

World Goodwill

THE PROBLEMS OF HUMANITY: BUILDING RIGHT HUMAN RELATIONS

Study Seven

INTERNATIONAL UNITY

The Problems of Humanity Course, consists of seven study sets. Each set is based upon the book, *Problems of Humanity*, by Alice Bailey.

General principles underlying this course of study are laid out in the Introductory Set to the Course, Study One. It is suggested that this Introductory Set be reviewed prior to study of each subsequent set and that the relevant chapter in *Problems of Humanity* be consulted.

In addition it is suggested that each study be combined with wide and diverse reading on the problem.

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KEYNOTE STATEMENTS

Humanity as a whole is of far greater importance than any one nation.

The battle between the old entrenched forces and the emerging new idealism constitutes the problem of today.

The distribution of the world's resources and the settled unity of the peoples of the world are in reality one and the same thing, for behind all modern wars lies a fundamental economic problem. Solve that and wars will very largely cease.

Unity and right human relations - individual, communal, national and international - can be brought about by the united action of men and women of goodwill in every country.

Alice Bailey

SEED THOUGHT FOR MEDITATION

That is truly spiritual which properly relates man to man and man to God.
. . . Spirituality is essentially the establishing of right human relations, the promotion of goodwill and, finally, the establishing of true peace on earth.

INTRODUCTION

The quest for unity expresses a basic longing for freedom from war and for international conditions in which we can live and work without fear; a longing for a spirit of cooperation and trust between the peoples of the world.

Whichever approach we choose in our study of this problem we will inevitably return to a consideration of world economic factors. Indeed it becomes clear that the key to humanity's trouble, focused largely as it has been in the economic difficulties of the past 200 years, has been to take and not to give, to accept and not to share, to grasp and not to distribute. Such behaviour has resulted in uneven distribution of the world's riches, with some nations having or taking everything while other nations lack the necessities of life. This situation becomes increasingly intolerable in our modern interdependent world. It is a major trouble-breeding factor which demands attention; for not until there is at least relative freedom from want for humanity can we hope for peace, security and international stability.

The unity we seek is in no way related to uniformity. Rather to be of real and lasting value it is essential to achieve unity-in-diversity. The new world order must accommodate the diverse cultures of the world, retaining the richness of expression of our common humanity.

Although the problem of international unity is vast in scope, it is clear that to build a foundation of cooperation and trust, certain factors assume far more importance than others. So our study will be directed towards the themes of the need for a new world economy that will eradicate poverty and inequality; the need for allegiance to the world community, superseding nationalism and sovereignty; and the need for a positive, creative and imaginative approach to the future. The focus will largely be upon issues and ideas. It is in the search for right action in such worldwide concerns as poverty, disarmament and human rights that new relationships are established, and that the power of the idea of nationalism is steadily being eroded. These are matters of international concern, and it is a very positive sign that they are now regarded as central in world affairs.

United Nations

This study paper will also focus upon the United Nations and the work being done through the many and various organisations within the United Nations. For as the interdependence of the world is more forcibly realised, through what seems to be an almost constant stream of crises, the United Nations is coming into a markedly

more significant role. If we are to support and to rightly value its work we need to understand the major contribution it is making to peace and progress.

Changes in world affairs are swift and to keep in touch requires a wide and intelligent reading of books, magazines, websites, and other sources of information. We have raised certain key questions and drawn attention to factors we consider to be important. We also invite you to participate in the meditation and study work suggested at the conclusion of the paper. By lifting our understanding of the problem into the dynamic quiet of meditation we help to generate a positive, global atmosphere of goodwill - an atmosphere evocative of the moral and courageous actions needed by peoples and their leaders if unity is to be realised.

The Need for Goodwill

There are many different qualities and energies impinging on human consciousness today, producing both constructive and destructive effects. The most needed, if we are to move safely into the new age, is the energy of goodwill. Without it there can be no creative and lasting solutions to the problems we face. We are not referring here to a passive kindliness or a sentimental approach, but instead to goodwill as "the will to that which is good and ought to be" - to that quality of heart and mind which is a practical and dynamic force for creative action.

Hope lies in the fact that goodwill is far more widespread than is recognised. Today it conditions the lives of millions of people, evoking a new sense of world responsibility and a commitment to a life of service. It constitutes an as yet largely untapped power that, when rightly coordinated as a world force, is capable of implementing the changes and reforms that will inaugurate a new era of human living.

If the men and women of goodwill everywhere are to grasp their present opportunity, they must deepen their understanding of this energy they possess, and understand more clearly how it can be applied in practical terms in the modern world.

We offer the following formula for peace and progress (overleaf) as a working tool to aid in the immediate work of world reconstruction.

A FORMULA FOR WORLD PEACE AND PROGRESS

An affirmation by men and women of goodwill around the world

Men and women of goodwill in their millions, *convinced*

- there is potential for good in all mankind
- that the human family can live together in right relations and at peace
- that right relationship between peoples and nations is the key to unity and world peace
- that practical goodwill is the key to right relationships
- that the energy of goodwill is the active principle of peace, justice and progress for all humanity;

affirm their intention

- to practice goodwill in all relationships, in all daily affairs and in attitudes and actions towards those of other nations, races, religions and social backgrounds
- to support and cooperate with those in positions of influence and responsibility who use goodwill and reason instead of force and coercion
- to encourage, publicise and work for the adoption of goodwill in action by local and national groups and institutions.

Enough men and women of goodwill accepting responsibility for the establishing of right relationships among men and between nations, and working actively with the principles of unity and goodwill, guarantee a future of peace and progress for the whole human race.

(Copies of this formula are available at no charge from World Goodwill)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORLD PROBLEM

In the rapidly changing world of today we possess for the first time the means through which unity can be achieved. There are now vast numbers of international organisations, the United Nations foremost amongst them, dedicated to strengthening cooperation between governments and between peoples, and operating within a frame of reference which is inclusive of humanity as a whole. The work of these organisations, the extraordinary expansion in world travel, and the effect of the global communications network, have enabled us to reach a level of real and effective inter-cultural awareness and sensitivity. When we consider relationships between the various peoples and nations we do so with a knowledge of each other's culture and ideologies that would have been unimaginable just a century ago. This is an expression of the phenomenon we now call globalisation.

Similarly, world opinion is now an effect of world participation in international affairs. Asia, Africa, the Arabic nations and others outside Big Power politics are no longer silent observers on the side-lines of what was previously an arena dominated by Europe and America.

A further major development in the structure of world political and social forces has been the formation of many new alliances between nations. Most matters of international importance are today negotiated and debated within or between such groups as the European Union (EU), the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the African Union (AU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the Group of 8 (G8), the Commonwealth, or the Group of 77 (G77).

In some cases blocs have acted against the interests of the international community as a whole, thereby reinforcing

the divisions in the world. But on the whole the existence of the larger groups makes the concept of world unity far more feasible. After all, it was only when the impoverished nations formed into the many groups that together make up the "South" that the problem central to the world's economic malaise, the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, was brought into global focus as an urgent priority. By participating in such an alliance nations are faced with the need to become less nationalistic. Not only do they have to adopt a more objective viewpoint but they also experience the necessary process of accommodation and flexibility needed to make the alliance work.

In spite of the tendency towards unity it is a sad fact that the atmosphere conditioning international relations is one in which distrust, fear and insecurity often prevail, reinforcing a sense of negativity in world affairs. It is vital that this climate be transformed into one of goodwill and belief in the future. But this transformation cannot be imposed or enforced. It can only occur with the relaxation of international tension. For this reason we need to look to the causes of tension in the world if we are to understand why the path of international goodwill and cooperation seems far from simple or direct.

While there are many other points of friction and discord, key factors heightening tension are undoubtedly the imbalance in our present world economic system leading to global poverty, the continued manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, and an insubstantial commitment to programmes of reform. These areas therefore should receive special attention in our study of the progress being made towards a world of unity, peace and justice.

POVERTY

The earth has enough for every man's need but not for every man's greed.

Mahatma Gandhi

As long ago as the early 1960s, U Thant, the then UN Secretary-General, was drawing attention to the fact that the "most serious source of tension in the world is the division of the world into rich nations and poor nations". This division he saw as "more real, more lasting and ultimately more explosive" than even that between the East and West.

Today this division is far greater than it was then. It is now the subject of almost constant negotiation and debate at international levels, identified in various ways

as the division of the world into the wealthy, industrialised "North" and the impoverished, "underdeveloped" "South". Of course poverty, and the disgraceful gap between rich and poor, is something that is also a constant fact of life for a sizable percentage of people in the "North".

The statistics of global poverty are horrific. Each year millions die of starvation and preventable diseases. Up to two-thirds of the world's population live in squalid and degrading conditions and nearly one-third live in what is

termed "absolute poverty". These people form the "wretched of the earth", living lives in which the struggle to gain the barest necessities of food and shelter never ceases.

It does not take much imagination, or reflective thought, to sense something of the agony and hopelessness of such a life. No person of goodwill would wish to be part of any action that condemns fellow men, women and children to this misery. Yet the causes of poverty do involve us all - a fact that has been highlighted by the Fair Trade movement.¹

We know that global poverty is not an effect of the inability to produce sufficient food to feed our present population (research has now proven that the earth produces more than enough food for all) or of insufficiency of other natural resources. But certainly global poverty does reflect the priorities and self-interest of the rich and powerful nations and, in some cases, rich, powerful and sometimes corrupt elements within nations of the "South". In recent times, under pressure from global public opinion, some good work has been done by the countries of the developed world to write-off a portion of the outstanding debts of the "South". However, the equivalent of under 3% of the money spent on military budgets is allocated to Overseas Development Assistance to impoverished nations.

It is beyond the scope of our present paper to explore this whole question of the causes of poverty. The subject has been very well handled by many authors and we recommend that you study it further. But whatever the causes it is clear that the situation is intolerable. It must not be allowed to continue, let alone get worse as is now the case. There must be prompt action of the magnitude needed to reverse the trend and set in motion progress towards a worldwide standard of living that meets the needs of citizens.

Rather than resign ourselves to poverty as an unavoidable feature of contemporary life, we should see it as a 'cancer', crippling, debilitating and potentially destructive of humanity. As with the programme to combat any virulent disease, it is necessary that this crisis be tackled with urgency, and with the will to succeed.

At present humanity is deeply scarred by the suffering, despair and guilt engendered by this situation. This affects us all. For the world community to gain confidence, and a conviction of moral worth, the first step must be to release peoples and nations from poverty by implementing the most basic of the four freedoms - "freedom from want, everywhere in the world".

1. Cf. for example www.fairtrade.net.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

There is no greater threat to world peace at the present time than the continuing manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and the threatened use of these, whether by nation states or by non-state actors. If they continue to be made, it becomes ever more likely that they will be acquired by unstable sources. We have created what could be the means of our own destruction. Not only does this hang like a threatening cloud over the present, but it steals from the future by diverting precious funds and resources that should be pledged to building a new world order. What kind of a civilisation have we created that prefers building highly expensive and sophisticated weaponry to building new schools or searching for ways to feed the hungry? This is the kind of hard question the world community must begin to ask itself. What are our values? What are our priorities? Are we so fearful that we are willing to risk the very future of life on earth?

The scale of world armaments quite defies the imagination. With the end of the "Cold War" the power of nuclear warheads remaining in the arsenals of the developed world is still enough to destroy life in all but the remotest areas of the planet. While statistics are often highly technical and complex, the following facts are expressed in simpler terms. They speak for themselves.

- the total **annual** budget for the United Nations and its specialised agencies for 2000 – 2001 was \$2.5 billion
- in 1997, the developed world spent \$1.67 billion **each day** on military expenditure
- in 1997, the developing world spent \$0.6 billion **per day** on military expenditure.
- in 2000, the UN budget for peace keeping activities was \$2 billion
- the world's combined weapons of mass destruction suffice to kill every man, woman and child ten times over
- it is well-known that smallpox was a dreadful disease which ravaged large areas of the world. In 1967 alone, its estimated death toll was about two million people. The entire successful campaign of the World Health Organisation, which took over ten years to eradicate this scourge, involved a cost of about 300 million dollars. In today's terms this is equivalent to the cost of a single B-2 Stealth bomber.

The very real threat to our survival posed by weapons of mass destruction has united people throughout the world in their call for lasting and effective proposals for halting

their production. The funds now allocated to the non-productive arms industry would totally transform the world if used in social and economic reform, and this is a perspective that is becoming more powerful as concern over poverty and the world's economy deepens.

The former President of Costa Rica, a country which has chosen to have no armed forces from 1948 onwards, addressed the UNESCO World Congress for Education for Disarmament, saying *"Peace or war shall depend, in the forthcoming years, on the continuation of the arms race, or disarmament, but mainly on our decision to transform the education and social communication media into instruments of peace.... The educational task would be null were it not qualitatively and quantitatively extended through information which, in turn, would be only a vehicle of falsehood and hatred – that is war – were it not fed from the everlasting source of man's education, truth,*

justice, love and beauty. Humanity has tested the most varied prescriptions and formulae in order to stop war, hatred and violence. Two alternatives are left for us: education and information. If we do not convert them into instruments of peace, there shall not be a Twenty-First Century."

Here is emphasised the need to awaken the idealism, cooperation and sense of responsibility of people of goodwill the world over so that they can understand the broader concerns of peace. When enough men and women reach this understanding, their demands for right relations amongst nations and for an end to the preparations for war will be irresistible.

"Focused, determined, enlightened public opinion is the most potent force in the world."

Alice A. Bailey

TOWARDS THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

While there are many movements that together form a broad approach to a new world civilisation, we shall briefly consider three:

- Human Rights and Freedom
- Economics and the Millennium Development Goals
- Caring for the Earth

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM

Two of the most potent spiritual directives anchored in the minds and hearts of the people of the world this century have been those of human rights and responsible freedom. They have been defined and developed in many major international documents, among which the most significant are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; The Four Freedoms; and what is known as the Helsinki Agreement.

Although we hear of a great many instances where basic freedoms are abused, the power that these ideas now have within human consciousness makes them an irresistible force for the good in present and future society. They stand as triumphs of the human spirit, as indicators of the quality of life aspired to, not only by humanitarians and idealists, but by peoples of the world whose governments have officially endorsed them.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights consists of a preamble and 30 articles. The preamble begins:

"Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" ; while the first article states: *"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."*

The Four Freedoms

The Four Freedoms are as follows:

- Freedom of speech and expression, everywhere in the world.
- Freedom of each person to worship God in his own way, everywhere in the world.
- Freedom from want, everywhere in the world.
- Freedom from fear, everywhere in the world.

The Four Freedoms were first stated by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the State of the Union address, 1941. They are also enshrined in the second paragraph of the

preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Helsinki Agreement

The Helsinki Agreement, as it relates to human rights, was part of a complex document covering every aspect of East-West relations drawn up by the USSR, USA, Canada and 32 countries of East and West Europe in Helsinki in 1975. On human rights the final act of this Conference stated: "The participating states will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. They will promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms, all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development." Some have credited the Helsinki Agreement with triggering the emergence of the movements, such as Poland's Solidarity, and Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, which ultimately led to the dissolution of the Soviet bloc and the end of the Cold War.

