideration of action responses**
Open discussion with input from designated participants

4:00pm Tea & coffee

4:30pm **Religion, Development and Civil Society: A Rights Approach**
Dr. William Vendley
Secretary General, WCRP International

4:40pm **Discussion and consideration of action responses**
Open discussion with input from designated participants

5:30pm **Summation and Consideration of Next Steps**

6:00pm Dinner

'Religions and Poverty': Seminar Participants

Tokyo, 8-10 March 1998

Amir AI-Islam - Islam - USA
Secretary General, WCRP USA.

Dr. Kamil Al-Sharif - **Islam -** Jordan
Senator in the Jordanian Parliament. Secretary General, International Islamic
Council for Dawa and Relief. Former Ambassador.

Dr. Vinu Aram - Hindu - India
WCRP Youth Coordinator. Medical practitioner and community development
activist.

Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne - Buddhism - Sri Lanka
Founder and President, Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. Recipient Templeton
Prize for Progress Religion, Niwano Peace Prize, and many other international
awards.

Rev. John Baldock - Christianity - Australia/USA
Associate Secretary General, WCRP International

Dr. Elizabeth Bowen - **Baha'i - USA**
Physician. Consultant and Representative, Baha'i International Community

Dr. Deepali Bhanot - Hindu – India
Educator. WCRP Women's Committee.

Mr. James Brasher - Christianity - USA
Director of Projects, WCRP **International**

Rev. John Buehrens - Christian - USA
President, Unitarian Universalist Association, USA

Mr. James Cairns - Christianity - USA
Program Director, WCRP programs in Bosnia-Hercegovina

Dr. Mustafa Ceric - Islam - Bosnia-Hercegovina

Vsevolod Chaplin, - Christian - Russia
Working in international relations for Russian Orthodox Church.

Ms **Melissa Chase -** Christianity - USA
Office Manager, WCRP International

Mr. Manlio Dell'Ariccia - Judaism - Italy
Program director with Joint Distribution Council (JDC), the largest Jewish relief and development organisation.

Mr. Eitan Eliram - Judaism - Israel
WCRP Youth Committee representative.

Mr. Jacob Finch - Judaism - Bosnia-Hercegovina
President of the Jewish Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Founding member Interreligious Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bishop Michael Fitzgerald - Christianity - Vatican
Bishop Fitzgerald works within the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue in Rome.

Ms **Nyaradzai Gumbonzvanda -** Christianity - Zimbabwe
WCRP Women's Committee Coordinator.

Mr. Gabriel Habib - Orthodox Christianity - Cyprus
Immediate past General Secretary General, Middle East Council of Churches.

Mr. Simon Guerrand Hermes - Christianity - France
WCRP Treasurer.

Ms **Judith Hertz -** Judaism – USA

Mr. Bakar Hiyari- Islam - Jordan
Program director with the Royal Institute for Interfaith Studies in Jordan.

Mustafic Het - Islam - Bosnia-Hercegovina

Masimichi Kamiya - Buddhism - Japan/USA
Associate Secretary General, WCRP International

Dr. Won Yong Kang - Christianity - Korea
Former Moderator, Asian Conference on Religion and Peace. Former Member Executive Committee, World Council of Churches. Former President, Korean Christian Academy.

Ms **Afshan Mohsin Khan -** Islam - Pakistan
Social Sector Specialist, Raasta Development Consultants

Prof. Norbert Klaes - Christianity - Germany
Academic. Moderator, WCRP European Region.

Mr. E.J. Korthals-Altes - Christianity - The Netherlands
Former Netherlands Ambassador. Former Chair, International Affairs
Commission, Netherlands Council of Churches.

Mrs. Olive Luena - Christianity - Tanzania
Secretary General, Tanzania Association of NGO's.

Rev. John Mc Auley - Christianity - USA
Associate Secretary General, WCRP International

Metropolitan Mikatas - Orthodox Christianity - Turkey
Representing the Ecumenical Patriarch in Istanbul.

Rev. Tatsuo Miyake - Shinto - Japan
Senior Chief Minister (Designated), Konko Church of Izuo, Japan.

Rev. Yoshinobu Miyake - Shintoism - Japan
Minister of Konko Church of Izuo, Osaka, Japan.

Rev. Nikolaj Mrda - Christianity - Bosnia-Hercegovina
Secretary, Synod of Bishops, Serbian Orthodox Church, Bosnia-Hercegovina

Dr. Chandra Muzaffar – Islam – Malaysia
Director, JUST, International Movement for a Just World, Malaysia.

Mr. Tarlok Nandhra - Sikhism - Kenya
President, Sikh Supreme Council.

Metropolitan Nikolaj - Orthodox Christianity - Bosnia-Hercegovina
Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan of Sarajevo. Founding member Interreligious
Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Rev. Nichiko Niwano - Buddhism - Japan
President, Rissho Kosei-kai, lay-Buddhist movement in Japan.

H.E. Dr. Adamou N'Dam N'Joya - Islam - Cameroon
Minister Plenipotentiary, Republic of Cameroon. Former Vice President of
UNESCO Executive Committee. Current Mayor of Yaounde.

H.E. **Vinko Cardinal Puljic -** Christianity - Bosnia-Hercegovina
Cardinal Archbishop of Sarajevo. Founding member Interreligious Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Fr. Radomir Rakic - Christianity - Yugoslavia

Ms **Saba Risaluddin -** Islam - United Kingdom
Founder of the Calamus Foundation.

Mr. Russell Rollason, Development Consultant, Australia
Former assistant Secretary General of the Australian Council of Churches and a full-time consultant on development issues internationally.

Rabbi David Rosen - Orthodox Judaism - Israel
Former Chief Rabbi of Ireland. Director of the Anti-Defamation League in Israel. Responsible for interreligious affairs internationally for the Anti-Defamation League.

Mme. Jacqueline Rouge - Christianity - France
Former Vice-President, Pax Christi International.

Ms **Maritza Salazar -** Indigenous - Costa Rica
Coordinator of Spiritual Activities, SEJEKTO, Costa Rica.

Mr. Mahy Deen Shareef, Proxy for W.D. Mohammed - Islam - USA

Ms **Shari Silvi -** Christianity - USA
Member of the Focolare Movement, with an associated members of over 40 million Catholics internationally.

Dr. Malcolm Sutherland - Christian - USA
Former President, Meadville Lombard School of Theology, University of Chicago, USA.

Ms **Lynn Szwaja -** USA
Program Director, Programs in the Humanities, Rockefeller Foundation, USA.

Dr. Hans Uko - Christianity - Switzerland
World Council of Churches.

Dr. William Vendley - Christianity - USA
Secretary General, WCRP international

Ms **Rosina Wiltshire**

Deputy-Director, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP

Dr. Mato Zovkic - Christianity - Bosnia-Hercegovina

Religions and Poverty: Seminar Resources

Documents prepared as resources for the 'Religions and Poverty':

Poverty Priorities:
Outlining the state of global poverty and priority areas for action

Poverty Action Sheets
Focused on four priority areas in poverty eradication, outlining ways in which religious communities, both individually and collectively, can act to address the effects of dire poverty. Poverty Action Sheets include:

Pro-poor Growth
Women and Poverty Eradication
People Centred Poverty Eradication
Globilisation and Global Equity

Statement of the WCRP Governing Board on the Role of Religious Communities in Development and Poverty Eradication

Press Advisories both prior to and following the Tokyo Seminar, available in English, French, Spanish, German, Arabic, Russian and Japanese

Copies of the above are available from the WCRP International Secretariat:

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The Challenge of Poverty Eradication

Dr. Rosina Wiltshire. Deputy-Director, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP

I want to begin by thanking the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) for organizing this important meeting. UNDP is particularly pleased to be a partner in this initiative. You may be aware that poverty elimination is our overarching goal and while it continues to be important for UNDP to work with governments as our major partners, it is equally important for us to work with civil society organizations such as WCRP, which we see as very important partners.

I have been asked to address the issue of the major challenges facing us in poverty elimination. And I want to begin by looking at poverty elimination as we have defined it in our Human Development Report. We see poverty essentially as a denial of choices and opportunities. The lack of a basic capacity to participate effectively in society. The lack of the ability to have access to food, clothing, education, health, land on which to grow food, and credit. We see it as insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals and communities.

The challenge today is a fairly complex challenge because it involves a number of paradoxes. The first paradox is the increase in global wealth, while at the same time we see an increasing polarization of wealth and poverty. We see increasing opportunities with globalization at the same time that we see increasing risk of exclusion of large numbers of people from the opportunities that globalization presents.

UNDP has established as its main mandate, as I said, poverty elimination. And we see three or four important dimensions that go with that. We have identified the care and regeneration of the natural environment as an important arm of the challenge; the advancement of women; good governance; and sustainable livelihood. A major thrust of our activity is strengthening the policy framework and building national capacity to create a more enabling legal and policy environment for poverty elimination. A second dimension of our work is strengthening the decentralized government framework to ensure the greater participation of communities and civil society in making decisions about the direction in which countries go and the problems and solutions towards poverty elimination and the well-being of the society.

One of the major challenges which we do not hear talked much about is the challenge of values. The challenge of will. The World Social Summit brought together the majority of the nations of the world, who proclaimed poverty elimination as a major goal. Beijing reinforced that by focusing the world's attention

on the fact of the feminization of poverty, women constituting the majority of the poorest, and the importance of identifying gender equality and the advancement of women as a major responsibility, a major challenge facing the global community.

However, while we have seen major advances, as I have said, we have recognized that there is a challenge of shifting the value system. The sacredness and equal value of all human life, every man and every woman, every girl child and every boy child, is still not widely acknowledged in our modem global community. There has been a growing importance and understanding of the role of the natural environment to our existence, which was enhanced by the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio in 1992. However, when it comes to the value of human beings, the basic measuring stick for their value is still largely the measuring stick of how much they contribute to the economy. And women, whose contribution to the economy is largely unseen, uncounted and therefore invisible, are seen as not being as valuable to society, not being as valuable as males to their own societies, to the global community. They are in fact seen in many parts of the world as lesser beings.

Shifting the value system away from one based on human beings serving an economy to one in which the economy serves the human beings - and, as I said, the sacredness and equality value of each human being - that is, for us, one of the fundamental challenges facing the global community today. And it is the recognition that groups such as WCRP have the power, individually and collectively, to inform that value shift, to make a difference to the way that human beings are seen that strengthens our resolve to work with civil society. The basic goal must shift from an accumulation of wealth at the expense of human life, to one in which human life is valued as the highest aspect of our existence. The well-being and the highest realization of each and every human being must be the goal by which our activities are informed.

That is for us one of the challenges of this beginning partnership. It is a challenge, which we know that, as a global organization, we cannot face alone. We are ready to partner with you. We are ready to face the challenges. We have our programs on the ground in many countries. We have the partnership of governments. We are partnering with civil society. We are trying to ensure that our activities on the ground benefit those who need it most - benefit the poorest, men and women. But as I said, we cannot do it alone. You as a group are a powerful group, and we look to this partnership to achieve the goal of poverty eradication. Because it can be done. The global community has the resources to do it. We all know that it is possible. Let us work together to achieve that goal.