The struggle for freedom and human rights is integral with that of the quest for a new global civilisation which incorporates the highest achievements of every culture. This struggle is more extreme in some nations than others, but all are involved. When we realise that central to these basic freedoms is freedom from fear and freedom from want, we can see just how far the modern world has yet to go before the ideal becomes an accomplished fact. Still, the vision and the ideal are now a reality in human aspiration, and they provide a cornerstone for the future civilisation in a united world.

There is, it seems to me, no necessary conflict between the notion of individual civil liberty on the one hand and the right to economic security on the other. The desired goal should be, in my view, a concept which envisages the expansion of individual rights, political and economic...

Ralph J. Bunche

Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings p.169

ECONOMICS AND THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

We often hear our fundamental interdependence expressed in the concept of the 'global village'. However, if we visualise the village as a small scale model of our present world we find it a most disturbing place. It is a village where a small minority live in affluence, dominating resources of food, finance, skills and technology. The majority of the villagers live in varying degrees of poverty. Half are illiterate, malnourished and homeless. The poverty that cripples the majority also prevents them from contributing to the village economy in an effective way – they cannot buy goods and they cannot repay the debts that they are forced to incur in trying to survive. The resultant economic and social malaise ultimately affects both rich and poor. Quite clearly the economic system upon which this village life is based has to undergo substantial change to enable the transformation of the village into a just, stable and peaceful community.

In 1974, at a special session of the UN General Assembly, agreement was reached that the existing economic system, in operation since the post-war years, was now inadequate for the international situation of the seventies and beyond. More than this, it was seen to be based on objectives that worked to the detriment of the majority of the people of the world – the poor and disadvantaged. Thus began the quest for what was then referred to as a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

The Objectives of the New Order

The NIEO addressed directly the plight of the world's

poor. It was an attempt to find new economic policies and planning that would reflect a global responsibility to humanity as a whole. The plans were designed to ensure that there would progressively be a more equitable distribution of not only food and minerals but also of education, health facilities and of all essentials for a life of opportunity. A new direction was crucial for reasons of mutual self-interest to both North and South. Increasing inequality was leading to worsening international tensions and to a politically explosive instability. A progressive eradication of poverty was thought to be the impetus that would provide stable markets for goods and thus revitalise the world economy.

Specific objectives of this wide platform of economic reform included:

- attaining United Nations official development aid targets
- providing technical assistance for development and eliminating the "brain drain"
- renegotiation of debts of developing countries
- using funds from disarmament for development
- improving the terms and conditions of trade of developing countries
- developing an international food programme
- regulation of activities of multi-national corporations

- providing equitable access to the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

While there had already been some progress towards achieving these objectives, the overall response had been disappointing.

In 1998, the United Nations recognised that meeting these objectives was not solely the responsibility of governments but required the participation of the global business community. At the World Economic Forum, Davos, on 31 January 1999, UN Secretary General Kofi A. Annan challenged world business leaders to “embrace and enact” the Global Compact, both in their individual corporate practices and by supporting public policies. The Global Compact addresses three areas of shared international agreement: human rights, labour standards, and environmental protection.¹

The UN Millennium Development Goals

“We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women, and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected.”

United Nations Millennium Declaration
September 2000

At the Millennium Summit in September 2000 the states of the United Nations reaffirmed their commitment to working toward a world in which sustaining development and eliminating poverty would have the highest priority. The Millennium Development Goals grew out of the agreements and resolutions of world conferences organized by the United Nations in the past decade. The goals have been commonly accepted as a framework for measuring development progress.²

The goals are designed to focus the efforts of the world community on achieving significant, measurable improvements in people’s lives. These are:

1) *Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger*

Target 1 Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day.

Target 2 Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.

2) *Achieve universal primary education*

Target 3 Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

3) *Promote gender equality and empower women*

Target 4 Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education no later than 2015.

4) *Reduce child mortality*

Target 5 Reduce by two thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate

5) *Improve maternal health*

Target 6 Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio

6) *Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases*

Target 7 Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS

Target 8 Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases

7) *Ensure environmental sustainability*

Target 9 Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the losses of environmental resources.

Target 10 Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water

Target 11 Have achieved, by 2020, a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers

8) *Develop a global partnership for development*

“The last goal – global partnership for development – is about the means to achieve the first seven. Many of the poor countries will need additional assistance and must look to the rich countries to provide it. Countries that are poor and heavily indebted will need further help in reducing their debt burden. And all countries will benefit if trade barriers are lowered, allowing a freer exchange of goods and services.

For the poorest countries many of the goals seem far out of reach. Even in better off countries there may be regions or groups that lag behind. So countries need to set their own goals and work to ensure that poor people are included in the benefits of development.” (www.developmentgoals.org/About_the_goals.htm)

1. For more information see www.un.org/partners/business/
2. Statistics on monitoring progress in meeting the goals can be found at www.developmentgoals.org

The Need for Enlightened Public Opinion

It is therefore important that we read about and become informed on these matters, as only an enlightened public opinion will recognise the long-term wisdom of responsible governments, civil society groups, and business organisations which are seeking to contribute towards a global development agenda. After all, many world leaders have now publicly declared their belief that human civilisation and survival depends upon our united action in implementing economic reform. The movement towards reform is of fundamental significance to us all.

CARING FOR THE EARTH

Ecology and conservation are very much keynotes of our time. Thousands of groups promoting awareness of environmental issues are active throughout the world. Vast numbers of people now deliberately adapt their life styles to reflect an environmental consciousness. They wish to be no part of the abuse and waste of natural resources, of pollution and of the exploitation of the animal kingdom. Often referred to as the Green movement, this powerful trend has focused attention on the interdependence between humanity and the world of nature. Man-made boundaries are transcended by a sense of world community, shared by all who are committed to protecting and preserving the natural heritage of the earth.

The World Conservation Strategy (published simultaneously in 35 countries in 1980), was the first time that development had been suggested as a major means of achieving conservation, instead of being viewed as an obstruction to it, and the first time that governments, non-governmental organisations, and experts throughout the world were involved in preparing a global conservation document.

The Brundtland Report

The findings of the **World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)**, set up by the United Nations in 1983 to look into the needs of the poorest countries, were published as **The Brundtland Report (Our Common Future)** in 1987. This report stressed that critical and globally threatening environmental problems were emerging as a result of both poverty in the South and excessive consumption in the North. Issues of intra- and inter-generational equity were introduced.

The report argued that the unsustainable consequences of development on the environment could not be addressed without significant international co-operation. It argued that the future well-being of the North was not only dependent upon a change of development trajectory towards more sustainable practices, but would fail unless countries of the South were also prepared to make changes.

The Commission proposed that the global economy had to meet peoples' needs and legitimate desires, but that growth had to fit within the planet's ecological limits. They called for a new era of environmentally sound economic development. The Commission's report defined sustainable development as development that "*meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs*", and pursued two concepts, i.e.

- the concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given and,

- the concept of limitations (imposed by the state of technology and social organisation) on the ability of the environment to meet present and future needs.

This called for strategies for integrating environment and development. As a result, the UN General Assembly decided in 1989 to hold a conference that would produce these strategies. Using the Brundtland Report as a reference, negotiations began in 1990 in preparation for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), or "The Earth Summit", which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

At the conference, three documents were adopted by more than 178 Governments¹. Agenda 21 (a comprehensive plan of actions to be taken globally, nationally and locally by organizations of the United Nations System, Governments, and Major Groups in every area in which humans impact on the environment); the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development; and the Statement of principles for the Sustainable Management of Forests.

The full implementation of Agenda 21, the Programme for Further Implementation of Agenda 21 and the Commitments to the Rio principles, were strongly reaffirmed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), held a decade after Rio in Johannesburg, South Africa from 26 August to 4 September 2002². However, it was also evident at the WSSD that progress in the ten years since Rio had been painfully slow. Perhaps one sign of progress was the fact that at Johannesburg, governments, civil society organisations and businesses focused on new ways of cooperating with one another to deliver concrete results, in so-called Type II partnerships.

An important educational project that has emerged from civil society is the Earth Charter Initiative. For over a decade, diverse groups around the world have endeavoured to draw up an Earth Charter that sets forth fundamental ethical principles for a sustainable way of life. As a result of worldwide consultation, a final version was agreed in March 2000, and this was officially launched at the Peace Palace in the Hague on June 29, 2000. The Earth Charter recognises that environmental, economic, social, cultural, ethical, and spiritual problems and aspirations are interconnected. It is a powerful and flexible educational tool, available from the Earth Charter website at www.earthcharter.org

1 To ensure effective follow-up of UNCED, the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) was created in December 1992 to monitor and report on implementation of the agreements at the local, national, regional and international levels.

2 www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21/index.htm

THE NEW IDEALISM – BUILDING UNITY

Our study has so far focused upon certain major issues in the worldwide aspiration for unity and peace. But we need to stand back from specific issues if we are to understand the broader patterns of change that are now reshaping world affairs on a scale that has no parallel in our recorded history. Only then can we see that the cause – the fulcrum around which progress towards unity revolves – is a change that is taking place in the consciousness of millions of men and women.

Increasingly it is becoming clear that behind the tension in the world there lies a fundamental division between two approaches to life.

The Separative Approach

One approach is based upon the idea of obtaining the maximum advantage for the self (be it a person, a group, an institution or a nation) with little concern for the interests of the greater whole. It represents a separatist and self-centred way of thinking that tends to be against fundamental change and reform; a way of thinking that seeks power through exploiting fear, inertia and materialistic desires. This approach finds expression in nationalism, with a commitment to the furthering of specific national goals regardless of the welfare of the global community. It has also recently manifested in international terrorism.

There are today countless groups and individuals in every field of living who are working from this perspective to maintain their entrenched position and prestige, or to gain power in order to enforce their particular ideas upon others. Undoubtedly a significant percentage of the general public favour this approach which, broadly speaking, embodies the reactionary force in human affairs.

The Inclusive Approach

At the same time an alternative approach is now gaining rapidly in influence with support from all levels of society. This approach is charged with a new idealism that is finding response in the hearts and minds of people everywhere; an idealism that is in essence an attitude change, a new understanding that releases the individual into an inclusive and holistic world view. Inherent in this view is a belief in the equality and value of all people. It affirms our capacity to realise the interdependence of the one humanity and to resolve the problems we face with goodwill and cooperation.

The values upon which this approach to life is founded are inspired by a sense of brotherhood and synthesis; by a feeling of oneness with humanity and a sensitivity to human need. The common purpose that underlies all

efforts towards world betterment is recognised as being of far greater significance than the points of difference. The experience of oneness generates a sense of shared cooperative endeavour between all people of goodwill – a sense of unity.

A keynote of this way of thought and feeling is a very basic and simple realisation: the awareness that progress towards this attitude to life cannot be enforced by an external authority – it must be evoked from within each person, preferred and freely chosen. The means by which change is promoted is seen as being as significant as the change itself, for means and ends are experienced as being integrally related. Education and understanding are therefore the means to awaken people to the new idealism; not coercion and force.

Because this network of all who are building world unity and cooperation is relatively unstructured, it has no leader and no dogma, and it may seem nebulous, and far less influential than the powerful reactionary forces prominent in world affairs. But such is not the case. The network may be only loosely co-ordinated rather than organised, and it does not have vast numbers of established institutions promoting its humanitarian objectives, but still it is not without form or power. For wherever there are men and women in whom the new idealism is a lighted and living force we can identify its impact and influence. At the heart of all programmes for reform in any field we will find dedicated people who share the commitment to a new world society, and are working to manifest justice and the spirit of brotherhood.

Perhaps it is in the movements that are pioneering new frontiers for humanity, such as those related to ecology, human rights, alternative life-styles, philanthropy and social reform, that we can most easily recognise the network. But we can also know that the new attitude is present in every field, infusing and uplifting consciousness, orienting it to the values of sharing, cooperation and integrity in relationships.

The Significance of the New Approach

The significance of this alternative approach is now widely recognised. It has been given a number of labels by different writers: the “Fifth World” by Keith Suter; the “Aquarian Conspiracy” by Marilyn Ferguson; the “second tier” in spiral dynamics by Don Beck and Christopher Cowan (for more information on spiral dynamics, see *The Development of a Hierarchy of Wise Compassion* below).

The New Group of World Servers

The writings of Alice A. Bailey explore a broader network in consciousness: the new group of world servers. Both the outer and the more subjective characteristics of this group are placed in a global, spiritual perspective, with emphasis upon the values and qualities the group is pioneering for humanity as a whole. The new group of world servers is defined as including “every man and woman in every country ... who is working to heal the breaches between people, to evoke the sense of brotherhood, to foster the sense of mutual inter-relation, and who sees no racial, national or religious barriers.”

The group acts as a synthesising factor within humanity, embodying a subjective unity that links the divergent efforts of all people of goodwill into one coherent whole – a stable unifying centre within human consciousness.

This group gives the word ‘spiritual’ a wide significance; they believe it to mean an inclusive endeavour towards human betterment, uplift and understanding. They give it the connotation of tolerance, religious inclusiveness, and all trends of thought which concern the development of the conscious potential of the human being. It is without a terminology or Bible of any kind; it has no creed or any dogmatic formulations of truth. The motivating impulse of each and all is love of God as it works out in love of one’s fellow human being.

The work of this worldwide network of servers brings order out of chaos, and helps to resolve the widely separative issues of modern life into some kind of stability. Through the impression and expression of certain great

ideas, their major task is to bring people everywhere to an understanding of the fundamental ideals which will govern the new age: ideals such as goodwill; right human relations; unanimity and group endeavour for the good of the whole; the essential divinity of every person; and the right mode of spiritual approach to the Divine in a time when the barriers in thought between different religions are being recognised as illusory. A new global civilisation based on these ideals can free humanity from the shackles of a pronounced materialism.

The function of this new group is to balance the forces leading to disintegration and destruction by embodying in itself the forces of integration and construction. They will eventually offset the tendency (so prevalent at this time) towards racial hatreds, and the teaching given out will tend to negate the present ideas which are powerful in producing the current cleavages and barriers in thought, thus causing separation and war. Where there is an appearance of a group or groups expressing ideas which potentially emphasise one angle of public opinion and one aspect of life, there must inevitably appear, under the law of balance, that which will offset it. At the present point in human history, the groups which foster the spirit of cleavage and which build up barriers to impede freedom of the spirit, have appeared first. They do their needed work, for they too are included in the Plan. Then, under the law, there must appear the group or groups which embody those ideas which lead to integration and constructive building. They will swing the world on to a higher turn of the spiral; they will heal the breaches, break down the barriers, and end the cleavages.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HIERARCHY OF WISE COMPASSION

(from the World Goodwill Newsletter 2001 No.2)

“Hierarchy is not coercion, it is the law of the Universe.”

Hierarchy

There are two themes which are intimately intertwined in this article: development/evolution and hierarchy. The idea of evolution in the natural world is today a commonplace, thanks to Darwin and his interpreters. However, the idea that evolution applies not just to physical forms, but also to *consciousness*, is not so familiar. It is found in such great thinkers as Hegel, Aurobindo and de Chardin. In simple terms, it states that human consciousness, both individually and culturally, is gradually developing over time. This implies that some individuals – and some cultures – may be further advanced along this evolutionary path. A *natural* order or hierarchy of conscious development therefore exists. This is not a value ranking of different stages. Rather, it is simply the observation that the evolution of consciousness, just like the evolution of form, proceeds in a sequence

and by recognisable stages, each of which has a specific contribution to make.

Ken Wilber, who has done much to explore the idea of a natural hierarchy of consciousness in his writings, points out that it runs into strong objections, particularly regarding cultures. However, these objections can be met, and Wilber does so thoroughly in *The Eye of Spirit*.¹ He indicates how evolution should proceed by *transcendence and inclusion*, where each new stage transcends and includes all those which went before. This is possible because every being forms a part of a wider and more inclusive whole. So the evolution of consciousness proceeds through the understanding of, and identification with, ever-wider wholes. Another way of describing this could be in terms of the expansion of compassion. For example, a person may feel bonds of loyalty and affection towards her family and her local community; yet as time goes on, a wider identification with national affairs evolves; and then, gradually, the challenges faced by

human beings everywhere becomes important. The individual is conscious of herself as a family member; as a citizen of a particular country; and as a member of the human race. The earlier stages are not negated by the later stages, but are included within them. However, as Wilber indicates, sometimes development can go wrong, leading to pathological behaviour, with the individual or group in question cutting itself off from others and seeking to dominate them. Through this separative, selfish activity, compassion is stifled and further development into wider wholes is blocked. A good example of such a distorted understanding of hierarchy was the Nazi picture of the “superman”.

While they may be few and far between, such pathological hierarchies of domination can be extremely destructive. This may explain why the idea of hierarchy seems currently to be in disrepute. Another reason can be traced to a general decline in respect for “authority”. In the work of Alice Bailey, this shift is correlated with the end of the Piscean age, an age where respect for authority predominated in the psychology of most people. Now, as we move into the Aquarian Age, with its emphasis upon individual understanding and direct knowledge, the individual is seeking to become his or her own authority, and the pronouncements of “experts” are viewed more critically. Yet the fact remains that there are clearly natural hierarchies of ability: not everyone is a world class horse-rider; opera singer; scientific investigator etc.. Everyone can acknowledge this. Where people perhaps have more difficulty with the idea is in the realm of spirituality – they may find it difficult to accept that someone can be “holier” than they are, because it might imply they are “better” in a more comprehensive sense. Yet how many people could claim to have the immense compassion and forbearance of someone like the Dalai Lama, or Gandhi?

Evolutionary models

Are there any models which describe this development of consciousness? The work of Ken Wilber², already mentioned, includes a sophisticated “all-level all-quadrant” model, which is based on a considerable body of empirical research. It seeks to describe development in both subjective and objective terms, and both individually and collectively. Another model which is in broad agreement with Wilber’s is that of Don Beck and Christopher Cowan.³ They have produced a model called “spiral dynamics”, based on the work of Clare Graves – again, founded on empirical findings – which describes psychological development as a spiral path of different stages. At each stage, the individual or group holds a different set of interrelated values, named “values memes”.⁴ (N.B. This is not to be confused with the idea that each stage is different in value). Each individual “values meme” conditions the way in which people perceive and react to all aspects of life. Each “values meme” they have identified is given a colour code in the following order, from first to

last: beige, purple, red, blue, orange, green, yellow, turquoise, coral. To give two brief examples of how these work out in practice, people at the “blue” stage hold values which mean they are comfortable in situations in which laws, regulations and discipline are well defined by a higher authority (whether religious or political), and they believe that life has a predetermined meaning; those with “turquoise” values regard the world as a single, dynamic organism, and intuitive thinking and co-operative action in service of the whole is normal.

There is insufficient room to go into much more detail on this interesting model, but one of the key insights is that the three latest “values memes” – yellow, turquoise, coral – are regarded as “second-tier”, because it is only at these levels that a perspective on the whole spiral of development becomes possible. In other words, it is only at these levels that people are able to adopt a sufficiently detached perspective on themselves to be able to recognise the presence of different sets of values conditioning different aspects of their lives and the lives of others. This ability to step away from the dramatic centre of one’s own life is a well recognised stage within both ancient and modern spiritual practices. It is the capacity to act as the observer of daily life and circumstance, seeking always the deeper meaning behind events. People at these levels can identify the developmental level of those earlier in the spiral, and can work deliberately to help them progress into the next level. They can also identify ways in which those at different levels who may have competing interests can reconcile differences and work harmoniously. For “second-tier” people, the goal is not for one group to win out over another, but for the health of the whole to be maintained and enhanced. For this to be true, the *relationships between groups* must be healthy.

Right relationship with the whole

In fundamental terms, a relationship is an exchange of energy. This can be biochemical, as in the physical body of an organism, or mental, as in the exchange of ideas between people. So right relationship consists in being able to circulate energies in a way which benefits not just the parties immediately concerned, but also all those in relation with them. From the “second-tier” perspective which sees itself in relation with all of life, this implies the need for tremendous care and precision in our relationships. A thoughtless act will affect our whole environment, and on outwards in ever-widening ripples of cause and effect. While an individual act might seem of very small importance, when we consider how frequently each one of us may mis-direct our thoughts and feelings in one way or another, it is not very surprising that the world is experiencing such major challenges. The great religious traditions all emphasise the need for responsible relationships, the keynote of which is a compassionate, inclusive love. From the

“turquoise” perspective, this is plain common sense. So it follows that goodwill, which is the practical expression of love, is the normal way of relating to others at this stage. Combined with goodwill, there is also at this stage a growing appreciation of the nature of wisdom, which has been defined as “skill in action as the result of developed love and the light of understanding; it is awareness of requirements and ability to bring together into a fused relationship the need and that which will meet it.”⁵

Wisdom and compassion

Thus, spiral dynamics suggests that consciousness evolves towards increasing wisdom and compassion. This is a reassuring conclusion, although the working out of this process can seem painfully slow at times. Another conclusion that can be drawn is that there will exist individuals who have developed to and even beyond the highest levels described in spiral dynamics. Interestingly, a number of spiritual traditions also allude to the existence of a body of individuals who have reached a level of consciousness far in advance of the ordinary person. These are the Saints of Christianity, the Rishis of India and the Bodhisattvas of Buddhism. So there is nothing unusual or miraculous about the emergence of these great figures – they can be seen to be the logical outcome of the development of consciousness within the human family. They are the next step in the continuum of the evolutionary hierarchy of consciousness, and are referred to in some writings as the spiritual Hierarchy.

It is natural at this point to wonder whether such people exist now, and if so, where are they? Surely they should be visible by their words and deeds on the world stage? An interesting observation that Beck and Cowan make which may be relevant is that those at the “second tier” stages tend to be more comfortable working behind the scenes; they have transcended the need for personal recognition. This suggests that those who are beyond the highest level of spiral dynamics are likely to be working in subtle ways and unrecognised – finding ways to influence the climate of human thought and feeling in order to produce healthier flows of relationship within the whole. However, if occasion demands, they may also take their place in the public gaze, in which case they are recognised as people of unusual potency. History has recorded many great individuals whose lives have inspired millions down the ages: politicians such as Lincoln, Gandhi and Roosevelt; scientists such as Newton, Curie and Einstein; writers like Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe; and the founders of great religions such as Christ and Buddha. It is significant that the main power of such individuals is in the realm of ideas. By their dynamic example, they anchored principles in human thinking, so conditioning the thoughts of many.

Ideas can also be introduced in more subtle ways, and throughout history major ideas, such as liberty, democra-

cy and love, have surfaced from the depths of human consciousness. They have been brought to the world through many individuals, some famous, some obscure. It is logical that the members of the spiritual Hierarchy would be preoccupied with brooding over the welfare of the world and how major conditioning ideas could be applied. Their power to envision plans for world progress in line with the onward sweep of evolution would be far greater than even the most advanced thinkers. Their united reflection would therefore produce a dynamic field of possible solutions which could be contacted and given tangible form by people seeking inspiration on contemporary challenges. Certainly it is notable that some famous individuals, among them George Washington and Winston Churchill, have acknowledged higher guidance through dreams, visions, and moments of inspiration.⁶ Could it be that their concentrated mental effort to serve others allowed them a brief flash of penetration deeper into the Universal Mind, into areas where great archetypal energies are consciously directed by those who have long ago transcended any personal concerns?

The need for vision

It is difficult to imagine a more important and influential role for the spiritual Hierarchy than that of generating such a matrix charged with new vision, a fertile womb from which the future can spring. It is said that “where there is no vision, the people perish”. In this time of rapid and wrenching change, humanity must find ways of envisioning a common future together. Many groups are now coming forward with different aspects of this vision, in politics, economics, education, religion and the arts. Their keynote is a driving compassion for the whole, which gives them an intuitive sensitivity to the higher levels of consciousness, the levels from which new visions can emerge. Beck and Cowan would place them at “turquoise”, or possibly “coral”; another name which has been given to them is the new group of world servers. Considered as one whole, they currently form a linking group, a vital connection in the great chain of consciousness. They connect the mass of people with the spiritual Hierarchy, and form a conduit through which new emerging principles can reach and condition human life. They may or may not be in direct touch with members of the spiritual Hierarchy, but what is primarily important is not how they conceive the source of their inspiration, but the fact of that inspiration itself. Their work in shaping the climate of public opinion represents the major hope for a world of unity, justice and peace.

In conclusion, contemporary models of the evolution of consciousness support the idea that consciousness expands towards an ever-widening inclusiveness, which can be described as wisdom and compassion. These models imply that *everyone* has the potential to eventually become a saint, a bodhisattva, an enlightened server. Awakening to this fact can encourage deliberate,

conscious effort to make progress: the compelling motive is that of serving the wider whole. This determination to be of benefit to all beings, recognised within Buddhism as the bodhisattva vow, is increasingly evident today, and it can connect us with those who watch over the inner springs of inspiration which are needed to forge a new civilisation. However we name them, these elder brothers and sisters stand before us as both compassionate guides for the present, and the guarantee of future achievement of wider responsibilities in serving the whole with wisdom and love.

1. Ken Wilber, *The Eye of Spirit: An Integral Vision for a World Gone Slightly Mad*, pp.71-9. Shambhala, Boston, 1997.

2. Cf. Wilber, *op. cit.*

3. Don Edward Beck and Christopher C. Cowan, *Spiral Dynamics: Mastering Values, Leadership, and Change*. Blackwell, Malden and Oxford, 1996.

4. The term “meme” was coined a number of years ago by the biologist Richard Dawkins, to describe a unit of cultural information, e.g. a political ideology, a fashion fad, a type of music etc..

5. Alice Bailey, *A Treatise on the Seven Rays*, Vol.III, p.494. Lucis Publishing Companies, New York and London, 1951.

6. Cf. Corinne McLaughlin and Gordon Davidson, *Spiritual Politics: Changing the World from the Inside Out*, Ch.8. Ballantine Books, New York and Toronto, 1994.

“The Hierarchy of Service is but the fulfillment of the Higher Will.”

Hierarchy

MANTRAM OR PRAYER OF THE NEW GROUP OF WORLD SERVERS

A strong subjective relationship exists between all world servers. This coherent, integrated group is transmitting spiritual energy throughout all areas of human thought and action to strengthen world unity and right human relationships. Men and women of goodwill link up in thought *every day at 5 p.m. local time* with the world group of servers, using the following brief dedication, silently and with focused attention:

*May the Power of the one Life pour through the group of all true servers
May the Love of the one Soul characterise the lives of all who seek to aid the Great Ones
May I fulfil my part in the one Work through self-forgetfulness, harmlessness, and right speech.*

(This can be done in a few seconds of time wherever one may be.)

THE WORLD AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

The events of September 11th 2001 have had a profound effect on all. Since then, humanity has been forced to re-examine previously latent tensions between religions, and between cultures; tensions that, through the agency of a few who had succumbed to a destructive nihilism, were given dreadful shape that day. These tensions, leading to dangerous cleavages in human consciousness, must be addressed if the world is to become more unified. The following three articles find positive lessons that can be learned from September 11th, which, if applied, can help to heal the cleavages between different groups.

In this article, written shortly after September 11th, Wendell Berry, poet, essayist, farmer, and novelist, speaks from an American perspective, and to the American public, but draws conclusions of universal applicability.

THOUGHTS IN THE PRESENCE OF FEAR

Wendell Berry

I. The time will soon come when we will not be able to remember the horrors of September 11 without remembering also the unquestioning technological and economic optimism that ended on that day.

II. This optimism rested on the proposition that we were living in a "new world order" and a "new economy" that would "grow" on and on, bringing a prosperity of which every new increment would be "unprecedented".

III. The dominant politicians, corporate officers, and investors who believed this proposition did not acknowledge that the prosperity was limited to a tiny percent of the world's people, and to an ever smaller number of people even in the United States; that it was founded upon the oppressive labor of poor people all over the world; and that its ecological costs increasingly threatened all life, including the lives of the supposedly prosperous.

IV. The "developed" nations had given to the "free market" the status of a god, and were sacrificing to it their farmers, farmlands, and communities, their forests, wetlands, and prairies, their ecosystems and watersheds. They had accepted universal pollution and global warming as normal costs of doing business.

V. There was, as a consequence, a growing worldwide effort on behalf of economic decentralization, economic justice, and ecological responsibility. We must recognize that the events of September 11 make this effort more necessary than ever. We citizens of the industrial countries must continue the labor of self-criticism and self-correction. We must recognize our mistakes.

VI. The paramount doctrine of the economic and technological euphoria of recent decades has been that everything depends on innovation. It was understood as desirable, and even necessary, that we should go on and on from one technological innovation to the next, which would cause the economy to "grow" and make every-

thing better and better. This of course implied at every point a hatred of the past, of all innovations, whatever their value might have been, were discounted as of no value at all.

VII. We did not anticipate anything like what has now happened. We did not foresee that all our sequence of innovations might be at once overridden by a greater one: the invention of a new kind of war that would turn our previous innovations against us, discovering and exploiting the debits and the dangers that we had ignored. We never considered the possibility that we might be trapped in the webwork of communication and transport that was supposed to make us free.

VIII. Nor did we foresee that the weaponry and the war science that we marketed and taught to the world would become available, not just to recognized national governments, which possess so uncannily the power to legitimate large-scale violence, but also to "rogue nations", dissident or fanatical groups and individuals-whose violence, though never worse than that of nations, is judged by the nations to be illegitimate.

IX. We had accepted uncritically the belief that technology is only good; that it cannot serve evil as well as good; that it cannot serve our enemies as well as ourselves; that it cannot be used to destroy what is good, including our homelands and our lives.

X. We had accepted too the corollary belief that an economy (either as a money economy or as a life-support system) that is global in extent, technologically complex, and centralized is invulnerable to terrorism, sabotage, or war, and that it is protectable by "national defense"

XI. We now have a clear, inescapable choice that we must make. We can continue to promote a global economic system of unlimited "free trade" among corporations, held together by long and highly vulnerable lines of com-

munication and supply, but now recognizing that such a system will have to be protected by a hugely expensive police force that will be worldwide, whether maintained by one nation or several or all, and that such a police force will be effective precisely to the extent that it over-
sways the freedom and privacy of the citizens of every nation.

XII. Or we can promote a decentralized world economy which would have the aim of assuring to every nation and region a local self- sufficiency in life-supporting goods. This would not eliminate international trade, but it would tend toward a trade in surpluses after local needs had been met.