Women and Poverty

Ms Olive D. Luena
Vice-Chairperson, Tanzania Association of NGO's, Tanzania

Introduction

In my country, Tanzania, and elsewhere in the third world, Poverty at its broadest level can be conceived as a state of deprivation prohibitive of decent human life. This is caused by lack of resources and the capability to acquire basic human needs, as seen in many but often mutually reinforcing parameters, including malnutrition, illiteracy, the prevalence of disease, squalid surroundings, high infant, child and maternal mortality, low life expectancy, low per capita income and expenditure, poor quality housing, inadequate clothing, low technological utilisation, environmental degradation, unemployment, rural-urban migration, and poor communications.

The Extend of Poverty

In 1991, it was estimated that about 250 million people in Africa were living in abject poverty, unable to meet their most basic needs. This situation is related to complex internal and external factors. The legacy of the economic crisis of the 1980s is still in evidence, especially, deteriorating social and human conditions and escalating poverty. In 1993, for example, infant mortality averaged 103 per 1000 children in sub-Saharan Africa, compared to 71 per 1000 children for all developing countries. In the same year, under 5 mortality rates were estimated at 16 per cent per 1000 live births in sub-Saharan Africa. Between 1995 and 1990, only 51 per cent of the urban population in Africa had access to sanitation facilities, compared to 16 per cent for the rural population. During the same period, access to safe water was available to only 69 per cent of people in urban areas and 26 per cent in rural areas. For all Africa, calories per capita per day averaged 2,100 in 1993, while protein per capita per day was just 53 grams, compared to a world average of 1,697 calories and 71 grams consecutively. (Africa Platform of action)

Empowering Women for Poverty Alleviation - Why?

In 1993, women constituted approximately 52 per cent of the population. They provide 60 to 80 per cent of the food supply and represent the greater proportion of the unemployed, earning only 10 per cent of the income while owning only 1 per cent of the assets. Women are the backbone of both cash crop and subsistence farming yet are denied the tools for sustainability. They still confront considerable discrimination, constituting a major obstacle to increased productivity. The number of female-headed households is increasing and is now around 35 per cent of all families, with the feminization of poverty becoming an

increasing reality. Studies from many countries indicate that women do have a real need for income and that the ideal of men as sole provider for women and children is a myth. The inadequacy of male incomes is a fact of life for the majority of third world households, adding to the importance of women's earning to the survival of many countries. As the saying goes, when you educate a woman you educate a people, but the same applies that a woman's active role in earning income and managing household finances benefits her whole family. And there are also longer-term benefits as well, to both herself personally and her family, as she develops the skills and resources to support herself and family members in an event of divorce or widowhood.

In view of all these factors, it is therefore important that women must be empowered to participate in economic structures. and policies, in employment, and in the productive process itself, if the issue of poverty eradication is to be undertaken with seriousness . Poverty eradication can only be successful if women are fully empowered both spiritually, economically, socially, and politically, because their contribution to poverty eradication is absolutely critical.

Empowerment of Women for Poverty Eradication Issues and Concerns
In my introduction, 1 indicated that Poverty manifests itself in various ways. In this section, 1 will attempt to show the ways in which Poverty relates to women in Africa, and recommend steps on empowerment that religious communities and other can undertaken, and for which the World Religious and World Conference on Religion and Peace can be a catalyst for.

Empowerment of Women for Poverty Eradication Issues and Concerns

In my introduction, I indicated that Poverty manifests itself in various ways. In this section, I will attempt to show the ways in which Poverty relates to women in Africa, and recommend steps on empowerment that religious communities and other can undertake, and for which the World Religious and World Conference on Religion and Peace can be a catalyst for.

Women and Food Security in Africa

In rural Africa, women are overburdened and overworked. They produce, process, and store ninety percent of the food consumed in Africa, yet they remain all but invisible to development planners. Indeed the burdens of the African women are among the greatest in the world.

Since the many life sustaining activities they perform limit the time and energy they can devote to food production, a key factor in any effort to strengthen Africa's food security and to eradicate poverty is to diminish those burdens.

However, this fact is still ignored in the majority of African development programmes, both locally and externally. Most development planners and structural adjustment programmes do not recognise that the continent's food security and eradication of poverty is dependent upon an increase in the productivity of women farmers, through means such as providing them with greater access to technology, training, land and credit, and by improving their working and living conditions.

Recommendation

Development strategies must consider the dilemma of women confronted by many restrictions while still expected to produce so much. Labour and time saving innovations produce direct results and relief. The empowerment of women through the formation of local women's groups and their recognition in village divisions is an important step towards food security. Such solutions need to be incorporated into development goals. Women's specific strengths, goals, and needs need to be responded to in development planning.

In this case, religions can lobby and influence governments to enact and/or enforce laws that will remove barriers to the economic participation of women, particularly those which relate to property rights, asset holdings, inheritance laws, credit policies labour, zoning laws, and export processing zones which restrict informal sector activities;

Religions can lobby and influence governments to reduce women's workload through provision of appropriate technologies for all aspects of funning and household tasks;

Religions can promote more equitable sharing of work between men and women.

Water Resources

Sufficient clean water is a crucial need for Africans. Food production, health, afforestation, freeing-up time for income generation - all are dependent on water. Obtaining water imposes a heavy burden on women who must struggle to overcome the problem of unsafe water or a distant supply kilometres away, spending a day just for drawing water. In these circumstances, women suffer severely, including poor health for themselves and their families, failed or insufficient crops, and wasted time and energy. The following comments reiterate the need for making safe and secure water a major priority:

"The impact of water for women is vital, because if it is lacking then the poor woman has to find ways and means by which she can acquire water to fulfil the tasks that are expected of her. If we could find ways of relieving her from the burden of where to get water, and how much she can get, she would have time to engage in other activities".

"Water is life. Almost everything is centred around water. If the water is not clean, if the quality is not good, then it is bound to contribute towards an unhealthy population, and if we have a nation that is unhealthy it becomes a *vicious cycle - people are not strong enough to work, people cannot contribute towards development. In every* way, *water is very important for our lives and development".*

(Rose Mulana KWAHO, WAHO, Kenya)

Recommendation

Them must be direct support from all institutions, both within and outside Africa, for large scale technical projects which include social and community components to address women's needs in the areas of water and sanitation, recognising the direct link between women's access to clean water and the quality of life for all. Governments and donors must implement small water projects planned, executed and maintained by women. Their participatory approach benefits their communities and enables women to actively improve their lives.

Health Care

As the primary caretakers for children, women struggle under the burden of maintaining and improving their family's health. This effort consumes a great portion of women's time and energy, particularly during episodes of illness or recovery. Their own poor health often hampers women's efforts to fulfil their multiple responsibilities. As health problems detract from the general quality of life, they also impair women's productivity and reduce their contributions to food security.

Development projects that seek to improve the health of a community reduce women's burden in several respects. Fewer sick family members liberates time and energy for women to devote to other concerns. Greater health for women themselves encourages greater productivity. Longer and better lives enhances a fuller use of the abilities of all community members.

Recommendation

Preventive health care aimed at raising the awareness and education of women should be encouraged, as it contributes greatly to the health of families;

A deliberate effort must be made to establish health care and medical facilities for women. Having a health worker in a village increases the knowledge of preventive health care as well as curative treatments;

Population and gender concerns must be included within national development strategies and the policies and programmes that flow from these. The full participation of women as decision makers must be ensured within these processes;

The accessibility, availability, and affordability of primary health care services must be increased. Reproductive health facilities and health interventions must be designed with a greater regard for women's multiple responsibilities and the demands on their time.

Renewable Energy Resources

As deforestation and deforestation continue at alarming rate, the struggles of African women increase. Fuel scarcity limits women's ability to meet basic family needs. As the primary fuel gatherers and users, women must spend hours and search for miles to acquire sufficient resources. Time spent in fuel collection is time denied to food cultivation, which in turn contributes to food insecurity. The critical relationship between women's fuel sources and food production points to the obligation to consider these issues in the design of projects and development programs.

Recommendation
The linkages between gender, the environment and development must be integrated into environmental impact assessments and other decision making processes aimed at achieving sustainable development;

Measures must be enacted to enhance the full participation of all groups, and especially women, in decision-making on the sustainable use of natural resources;

Environmental protection laws must take due cognisance of women's concerns;

Appropriate and affordable technologies that reduce women's workload while protecting the environment must be developed and made available within developing communities.

Women and Income Generation Activities
According to the 1991 informal sector survey in Tanzania, women comprise 35% of the 1.7 million operators in the informal sector. Women are disadvantaged in many of these enterprises and will continue to be marginalised unless efforts are made to ensure a greater access to credit and skills. The pre-Beijing Women's Conference Africa Platform of Action, in line with the Nairobi Forward Looking

Strategies and the Abuja Declaration, emphasises the economic empowerment of women. It stressed stimulating, consolidating and co-ordinating the entrepreneurial spirit of African women and providing increased access to both formal and informal resources. Women's empowerment will also enhance their capacity to realistically alter the direction of change in favour of their well-being. Consequently, strategies and actions are needed in order to move away from the current welfare orientation to address the economic empowerment of women; to stem the growing disparity between rural and urban conditions; and move towards environmentally sustainable actions for poverty alleviation through sustainable development. The actions proposed by the Platform are based on the recognition of women's own responses to increasingly difficult and changing productive and economic circumstances based on their know-how, initiatives and capacities.

Education and Training

In order for the above mentioned concerns for the empowerment of women for poverty eradication to bear fruit, education and training must become a priority. Religions can play a major role in ensuring that there is equality between men and women in school enrolments. Religions can institute programmes to support the enrolment of women, especially the girl child, into appropriate training institutions. Religions can also initiate programmes that will ensure the provision of quality education and provide resources to women's groups for skills development and training programmes.

Conclusion

There in a saying in my tribe that a hungry person can not say his or her prayers. In this regard, it is important for religions to take an active role in ensuring the integral development of the person.

There is an excellent example of a program UNDP has supported in which the local Imams were brought in to promote the education of girls. It was very successful because in their religious services they talked **about** the importance of a community. This was in the Sudan. It was supported through a community of **women Ministers in Education** that has formed into a group across the region. They have worked with some of the religious communities in an attempt to make a difference on the specifics of girls' education. And it makes a difference. If the Imam says it is important, the community accepts that it is important.

Rosina Wiltshire, UNDP

People Centered Poverty Eradication

Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne. Founder, Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, Sri Lanka

I thank the organizers of this seminar for asking me to speak on the subject of People Centered Poverty Eradication, as described in the 1997 Human Development Report. This indeed is a difficult task. The UNDP report primarily addresses the policy makers, governments and development administrators, expecting them to implement the solutions offered by the UNDP. It does not address the tens of thousands of self-organized poor communities, such as the ones I represent, who are also attempting to eradicate poverty through their own organized efforts. In spite of some new words such as 'pro-poor growth' the UNDP report does not provide an agenda or any advice for the poor as to how they can set about to eradicate their poverty.

During the last 40 years I have participated in a large number of seminars like this, sponsored by UNDP and other similar macro institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, but as a grass roots worker I cannot say that their approach has gone any where closer to solving people's problems. Postponing the solutions by ten-year periods like the now forgotten UN development decades will not take the poor anywhere. Without the participation of the people who are affected by poverty no solutions can be found. Therefore my attention for the last several years has been almost totally focussed on working with them to find ways and means of empowering those affected by poverty - working within their own habitat or ecological-region and in the context of their own cultural and religious traditions. So, what I am going to speak on is purely from that experience, which not at all is based on a pre-conceived theoretical framework but practical experience in over 12,000 communities within my country, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere where Sarvodaya is active.