XIII. One of the gravest dangers to us now, second only to further terrorist attacks against our people, is that we will attempt to go on as before with the corporate program of global "free trade", whatever the cost in freedom and civil rights, without self-questioning or self-criticism or public debate.

XIV. This is why the substitution of rhetoric for thought, always a temptation in a national crisis, must be resisted by officials and citizens alike. It is hard for ordinary citizens to know what is actually happening in Washington in a time of such great trouble; for we all know, serious and difficult thought may be taking place there. But the talk that we are hearing from politicians, bureaucrats, and commentators has so far tended to reduce the complex problems now facing us to issues of unity, security, normality, and retaliation.

XV. National self-righteousness, like personal self-righteousness, is a mistake. It is misleading. It is a sign of weakness. Any war that we may make now against terrorism will come as a new installment in a history of war in which we have fully participated. We are not innocent of making war against civilian populations. The modern doctrine of such warfare was set forth and enacted by General William Tecumseh Sherman, who held that a civilian population could be declared guilty and rightly subjected to military punishment. We have never repudiated that doctrine.

XVI. It is a mistake also - as events since September 11 have shown - to suppose that a government can promote and participate in a global economy and at the same time act exclusively in its own interest by abrogating its international treaties and standing apart from international cooperation on moral issues.

XVII. And surely, in our country, under our Constitution, it is a fundamental error to suppose that any crisis or emergency can justify any form of political oppression. Since September 11, far too many public voices have presumed to "speak for us" in saying that Americans will gladly accept a reduction of freedom in exchange for greater "security". Some would, maybe. But some others would accept a reduction in security (and in global trade)

far more willingly than they would accept any abridgement of our Constitutional rights.

XVIII. In a time such as this, when we have been seriously and most cruelly hurt by those who hate us, and when we must consider ourselves to be gravely threatened by those same people, it is hard to speak of the ways of peace and to remember that Christ enjoined us to love our enemies, but this is no less necessary for being difficult.

XIX. Even now we dare not forget that since the attack of Pearl Harbor - to which the present attack has been often and not usefully compared - we humans have suffered an almost uninterrupted sequence of wars, none of which has brought peace or made us more peaceable.

XX. The aim and result of war necessarily is not peace but victory, and any victory won by violence necessarily justifies the violence that won it and leads to further violence. If we are serious about innovation, must we not conclude that we need something new to replace our perpetual "war to end war"?

XXI. What leads to peace is not violence but peaceableness, which is not passivity, but an alert, informed, practiced, and active state of being. We should recognize that while we have extravagantly subsidized the means of war, we have almost totally neglected the ways of peaceableness. We have, for example, several national military academies, but not one peace academy. We have ignored the teachings and the examples of Christ, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and other peaceable leaders. And here we have an inescapable duty to notice also that war is profitable, whereas the means of peaceableness, being cheap or free, make no money.

XXII. The key to peaceableness is continuous practice. It is wrong to suppose that we can exploit and impoverish the poorer countries, while arming them and instructing them in the newest means of war, and then reasonably expect them to be peaceable.

XXIII. We must not again allow public emotion or the public media to caricature our enemies. If our enemies are now to be some nations of Islam, then we should undertake to know those enemies. Our schools should begin to teach the histories, cultures, arts, and language of the Islamic nations. And our leaders should have the humility and the wisdom to ask the reasons some of those people have for hating us.

XIV. Starting with the economies of food and farming, we should promote at home, and encourage abroad, the ideal of local self- sufficiency. We should recognize that this is the surest, the safest, and the cheapest way for the world to live. We should not countenance the loss or destruction of any local capacity to produce necessary goods

XXV. We should reconsider and renew and extend our

efforts to protect the natural foundations of the human economy: soil, water, and air. We should protect every intact ecosystem and watershed that we have left, and begin restoration of those that have been damaged.

XXVI. The complexity of our present trouble suggests as never before that we need to change our present concept of education. Education is not properly an industry, and its proper use is not to serve industries, neither by job-training nor by industry-subsidized research. Its proper use is to enable citizens to live lives that are economically, politically, socially, and culturally responsible. This cannot be done by gathering or "accessing" what we now call "information" - which is to say facts without context

and therefore without priority. A proper education enables young people to put their lives in order, which means knowing what things are more important than other things; it means putting first things first.

XXVII. The first thing we must begin to teach our children (and learn ourselves) is that we cannot spend and consume endlessly. We have got to learn to save and conserve. We do need a "new economy", but one that is founded on thrift and care, on saving and conserving, not on excess and waste. An economy based on waste is inherently and hopelessly violent, and war is its inevitable by-product. We need a peaceable economy.

(*oriononline.org*, September 24, 2001)

Thoughts in the Presence of Fear was first published on OrionOnline, the website of Orion magazine, as part of Orion's Thoughts on America series; and later, in booklet format, in the Orion New Patriotism Book Series. It is reprinted here by permission. www.oriononline.org.

GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

Zygmunt Bauman

"The real need of the moment," says Michael Lerner, "is for a fundamental rethinking of the way we are running our world. In this battle of fear against hope," he says, we need to "focus our energies on building trust, love, and goodness in the world.... We need to think hard about what it is in the way we are living, organizing our societies, and treating each other that makes violence seem plausible to so many people." A central step in this process, Lerner suggests, "is to reorganize ourselves as part of the Unity of All Being." One could hardly say it better.

After September 11, one can no longer go on pretending that the truth of our world has not been displayed for all to see. Although it has been unnoticed, ignored, or played down by most of us, the truth is that the world is full. The great dream of the West, the dream that there is always a new place to discover, a new land to colonize, has dissolved. The great hope that a nation could wall itself off from the others is likewise over. The era that started with the building of the Chinese or Hadrian Walls, proceeded through the Maginot Line, and ended with the Berlin Wall, is at an end. There is no empty place, if there ever was one. There is no society that can subsist apart from the rest of us. There is no sector off the grid.

The French have a good way of putting this—"il n'y a pas hors du monde"—there is no "outside" to the world, no escape route or place to shelter, no alternative space to isolate and hide. And this phenomenon is not just geographic but social and psychological. When I say the world is full I mean that there is nowhere that one can say with any degree of certainty to be "*chez soi*." There is no place for oneself where one is free to follow one's own ways, pursue one's own goals and be oblivious to all the

rest as irrelevant. Nowhere (however tightly sealed and heavily fortified that spot may be) where one can shut oneself up in one's own affairs, oblivious to their effects on those left outside. The world is full.

You know that fullness from the inside. That fullness is not just another item of information. You feel that fullness, you live it daily, and whatever you do or may yet do, that experience of fullness won't go away. Woe to those who try to forget it or feel conceited enough to trust their power to opt out. The awakening may be devastatingly cruel, just like that morning of September 11 was for those New Yorkers who might have believed that things that happened "out there," on the other side of the well-protected border, did not and would not affect their well-being, that all the pencils needed to draw the boundary between good and bad fortune could be found on this side of the border, and that soon the state-of-the-art anti-missile shield would make the sealing of that border complete and foolproof.

"Globalization" is the term commonly used to account for this uncanny experience of the "world filling up." With the velocity of transmission approaching its limit—the speed of light—the near-instantaneity of the cause-and-effect succession transforms even the largest of distances into proximity—and in the end for all practical purposes dissolves the cause-effect distinction itself ... we are all now in the close, indeed intimate, vicinity of each other.

Because it involves drawing speed to its limits and reducing distance to an ever more negligible factor in the calculation of action, globalization is unlike any other territorial expansion of the past. As Paul Virilio put it, "we

live in a world no longer based on geographic expanse but on a temporal distance constantly being decreased by our transportation, transmission and tele-action capacities.” “The new space is speed-space; it is no longer a time-space.” Virilio suggests that speed is no more a means, but a milieu; one may say that speed is a sort of ethereal substance that saturates the world and into which more and more of action (and particularly of actions that truly count) is transferred, acquiring in the process new qualities that only such substance makes possible—and inescapable. The new speed renders the action momentary and thus virtually unpreventable, but also potentially un-punishable. And the mirror reflection of the action’s impunity is the potentially unbound and incurable vulnerability of its objects.

One of the most consequential effects of that new situation is the endemic porosity and frailty of all boundaries and the in-built futility, or at least the provisional nature and revocability, of all boundary drawing. All boundaries have become tenuous, frail and porous. Boundaries share in the new facility of disappearance; they are effaced as they are drawn, leaving behind—as the Cheshire cat its smile—only the (similarly volatile) memory of drawing. Geographical discontinuity matters no more, as speed-space, that envelops the totality of the globe’s surface, brings each place into nearly the same speed-distance from each other and makes all places mutually contiguous.

More than two centuries ago, in 1784, Immanuel Kant, in his *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht*, recorded a prophetic vision of the world to come: “*die vollkommene bürgerliche Vereinigung in der Menschengattung*”—a “perfect unification of human species through common citizenship.” That would be, Kant noted, the fulfillment of “*was die Natur zur höchsten Absicht hat*”—of “the supreme Nature’s design.” Unification must have been Nature’s design from the start, thought Kant, since the globe we inhabit is a sphere. Because, on such a sphere, you cannot increase your distance without ultimately cancelling it, the surface of the globe on which we live bars “infinite dispersion.” In the end, we must all be neighbors simply because we have nowhere else to go. The surface of the Earth is our shared property; none of us has more “right” to occupy it than any other member of the human species.

Such a time must have finally arrived. Let’s return to the time of Kant (and to the time of little provincial towns like Kant’s Königsberg), to catch a glimpse of how this happened. Kant’s near contemporary, Alexis de Tocqueville, wrote about the Ancien Regime that ruled France before the Revolution. This regime was a collection of localities—villages, townships, parishes. The ruling dynasty zealously creamed off of their surplus product, but otherwise expressed little interest in, and refrained from the running of, their daily affairs and

seldom interfered with their self-propagating routines.

That regime was replaced after the French Revolution with a new kind of power that introduced a law uniform for all, replacing the variegated collection of burdens and privileges. This power intended to level up the differences between regional usages and standards of life, but above all interfered in the way the production and distribution of (now seen as national) wealth was conducted. We may say that the French Revolution initiated integration of society on a new supra-local level of the state, wielding or struggling to obtain a power that reached the parts which former powers could not and did not wish to reach. That process took Europe at least a century to accomplish, and other continents a century more.

The effort started by the French Revolutionary governments was in response to the inability of municipalities, guilds, and other forms of local government to contain and control powerful economic forces that rose above the local level and moved beyond local control—the only control then in operation. Entrepreneurs of the time complained and fulminated against “silly local constraints” that cramped economic initiative and arrested progress—just as today’s multinationals complain against “economically absurd” national attempts to keep watch on, monitor, and correct economic activity on their territory and to put brakes on some of the wilder side-effects of the unbridled pursuit of gain. To express their dissatisfaction these entrepreneurs of the eighteenth century used a vocabulary strikingly similar to that known to us, both from the writings and speeches of the prophets and from today’s advocates of the emancipation of global economic forces “of progress” from the “retrograde parochiality” of nation-states.

Just like then, our current institutions of democratic, political, and ethical control, territorially confined and tied to the ground as they are, are no match for the increasingly extraterritorial and free-flowing forces of finance, capital, and trade. Just like then, our task now is to create such institutions of effective political action as could match the size and the power of the already global economic forces and bring them under political scrutiny and ethical supervision. The alternative is the continuing—and deepening—of the disastrous effects of venture capital: the growing inequality and polarization of the globe, massive destruction of livelihoods, impoverishment of entire lands and populations, and revival of tribal sentiments and animosities with all their murderous, often genocidal, consequences.

The first step in creating a political sphere sufficient to regulate these economic forces is to realize that, in this globalized world of ours, we all live closer to each other than ever before. We share more aspects of our daily life than ever before. We have the opportunity to know more about each other’s customs and preferences than ever before. And since our weapons have become ever more

murderous and have reached already the power to destroy the planet—there is more than ever before reason, for all of us, to put talking to each other above fighting each other. Let us take up this unique chance that globalization itself offers.

But to engage in such a dialogue, we all need to feel secure, have our dignity recognized and our ways of life respected—looked upon seriously, with the attention they deserve. Above all, we need to feel that we are all given an equal chance in life and the equal possibility to enjoy the fruits of our shared achievements. Most of those conditions are either missing or suspected to be missing in that “new world disorder” that is emerging out of the “deregulated,” one-sided process of globalization. And so there is a temptation to resort to violence rather than negotiation; to wage endless “reconnaissance wars” in order to find out how far the “adversaries” can be pushed back, how much they can be forced to give away.

Sooner or later, served daily with the evidence of our interdependence, we will have to realize that no one can claim the Earth, or any part of the Earth, as one’s own indivisible property. In view of our interdependence, “solidarity of fate” is not a matter of choice. What does depend on our choice is whether that shared fate will end up in mutual destruction, or generate solidarity of feelings, purposes, and action. Regardless of our diverse, often sharply distinct and sometimes hotly antagonistic political or religious creeds, we all wish to live in dignity, to not be humiliated, to be free from fear, and to be allowed to pursue happiness. This is a wide and solid enough common ground on which to start building solidarity of thought and action.

Reforging solidarity of fate into solidarity of purpose and action is one case in which the verdict “there is no alternative,” so often abused in the case of other choices, can be legitimately pronounced. Either we draw the proper conclusions from our global interdependence and turn it to the benefit of all, or it will turn itself, with our overt or tacit support, into a catastrophe after which few if any people will be around to count the merits and demerits of any one of the conflicting ways of life. The choice is, as Hannah Arendt warned already forty years ago, between solidarity of common humanity and solidarity of mutual destruction. No rhetoric and labelling exercise will chase that choice away.

On this planet, we are all dependent on each other, and nothing that we do or refrain from doing is indifferent to the fate of everyone else. From the ethical point of view, this makes us all responsible for each other. Responsibility “is there,” put firmly in place by the global network of interdependency—whether we recognize its presence or not and whether we take it up or not. Whenever we deny its presence we assume the attitude of “bystanders”—people who see evil and hear evil (as we all, courtesy of the world wide web and worldwide tele-

vision network, do now—and do in real time), sometimes speak of evil, but do nothing at all or not enough to arrest it, to thwart, and to frustrate it. But in the new frontier-land of the full planet, evil—any instance of evil, wherever it is gestated and whoever may be its intended or “collateral” victim—affects us all.

A global world is a place where, for once, the desideratum of moral responsibility and survival coincide and blend. Globalization is, among other things (perhaps above all) an ethical challenge. It is now up to us—all of us—to take this challenge up; to take, one may say, responsibility for our responsibility. And the greater power we have, the mightier our weapons and our resources, the fuller our warehouses and the more efficient our factories—the greater the responsibility we need to carry. For once, the ethical duty of care for the other and the survival instinct point in the same direction and suggest the same action. To quote Michael Lerner once more: “If we really want to protect ourselves, we need to create a world which no longer dehumanizes others, no longer tolerates oppression, no longer imagines that we can live our own private lives and find our own private solutions while closing our ears to the suffering of others.”