In the first place the concept of "poverty" as used by these macro organizations and politicians is a very limited way of looking at the lives of people. In our concept of a good life, even those in the so-called developed world are "poor" in many respects. We do not see the problem as one where one set of people who are "rich" are trying to do something for the others who are "poor". We see the problem as one of the "development of ALL". The present criteria used to distinguish between the "poor" and the "not poor" is based either on income levels or food consumption (minimum calorie intake). With the conversion of practically everything under the sun to money terms there is no doubt that income is a significant indicator of the quality of life a person may lead. Likewise food is an essential requisite. But life is not simply about what money can buy. And food, while essential, is not all that there is to life. Our national and international

planners, when they use these criteria, and submit plans to eradicate poverty on the basis of these criteria, are only planning for a dismal and limited future for the vast majority of people on Earth. They are essentially saying, "You fellows are very badly off. You have no drive. You make no effort to improve yourselves. You are waiting for handouts. You have not acquired any skills. You cannot all live like us. But we will make your life a little bit better." There is also a lot, which is unsaid. For example, "We are now very worried whether we can continue to live as we do without making your life a little bit better".

We at Sarvodaya do not believe in one kind of life for the rich and another kind of life for the poor. We believe in a world where there is neither "poverty" nor "affluence". The problems of definition arise largely for those who are far removed from where the real action is. To our workers at village level there is no difficulty of recognizing the "poor" and the "affluent". We find both in the communities in which we work. Our development activities include both. We believe that the "poor" are rich in some respects and that the affluent are poor in some respects. This is why our development programmes include both. We do not believe that "poverty" can be eradicated in isolation.

This is an important consideration and I would like to expand on it. In the first place "food" is not all there is to life. In our work with the people in the villages they have identified what their basic needs are. It certainly includes food, housing, health, water, clothing, energy and communication facilities. But more than four decades ago, we realized that their number one priority was the "environment". Contrary to popular belief they like to take care of it and see it protected. Among the other basic needs they identified were education and spiritual and cultural needs. We believe very firmly that resources should be utilized to meet these expressed basic needs of people. It is not sufficient to simply meet their food or housing or health requirements, and so on, in isolation. Most poverty eradication programmes undertaken by state and international organizations are characterized by their narrow sectoral approach. Far from coordinating and integrating such efforts, it is not unknown for them to work at cross-purposes and indeed even "fight with each other". The "poor" by whatever definition need a total package.

The basis of such a total package is not charity for the poor. An essential foundation for such a package is enormous respect for the poor. They may be illiterate. They may dress poorly. But it is a gross mistake to think that they are not educated. They may not be educated in the narrow conventional sense but they have a wisdom acquired through living in their environment. They have a good idea of what they want. They have their own well-articulated priorities, which of course may not match those of national planners. We believe that the poor should decide what should be done to improve their quality of life. Intervention programmes should support such efforts. Intervention programmes should not impose on the poor what some remote group has in its wisdom decided what is best for them.

We somehow need to live in this extraordinary way, in which each of us have a language that is primary to our community of memory, but that we develop an durable and useful secondary language that is not just truncated and reductive. Even our finest institutions, public ones, suffer from a constriction of discourse and language out of fear of imposing some other normativity on a particular sectarian vision. So we have these very thin public visions and we have very full sectarian vision and yet we need to build a bridge between the two. That's what WCRP is trying to do — to forge amongst the world's major religious communities notions of anthropology and the meaning of human community and values that respects our historical religions, different though they be, and yet still has effective durability in the public square. And if we, and others, can't do that, we're really blind. We're in the day but we're blind.

Bill Vendley, WCRP International

In our Sarvodaya approach we support the decisions of the community, which includes the poor. If they want to do something we help them to get enlightened as to the resources which they already have. They are themselves a very considerable resource. We concentrate first on what they may do by themselves to improve their lot. They may need more labour to accomplish a chosen task such as improving road access, in which case we talk with adjoining communities who may send volunteers to help them. They may lack some equipment, in which case we supply them from one of our offices or we may borrow them from somewhere. They may lack skills, in which case we train them. In each case we support what they have decided upon.

Some may have doubts as to whether appropriate decisions will be taken. It is here that cultural, moral and spiritual considerations apply. While many inroads have been made into the psyche of our peoples we find that they are still conscious of their traditional values. It has only to be awakened and supported. That is what we in Sarvodaya are dedicated to do. People accept very willingly that development is essentially of themselves. A person is developed to the extent that he/she extends loving kindness to all life, translates that feeling into action, does so selflessly and in altruistic joy, and meets success and failure with equanimity. A group of people is developed to the extent that they share their resources, engage in pleasant discourse, engage in constructive action and treat each other as essentially equals though there are obvious differences.

Decisions made by the people are directed by a philosophy of development. This philosophy is not something that we have created. It is a part of the traditional cultural, moral and spiritual values that have permeated our lives for centuries. It may be said that such a philosophy may be practiced only in Sri Lanka. This is not

true. We have communities in Bangladesh, India, and Nepal that are making an effort to improve their conditions on these lines. The principles of individual and group awakening I briefly referred to above are in fact universal in both in time and space. In Sri Lanka itself we work among all ethnic and religious groups among whom are Hindus, Christians and Muslims.

I referred earlier to the need for a total package for the poor. So far I have briefly referred to only one aspect of such an approach, namely, a comprehensive concept of development which includes not only social, political and economic dimensions but also cultural, moral and spiritual dimensions. There is also another aspect from which a total package for the empowerment of the poor has to be viewed. I referred to this earlier. It is the conviction that the "affluent" too need to participate in development programmes.

It is not possible to empower the poor without simultaneously " disempowering" the affluent. The poor are subject to social, economic and political forces over which they now have very little control. It is the "affluent" in all manners of diverse ways that rule the world. A poor man may in future not even produce the rice which generations before him have produced because some international corporation has acquired a patent for it. If this trend is allowed to continue the poor will no longer be able to use even their traditional medicinal herbs grown in their back garden to cure their common illnesses.

Resources are not used to produce the basic needs of people. On the contrary much of it is used to meet the "demands" of those who have the "purchasing power" . It is the unmitigated consumer needs of the affluent that determine the "supply". Modem technologies are used to create artificial "needs."

It is essential that the "affluent" be educated to accept the need for a life style that is capable of being sustained. Most scholars are agreed that the present " globalisation" will make the poor even poorer. Who benefits from this " globalisation"? Nobody now seriously believes in the "trickling down". At best it is only a trickle.

We in Sarvodaya never believed in these trickle-down processes, which are still advocated even today, though using different terms. We trusted the people, their ability to recognize diversity in their social and natural environment, to accept interdependency and mutual co-operation - their capacity to self-organize within their environment to create sustainable life styles. With self-reliance and community participation, initially, they launch Basic Needs Satisfaction programmes. This has to be followed up with Secondary and Tertiary Needs satisfaction activities. For the latter an enabling political and economic back up from the higher echelons of policy making from local and central government institutions to United Nations and international financial institutions is necessary. This is exactly what is sadly lacking.

their potential. They will show you too the true path to sustainability, contentment and happiness."

The coercive and violent structures that are imposed on the people that promote mono-cultural societies and uniformity go against all natural laws. They result in social disintegration, political turmoil and environmental destruction. They obstruct growth of self-rule, decentralization and cultural diversity and undermine traditional intellectual richness. In short these unjust structures attempt to strangle the ' thinking capacity' of the poor and the powerless. Worse still is the damage it does to the controllers of these structures by leaving them complacent with self-righteousness and a false sense of security.

Under these realities people have three choices to select from: 1. Accept the kind of development definitions provided to us by these institutions and conform to them; 2. Reject them and take a confrontational attitude and if necessary follow a violent revolutionary path; 3. Redefine development, create new strategies and structures and follow a nonviolent path to total revolutionary transformation of our societies. It is an attempt to create democratic participation and a just social order from bottom up that Sarvodaya has rejected the first two choices and has concentrated its efforts on the third way. In this attempt the teachings of the Buddha and experiences of great non-violent leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Vinoba Bhave have been of immense value for our work.

We look at development as an Awakening process of ALL Sarvodaya. This awakening has to begin with oneself, with every individual, and then extend to the family, the community, the nation and the world. This awakening should be an integrated whole where spiritual, moral, cultural, social, political and economic aspects of life are included. It is on this basis that programmes are designed and implemented.

A five-stage programme is implemented in villages. Villages themselves are categorized into pioneering, intermediate and peripheral villages. Each pioneering village guides 4 intermediary villages and five peripheral villages thus forming a cluster of ten villages. By the end of 1997 Sarvodaya was working in 1100 pioneering, 4400 intermediate and 5500 peripheral villages. All of them have as their common goal village self-government. To help these organizations in diverse ways there are national level specialized institutions such as the Early Childhood Development Institute, Rural Technical Services, Legal Services Movement, Women' s Movement, Sarvodaya Peace Brigade, Sarvodaya Economic Enterprises Development Services, and so on. Over 3000 villages coming under this scheme have built a strong savings and credit culture and several hundred of them have legally established their own Sarvodaya Village Development Banks, staffed mostly by trained village women.

There isn't enough time for me to go into details of this Movement or its strategies for poverty eradication. All I can say in conclusion to governments and others is, "Please admit your failure to eradicate poverty. At least at this late hour give up your will to control the poor. Give them freedom and space to awaken to

Moral Imperative

The ultimate value of each person is affirmed by our religious traditions. It is intrinsic, and asserts more than simply instrumental or economic worth. This value grounds our shared conviction that all members of the human family have an equal right to the basic essentials for a decent life. It demands that our economic systems develop in ways consistent with this right. And, it calls us to acknowledge that this right must be a foundation stone for our global community.

It is morally abhorrent that poverty afflicts the lives of over 1.3 billion people in a world so richly endowed with abundant resources sufficient to meet every person's needs. Our hearts cry out! This cannot be allowed to stand!

Our collective capacity to eliminate the crushing burdens of poverty is the measure of our responsibility to do so. Together we affirm that the eradication of poverty is a fundamental moral imperative demanding both personal and institutional change. The future peace and harmony of the world demands that the narrow, unsustainable focus of the past on the economics of accumulation and excessive consumption by the few be replaced by a just sharing of the world's resources to meet peoples' needs.

At this turning point in world history, we must, together, commit our considerable resources, personnel and institutional, to advocacy and action for the eradication of poverty.

Call to Action

The World Conference on Religion and Peace calls upon

The United Nations system, in particular UNDP, to
- Encourage States to support actively a coordinated and comprehensive plan for poverty eradication, based on the Commitments entered into at the World Summit on Social Development.

- Explore new means to generate the additional resources needed to achieve the target of eliminating absolute poverty, and to focus all available resources on achieving this target.

International Financial Institutions to
- Increase their engagement with the instruments of civil society, including religious communities, to ensure a significant regard for spiritual, ethical, environmental, cultural and social considerations relevant to framing development policy and programs.

- Increase their engagement with civil society organizations and religious communities in the development of poverty eradication and development programs, including especially in the provision of micro-credit.

Governments to
- Honor their commitments at the WSSD and to make available the additional resources necessary to achieve the eradication of absolute poverty.

- Further develop national poverty eradication plans and seek new opportunities to empower people for self-reliance.

- Build partnerships with NGOs to create an enabling environment for the effective participation of the organizations of civil society in dialogue and collaborative action for poverty eradication.

Religious communities and all men and women of goodwill to
- Work with the organizations of civil society in building the necessary political will to achieve the goal of poverty eradication.

- Intensify their critical role in articulating essential human values, reinforcing the moral pressure that strengthens political will.

- Recognize our past failures to involve women in development and decision making and to work to empower women by ensuring full access to education, equal rights and access to land, credit and job opportunities and their effective participation in decisions that affect their lives.

- Urge governments to adopt pro-poor policies so that the economic growth needed for development is distributed equitably to reduce the gap between rich and poor.

- Contribute through collective action to the international debates aimed at formulating better policies towards globalisation, calling for fair rules and fair terms for poor and weak countries to enter international trading markets.

- Support concerted international action aimed at reducing the debilitating debt of Sub-Saharan African countries at a faster rate and more comprehensively than agreed in the multilateral initiative for debt relief.

- Work to empower individuals, households, and communities to gain greater control over their lives and resources by encouraging inter-religious cooperation on common concerns for human development and poverty eradication.

• Work together for effective participation by the poor in political processes to ensure the accountability and transparency of government and to strengthen the role of civil society in policy-making and legislative decision-making.

An achievable imperative

Poverty eradication must be the central aim of development policy. Our consciences as religious women and men will not allow us to evade the responsibilities of our belief. Eradicating absolute poverty in the first decades of the 21st century is feasible, affordable and a moral, social, political and economic imperative for humanity.

Tokyo, March 1998

Globilisation and Global Equity

Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, Director, JUST, International Movement for a Just World, Malaysia

In this presentation I will look at five interrelated issues. One, what does one understand by globalization? Two, what are some of the positive aspects of globalization as seen from an Islamic standpoint? Three, what are some of the negative dimensions of globalization as seen from an Islamic standpoint? Four, what are some of the prerequisites for articulating a world view which is different from the dominant paradigm? And, five, what are some of the features of this alternative world?

What does one understand by globalization? I see globalization as a process through which goods, services, capital, investments, labor, cross borders and boundaries and assume an international character. That's a very simple way of looking at globalization. But beneath this process by which goods, services, and capital move across borders, is of course the transaction of ideas and values. That is far more fundamental and it is also part of the globalization process. Ideas and values cross borders and boundaries.

In order to understand this process, there are, it seems to me, two types of clarifications one would like to make. Number one, to those who argue that globalization is a process that has taken place before, in other words, ideas and values, like goods and services, have been crossing borders and boundaries for a very long while, one could state that, while it is partially true that this has been going on for centuries - for millennia - it is also true at the same time, that what is happening today in the name of globalization is in one sense unique. Its intensity, the scope, and the speed by which it is happening is something that doesn't have a precedent in history. The process itself may have had some echoes from the past, but its speed, its scope, its intensity makes it unique.

The second point that is sometimes made is this: that globalization is just a euphemism for a new type of progress. We have heard this in various circles, especially in the south, that what is happening is another type of colonialism, another type of dominance, but cloaked and camouflaged in such a manner that it becomes a little more palatable to people. Here again there is some truth in the allegation that there is this element of dominance as far as globalization goes, but to equate it one hundred percent with the colonialism of the past would not be accurate. There are other aspects to globalization that makes it different from past colonialism. As a

just goods and ideas moving from the centers of power to those parts of the world which would, in the colonial period, have been regarded as powerless - the victims of colonial dominance. What's happening now is that there is reversal too that is also taking place because of globalization. In other words, you have goods from the South moving to the North in a very significant manner and also certain ideas from the South moving to the North in a very significant manner, as a result of globalization.

If you look at tastes and values, which would be part of globalization, there are tastes associated with the South which have become part of the North. Cuisine would be one very important area. Last year, a survey of the eating habits of the British showed that, as far as eating in restaurants is concerned, that curry had replaced fish and chips as the favorite cuisine of a very conservative people when it comes to eating. But, it's significant that there has been this sort of change. So, there is a reverse flow that is taking place and there is also a flow between centers of the North and a flow between the centers of the South. It's a little more complex than the old type of colonialism as far as flows go. Now that's a point that one has to keep in mind too, that globalization today is a little more complex than previous historical processes, which may have some similarities.

What intrigues me deeply is the value question and the foundation question with regard to transformation of global systems, broad systems. This is what Ari was talking about in terms of an orientation of what economy would mean and how it would serve. I had a thought which is completely from left field to grapple with this but... mathematicians have a term they call homologies. They find a functional equivalent in one frame and hold it against a functional equivalent in another frame. It's a very elegant sort of term. But here in development you have many different interactive frames. You have very local village frames, and you have large, interactive systems. And would one want to think, with rigorous consistency, not in the application of those values, because those are in different dimensions of complexity of system, but certainly in the normativity of those values, as would inform those respective frames. I hear Chandra Muzaffar posing a profound set of value orientations essential to transofrmation of global interactive forces. I hear Ari talking about, and actually embodying, a profound set of value orientations towards a stunning set of systems in the most local and immediate. And it just strikes me that wouldn't it be useful to try to identify those sets of valeus that one would say would be consistent across a series of transmissional frames. And, if so, then Ari, your very organic and brilliant way of recentering village development has an analogical significance to a much wider system required for transformation at a more global level.

Bill Vendley, WCRP International

Let us very quickly evaluate globalization in terms of its positive and negative characteristics. There are many positive aspects to globalization but one which I should highlight here which Islam, as the tradition that I am most closely associated with, would regard as important, is the advent of information and communication technologies and how they have carried the globalization process forward. It is something which Islam would regard as important because if this aspect of globalization - the impact of information and communication technologies - is going to lead to a situation where diverse communities come to know one another and understand one another, then this aspect of globalization will be strengthening an idea which is fundamental to the Quran. In fact there is a verse in the Quran, verse 49: 1 3, that says very clearly, "We have made you into communities and tribes so that you will know one another and love one another. Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of God is (he who is) the most righteous of you". So this whole process of knowing one another, that globalization facilitates, is worth highlighting, if you're seeing from the point of view of a spiritual and moral tradition. Globalization provides that opportunity. Whether it accomplishes what it should accomplish is a different matter, but you have the enabling skill, so to speak, to facilitate this process.

It has also been argued that globalization is a process that will lead eventually to the oneness of humankind, an ideal which Islam cherishes together with almost every known religion. The first of the great religions to postulate this ideal was, of course, Zoroastrianism - this notion of the oneness of humanity - and in the Quran there are numerous responses to this idea and references to this idea of oneness. The notion of the community - all these ideas are there.

Yet there is little evidence to suggest that globalization as it is will lead to the oneness of humankind. Why? Because, if you look at globalization in its contemporary manifestations, it is very obvious that globalization has not only failed to address disparities, but rather the dichotomies that exist within the human family have in some respects been exacerbated. So how can globalization bring humanity together? How can it create the oneness of humankind?

To be more specific about this, the globalization process has not been able to address the perennial question of poverty. It is true that increased wealth has helped some societies where there are a lot of poor people to get out of poverty, in very restricted areas. That has happened. You can see it in China, in the coastal areas. You can see it certain sectors of Indian society. There's been a certain degree of emancipation from the clutches of poverty, in certain communities and certain strata. But as a process, globalization has not overcome absolute poverty. If you take the Chinese example, it has increased disparities between the coastal areas and the hinterland and within social classes in China. In fact, many who analyse China would argue that if ever there is a timebomb waiting in the wings it would be this - the way

uneven development, as a result of the integration of parts of China into the global economic system.

If one looks at the figures, one would be very, very concerned about the future. The figures provided by UNDP, for instance, seem to indicate that while we have about a billion people who could be classified as living in abject poverty, there are projections that suggest that by the year 2010 it will increase to 1.5 billion people. That's as far as absolute poverty but what about the related challenge of the concentration of wealth, which again seems to be associated with this historical process. The evidence from UNDP studies seems to indicate that over the last 35 years, for instance, disparities between the top 20% and the bottom 50%, from a global perspective, seem to have become very serious. In 1960 it was something like 1:30; by 1994, it had become 1:78, which I think is really a matter of great concern for all of us.

This has been depicted in dramatic language by a lot of people. Since my friend Ariyarante spoke earlier with the Sri Lankan context, there is an example that people give very often about how much a Sri Lankan worker would have to earn in order to obtain the equivalent of just one day's income that accrues to a person called Bill Gates. In fact, when I saw the figures, I was just amazed - that a Sri Lankan worker, an ordinary Sri Lankan worker, would have to work for 1,200 years before the person can earn what Bill Gates earns in a particular day. Now, I suppose that an average worker in a country that believes in karma will need to be reborn and reborn and reborn before they are able to attain that figure. It's just amazing. This is just an indication of the disparities that exist.

An example that was the favorite example of a friend of mine compared the earning of an African, a sub-Saharan African, on an annual basis, to how much a Norwegian would spend on his pet cat. The Norwegian would spend twice as much on his pet cat compared to what an African would earn in a year.

These are stark disparities, related not just to globalization - because it's also a product of other forces that have existed for a very long while within the nation state - but nonetheless, the globalization process, given the sort of structures which are part of globalization, has aggravated the situation without any doubt at all.

And you have, of course, the examples of the concentration of wealth provided by UNDP. Three hundred and fifty-eight billionaires command as much wealth as 40% of the world's population. Now, this situation is something that would be totally unacceptable to Islamic principles, from every point of view - the concentration of wealth. One could argue that the entire philosophy of the Quran is directed against the concentration of wealth. The idea of Zakat, the wealth tax, it is an attempt to redistribute wealth. The notion of fareid [?] - the concept of dividing one's property - again is an attempt to break down the concentration of wealth. The idea of whuuh [?]

That brings me to the last point I want to make about Islam's position vis-à-vis the financial economic system. It is a system that is so dependent, not just upon interest rates, but upon the idea of maximizing profits. That one should maximize profits at all costs, is itself an idea that is new in human history. Because we are so used to it, we tend to forget that it doesn't have a long-cherished history behind it -it's less than 400 years old. But empires have engaged in trade on a massive scale and been prosperous without this idea of maximizing profits. That you would take what should be yours - take what was yours as part of your labor and nothing more -that every other aspect of one's business would have equal favor upon your earnings, including the wages of your workers and the needs of the community, helping the wayward, the needy, and all the other segments of society. These things were very, very important. This notion that maximizing profits takes precedence over everything else is something which is actually quite new, and there are examples to show that prosperity can be generated without maximizing profits.

Now, the most powerful factor that brings about real changes in people's world views and paradigms are the things that are happening to them. For the first time in the history of Europe you have 30 million people who are unemployed and a phenomena which has never happened in the whole of human history -- as far as economic history is concerned – you have growth but no jobs. It is closely linked to technology, where you have technological advancement but it is not producing jobs. Until recently, people believed that if you had technological advancement you will have, willy-nilly, improved standards of living. You'll have jobs and the quality of your life will improve. But now, for the first time, you have technological advancement, but you have no jobs and no improvement to the quality of life. Take the United States. It talks about its growth rate and about its economic progress for the last few years but the figures are really startling. That in 1995, the average earning of a male worker in the US had gone down by 11%. So you see, you have a very odd situation developing in some Western economies and Western society as a whole. And these things, I think, challenge people to reflect upon the realities of their societies. It's already beginning to happen. You can see this trend.