It is not just a question of insuring ourselves against the vengeance of the disinherited and humiliated others. It is also a question of defending ourselves against the endemic frailty of our own civilization, of keeping alive and re-asserting the values which that civilization which we cherish and are proud of is meant to embody. George Monbiot of *The Guardian* (Nov.15, 2001) warns that in the popular reaction to the rout of Taliban, “the bugles sounding victory for civilized values are also sounding a retreat. [I]t seems that in trying to shut the terrorists out, we have merely imprisoned ourselves.” Monbiot refers to the amazing—and horrifying—facility with which the American Congress, and soon afterwards the British Secretary for Interior Affairs, pushed aside our countries’ hard-won liberties and allowed the suspension of basic human rights (including the right to be seen as innocent until proved guilty). Referring to Colin Powell’s efforts to have Al-Jazeera, the only truly free and independent major broadcasting company in the Arab world, banned, Monbiot concludes that “free speech and dissent have now joined terrorism as the business of ‘evil-doers.’ If this is a victory for civilization, I would hate to see what defeat looks like.”

If peaceful coexistence on Earth is our objective, this is a false start, as is the tendency to re-cast the cause of justice as the task of winning a war. We must not confuse “justice being done” with the replacement of one set of barbaric tribal chiefs offering shelter to terrorists by another set as yet having no shelter to offer but trying hard to obtain one.

War on terrorism, to bring any lasting and secure effects,

cannot be reduced to the war on terrorists; it needs to cut at the roots of the sinister meeting of desperation with the most modern and murderous weapons. That approach would require much more than sending bombers and launching missiles against terrorists already discovered and recorded.

Yes—ours is a divided, quarrelsome world of “gated communities,” a world in which petrified stereotypes, ossified prejudices, and seething animosities bar clarity of thinking, a world in which barriers tend to be erected and frontlines drawn in every corner of the globe and with accelerating speed. You may say that this is not a good point to start, if dialogue and mutual comprehen-

sion is the destination. So let me remind you of a wise Irish joke. To a driver’s question “How to get from here to Dublin?”, a passerby answers: “If I wished to go to Dublin, I would not start from here.” I can sympathise with all those who would prefer to start on the way to the “Unity of All Being” from a world different from the one we inherited and helped to shape. But there is no other world except this sphere on whose surface we all jostle, rubbing each other’s shoulders. For once, the all-too-often abused *ein breira*—“there is no alternative”—argument sounds all too credible. We can ignore it solely at our own, and everybody else’s, peril.

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The following article by Peter Gabel, also reprinted from TIKKUN, was written around the time of the beginning of the conflict in Iraq.

SPIRITUALIZING FOREIGN POLICY

Peter Gabel

As the war in Iraq now becomes a daily reality and as the deadened-to-human-life consciousness of Bush/Cheney/Rumsfeld and the parade of the CNN generals and the killing headlines of the morning papers envelops all of us in the shadow of our fallen common humanity, we must take a deep breath and try to lift ourselves out of this shadow—not only by engaging in acts of resistance to the war but also by thinking our way out of the paradigm that accounts for war-consciousness and for the deadness to human life that is married to it. This deadness both produces war-consciousness and is produced by it, and it perpetuates itself over and over again from war to war, from generation to generation.

In Tikkun we have been trying to develop for many years now a new conception of spiritual politics that understands the world as a nexus of inherently social human beings linked to one another by more than the individualistic and material needs that have dominated prior political, economic, and social theories. We have claimed that we are each expressions of a loving energy and are animated by the desire for mutual recognition and affirmation of that loving energy—that we each long for recognition of our inherent worthiness and sacredness. We have also sought to analyze the social alienation that obscures this spiritual longing—the need to hide from the other behind masks and roles, to guard ourselves from the humiliation of a nonrecognition and rejection too painful to bear. We now know that it is this alienation of I from Thou, between I and Thou, within I and Thou, that

keeps dragging us back into the shadow, and that accounts for the deadness, at the surface of the skin, in the constriction of the heart, and in the flattening of the perceptual field of the withdrawn mind’s eye.

We must now apply this understanding to the development of a new conception of “foreign policy”—a term that I dislike because the Other is never “foreign.” The term implies that we belong to a “we,” represented by the nation-state, which is also “imaginary” to the extent that its function is partly to mask our isolation, to deny our alienation from the person next to us by insisting on our patriotic connection “in the sky.” In spite of my dislike of the term, however, I will nevertheless use it here to try to help us imagine a new method of relating to the Other in the world that understands itself through the nation-state prism—keeping in mind, however, that the “foreign policy” that emerges from our vision of spiritual politics requires that we never see the Other as “foreign.” Let’s say that I am using “figures of speech” to communicate, but please imagine I am always keeping the quotation marks.

A foreign policy that emerges from this vision of spiritual politics understands that the present situation cannot be reduced to simple formulas that exclude spiritual understanding—the longing for authentic mutual recognition and affirmation of our fundamental humanity—that forms the basis for our vision. It’s not just about oil, or about the risk of terror and weapons of mass destruction,

or about “lunacy,” for that matter. Rather, at the heart of our problem is a complex historical process of distortion in the relation of self to Other that *encompasses* oil, and genuine concern about terror, and even an element of lunacy if it is understood to mean the distortion itself gone out of control.

In Tikkun, we’ve often described this distortion as expressive of an historical disease of individualism and materialism, manifested in the competitive global market and in political systems that channel the frustration of the isolated individual into demonization of the Other. In the case of the Middle East, we rightly emphasize, for example, that historical dynamics dating back to the Crusades and certainly to the pre-World War I carving up of the Middle East by imperial Western powers, followed by the gradual development and expansion of globalization and capitalist markets, have contributed not only to material poverty in the Middle East but to the humiliation and degradation of entire cultures. This humiliation has contributed—sometimes with direct Western assistance because “we” perceived it to be in “our” interests—to the emergence of dictatorships and royalist antidemocratic regimes in places like Iraq and Saudi Arabia. This same humiliation of the Other’s fundamental humanity has inspired the rise of fanatical, artificially connecting fundamentalisms that artificially restore a humiliated people’s sense of worthiness, meaning, and purpose by glorifying the martyrdom of the suicidal killing of the humiliator, the imperial power who, degraded and fearful inside, becomes the source of the other’s humiliation.

The key, as I see it, to the process of hopeful elevation, to lifting ourselves out of this System that we are all entrapped in, is to grapple with and begin to understand the meaning of *tikkun olam*, or the healing and transformation of the world. We must, with a heart that can think, grasp how the process of historical distortion and the cycle of humiliation reproduces itself as a process of “rotating paranoia.” By this I mean that each cell within the distorted System or distorted nexus of human interaction—and by “cell” I mean each individual person as an existing Someone and each artificial “collective” of such persons, like “the Muslim people” or “the American people”—finds its inherent social-spiritual longing for love, recognition, and peace repeatedly short-circuited by a paranoid fear of the Other, a fear that in any situation as complex as the current one has a long and patterned history of precisely this process, evolving pathologically like a single injured organism. On the hopeful side, we must always remember that the social-spiritual longing for love and mutual recognition is “fundamental” while fear and paranoia are not, but are rather derivative of the desire for love and recognition, expressions of the alienation of the fundamental loving desire from itself.

Thus as we analyze the current world situation and try to find a new spiritual-political way out of it, we must keen-

ly attune ourselves to this underlying dynamic and its inherently contradictory “flow.” This attunement of our thinking, this “thinking with the heart,” must occur beneath the public clamor—beneath the paranoia-induction of repetitions of certain key names like Saddam Hussein, or George Bush for that matter, which freeze our attunement with a touch of terror, carrying as they do connotations of paranoia, fear, and rage. To heal the world requires thinking, and then gradually acting, underneath this surface of the world and with a single aim: to strengthen the confidence of the longing for love and recognition as it exists across the psycho-spiritual energy field that is the interconnectedness of social space. Like the movement of paranoia and fear, this strengthening also rotates, and through this rotation elevates *itself* into existence. But because of the Devil’s paranoid power and the long history of the rotation and evolution of this paranoia, this process of rotating elevation requires our conscious assistance.

This brings us to the meaning of a new spiritual-political foreign policy. Healing the paranoid impulse that leads to periodic outbreaks of war, violence, and killing requires an intentional process that I will call “Surrounding.” “Surrounding” describes an international, transpersonal effort by the world community to simultaneously contain and reassure the herky-jerky impulse toward fear that irrationally escalates all conflict—that is, it requires both firmness in the sense that is not permissive toward violence in the Other, and love in the sense that it manifests, in its very way of being-toward-the-other, a recognition of the other’s authentic humanity, even as the other resists that very recognition by throwing up a defensive wall of paranoia and engages in denunciatory words and actions toward the surrounding force.

Surrounding requires that we put up a kind of “Guard-all” shield that is as impervious as possible to the Other’s denunciations, that understands they are but expressions of an individual or collective terror and anticipation of humiliation in the Other. This shield provides the basis for international empathic firmness, in which love and the capacity to recognize the Other holds its ground in spite of accusations and threats. This firmness is actually reassuring to the Other that our capacity for recognition is real and unshakeable, that we will not dissolve into counter-violence because of paranoid shocks levelled in our direction.

The second moment of Surrounding then requires the continuing manifestation of recognition of the other’s innocent authenticity and constitutes an appeal to the other’s longing for recognition and affirmation, seeking to “thaw” the other’s paranoia through an insistence on the real existence of the deeper inter-human bond that connects us. We must show through the quality and content of our words and actions that we understand the

wounds of the past that we have mostly inherited and partly inflicted on each other—or to be more precise on our singular self-otherness or intersubjectivity—in our own lifetimes, that these wounds are mistakes, that beneath them is a longing for healing and mutual recognition, and that we no longer have any choice but to take the great opportunity forced upon us by the circumstances of modern weaponry and ecological emergency to evolve as a species and transcend the ontological immaturity that has characterized our collective existence up to the present time. This second moment of Surrounding is best understood as a manifestation of Presence that emanates outward toward the other and recognizes the other in his/her “singular universality” or unique sameness—our very selves in another form.

Surrounding, empathic firmness, thawing by manifesting Presence—these are new concepts to us. They can of course be dismissed as New-Age psychobabble by our fearful inherited self-consciousness. But they are qualitative concepts meant to evoke aspects of our social being that, as I have said, exist underneath the world’s noisy surface and “subtend” the entire nexus of our collective social reality. This sub-reality is both spiritual and political—spiritual in the sense that it exists pre-verbally in the interspace that irrevocably connects us as *intersubjective* social beings; political in the sense that as surely as the need for food and shelter, it drives the way we co-create and govern our collective existence. Everything in human experience is spiritual/political in this sense: A line of people waiting for a bus is spiritual in the sense that in modern society it *exists* itself as a cautious manifestation of rotating anonymity; and political in the sense that it is chosen by “the people” in the line as their way of being together as a collective “no one,” drawn from other infinite examples of bus lines and “lines” in general as we form them in a world of social alienation, or rather in a world where social alienation appears to have the upper hand.

But how might this international spiritual/political consciousness express itself? The first part of the answer is for us to realize that in spite of our lack of a vocabulary for it, it already has been expressing itself, in many forms, but especially through the institution of the United Nations. The United Nations is *not* only a collection of States impotently squabbling over this or that international issue without any genuine authority or power in the shadow of Real nation-states that command powerful and deadly militaries and are more or less free to act in their own self-interest. The United Nations is *also* an actual manifestation of the effort of the voice that I here speak of to manifest itself as the Unity of all Being, and to insist that we exist as this Unity, and as the collective longing of our desire to affirm this Unity. The expression “the Unity of all Being,” which Michael Lerner appeals to so often, and which is so difficult to understand and act upon when we are constrained by our dominant secular

mindset, expresses the beautiful and true Biblical metaphor that we are but shattered shards of light seeking to recover our awareness of our “singular universality”—that is, our ontological Truth that we exist as at once unique in our respective existences and yet manifestations of precisely the same spiritual essence, an essence that can recognize itself through love alone and that longs to recover the capacity for this recognition.

The Charter of the United Nations does not begin with the words, “We, the permanently squabbling and self-interested sovereign States of the world, form ourselves into a sort of pseudo-communal but actually alienated confederation of world nations with no real power, to accomplish little or nothing by diplomatic means, leaving the fate of the earth to the Reality of hopelessly divided national self-interests.” It begins by affirming in secular language the aspiration of man and womankind toward the recovery of the Unity of all Being through the healing of our differences. And even granting cynical realism its due, it is important and helpful to understand that these high spiritual-political ideals of the Charter were at the time of their expression, following the utter catastrophes of World Wars I and II, genuinely intended by the Charter’s signatories to carry this high meaning. If our pre-verbal hopeful longing and even conviction that we are capable in our very nature of universal love and mutual recognition, our knowledge that we are all One, unique and yet the Same, if this longing for recognition did not exist, or if it were untrue, we would have annihilated ourselves long ago. Nations would have annihilated nations as surely as our neighbor would have annihilated his brother-in-law. But just as our knowledge of our interconnectedness and our longing to recognize and affirm it underlies the noise of every event, so also this sense of our co-presence, common desire, and longing partially constitutes our institutions, most nobly the United Nations.

What we might call our theoretical challenge at the present moment is to develop the language and intonation of thinking that can make this spiritual-political conception of an institution like the United Nations explicit and accessible to our common reflection. We must in a certain sense abandon or play down the internalized model that we have of the United Nations as a collection of nation-states—which reflects back to us a picture of a thing-like “entity” made up of various parts, each with its own constituency and interests—and conceive of the UN instead as the embodiment of a world-wide spiritual-political movement toward the mutual recognition of our unity. This new conception, if we are able to allow ourselves to imagine it, should grasp interventions as efforts at healing both the Other and ourselves. How, you may ask, can this possibly be relevant to a crisis like that in Iraq, in which—even assuming the totality of present circumstances are reflective of a historical distortion of Self-Other and inter-cultural relations—we are dealing

with very dangerous nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons? It apparently is the case, for example, that Iraq has not accounted for large quantities of anthrax, nerve gas, and possibly significant quantities of pirated or purchased uranium that are in fact capable of killing large numbers of people. Putting aside all the other seemingly overwhelming issues shaping the present situation—including globalization and its impact on the region, the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, the presence of real economic interests that influence the material quality of life of millions of people, and the allegiances of each so-called “nationality” to its own interests and respective collective identity—putting all these and all other “realistic” matters aside, how can one hope by use of a spiritualized perspective to address the dangers of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the degree of real danger to millions of lives that these weapons pose?

The answer to this question is that pre-verbal and non-cognitive attempts to Surround even dictators like Saddam Hussein in the manner that I am suggesting will dramatically alter even his desire to use such weapons—in part by affecting him and those around him, in part by enabling the masses of the Muslim world to feel recognized sufficiently to not support his use of these weapons and instead to try to move toward greater understanding with the real people his actions would affect. Had this approach been taken prior to the current war, we would not be seeing the enraged demonstrations in Yemen now that make the proliferation and use of these weapons more likely, and that once again rotate the paranoid view of the Other that blocks and keeps blocking the Other’s instinctive movement toward connection. Surrounding, thawing, manifesting Presence, “leaning in” toward the other in a firm but affirming-of-the-other’s-humanity way, will *spontaneously* release the Other’s desire for mutual recognition. This is because the underlying desire of all living beings is for precisely this recognition, and thus this desire responds spontaneously and pre-verbally, like an invisible pre-cognitive force.