Chandra Muzaffar, JUST

As a result of maximizing profits in this manner, we have now created an economic system that has legitimized greed. This is something very, very important that we should reflect upon as a collective of different religious traditions. That while greed has taken place right through history, what is unique about the current period in history is that it has accepted greed, legitimized greed, in a manner in which it has never been legitimized in the past. That those who have acquired a lot of money and who flaunt their wealth, they are eulogized. We see them as paragons

of virtue, which is something that had never happened in the past. This, I think, is what is unique about our age, that we have institutionalized and legitimized greed. All religions would see this as wrong.

This bring me to the fourth point that I want to make here. How one responds to globalization. What is the sort of alternative that one would want to prosper? Let me argue, friends, that it in trying to evolve an alternative, there are three prerequisites that we would want to keep in mind. The first is this: that it is impossible, it is simply impossible, to evolve an alternative to the system on the basis of any particular nation state or any particular religion. No state by itself, no religion by itself, can evolve an alternative to this global challenge. In other words, it is a challenge that compels us to work across boundaries. This includes not just ethnic and community boundaries but also religious boundaries. We have to work together to face this challenge.

Three examples from recent history would convince us of this. They are not actually moral or spiritual in every respect, but nonetheless they are major attempts to build an alternative way. There is the Cuban attempt, which, whatever one may say, had certain redeeming qualities about it. But because of tremendous pressures, that experiment, done by a very small country, is no longer viable as a model and inspiration.

You had the example of an African state that also attempted to create something new from a different perspective - the Tanzanian experiment. And looking at the Tanzanian attempt to harness indigenous values in forming a new alternative, it didn't work.

A very big example is China and what they attempted to do in the name of the Cultural Revolution and the ideas that preceded the Cultural Revolution. The point one is making is that I don't think it is possible for any one country or any one culture or religion to bring about this alternative world view.

The second point one wants to make in this regard is this: that religions which have attempted to set up state systems in recent times and have sought a formal, legalistic approach to religion, have failed to address this question of transforming the existing values system. We have the example of Pakistan, and I think India faces this danger too. If it's going to be a formal, legalistic Hindu state, it's going to fail. Because that sort of experiment just cannot work. It doesn't address the fundamental question of values and how values can transform human beings and systems. It's more interested in the outward structures - having a legal system, having an administrative system with Islamic blocks or Hindu blocks or whatever blocks - it's something that just doesn't work. It doesn't look at the question of the human being

transcendence as something that impacts upon development. That you believe that there is transcendence - that there are values, which are part of a transcendental source - you must believe that that transcendence has some meaning for your own existence and how you see yourself as a human being and how you see other people.

> Many of the governments in crisis today, to what extent can we that these economies, in their heyday – at the height of their splendid performance – to what extent did they really reflect the values which are fundamental in their religious cultures? They didn't. Look at the way in which each and every one of these economies have mistreated the environment. And yet, in Taoism, In Confuciunism, in Islam, in Buddhism, in Christianity, you have a very clear environmental mandate. Very clear on how you should treat the environment. And yet, in every one of them, they just ravaged the environment in the name of growth.
>
> Now, this whole idea of growth, which is the litmus test that all of them have used to show that they have done so well – that they were really tigers – even that notion of growth, is it a reflection of the values which you find in these philosophies? I would regard this, not as an expression of Asian values, but as a variant of global capitalism. Values about the environment, the community, about family, have all been eroded y this kind of capitalistic development. Look at the erosion of the family system in Singapore, for instance. So how can we defend what has happened in this part of the world in terms of values that are fundamental to our religions and cultures? They don't represent those values.
>
> <p align="right">Chandra Muzaffar, JUST</p>

When you say, for instance, and this is something that people in the Islamic tradition understand very easily, that the remembrance of God expresses itself in relations between people, you and your environment, other human beings, things -the remembrance of God as the intervening factor - now that's where transcendence comes in.

There is yet another "t" apart from transcendence that is so important - it is transience. There is transcendence because life is transient. Which means that the way in which you look at development and wealth, and the accumulation of wealth, and the concentration of power - everything takes on a different meaning because you understand that life is transient.

In a seminar organised just recently in Melaka, one commentator was saying that it's Asian leaders who are least alert, who are least concerned about, this aspect of their spiritual commissions - that there is transience and there is transcendence. I have an example from my part of the world just across the Straits of Malacca, where

adequate basis for collaboration on development have been widely critiqued as being " reductive" and tantamount to a "least common denominator" approach. Formally, these empirical methods prescind from the deeper human questions pertaining to development. Clearly, if the answers to the reflective questions are to be useful to a coalition of plural actors, they cannot import the unreflected assumptions of one group or another, nor impose a method insufficient to the complexity of human reality as a basis for collaboration.

Corresponding to the first set of reflective questions is a second set of"concrete" questions. These questions invite us to evaluate the myriad aspects of physical and social reality that are related to sustainable development. This second set of questions is typically prosecuted by the human and natural sciences, with the notable inclusion today of the environmental sciences. Nevertheless, the examination of the concrete questions cannot be isolated from and is not immune from the reflective questions.

The two sets of questions are dynamically related. Answers or assumptions regarding the first set of reflective questions fashion a "lens" with which to engage the second set of concrete questions. In a collaborative context, ideally this first set of questions aims toward a consensus on an heuristic notion of sustainable development, the basic categories relevant to it, and a normative basis for relevant judgments. The second set of concrete questions, prosecuted by the methods of the human and natural sciences, are ideally focused, interrelated, and if necessary, complemented by this first set of questions.

This paper addresses a sharply limited --but nonetheless important -- subset of the first set of reflective question. It raises the question of how the notion of value can contribute to the needed collaborative framework.

The paper proceeds in two steps. The first deals with the notion of value. The formal concepts of the "good" and "value" are introduced in order to provide to a highly pluralistic group of people categories useful for their discussion of value-laden issues. The purpose of this section is not to present a privileged, normative, or proscriptive understanding of what is good or what is to be valued. Rather, categories are sought for what people regard as good and how they value.

In a next step, the question of a "normative" value -- relevant to sustainable development -- is raised in the context of a discussion of human rights. The paper suggests that there is a "value of human development" that can serve as a public, normative moral basis for collaboration on sustainable development. Such a public, normative basis for sustainable development can play its own pivotal role in the drive for consensus among the diverse communities, institutions, fields of inquiry and methods related to sustainable develop.

Both the concepts of the good and value as well as the identification of a public, normative basis for the right for development can contribute in a limited, formal, but essential way to answering some of the concerns useful for establishing a basis for urgently needed cooperation on development.

again is an attempt to bring down wealth, because you donate whatever is above your basic needs to other people, to the community. A clear verse in the Quran, it is verse 59:7, says, "Do not allow wealth to circulate only among the wealthy" - it is an admonishment against the concentration of wealth. And there are, of course, numerous other verses that admonish the rich and powerful for ignoring the interests of the majority.

So this notion of a just distribution of resources is very, very strong in Islam. Yet you find that we live in a global system that betrays this principle. But that's not the only aspect - it's not just absolute poverty and the concentration of wealth. One can argue that one of the driving forces of the global financial system, the growth in speculated capital today and everything related to speculated capital, would also go against Islamic principles. The very notion that money, which is the medium of exchange, is today a commodity of profit, is a betrayal not just of Islam but of every other religion that you can think of. That global financial transactions involving speculation account for 97% of all global transactions and that only 3% of all global transactions are linked to what economists call "the real economy" - to build a shipyard, for instance, or to set up a food chain - is only 3%. That 97% of all global transactions are related to currency trading that gravitates toward speculation is really frightening.

Now, look at the situation from other dimensions. Trading in speculated capital amounts to $1.5 trillion a day. This is the equivalent of the total output of the world's third largest economy on an annual basis - the German economy. $1.5 trillion a day: that it is four times the size of global oil sales. It's just mind-boggling. Now, it is this volatile capital, which I think created havoc in various parts of the world. It's created havoc in Europe, it's created havoc in East Asia.

Now, everything connected with this - the way in which the notion of money has changed, the way in which money has been manipulated, and the way in which we have developed a financial system that has become so depended upon speculative capital (which my friend Dr. Altes described yesterday as "adventure capital" as against "venture capital"), Islam and all religions, have a very clear moral position against this.

Yet that position is related to something else, which is also very fundamental to Islamic values. The type of currency system that has developed would not have been possible without interest rates, because at the heart of this system is the role of interest rates. We know that Islam is not the only religion that is against interest rates. In fact, every religion, at some point or other, was against interest rates. I was doing a little bit of research in this for something I wrote a couple of weeks ago. I discovered that right up until the 19th century leading Christian figures were condemning the taking of

And that brings me to a third point. If the secular revolution of the last few centuries, which has produced this global system and the globalization we're talking about, if that revolution has anything to teach us, if there is something from that revolution that we cannot afford to ignore when we talk of an alternative, it is this: that the urge for change, the urge to improve oneself, to advance oneself, is a fundamental human urge. Any alternative that gives the impression that you're creating a static system is bound to come to grief - a static system in where a certain notion of basic needs attached to a particular order that doesn't change. A certain notion of how a society must be structured which gives the impression that all one is interested in is conserving a certain form is bound to come to grief. We must be able to incorporate the notion of change in any alternative, for success. The human urge to advance and transform, to go on looking for things which are newer and newer - somehow they must be an attempt to incorporate this creative urge. It has expressed itself in the market in recent centuries in ways that we don't endorse, but it is there. We must be able to embrace that. These are three prerequisites that we want to keep in mind in talking about alternatives. Now, what would be some of the characteristics of this alternative world is the last point that I want to make in the final aspect of this presentation.

In looking at the characteristics of an alternative, one should, I may suggest, avoid the tendency to do graft on, which is what happens very often. We graft on what we see as a spiritual, moral principles to what is basically a system that is very, very different. We do it all the while. Look at the debate and discussion on the needs approach. That we talk of basic needs, but graft it on to a whole system which has a different dynamic - a system that has a different complexion. And this we tend to do all the while.

And, if I may be forgiven in giving this example, I think there's a tendency among UN agencies to do that very often, and governments, too. I don't want to add to the UN bashing, but there is that tendency, without any doubt at all. You see that the whole needs approach has revolved around this, bringing some of these things attaching to the state system, and to the existing global system, and in the end you find that nothing really worthwhile emerges out of this. We have to avoid that. In order to avoid that, could I suggest that, number one, we must be very clear about the worldview, which accompanies an alternative. And, fundamental to that world view, as seen from a spiritual, moral perspective, is this very basic idea of what is the human being? Why are we here? What is the whole purpose of human existence?