Indeed, the discourse of present-day diplomacy, which is not a spiritual discourse, nevertheless makes implicit reference to this spontaneous capacity whenever it speaks of “easing tensions” or of instituting “confidence-building measures.” *That which is eased* is the separation from the Other, resulting from the legacy of paranoia which in each specific instance takes an historically specific form (Ireland/Britain is different from Israel/Palestine is different from US/Iraq—but not ontologically; rather only in terms of historical and cultural specificity of the respective “forms of life” that have shaped the historically specific identity of each conflict). The *confidence* that is built in “confidence-building measures” is the commitment to recognition of the Other as equal manifestation of the Self, achieved through inter-cultural symbolic actions through which mutual recognition is understood to have taken place.

Of course, to repeat what I said earlier, the capacity of healing interventions to produce the spontaneous realization of desire requires symbolic action sufficiently sustained to endure all manner of paranoid suspicion and counter-reaction. It must be firm enough to endure cynicism and mistrust of every gesture—firm enough to endure the cynicism of the noise at the surface (such as media cynicism) that, because of the legacy of distortion that has produced the conviction that the Other will reject the Self and vice-versa, and even attempt to exterminate the respective existence of the other, will bombard every act that manifests a healing and loving Presence. But our becoming able to “totalize” exactly these processes of mutuality in light of the distortions of our common history is what I mean by spiritualizing foreign policy.

Two recent examples in which this spiritualizing consciousness has had a dramatic effect, and that we use as models as we try to imagine ourselves lifting out of war-consciousness, are the 1993 Oslo Accords—the most optimistic moment in the history of Israel/Palestinian relations in which each “in principle” agreed to recognize the other; and South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission—in which the two nations of South Africa, one white and one black, sought to achieve this same mutual recognition in facing and beginning to heal an extraordinarily brutal history of domination of one by the other. From each example, we can learn how to begin to proceed down a new path, focusing our attention on methods of alleviating the stress of paranoia toward the other so that the desire for mutual recognition can emerge, *as it already wishes to do*. From each, we can develop our thought about how to make interventions in the present world situation in which the “we” that is our common humanity can Surround our terror and rage at each other, thaw the frozen rotating paranoia of our mutual antagonisms that have broken us apart, and manifest our Presence so as to move toward the peaceful existence to which all living beings aspire.

Prior to the extraordinary “breakfast diplomacy” of Oslo, the Israeli/Palestinian slice of our common humanity sat facing each other across various international tables for four decades. Each having traumatized the other, periodically through physical violence, continually through the humiliation of non-recognition of the humanity of the other, each “side” approached the other as an agent of physical and psycho-spiritual terror. From within this wary and defensive stance, no progress could be made toward peace because true recognition of the other implied a vulnerability on the part of the self that, if not reciprocated, appeared to make the self vulnerable to psychic and perhaps physical annihilation. It is not possible to proceed toward peace in a fixed state of fracture, with the legacy of the Holocaust on one side and the imperialist occupation of the Arab world on the other, from a stance of “you go first,” accompanied by a list of demands that are degrading or threatening to the other side.

In the face of that and for a complex of other reasons, in 1993 some Israelis close to then Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin contacted Palestinian leaders close to Yassir Arafat and through a series of miracles agreed to meet in secret in Oslo, Norway, a locale that symbolized a long history of neutrality and far from the spiritual battleground of the Middle East. Under the auspices of their Norwegian hosts, the two sides met not to “negotiate” from a position of mistrust, but to talk and to walk in the green woods of Norway. Relieved of paranoiac pressure in this symbolically neutral setting, the actual persons then engaged in conversations over breakfast in which each for the first time had the opportunity to safely tell the other their story as they experienced it. And precisely because of the locale, the unofficial nature of the dialogue, the fact that it took place while sharing food in a natural surrounding, and the fact that it involved not “goals” and demands to be achieved by rationalistic and strategic conversation, but stories that revealed each side’s common humanity, an extraordinary breakthrough was achieved that led to the now famous Oslo Accords, the handshake between former General and hawk Rabin and PLO fighter Arafat in front of Bill Clinton in Washington, D.C., and the very brief outpouring of hope that culminated tragically in Rabin’s assassination by a right-wing Jewish settler after a peace rally in which Rabin was seen singing “Give Peace a Chance” with thousands of hopeful young Jews.

I know perfectly well that the line I have drawn here, from the initiation of Oslo to the peace rally at which Rabin was assassinated, and marking the end of that hopeful period, was not in literal, temporal reality a straight line, and also that there is more than one cynical version of the story of Oslo and its meaning. But the so-called “actual facts” as understood by the realists’ afterthought misses the actual fact that what I have drawn here was a spiritual straight line, and one that might have led in a very different direction from the present tragic situation. Hunkered down in the legacy of skepticism and pain, realism can never quite see the nonlinear and atemporal openings-up of desire that produce the straight lines of hope in history. Nevertheless, these lines of hope remain lodged, invisible, in our historical memory and silently move the human spirit forward in spite of itself, precisely because they hold the promise of fulfilling the most essential of longings that we universally share.

The key task for us now is to reflect upon these lines of hope as they emerge and gain the knowledge *in our common conscious reflection* of the elements that make the development of hope possible. From Oslo, we can learn elements about time and place, about the role of informality and breaking bread, and about the capacity to tell one’s painful story in an environment in which those whom we fear can hear that pain and ultimately identify with it. In that moment of identification comes the possibility of recognition that we are the Other and that our

humanity is not inherently fractured but common; that the Other, through mutual recognition, is the source of our own completion as inherently loving, social beings.

The example of South Africa provides a parallel lesson. When Nelson Mandela was in prison, he wrote that he survived his twenty-seven years there in significant part by realizing even in momentary interactions with his guards the essential goodness and humanity that resided within them. This confirmed his conviction that transcendence of even the most brutal history of domination was possible—that this transcendence in some way actually sought its own release from the compulsion to repeat its own repression through domination. When he was finally released and he and Archbishop Desmond Tutu led the overcoming of apartheid, it was this conviction that gave birth to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, one of the great leaps forward in legal consciousness that has occurred in the development of human history. As is now well-known, this process, in which some 22,000 acts of apartheid-inspired cruelty were acknowledged by the (mainly) white minority perpetrators in the presence of their black victims and their families, on a daily basis and on television for all to hear across the new democratic nation of South Africa, allowed the black majority to assume power essentially without violence and retribution. If one watches the recorded proceedings of this Commission, presided over by the extraordinary moral presence of Bishop Tutu himself, one sees the healing power of the simple speaking of Truth to achieve reconciliation and break the cycle of brutality that repeats itself because the pain and suffering beneath it normally cannot be spoken without resulting in what we imagine will produce devastating guilt and humiliation.

Unlike the death penalty, which seeks to provide resolution to the suffering of victims by extermination of the dominating Other, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission provided a sufficient beginning toward the resolution of a history of suffering by the act mass acknowledgment, in which the particular perpetrators were in reality revealing the alienation of the entire white majority that had underlain the essence of apartheid domination and the entire legacy of imperialism and racism that had given rise to it. The blank statements made by this white landowner or that white policeman—blank because their confessions were often expressed without emotion as a kind of stark and factual representation of a collective truth—placed before the world its own madness, in a way that was simultaneously both monotonously repetitious and spellbinding. And instead of enacting a repetition of the cycle of violence resulting from a repetition of a denial of our common humanity, the processes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission somehow allowed enactment to be transcended by the naming of the truth that was being denied, in which Tutu himself, as well as the victims and their families themselves, could liberate the nation by bearing witness to it.

Here again, there are many reservations one can raise about the Commission's work, but as in the case of Oslo, the reservations miss the spiritual lesson of how we must proceed to allow ourselves to evolve as an international common humanity, or "international community." On the other side of Truth, of course, is Forgiveness, which is different from freedom from accountability. Bishop Tutu's book *No Future Without Forgiveness* indicates this point in its title—that it is in mutual recognition of the truth of our history, and in forgiveness for this history, which is actually the history of what has been visited upon us as common social individuals in a social/historical common history of humanity, that *spontaneous* redemption becomes possible. I say "spontaneous" redemption because what subtends all of our historical distortions—then apartheid, today Iraq—is the desire for this mutual recognition, the desire to recognize the Other and be recognized by the Other in a precognitive relation of common Presence. That is what heals and what we mean by love.

So now we move to the present crisis. I have said that the UN should re-envision itself according to its original moment of creation, but do so before the catastrophe (that is, the next rotation of paranoia and fear that is already in the process of unfolding) rather than after it. This was the case in 1945 when the Charter was first written and its principles committed to through the act of signature. What follows is a possible spiritual-political path that the UN might have taken prior to this war and could conceivably still take, with the cooperation of the United States, as of the time of this writing.

We must begin from the starting point that the UN exists as an embodiment of common humanity seeking to recognize and return to itself, to get back in touch with its original form and intention, and to redeem itself, through actions that heal the distortions of *itself* that come before it in one particular form after another.

First, the UN Security Council, as a group constituted to be expressive of the world's effort to recognize and affirm our common humanity, should explicitly pass a resolution that reassures the people of Iraq, and the peoples of the Middle East generally, that it does not wish to engage in further acts of violence toward them, but rather seeks to insure their safety and well-being. This resolution should include provisions for significant humanitarian assistance. But in addition, the resolution should make clear *humanity's* common fear of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons that Iraq and other nations may possess, and invite the existing Iraqi leadership to participate in a mediated dialogue about how systematically to reduce this level of fear. This must include a willingness to address the paranoid or realistic fears that even Saddam Hussein may hold about the safety of Iraq in the face of Western weaponry, and begin a dialogue about what to do about this fear. Explicit in the design of

this dialogue must be the paradox that neither side wishes to disarm in the face of the fear of the other.

One manner of conducting such a dialogue would be to have world leaders who are widely recognized to represent the highest of human ideals, such as Nelson Mandela, Mikhail Gorbachev, Jimmy Carter, and Kofi Annan, along with an ecumenical group of leading religious figures, including the Pope, to convene and oversee its deliberations. These deliberations should be at least partially televised, just as the hearings of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission were, so that the process of dialogue and the emerging process of mutual recognition of one another's humanity that would be intended to emerge from it could be witnessed each day by people throughout the world.

Second, in the conduct of this dialogue, each participant should have an opportunity to state its past wounds, so that without blame, humanity as a whole, as symbolized by the United Nations convening body, could hear the suffering it has imposed upon itself. Here the entire historical legacy of the experience of each party's suffering and humiliation should be given expression—families of Americans who died on September 11 should speak to and be seen by the world via television as speaking to Iraqi families whose children have died as a result of war and economic sanctions. Here, the goal would be for our common humanity to elicit its own spontaneous compassion for the trauma and wounds we have inflicted on ourselves.

You might at first think that it makes little sense for Iraqi families to engage in such a dialogue with American families since Iraq was presumably not responsible for the destruction of the World Trade Center and the deaths of September 11. But understood through a spiritual-political lens, the impetus for war between America and Iraq emerges from the interrelationship of traumatic, paranoia-inducing events and histories that are expressive of each group's projection of the Other as a projected agent of terror and humiliation. Expression of the experience of suffering by members of each group in a publicly televised forum, heard with compassion by the symbol of the world community manifesting its presiding Presence, listening to the effects of its own distortions, is one of the most powerful ways of "thawing" the carapace of pseudo-identities that keep us locked in the rotating paranoia of the war paradigm. Through the presence of the suffering of the Other, we "hear" through the pain of identification how out of touch we are with ourselves, how split from the unity of our oneness and commonality.

Third, the UN should seek to "invite," perhaps within the circular arena of the Security Council, a mutual embrace or other expression of mutual recognition between families and across nationalistic pseudo-identities, taking care that this is done authentically. If we remember that the desire for mutual recognition of our common humanity—

at the level of the people in our families or in the buildings in which we live as much as at the international level—always subtends the rotating paranoia that separates us, and that this desire for connection is capable of spontaneous emergence (think of the elevated local and world responses in the first two weeks following September 11), it is clear that a spiritual foreign policy must be one that utilizes mass communication technologies to permit the witnessing of such spontaneous emergence. Quiet the voice that might lead you to think this is a crazy idea, that it is inconceivable or otherwise “unrealistic”: Israeli peace activist Yitzak Frankenthal’s “Parent’s Project” has already enabled such public acts of embrace and reconciliation to occur between victims of terror and occupation in Israel/Palestine, and there is no reason why the Security Council could not reimagine its work to emphasize public actions necessary for healing that take account of Frankenthal’s proven spiritual wisdom.

If an embrace between families is not possible or capable of being realized with authentic spontaneity in the context of a public hearing, the presence of this hesitancy can be valuable in itself. Merely listening, through the medium of specific actors understood as injured and scattered shards of light, to the pain we have inflicted on ourselves through being out-of-touch-with-ourselves, is sufficient to set on course our ethical direction; and if seen through this spiritual-political lens, the incapacity to embrace in response to an invitation to do so points both actor and witness toward the redemptive necessity of engaging in those acts of reconciliation, generosity, and kindness that can allow the desire for such an embrace to manifest itself eventually. It is this recognizing embrace, spontaneously pulled for in and through the suffering we have inflicted on ourselves, that we have withheld across generations because we have remained trapped in reciprocally perceiving and responding to the Other as a threat.

Fourth, UN representatives should supplement ordinary humanitarian aid with rebuilding the material infrastructure of the Middle East as a whole where such manifestations of generosity can be carried out, including post-war Iraq, no matter what the swirl of emotions, no matter what the political complexity, that such efforts will encounter. This rebuilding should especially include homes, hospitals, schools, and facilities to ensure safe drinking water and provision of food supplies. But it should also include assistance to local communities in rebuilding mosques and other locations that symbolize the historical embodiment of the region’s cultural integrity. The aim here as an expression of Surrounding is to freely link acts of generosity with the transmission of recognition, and to proceed to thaw traumatized areas manifesting resistance toward participation in the activity of our common humanity in recovering contact with, and shared knowledge of, itself.

Finally, all of these activities can and should be replicated by the redemptive movements of our common humanity that exist within an increasing singular and worldwide civil society—that is, redemptive actions outside existing institutions that are already being engaged in by the millions of us whom we know make up the new, worldwide peace (not merely anti-war) movement. We are ordinary people committed to the recovery of our capacity to release the desire to recognize each other as the source of each other’s completion. In relation to the spiritual sickness of war-consciousness and the now-ancient paradigm that separates us, we are all doctors without borders. Common humanity can heal itself only by healing the Other through providing the Other with the grace of a recognition that every one of us longs for through the layer of pain and self-protection that causes us to distort Who the Other actually is, and withhold ourselves from the only source of our salvation.

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THE UNITED NATIONS

"The United Nations is more than a mere tool,... As its Charter makes clear, the United Nations was intended to introduce new principles into international relations, making a qualitative difference to their day-to-day conduct. The Charter's very first Article defines our purposes: resolving disputes by peaceful means; devising cooperative solutions to economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems; and broadly encouraging behaviour in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. In other words, quite apart from whatever practical tasks the United Nations is asked to perform, it has the avowed purpose of transforming relations among states, and the methods by which the world's affairs are managed.