Development theories and the type of philosophies that have emerged from the work of secularism have never really addressed these issues. They don't even raise this question. But these are issues that we must address. And the moment we address these issues, you'll find the whole notion of development and change takes on a different meaning. If we answer as we would be expected to answer, as people who have got a certain spiritual, moral vision of life, then you cannot exclude

power has become absolute and permanent. For 32 years the president has been in power. You know, the joke in Indonesia is, when you go there and you talk to the activists and the academics, they will tell you, "look at the pictures on the wall" -they always have a picture of the president and the vice president - they will tell you, "that picture on the left (the President) has remained there for the last three decades but the picture on the right (the Vice President's) keeps on changing". Now this is part of the problem. I think the notion of transience and transcendence is part of their thinking.

The second quick point I want to make is about articulating values that accompany development. Again, if we are going to move away from a mere regurgitation of what others have done, you wouldn't say, for instance, that the enlightened world values should dominate our notion of development. And by the enlightened world values, I mean values which all of us appreciate, which all of us regard as very important - the values of the French revolution - central to the enlightenment: equality, liberty, fraternity. Each of these ideals would have a different meaning from a spiritual/moral perspective. Take, for instance, equality. Equality should never ever descend to uniformity. What has prevented equality from being equated in a simplistic manner with uniformity is a certain spiritual/moral notion in some religious traditions which make us uncomfortable when some try to reduce equality to uniformity. The notion of liberty. If liberty comes to mean the removal of all notion of restraint, if liberty means that there aren't any values that guide that liberty - that freedom is not guided by values - then I think people who are guided by a spiritual, moral perspective find that notion of liberty very, very disturbing. And fraternity, which is that one value that post-Enlightenment society has failed to transform into reality. If you look at Western society, fraternity has never really emerged, unlike liberty and equality. But fraternity, from a spiritual, moral perspective can only emerge if you can conquer inequality. Without counting the other as equal, you cannot achieve fraternity.

Now let me add to this the final point that I want to make. An alternative value system must try to give meaning to the ideas of compassion and love - ideas which in the dominant post-enlightenment civilization are seen as soft or which have no meaning - we must manage to translate them into something real - compassion and love. Because if you can't do that, then you can't talk of an alternative born out of the spiritual and moral ideals. This is crucial.

Of course, there is justice too. Justice - that is so powerfully expressed in the Aramaic tradition but also in the non-Aramaic religious traditions, though the expressions may be different — the notion of justice. I am very impressed, as a Muslim, by the Hebrew prophets who are there in the Quran, every one of them mentioned in the Quran, for their stand on behalf of justice. There is a line in the Quran that says that every prophet came with the same message, and that same message was the message of justice. This was the purpose of prophecy, to bring the message of justice.

Now if we can include those values and give them greater meaning within the spiritual and moral perspective, then I think we have the beginnings of an alternative. I would see the market and I would see entrepreneurship and other such activities as activities that would have a different complexion within this world view and this value system. Which is why, if you look at what happened in the past, the market, which has existed for such a long while (the market is not an invention of Milton Friedman), but the market has taken on different forms because of the different value systems in which it operates. Within a world view that values the human being, within a value system that cherishes certain fundamental ethical principles, the market would be very different. We have to argue for an ethical market, a market that's regulated not in terms of interests of any particular group, but regulated on the basis of values. That sort of market should emerge. If that could happen, it is not inconceivable that we would be able to shape a global economic system that comes closer to the values that are fundamental to our religions.

Values, Rights and Development

Dr. William Vendley, Secretary General, WCRP International

Introduction

The challenges associated with sustainable development cut across every culture and society and -- directly or indirectly -- implicate the full range of human endeavor. Consequently, addressing the manifold tasks associated with sustainable development will require cooperation among diverse communities and moral and intellectual leadership on a level unprecedented in human history.

Even given the requisite political will, facilitating the needed cooperation will not be easy. Diverse notions of development have currency among different communities and within specialized fields. Corresponding to these diverse notions are favored instruments and methods, each based on their respective underlying assumptions regarding development. Exacerbating the practical significance of this plurality of views is the urgency associated with development. It is directly related to the profound unnecessary sufferings of large numbers of persons, the moral responsibilities to help them, and the environmental threats posed by development itself.

The urgent need for development highlights the importance of a collaborative framework. Only a shared framework can allow diverse communities and experts from different fields to work together to understand and evaluate the cultural, social, legal, economic, political, technological, and environmental forces that are involved in sustainable development. As a foundation for shared understanding, such a framework is -- at bottom -- a basis for collaborative action.

Essential to the establishment of a framework for cooperation are at least two "sets" of questions. A first set of questions is *"reflective"* in character and the second set is *"concrete"* in character. This paper will limit itself to the first set of reflective questions.

Although often not acknowledged, the first set of reflective questions is inevitably implicated in our attempts to collaborate across cultural, social, intellectual, and institutional lines. This set of questions can be helpfully thought of as a "lens" useful for examining and evaluating together the complex realities involved in sustainable development.

Such reflective questions are, however, notoriously difficult. Assumptions regarding "human nature," "human purpose," and the "character of reality" have served historically as the background for, grounding of, and normative basis for meaningful inquiry. Today, however, we are aware of a plurality of these overarching background visions, and the impossibility of imposing any one of them in the service of all communities. Moreover, these background visions are typically expressed in modes of language that are difficult to engage with the empirical sciences. Alternatively, modern attempts to canonize the methods of scientific empiricism as a value-neutral and

Isn't secular society struggling with some sort of values at the international level, like those presented in the UN declaration, and prior to that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There's been a very consistent and substantial evolution of those rights into a range of human rights issues, even thought they haven't always been adhered to. But there's been a lot of intellectual effort and a real commitment to trying to articulate a certain set of values within the international arena. And I think many of the values that are reflected in the human rights instruments would resonate with religious communities. So, it's a question about how we conduct the debate. Are we to rediscover our own values or are we to work in association with other forces at work in the world, be they secular or however they're defined.

Russell Rollason

II. Values as a Basis for Cooperation

A. Shared Values

Values are intensely personal, expressed in each person's decisions and choices. Values are also social in so far as they are "held in common" by a group of people.' Communities are situated in different places, represent diverse cultures and societies, and are rooted in different patterns of belief. Their value orientations are shaped by their differences.

How, then, can diverse groups of people clarify where their values converge and diverge in relationship to the challenges of development? Are there deeply held values regarding development that are also widely shared among them?

If we can determine how our values overlap, these "shared values" can contribute to a common basis for collaborative action. Shared values could allow us to assess together the numerous, interwoven, and often contradictory value orientations underlying the myriad social factors that are, directly or indirectly, involved in our efforts to promote sustainable development.

General, non-prescriptive categories of the good and value that are based in human performance can provide a first small step toward this goal.

B. The Good

The human good is at once individual and social, and a useful distinction can be made between (1) particular human goods and (2) the good of order. Both are related to the notion of value.[2]

Particular values are "embodied" in the concrete orientations of our social, economic, legal and cultural institutions. Thus, even seemingly value-neutral acts, when examined closely, can be recognized to be "nested" within systems that are value-laden in relationship to development.

[2] The analysis of the good and value in this paper has been positively influenced by the work of Bernard Lonergan. For a fuller analysis see: *Insight: A Study of Human*

1. Particular Human Goods

A meal today for someone is for that person an instance of a particular good, as is someone's education, income, work, shelter, and child. In the most general sense, particular human goods are objects, actions, situations and states that meet the need or desire of a particular person at a given place and time.

2. The Good of Order

If a meal today for someone is for that person an instance of a particular good, meals every day for all members of their group are part of the good of order. Similarly, the education of someone's child is for them a particular good, but the education of every child in their group is part of the good of order. In general, the good of order is a system, or set of systems, that provides a succession of recurring instances of particular goods. Such systems involve the interdependence of a broad range of cooperating persons, each helping to ensure the succession of recurring particular goods. Thus, the good of order that corresponds to the particular good of the health of someone's child is the health care system (and other related systems) that strives to make adequate health care available for all children in the group.

A key feature of the good of order is the fact that many interrelated systems make up the overall good of order: health care systems are related to a host of other social, economic, political, and cultural systems, each with their relevant institutions and patterns of cooperation. How these subsystems are interrelated is part of the complexity of the good of order.

A second key feature of the good of order is that -- like all systems -- it is open to change, to development as well as to breakdowns.

A third key feature is that -- like all systems -- it can produce paradoxical or contradictory results: it may be highly efficient in producing a flow of goods, but at the same time undermine the underlying conditions -- including the health of the environment -- upon which the system is itself based.

> There's a question about religions and their relationship to society that needs examining. Whether it's up to religion to reinvent or restate values, or whether they are also to discover them within society itself as well as in their traditions.
>
> Russell Rollason

3. The Good as Instrumental and Intrinsic

Understanding, London: Longmas, Green and Co., Ltd., 1957, and *Method in Theology,* New York: The Seabury Press, 1979.

Both the particular good and the good of order can be understood as being instrumental in character. Particular goods can be thought of as a means to an end (as instruments) because they serve to meet the needs or desires of a particular person at a given place and time. Similarly, the systems which make up the good of order can also be understood as a means to an end (as instruments) because they provide for a succession of recurring instances of desired or needed particular goods. For example, the economy (a good of order) can be understood in instrumental terms in so far as it provides a series of recurrent particular goods to a social group.

Some goods are not, however, adequately understood in terms of their instrumental character alone. A good can also be understood to be intrinsically good to the extent that it is desired in its own reality and not simply as a means to fulfilling some other need. For example, it can be argued that a person is more than merely an instrumental good and that he or she must also be understood as an intrinsic good. To the extent that a person, with his or her developing freedom and other potentials, is an intrinsic good, the person must be acknowledged and intended in his or her own reality, and not merely as the means to other ends, however laudable those ends may be.

C. Value

In so far as goods are judged to be worthwhile, they are valued. Questions of value ask whether a good is or is not worthwhile. When someone judges as worthwhile both their work (a particular good) and the systems of cooperation that are involved in providing work to all in their group (a good of order), both are thereby valued by them. Value, then, is a measure of a person's estimation of the worth of a good, be that a particular good, a particular system which is an aspect of the good of order, or the set of interacting systems which make up the overall good of order.

1. Scale of Values

Someone's meal, health, book, education, income, work, furniture, and shelter may all be particular human goods, but they typically are not equally valued. Few would value a meal over their health, a book over their education, a week's income over their work, or furniture over shelter. It follows that people operate with a scale of values. They decide that some particular goods are more worthwhile than others. This scale of values is particularly important in situations where someone must choose between two or more goods. Then, they must decide which is more worthwhile, which has greater value.

Just as with particular goods, people also operate with a scale of values in relationship to the good of order. Not all aspects of the good of order are equally valued. For example, societies routinely make decisions on how much to spend in a given sector. How much resource shall be spent on matters pertaining to development, how much on the protection of the environment? Specific decisions regarding such questions pertain to a scale of values in relationship to aspects of the good of order.

Further, even the decision of how to spend a given amount on development is a question regarding a scale of values, insofar as one approach to spending is deemed more valuable than another. For example, how much resource should be spent on basic

health, on the education of the group, on the protection of the environment? Which institutions (families, civil groups, local agencies, governments, international agencies, intergovernmental agencies) are strategically placed to best achieve particular aspects of the good that is desired? Which perspectives (bottom-up, top-down, short-term, long-term, involving one or another segment of the population in one or another form of cooperation, etc.) are most suitable to achieve the desired good? What kind of cooperation needs to be promoted, and among whom? Such strategic questions about the systems best suited to assisting sustainable development in a given situation are no less value-laden than other questions pertaining to the overall good of order.