Nor is that all. For even though the United Nations is an organization of states, the Charter is written in the name of 'we the peoples'. It reaffirms the dignity and worth of the human person, respect for human rights and the equal rights of men and women, and a commitment to social progress as measured by better standards of life, in freedom from want and fear alike. Ultimately, then, the United Nations exists for, and must serve, the needs and hopes of people everywhere.

...the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people, instead of leaving billions of them behind in squalor. Inclusive globalization must be built on the great enabling force of the market, but market forces alone will not achieve it. It requires a broader effort to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity.

That in turn requires that we think afresh about how we manage our joint activities and our shared interests, for many challenges that we confront today are beyond the reach of any state to meet on its own. At the national level we must govern better, and at the international level we must learn to govern better together. Effective states are essential for both tasks, and their capacity for both needs strengthening. We must also adapt international institutions, through which states govern together, to the realities of the new era. We must form coalitions for change, often with partners well beyond the precincts of officialdom.

No shift in the way we think or act can be more critical than this: we must put people at the centre of everything we do. No calling is more noble, and no responsibility greater, than that of enabling men, women and children, in cities and villages around the world, to make their lives better. Only when that begins to happen will we know that globalization is indeed becoming inclusive, allowing everyone to share its opportunities."

From "New Century, New Challenges" in *We the Peoples*,
the Millennium report of the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan

ORIGINS

The United Nations Charter was drawn up by the representatives of 50 countries at the United Nations Conference on International Organisation, which met at San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945. They deliberated on the basis of proposals worked out by the representatives of China, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States at Dumbarton Oaks (USA) in August – October 1944. The Charter was signed on 26 June 1945. Poland, not represented at the Conference, signed it later and became one of the original 51 Member States.

The United Nations officially came into existence on 24 October 1945 when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the

United States, and by a majority of other signatories; 24 October is now universally celebrated as United Nations Day.

Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations

We the peoples of the United Nations determined

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
- to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

- to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

And for these ends

- to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
- to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the

institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organisation to be known as the United Nations.

REFLECTIONS ON THE UN

It is not the purpose of the United Nations to insist that the world must be cut after a uniform political and economic pattern. The United Nations does not seek to achieve uniformity at the expense of diversity. It accepts, even welcomes, diversity. But it does seek to achieve unity out of diversity. To do so in a world of such very great diversity of thought, custom, and concept, it must always find reasonable paths of compromise. It is essential to its effort that states and peoples learn to accommodate themselves to this necessity in the interest of international amity.

Ralph J. Bunche

Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings p.166

Are you not the first to agree that the world is faced with very considerable problems? You also think that the United Nations should help solve these problems. But how can the UN succeed without your faith and encouragement? Too many people do not believe in the UN. They criticise it, lash out at it, call it inefficient and ineffective, and sometimes even hate it when their interests are touched in the slightest. Why don't they love it instead, defend it, encourage it, and give this first godsent

instrument for peace and order a chance to succeed in the face of truly gigantic problems.

Robert Muller

Since the inception of the United Nations, those who have attended its meetings and have been close to its activities have unmistakably sensed one compelling urge, omnipresent and universal, an urge to safeguard human rights and fundamental freedoms. One may sense that a strong current is running in the world today, which is manifested in the proceedings of the United Nations. That is a current against any abridgement of human rights, human freedoms, and human dignity; a current which stimulates spontaneous protest against sanctions of discrimination, racial and religious persecution, on whatever grounds. It is a current which needs to be harnessed.

Against the aroused conscience of civilized mankind, the principle of national sovereignty affords a weak defense and an unacceptable alibi for the violation of human rights.

Ralph J. Bunche

Op. cit., p.171

WHO WILL LEAD THE WAR ON WANT?

Jeffrey Sachs

The idea that the UN system could provide real leadership on the great development challenges will strain credulity in some quarters. A steady drumbeat of criticism of the UN agencies during the 1990s, led by right-wing US congressional leaders, has left the impression of nearly moribund institutions busy securing patronage

slots for friends and relatives and disconnected from the rapid advances we have seen in technology, finance and globalization.

When I began my own intensive work with the UN agencies three years ago – as chairman of a commission for the World Health Organization (WHO), and then more

recently as a special adviser to the UN secretary general for the Millennium Development Goals – I was not quite sure what I would find. The truth is almost the opposite of the views propagated by the UN-bashers. Despite a decade of criticism and budget cuts, the UN's specialized agencies have far more expertise and hands-on experience than any other organization in the world.

Even the World Bank, with its knowledge base and ability to disburse and monitor funds in some of the most difficult settings in the world, can address problems of health or the environment or other specialized concerns only in partnership with the UN agencies with responsibility in those specific areas.

No bilateral donor agency can substitute for the scale of UN expertise and engagement, although these agencies can be important partners in a global effort.

This underappreciated capacity is why the UN system has vastly outperformed expectations in Kosovo, East Timor and other tough assignments in recent years. An agency such as the WHO has a unique mix of technical expertise, legitimacy in all corners of the world and especially an operational presence on the ground in dozens of the world's poorest and neediest countries.

Agencies such as the Food & Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Rome have been objects of merriment and ridicule among right-wing US senators and congressmen in recent years. But, of course, the constituents of those senators and congressmen have never had to battle against the loss of fisheries in Tonle Sap Lake in Cambodia or against drought in AIDS-ravaged southern Africa, as the FAO does each day.

The UN, in conjunction with the World Bank, should be asked to take the lead in establishing Global Frameworks for Action surrounding each of the major development goals. These frameworks would outline, in broad terms but with budgetary guidelines and timetables attached, the specific ways in which the governments of rich and poor countries, the private sector, philanthropists and civil society could get organized to win the fight against poverty and disease.

Realistic plans would be based on four Ss – *scale*, *science*, *specificity* and *selectivity*. First, the UN plans should address each issue on a *scale* that counts. Just as there can be no hurrahs for weapons inspectors who visit only a small fraction of possible weapons sites, there must be no faking it with small-scale AIDS projects that might save one village while leaving whole nations to die. But true scale will cost money, and especially more

money from the US.

Second, the UN should mobilize the best *science* available, as it has done with climate change and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change or with health and the WHO and UNAIDS. This means an open, inclusive and consultative process in each area of concern, drawing on national and international scientific academies, public and private research centres and academia.

Third, any plan of action must recognize the *specificity* of conditions on the ground. There is no single strategy for fighting AIDS, preserving forests or combating malaria. Everything depends on physical geography, culture, history and other very local factors. The best way by far of bringing global science to bear on local conditions is to invite national governments and civil society in each country to prepare their own plans of action, with the understanding that programmes of merit will be funded at the international level.

That is the strategy of the Global Environment Facility and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. It should also be the strategy behind similar efforts to expand primary education or provide water and sanitation to impoverished regions.

Fourth, any plan of action must be *selective*, directing donor assistance only towards regions that will use it well, and taking a hard-headed approach when corrupt governments are likely to squander the help.

Here the US has it just right in demanding the linkage of aid to good governance and reasonable economic policies. The fallacy in the US approach has been that even well-behaved governments receive only a tiny fraction of the financial help they need.

Our interconnectedness on the planet is the dominating truth of the 21st century. One stark result is that the world's poor live – and especially die – with the awareness that the US is doing little to mobilize the weapons of mass salvation that could offer them survival, dignity and eventually an escape from poverty.

It is time for Bush to take seriously his own statement at the UN that “our commitment to human dignity is challenged by persistent poverty and raging disease.” If he would only lead his country to that end, he would mobilize billions of people in the fight against terrorism and he would fulfil his own call upon the world to “show that the promise of the United Nations can be fulfilled in our time.”

Excerpt from “Who will lead the war on want?” by Jeffrey Sachs; Global Agenda 2003 - Magazine of the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2003.

Jeffrey Sachs is director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University in New York. In January 2002 he was appointed by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan as his special adviser on the Millennium Development Goals.

THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

The Charter established six main organs of the UN: the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and

Social Council, Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

is the central body of the UN and the only one in which all member states are represented. In general, it forms the main forum for discussion, formulates policy and coordinates the work of other organs and subsidiary bodies. The Assembly has no power to pass laws that are binding. Its resolutions are recommendations for action backed only by the force of world opinion.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

is the main political organ of the United Nations and is given the “primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security”. Five permanent members, China, France, the United Kingdom, and US and USSR, have the power of veto in this body. There are fifteen members altogether, including the permanent five. The other ten are elected on a rotating basis for two-year terms by the General Assembly. Under the Charter, all Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. While other organs of the United Nations make recommendations to Governments, the Council alone has the power to take decisions which Member States are obligated under the Charter to carry out.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ESOSOC)

is the UN’s planning body for the promotion of economic, social and humanitarian progress. It has fifty-four member Governments, elected by the General Assembly to serve for overlapping three-year terms, according to a geographical formula. It coordinates the work of the 14 UN specialized agencies, 10 functional commissions and five regional commissions; receives reports from 11 UN funds and programmes; and issues policy recommendations to the UN system and to Member States.

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

was responsible for the supervision of territories voluntarily placed under the international trusteeship system by the administering governments. There were originally eleven trust territories, all of which have now become independent nations. The future role of the Trusteeship Council is now open to debate, with some nations recommending that it should be wound up completely, and others proposing new responsibilities.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

is the principal judicial organ of the UN. It is empowered to hear cases involving legal disputes between governments and to give advisory opinions to the UN and its related agencies to clarify questions of international law and interpretation of the Charter.

THE SECRETARIAT

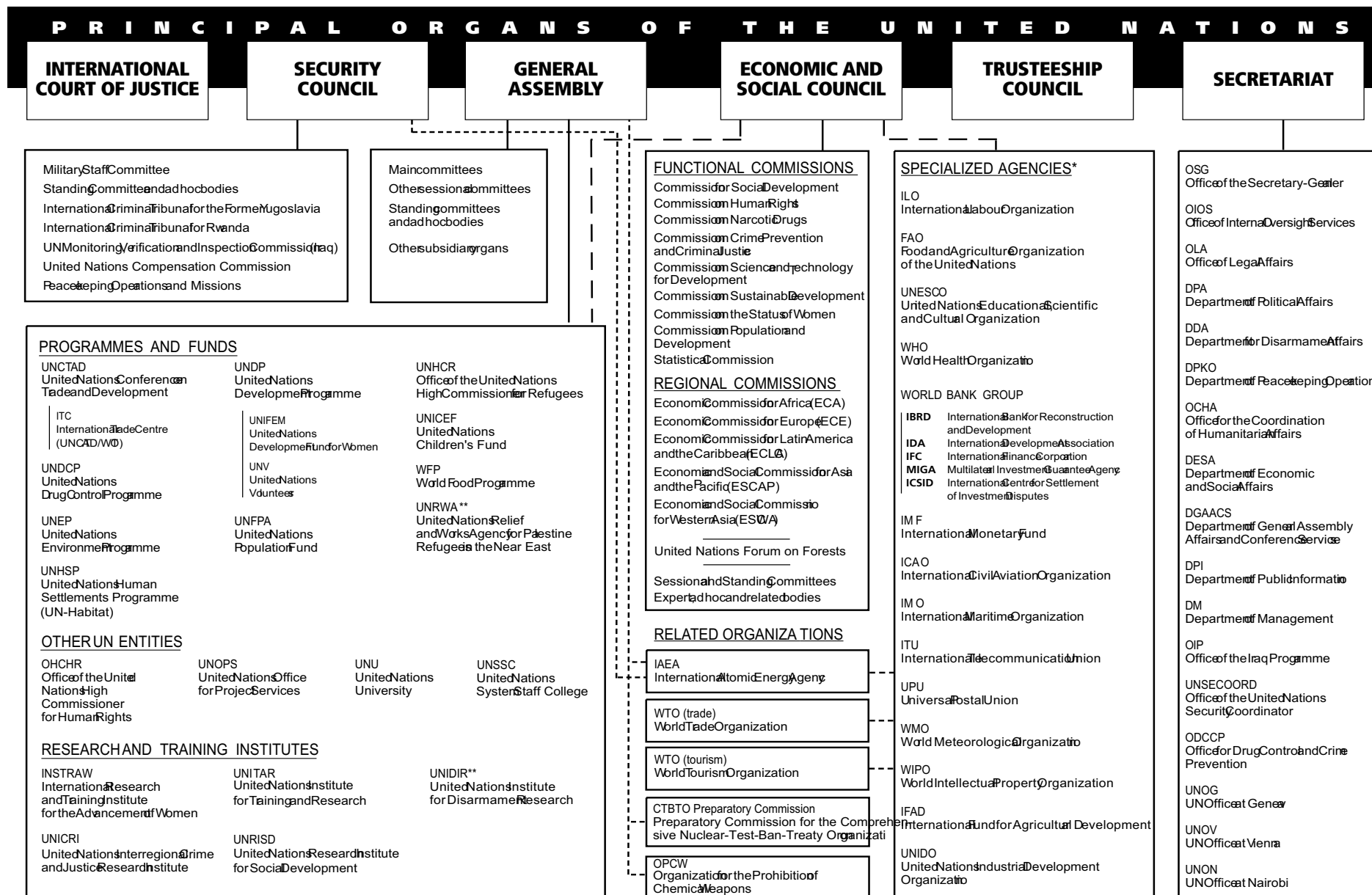
is the administrative arm of the United Nations and is headed by the Secretary-General. Its headquarters is New York City. There are approximately 10,000 men and women employed as Secretariat members in posts around the world.

OTHER UNITED NATIONS ORGANS AND THE SPECIALISED AGENCIES

The chart overleaf links the major bodies that together form the “United Nations Family”. This vast network of organisations and specialised agencies offers effective programmes in all areas of international concern.



The UNITED NATIONS system



*Autonomous organizations working with the United Nations and each other through the coordinating machinery of the Economic and Social Council.

**Report only to the General Assembly.

WORLD CITIZENSHIP

I mentioned another basic belief of mine.... It relates to the attitude of the individual citizen. For it is not only the sovereign state that must adopt the global view; the individual person should also recognise the imperative demands of interdependence. I go so far as to suggest the need for a new concept of citizenship.

A new quality of planetary imagination is demanded from all of us as the price of human survival. I am not decrying that form of nationalism that prompts the individual citizen to appreciate and praise the achievements and values that his native land has contributed to the well-being and happiness of the whole human race. Nor am I calling for international homogenisation, for I rejoice in cultural and national uniqueness. But I am making a plea – a plea based on these ten years of looking at the human condition from my unique vantage point – for a dual allegiance. This implies an open acceptance of belonging – as in fact we all do – to the human race as well as to our local community or nation. I even believe that the mark of the truly educated and imaginative person facing the twenty-first century is that he feels himself to be a planetary citizen.

Perhaps my own Buddhist upbringing has helped me more than anything else to realise and to express in my speeches and writing this concept of world citizenship.

...I offer that concept as part of my own contribution to building the future World Community.

U Thant

View from the UN, pp. 453-4

World citizenship is here to stay. There are those who realise that there is no “Magenot Line” behind which the privileged can withdraw into security. More important there are those who have come to believe ... (and the United Nations experience has been crucial in this development) ... that there is a more just and happier future for all achievable by the realisation of people’s mutuality of interest and the interdependence of things. They see ... we see! ... that radical adjustments to the present world order are possible and mutually beneficial.