2. Conflicts of Values

Values conflict in both direct and indirect ways. Values are in direct conflict when different persons or groups judge particular goods or systems to be of different worth. Such direct conflict can range from apparent to real. It is apparent to the degree that the conflict is not actually over core values, but results from a lack of mutual experience and understanding. It is real to the degree that different persons or groups actually espouse different core values in relationship to concrete goods or systems.

Evaluating the good of order is more complex than evaluating a particular good. Beyond the question of the efficiency of the relevant systems in the delivery of goods, there is the question of whether they provide goods for all members of the group, or exploit some for the benefit of others. There is the further question of their sustainability from an environmental perspective.

A special case of a direct conflict of values occurs when the intrinsic value of a good is devalued into merely an instrumental value. As we have seen, a particular good — a person for example — can be understood to be a good in both instrumental and intrinsic terms. For example, if the labor of a person (instrumental value) enhances the well-being of the person (intrinsic value), then the two levels of value can be harmoniously related. On the other hand, if the labor of the person attacks the well-being, injures, or results in the destruction of the person, then the two values are in conflict. The significance of the distinction between the instrumental and intrinsic value of the person has special pertinence for those cases of "development" where the activity of development is destructive to persons. Again, even when a person or a community suffers the loss of much of their instrumental value, it can be argued that their intrinsic value remains.

Values also conflict in indirect ways. At the level of particular goods, for example, someone may value concrete assistance to two equally deserving families. But what if for practical reasons there is only the capacity to assist one of these families? Formally, there is no conflict over the value of both families gaining assistance. Circumstances, however, force into opposition the two equivalent values: to choose one valued good (one family's assistance) is not to choose the other equally valued good (the other family's assistance). How shall a decision between the two groups be made? Such circumstances can be formally designated as "tragic." The designation "tragic" applies

whenever circumstances are such that the choice of one good necessarily eliminates the choice of an equivalent good.3

Values also conflict indirectly or unintentionally at the level of the good of order. For example, a society may want an agricultural system that can produce food for everyone in that society. But what if such a system is dependent upon practices that progressively poison the ecosystem? How are the people in that society to evaluate such a system? They are challenged to acknowledge the value they attach to both the agricultural and environmental systems. As formal values they are not in conflict, even though circumstances have in fact pitted them against one another. In such situations, the value that the members of society attach to their agricultural system may indirectly conflict with the value that they attach to the environment. At best, such conflicts may produce creative tension that can promote the insight necessary for the development and acceptance of agricultural systems which embody both values. At worst, such conflicts are "tragic" to the degree that circumstances force people to choose between two or more equivalent values.

III.   A Normative Value of Development: The Right to Development

The above general categories are generic and descriptive rather than determinative and prescriptive. As such, they provide a set of categories useful for the clarification of how persons and groups actually value particular goods and aspects of the good of order. They can also assist plural groups to discern areas of convergence and divergence regarding value orientations. But these categories in and of themselves cannot provide a basis for adjudicating opposing values, and thus do not provide a normative basis for collaboration in terms of value.

Recent work in the philosophy of human rights suggests an exceptionally relevant and fertile line of thought useful to the identification of a public, normative "value of development" that can serve as an essential part of the foundation for developing a consensus among the diverse communities, institutions, fields of inquiry, and methods relevant to sustainable development.'

A.   An Analysis of the Structure of Human Rights

Human action is defined by purpose. Actions are intentional. Persons act for purposes.

Not all indirect conflicts of value are tragic. For example, situations involving two or more *unequivalent* value conflicts are not formally regarded as tragic.

4   This author gratefully acknowledges that this section of the paper is indebted, in both thought and expression, to the subtle and nuanced work of Alan Gewirth. For a fuller analysis of the Structure of Human Rights and related topics see: *Human Rights: Essays on Justification and Applications,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. For a brilliant extension of the author's fundamental analysis into the areas of social and economic rights see: *The Community of Rights,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Human rights can be shown to pertain to the necessary conditions of human purposive action.

The structure of human rights, as it relates to human purposive action, can be set forth in the following simple statement:

A has a right to X against B by virtue of Y.

There are five main elements in the statement:
(1)   A, the Subject of Rights, the person who has them.
(2)   The Right. The Nature of the Right in Question.
(3)   X, the Object of the Right. What Subjects have a right to.
(4)   B, the Respondent of the Right, the person or persons who have a duty to A correlative to   A's right.
(5)   Y, the Basis or Ground of the Right.

In this analysis, the Subject of Rights (1) is each person, so long as he or she is a rational agent in the minimal sense of having or potentially having purposes; Human Rights (2) are moral rights that all persons have equally, simply because they are human subjects capable of purposive action. Further, Human Rights are claim-rights[5] in that they involve correlative duties of respondents. The Object of Human Rights (3) are those conditions that must be fulfilled if human action is to be possible either at all or with general chances of success. The Respondent of the Right (4) is the same (set of persons) as Subject of Rights, with the exception that the respondents of rights also includes social organizations such as governments or intergovernmental agencies. And the Basis or Ground of Rights (5) is a principle of "generic consistency:" act in accord with the generic rights of your recipient as well as yourself.

The fact that the objects of rights, while connected with the particular goods that guide human purpose, are not those particular goods, but are in fact the freedom and well-being that are, respectively, the procedural and substantive necessary conditions of acting for any purposes at all or with any general chances of success is of cardinal significance for our purposes. Basing human rights on the necessary conditions of human action provides a way of giving a rigorous proof or justification that there are such rights. The proof proceeds by showing that every agent, on pain of contradiction, must hold that he has rights to freedom and well-being as the necessary conditions of his action. Notice that this claim is not contingent upon a person's variable choices or decisions, but rather rests upon the their very possibility of action. As a result, the claim can be made in spite of the plurality of cultures and their respective orientations. For human purposes may be profoundly shaped by culture, as indeed they are, but the fundamental conditions which allow for human agency -- freedom and well-being -remain constant wherever there is human agency.

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[5]   Gewirth draws attention to "claim-rights" among the other kinds of rights including liberties, powers, and immunities. A claim-right of one person entails a correlative duty of some other person or persons to act or refrain from acting in ways required for the first person's having that to which he or she has a right.

The Principle of Generic Consistency extends the argument from the perspective of the agents conative standpoint: First, every agent holds that the purposes for which she acts are good on whatever criteria enters into her purposes. Second, the agent logically must therefore hold or accept that freedom and well-being are necessary goods for her because they are the necessary conditions of her action for any purposes; hence she holds she must have them. It follows that she must therefore hold that she has rights to freedom and well-being; for if she were to deny this, she would have to accept that other persons may remove or interfere with her freedom and well-being; but this would contradict her belief that she must have them. Finally, the sufficient reason on the basis of which each agent must claim these rights is that she is a prospective purposive agent, so that logically she must accept the conclusion that all prospective purposive agents, equally and as such, have rights to freedom and well-being. A denial of this position is a failure of rationality.

The argument is exceptionally elegant: it combines the material consideration of the generic features of rights founded in action with the formal consideration of consistency. First, by virtue of having an indispensable need for freedom and well-being as the necessary conditions of action, every actual or prospective agent logically must hold that he or she has rights to these conditions of action. Further, basing human rights on the necessary conditions of human action makes clear that such human rights involve requirements or claims of necessary conduct on the part of other persons or groups; that is, the correlative "oughts" of human rights are practical-prescriptive "musts" addressed to other persons or groups, and these "musts" can be logically derived only from antecedents that are themselves similarly necessary. The necessary goods of human action fulfill this condition. Thus the argument eventuates in a Principle of Generic Consistency: all other actual or prospective agents also have the indispensable need for freedom and well-being as the necessary conditions of their actions. Hence, a principle of equal and universal rights is derived by an appeal to praxis that is a condition of possibility of action in any purposive agent from any community.

Importantly, the argument can be extended to both negative and positive rights. On some occasions the protection of the proximate necessary conditions for agency may only require noninterference (negative rights), but on other occasions, especially when persons cannot secure their freedom and well-being by their own efforts, it requires the active assistance of other persons, either as individuals or social institutions.6

A foundation for negative and positive rights based upon human purposive action has has exceptional relevance to our concern to establish a framework for collaboration on sustainable development, as it is in principle transcultural and does not represent an ideological intrusion into human cognition, volition, or action.

B.   Relating the Structure of Human Rights to Development

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6   For a careful explication of the justification of positive rights out of the basic argument see: Ibid., pp. 39-40.

1. The Indirect Extension of the Principle of Generic Consistency

The distinction between direct or indirect applications of the Principle of Generic Consistency can help to clarify the relevance of this understanding of human rights to development . In the direct application, the Principle's requirements are imposed on the actions of individual agents; in the indirect applications, the principle's requirements are imposed in the first instance on social rules and institutions. In these indirect applications, governmental or intergovernmental institutions or other social institutions are justified insofar as they recognize and help to secure the human rights (both negative and positive) justified in direct applications.

2. Different Degrees of Necessity for Action

Different degrees of necessity for action establish different degrees of moral obligation. A distinction can be made between three levels of human rights: basic, nonsubtractive, and additive. Basic rights have as their Objects the essential preconditions of action, such as life, physical integrity, and mental health. Nonsubtractive rights have as their Objects the abilities and conditions required for maintaining undiminished one's level of purpose-fufillment and one's capabilities for particular actions. Additive rights have as their Objects the abilities and conditions required for increasing one's level of purpose-fulfillment and one's capacities for particular actions. The Objects of the basic rights are the most necessary conditions of human action, while the Objects of the nonsubtractive and additive rights are progressively less necessary, although still needed for successful action in general.

3. Development

Almost one third of humanity lives in extreme poverty. They live without access to the fundamental conditions for well being -- sufficient food, safe water, reliable heath care, adequate shelter, basic education and opportunities to sustain their livelihoods and participate in the decisions that affect their lives. The situation of extreme poverty denies the basic conditions of human agency and well being: life, physical integrity, and mental health are profoundly threatened in extreme poverty. But all people have a right to these basic conditions of agency and well being, thus it is clear that securing these basic conditions of agency and well-being constitutes a foundational right for development.

> The environment debate, in particular, has really raised some fundamental questions for people. What are we all about? What are we here about? What matters? What happens to their kids? There is a secular debate about values going on, and what we have to do is to articulate religious values in a way that can be understood and heard in the secular debate.
>
> Russell Rollason

Moreover, the indirect application of the principle of generic consistency makes clear that governmental or intergovernmental institutions and other relevant social institutions are obligated to respond to these basic rights. They are, in fact, morally

justified insofar as they recognize and help to secure these basic human rights. Further, they must engage in both a negative and positive defense of these rights, that is they must not only protect these basic rights from being violated, they must also work to ameliorate the situations that so profoundly vitiate the basic conditions of human agency and well being.

Diminishing the capacity for human agency and human well-being is proscribed by the set of non-subtractive rights. Non-subtractive rights proscribe the diminishing human agency and well-being, even if these diminishments do not attack the basic rights which pertain to sustaining the essential conditions of possibility of human agency and well-being.

Additive rights pertain to legitimate claim related to the enhancements of the conditions of possibility of human agency and well-being. Claims to the right of opportunities for education and for acquiring wealth and income are prime examples.

Basic, non-subtractive rights, and additive rights make up a general right to development, although each set and their respective elements can be morally "weighted" by the degree to which it relates to the conditions of possibility of purpose agency and well-being.

The questions of "sustainability" extends the argument across time. With out sustainability, the intergenerational potential to exercise agency is compromised. In the extreme case, current action by the human community has consequence that attack the conditions of possibility for future human agency. An application of this line of thinking can extend the notion of right to development -- rooted in the conditions of possibility of human agency -- across time.

IV.   Conclusion

This paper is highly restricted, limiting itself to certain aspects of the "reflective" questions that are inevitably implicated in attempts to promote necessary collaboration on development across cultures and fields.

In a first step, non-prescriptive notions of the good and valuing are noted. These categories could be useful to broadly plural groups to determine how they value, but they do not provide a normative base for judgment regarding value issues.

In a second step, an attempt is to made to identify a publicly argued but none-the-less proscriptive notion of the right to development. The "public" character of the appeal consists in rooting the notion of the right in human agency and its conditions of possibility.

The practical importance of these background reflective questions comes to life in the set of concrete questions not examined in this brief paper. Those concrete questions address the myriad aspects of physical and social reality prosecuted by the human and natural sciences. But, the set of concrete questions are not value free; they inevitable engage the first set of questions we have examined.

Summary of Other Contributions

Conclusions and Framework for Action

Poverty eradication is a multidimensional challenge. More than simply increasing wealth, it requires acknowledging the inherent value of people, beyond an instrumental or economic worth alone. It involves building on the assets of the poor and increasing life options. It urges creative partnerships and the development of strategies drawing on indigenous capacities. The poor themselves are the priority.

The challenge to religious communities is to accept poverty eradication as a primary demand of conscience — a feasible, affordable and moral imperative for humanity. But what particular contributions can religions make to eradicating poverty and what are the priorities? How should UNDP and WCRP International cooperate to assist religions to contribute more effectively? The UNDP/WCRP International meeting in Tokyo clarified a series of potential initiatives.

Values and Development

Focusing on the values that support development is key. Essential human values need to be prominent within the work of international organisations encouraging social and economic development. Political processes too should readily engage different value perspectives, as a corollary to increasing support for poverty eradication. A more common value base will prosper cooperative activities, clarifying moral imperatives for shared initiatives.

This is not, however, a question of imposing certain values upon public institutions. A more productive approach will be to seek common core values, religious and other, and then to take steps to ensure that these inform and imbue the development effort. This is more a matter of reaffirming the meaning and purpose of development. As active service providers, the experience and perceptions of religious communities will be useful in informing this debate. Indeed, religious convictions underlining the need for programs to serve persons and communities, and to increase life opportunities, must find greater emphasis within development strategies.

Adding impetus to this, religions should act to reassert those values promoting compassion and a responsibility of care for others. Particular emphasis

among different religious and cultural traditions — values strengthening a sense of shared humanity, shared relationship.

Various approaches could be undertaken — the preparation of general resource materials, the compilation of scholarly papers — children's publications should be a priority. Such initiatives could well be theme specific, addressing topics like: inherent dignity; women and girls; our worth as human beings; meaning and human life; who we are. Materials should be generated across ethnic, religious, and social boundaries. They should be easily accessible and informative, expressed simply, in a convincing and authoritative way. A process of formal endorsement should be investigated.

Moreover, an effort should be made to draw wide involvement beyond just 'religious experts' alone. Artists, writers of textbooks for children, and media people will greatly assist the creative process. Television and drama should also be considered, as effective mediums for disseminating shared beliefs. All of these can assist in creating and propagating common perspectives with broad recognition and appeal.

Women and Poverty Eradication

The fundamental importance of women to poverty eradication demands special attention. As gender equality is essential for empowering women - and for eradicating poverty - the extent to which religious communities promote or impair the status of women is a crucial concern. Where religions undermine women and their life opportunities, a direct and urgent response is required. As such, cooperative programs critiquing and responding to the denial of women's rights by religions should be a priority.

Furthermore, WCRP and UNDP should cooperate to moblise the significant social resources of religions for addressing gender discrimination and increasing options for women and girls. Positive instances of religions supporting and strengthening women's participation in development should be highlighted. Strategies for utilising the privileged status and respect of religious leaders in challenging culturally oppressive traditions should also be investigated. Religions' capacity for communication and networking should also be moblised as a strategically useful resource for securing wider support on gender issues. Specific initiatives for religious women must also receive a high priority.

Religion: Enabler or Barrier to Development

Despite significant evidence to the contrary, there is a strong perception that religions are a barrier to development. If these communities are to be an effective partner in poverty eradication this perception needs to be addressed. An advocacy program highlighting religions' constructive contribution to development

opportunities for greater involvement should be formulated. Both secular and religious institutions and agencies should be targeted. Consultancy mechanisms should also be established to enable religious interventions into problem areas on the ground, especially where religious communities themselves undermine progress towards development.

Coordinating Religious Agencies

Competition among religious aid and development organisations can threaten successful development. A creative engagement among all segments of developing societies must be encouraged, beyond partisan or sectarian interests alone. UNDP and WCRP International should cooperate to establish both ad hoc and permanent structures that creatively nurture cooperative aid and development programs. These would reduce competition for scarce resources, avoid 'picking winners', and draw together the broadest coalitions and competencies available to address issues and implement programs. This expertise would be particularly relevant in extending locally based micro-credit programs.

In seeking this cooperation, however, strengthening local capacities and agencies should be a priority. Needs are usually most effectively addressed at a national level, and common programs should be generated at this level. One strategy would be to target countries of high need or strategic relevance - Jordan, Sierra Leone, and Sri Lanka were suggested - convening religious leaders and organisations to make poverty eradication a national priority. Goals would include galvanising broad public opinion, aiding cooperation among local agencies, strengthening indigenous leadership, and building wider networks for communications and action.

Advantages of Multireligious Collaboration

Significant comparative advantages arise from multireligious cooperation in advocacy for poverty eradication and in actual programs on the ground. Too often, however, it takes a crisis to trigger cooperative efforts. A more a sustained engagement around issues of common and lasting concern is needed.

Documenting and publicising 'best practice' is one way of building on practical achievements, but it is the potential for directly transferring experience between areas that offers the most likely and durable benefits. The experience gained in multireligious collaboration in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sri Lanka, for example, if appropriately supported, could readily be shared in Sierra Leone and other highly pluralistic settings. In this sense, a greater investment in developing ' best-practice' models of multireligious collaboration in poverty eradication and democratisation should be a priority.

Accordingly, particular attention should be given to localising interreligious dialogue and collaboration, especially among youth and women. Women's networks

and associations are strategically of great value when initiating community-based programs and should be a priority for engagement. Such dialogue, however, should itself be issue focused towards productive outcomes, beyond simple encounter alone. There should also be a place for sharing spirituality within such initiatives.

Multireligious cooperation, however, could also be issue specific. Generating a multireligious discourse on development and gender equality would be one important example. Developing a broad-based consensus on the issues of consumption and greed would be another.

Communications and Information

The momentum for mobilising religious communities in poverty eradication needs to be sustained. Regular and informative communications must reinforce not only the dimensions of poverty but also the ability of religions to respond creatively and effectively. Resources sharing success stories of how congregations and religious institutions have acted and can act to address poverty should supplement more general advocacy materials. Existing documents modeling interreligious community-based poverty eradication should also be compiled in ways that can be easily reproduced and disseminated. Training programs developing interreligious collaboration in addressing poverty should be investigated. Such initiatives should engage all sectors of society, especially the illiterate.

In promoting the use of such resources, it is important that their dissemination occur within the context of a sustained strategy rather than simply `come in cold'. This implies the need to prioritise, establish target groups, and mark particular countries with ongoing information and resources. In furthering this process, WCRP and UNDP should increasingly coordinate and share database information, particularly at a national level. WCRP groups should also identify themselves to UNDP representatives as deeply committed to poverty eradication and willing to cooperate on local initiatives.

Moreover, in countries visited by annual UNDP missions, consideration should also be given to providing opportunities for religious groups to contribute to the compilation of national reports. To assist this process, UNDP and WCRP could cooperate to provide guidance on the types of input that would be useful and how contributions could be made. Religious bodies, for example, might be especially competent to reflect on the values guiding a society's progress towards development and their human implications. Their broad community base should assist a richer understanding of poverty to emerge, tapping into local networks and experience.

UNDP and WCRP could also cooperate on strengthening advocacy and program skills among religious communities. This should include assistance in social analysis, identifying and operationalising comparative advantages, and engaging latent

Setting Priorities

UNDP and WCRP International need to focus on setting joint priorities. To assist this, a process should be established for assessing the global dimensions of poverty eradication alongside the matching capacities of religious communities to respond. This should be more than a theoretical discussion, but seek to clarify areas of potential direct cooperation in advocacy, communications, program coordination, and actual service delivery on the ground. Steps should also be taken to develop and highlight 'best practice' examples of religious engagement in poverty eradication. Such cases should present a broad cross-section of experience, across differing religions and localities. Where possible, they should also emphasise the constructive ability of religions to mobilise indigenous capacities and engage local communities. The benefits of multireligious collaboration could also feature as a valuable to remedy to sustainable development in radically plural or conflict prone societies.

In all this, the upcoming WCRP Assembly in Amman, November 1999, presents a unique opportunity for reinforcing among the world's religions the importance of poverty eradication as a primary moral obligation for humanity. The unique possibilities open to religious communities in promoting and securing sustainable human development should feature strongly within the Assembly's agenda. In the coming months, UNDP and WCRP should cooperate closely together to clarify the sought-after outcomes for the Amman meeting and in establishing a strategy appropriate to achieving those goals.

Annexes

Declaration on the Role of Religious Communities in Development and Poverty Eradication

Statement of the Governing Board of the Governing Board of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP), 8 March 1998, Tokyo, Japan

We live in a world sharply divided by poverty. Almost one third of humanity live in absolute poverty. They live without access to the fundamentals for a decent life — sufficient food, safe water, reliable health care, adequate shelter, basic education, training and a means to sustain livelihoods, and opportunities to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. Seventy per cent of those living in absolute poverty are women and children.

Even where significant progress has been made, stark contradictions remain. After a period of extraordinary economic growth, the current crisis in East Asia has highlighted the fragility of development that is not based on an equitable distribution of benefits and an adequate participation of people. In the newly independent States, fresh opportunities afforded by rapid economic and social changes have been unable to stem sharply rising poverty. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the depth of poverty is greater than anywhere else in the world.

Both massive spending on arms and the rapid increase in small-scale -- but immensely disruptive -- wars continue to sap desperately needed human and financial resources from the challenges of development and poverty eradication.

New Opportunities

Governments committed themselves to the goal of eradicating poverty at the UN World Summit on Social Development (WSSD) (Copenhagen, March 1995). Two realities encourage us: First, many countries have already demonstrated significant success in eradicating absolute poverty. Second, it is now clear that the cost of poverty eradication is not large in relative terms. These provide convincing evidence that countries can eliminate extreme poverty in one generation. The urgent requirement is for governments and civil society to summon the political will