Such internationalists find world affairs exciting, disturbing perhaps but exciting. Such world citizens find the present experiments in international relationship thrilling, certainly fraught with danger yet thrilling.

David Harding

Why the UNA is Important, p. 12

We cannot defeat something by nothing. Once it was said: “If you wish for peace, prepare for war.” Now the aphorism is reversed: “If you wish to avoid war, you must **work** for peace.” We have at least reached the point of talking together about the great common tasks of

humanity – preserving our living environment, feeding the hungry, giving shelter to all our fellow creatures, treating with greater care and fraternal sharing the fundamental resources – of water, of minerals, of energy, upon which our common life depends. This dialogue could be the signal of a new but growing loyalty, not to our old divisive nationalisms but to shared tasks and common membership in the City of Man.

Too vast a dream? Too naive a hope? Perhaps – yet we can now talk to the ends of the earth as easily as villagers once conversed with each other. Our planetary interdependence is as great as that of earlier states. Our knowledge is worldwide. Our airs and oceans are equally shared. So are all the preconditions of material existence. If man has learned to be loyal to his nation as well as to his family and his town, do we have to argue that no further extension of loyalty is possible – to the planet itself which carries our earthly life and all the means of sustaining it?

This is perhaps the ultimate implication of the underlying unity of scientific law first discerned by the Greeks, of the underlying law of moral brotherhood and obligation most passionately proclaimed by the Hebrew prophets. Today they came together in a new fusion of vision and energy to remind us of our inescapable unity even as we stand on the very verge of potential annihilation. The scientist and the sage, the man of learning and the poet, the mathematician and the saint repeat to the human city the same plea and the same warning: “We must love each other or we must die”.

Barbara Ward

The Home of Man, p. 294

Cooperative goodwill is surely the first idea to be presented to the masses and taught in our schools, thereby guaranteeing the new and better civilisation. **Loving understanding**, intelligently applied, should be the hallmark of the cultured and wiser groups, plus effort on their part to relate the world of meaning to the world of outer efforts – for the benefit of the masses. **World Citizenship** as an expression of both goodwill and understanding should be the goal of the enlightened everywhere and the hallmark of the spiritual man, and in these three, you have right relations established between education, religion and politics.

Alice A. Bailey

Education in the New Age, p. 91

YOU CAN CHANGE THE WORLD

Ervin Laszlo

When we take stock of current conditions we see that transformation is essential, and it is imminent. The degeneration of the local and global environment, the inequity of the globalised economic and social system, and the stress, misery, and resentment, which now exist among billions of people, has created an untenable situation. The September 11 terrorist attack on New York and Washington is not the cause of crisis in the world: it is one of its dramatic symptoms. The crisis we experience is the consequence of the way the world's economic and social system is structured and the way in which it operates.

The economic and social system of the world has brought unparalleled wealth to a few, and marginalisation and misery to many. It has concentrated production, trade, finance and communication, and has created national and regional unemployment, widening income gaps, and mounting environmental degradation. The benefits of economic growth, for long the main indicator of progress, have become every more concentrated. While the richest 20% of the world population become richer still, the poorest 20% are pressed into abject poverty, barely surviving in shantytowns and urban ghettos.

These conditions are socially and politically explosive. They fuel resentment and revolt and provoke massive migration from the countryside to the cities, and from the poorer to the richer regions. Fanatics wage holy wars and resort to terrorism, and organised crime engages in information fraud, corruption, and traffic in women and children as well as drugs, organs and weapons. As long as people harbour hate and the desire for revenge, they cannot co-exist peacefully and co-operatively. Whether the cause is the wounded ego of a person or the wounded self-respect of a people; whether it is the wish to personal revenge or a holy war in defence of a faith, the potential for violence remains. Attaining peace in people's hearts is a precondition of attaining peace in the world. And inner peace depends very much on creating more equitable conditions in the global village into which we have precipitated ourselves...

Investment flows mostly between rich countries, where it has the best chances of generating high and quick returns. Although some \$19 trillion is invested in the world's stock markets, only 1% of direct foreign investment reaches the poorest 20% of the world's population.

The world's economy is not only inequitable: because of the workings of the international monetary system it is inherently unsustainable. Most of the money in the world is supplied as loans by the banking system and has to be repaid with interest. Servicing the ever-increasing debt requires continual growth in the economy, and on our

finite planet endless quantitative growth encounters natural limits. Moreover, the present system encourages financial speculation on a colossal scale with over \$1 trillion moving around the globe every day in search of short-term gain. This money is not financing trade or production; it is merely gambling on market dynamics and currency fluctuation – hence the term the global casino.

Reforming the way the world's economy is financed is urgent and necessary. It calls for a new sense of responsibility, for behaviour suited to life in a tightly interdependent global village, where the actions of each affect the destiny of all. Economic and financial competition needs to be tempered with greater co-operation and fairness, and production as well as consumption must become more attuned to social and ecological considerations. This would enhance the sustainability of the contemporary world by creating more economic justice and reducing the level of conflict. Unsustainability in our global village also has ecological roots. In the past, a functional equilibrium could be maintained between human settlements and the biosphere. The human exploitation of the environment was more modest. With primitive technologies and small populations the supply of natural resources seemed endless, and environmental damage insignificant. When improved technologies depleted or destroyed a local environment, there were other environments to conquer and exploit...

The 'ecological footprint' (the area of land required to support a settlement) gives a quantitative estimate of the human overload of nature. It defines the share of the planet's biological productivity used by an individual, a city, a nation, or all of humanity. If the footprint of a settlement is larger than its area, that settlement is not independently sustainable. A city is intrinsically unsustainable because very few of the natural resources used by its inhabitants come from within its boundaries. Most of them, such as food, water, and waste disposal, rely on hinterlands and catchments. But entire regions and countries could well be sustainable: their ecological footprint need not extend beyond their territories. This, however, is not the case. In a survey commissioned by the Earth Council of Costa Rica, the ecological footprints of 52 countries, the home of 80% of the world's peoples, were examined. Forty-two of these countries had footprints that exceeded their territory.

We can see the roots of the problem when we compare the footprint of individuals with the biological productivity of the planet. In 1996, the Earth's biosphere has 12.6 billion hectares of biologically productive space, making up about one quarter of the planetary surface. It com-

prised 9.4 billion hectares of land and 3.2 billion hectares of fishing ground. Equitably shared, in a population of 5.7 billion this yielded an earth-share of 2.18 hectares per person. Now that there are 6.3 billion, the biosphere's biological productivity remains at best constant. Thus today's earth-share is just 2.1 hectares for each man, woman and child on the planet. But in the 52 countries examined, the average footprint came to 2.8 hectares.

The World Wildlife Fund's Living Planet Report 2000 measured the footprints of 151 nations. The study included the largest, most highly populated countries, and gave a fair measure of the world situation. It appears that today humanity exceeds its Earth-share by nearly a third: 30.7%. The 75 countries that consume above their Earth-share make up 21% of humanity. Among them the United Arab Republic, Singapore, and the United States exceed their share nearly twelve times (in the U.S. the average footprint is 12.5 hectares, which is 31 acres). Even if the per capita footprint in the poorest countries, such as Bangladesh, is only 0.5 hectares, our species still lives beyond its means: it exceeds the capacity of the planet to produce food, water and wood, absorb pollution, and provide habitable space for all people...

We are approaching the outer edge of the Earth's capacity to sustain human life. The 2002 Living Planet report warned that humankind is plundering the planet at a pace that outstrips its capacity to support life. More than a third of the natural resources of the world has been destroyed by human activity over the past three decades, and if these trends continue, by the year 2050, to support the human population, we will need two other planets the size of Earth. The unsustainability of the world is aggravated by the fact that ecosystems do not collapse piecemeal. We have been operating on the assumption that in nature cause and effect is proportional, so that an additional ounce of pollution produces an additional ounce of damage. This, however, is not so. Ecosystems may be polluted for many years without any change at all, then flip into an entirely different condition. Gradual changes create cumulative vulnerability, until a single shock to the system, such as a flood or a drought, knocks the system into a different state, less adapted to sustaining human life and economic activity.

A leap into a catastrophic new state can also occur in the global climate. According to a recent report by the US National Academy of Sciences, abrupt changes can come about when the climate system is forced to cross some threshold. The global warming trend projected over the course of the next 100 years (a rise in temperatures somewhere between 1.4 and 5.8 degrees centigrade) could actually occur in the next few years. The new climate would undermine human settlements and ecologies throughout the world. Forests would be consumed by fires, grasslands would dry out and turn into dust bowls, wildlife would disappear and diseases, such as cholera,

malaria and yellow fever, would decimate human populations.

Our global village is inequitable, and it is neither economically nor ecologically sustainable. This situation cannot be prolonged indefinitely. We either achieve a higher level of sustainability, or risk major havoc.

Half a century ago Albert Einstein noted that we cannot solve a problem with the same kind of thinking that gave rise to it. Today's Nobel scientists agree. A Declaration signed by one hundred Laureates at the conclusion of the Nobel Peace Prize Centennial Symposium in December of 2001 noted, "The most profound danger to world peace in the coming years will stem not from the irrational acts of states or individuals but from the legitimate demands of the world's dispossessed." They ended the Declaration saying, "To survive in the world we have transformed, we must learn to think in a new way".

New thinking, and the economic, social and ecological behaviour that follows it, are soft factors in the life of society, but when it comes to deciding our future they have more weight than hard factors such as money and power. Not heavy-handed intervention from the top down, but timely change percolating from the grass roots up can set the world on the road to peace and sustainability.

The bottom line is that the urgently required worldwide transformation calls for positive changes in the way you and others around you live and think. As Mikhail Gorbachev has made clear, when all is said and done, the future is in your hands. With new thinking and sustainable living, you can change the world.

A Choice of Futures

There is not just one possible future before us, but many. In the final count we face a negative future of total breakdown, as well as a positive future of stupendous breakthrough. The initial conditions are the same for all scenarios.

- Increasing population pressure: 77 million humans added to the world population every year, 97% of them in the poor countries
- spreading poverty: nearly two billion living on less than two dollars a day, more than one billion at the lower limits of physical subsistence
- widening gap between rich and poor people as well as rich and poor economies: 80% of the human population is responsible for 14% of global consumption, while the richest 20% accounts for 86%
- growing threat of social breakdown and rise of mindless violence in countries rich and poor
- intolerance and fundamentalism: for example, in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Kashmir, Turkey and the

Middle East, and worldwide through networks like Al Qaida

- food and water shortages, e.g. in sub-Saharan Africa, China, Southern Asia, Meso-America
- accelerating climate change: extremes of cold and heat, violent storms, changed rainfall patterns
- worsening industrial, urban, and agricultural pollution: changed chemical composition of the atmosphere, desalination and impoverishment of agricultural lands, lowering and poisoning of water tables
- accelerating deforestation and reduction of biodiversity: disappearance of tropical rainforests, loss of an untold number of species, monocultures on cultivated lands
- rising sea levels: loss of low-lying plains and river valleys in Southern Asia, flooding of island countries in the Pacific, threat to coastal cities throughout the world.

THE BREAKDOWN SCENARIO

The First Signs

- growing incidence of harvest failure due to changing weather patterns
- starvation and unsanitary conditions accelerating the spread of HIV/AIDS and other epidemics
- wars over access to fresh water and staple food supply in Asia, Africa, and Latin America
- millions of climate refugees from flooded coastal cities and low-lying areas
- massive waves of destitute migrants moving toward North America and Europe

Subsequent Events

- breakdown of the world financial system reflected in the cancellation of global trade agreements and disruption of trade flows
- deepening insecurity and violence from maverick and organised terrorism
- international and intercultural conflict resulting in local and regional wars
- rise of strong-arm regimes in many parts of the world, especially in the hardest-hit regions of the South

The Outcome

- worldwide spread of terrorism, corruption, anarchy, and organised crime
- collapse of the North Atlantic alliance linking Europe

and North America

- breakdown of relations between the US and Russia
- regional wars in the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America
- inclusion of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons in regional wars
- global escalation of armed conflict.

THE BREAKTHROUGH SCENARIO

The First Signs

- Population pressures, poverty, fanaticism, and a variety of environmental threats and disasters trigger positive changes in the way people think. The idea that another world is possible captures the imagination of more and more people. As in England and Russia during World War II, and in America in the aftermath of September 11, people in different societies and different walks of life pull together to confront the threat they face in common
- Non-governmental organisations link up through the Internet and develop shared strategies to restore local economies and local environments and promote socially and ecologically responsible policies in local and national government and business. A non-governmental World Futures Council is established at the same time as an electronic E-Parliament comes online to link parliamentarians worldwide and provide a forum for debates on the best ways to serve the common interest
- Governments and corporations begin to respond to calls for greater social and ecological responsibility from growing movements of civil society.

The Next Developments

- Money is increasingly re-assigned from military and defence budgets to fund practical attempts at conflict resolution together with a worldwide programme to restore the Earth as the concept of an ecological economy is becoming widely accepted
- A movement to promote 'localisation' is gaining in strength, balancing the one-sided forms of globalisation through the efficient use of the human, natural and financial resources of local environments
- Reforms are undertaken in the world's monetary system. A world currency is put into circulation by the reformed World Bank Group on the basis of population size rather than financial power, creating a more equitable flow of money among the world's disparate economies; at the same time local currencies continue to grow and develop.

The Outcome

- A worldwide renewable energy programme is created, paving the way toward a new industrial revolution making use of solar and other renewable energy sources to transform the global economy and lift marginalised populations out of the vicious cycles of poverty
- Agriculture is restored to a place of primary importance in the economy, not only for the production of staple foods, but for growing energy crops and raw materials for diverse branches of manufacturing
- Governance structures are reformed so as to move toward a participatory Earth Democracy, releasing a surge of creative energy among people whose voice can now be heard
- As a result of such developments international and intercultural mistrust, ethnic conflict, racial oppression, economic injustice, and gender inequality give way to a more peaceful and sustainable world, based on a higher level of trust and co-operation among the world's peoples, cultures, and economies.

This article was extracted by permission from the first two chapters of You Can Change the World by Ervin Laszlo (2002), pub. by Positive News Publishing Ltd, 5 Bicton Enterprise Centre, Clun, Shropshire SY7 8NF, UK; E: office@positivenews.org.uk; W: www.positivenews.org.uk. Available from Green Books Ltd., Foxhole, Dartington, Devon, TQ9 6EB. E: sales@greenbooks.co.uk; W: www.greenbooks.co.uk

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TOWARDS THE NEW WORLD ORDER

from the writings of Alice A. Bailey

A. ON THE NEW WORLD ORDER

...the steps taken by humanity *in the immediate future* will condition the new age and determine man's destiny. Will it be a destiny of annihilation, of a planetary war, of worldwide famine and pestilence, of nation rising against nation and of the complete collapse of all that makes life worth living? All this can happen unless basic changes are made and made with goodwill and loving understanding. Then, on the other hand, we can have a period (difficult but helpful because educative) of adjustment, of concession and of relinquishment; we can have a period of right recognition of shared opportunity, of a united effort to bring about right human relations, and of an educational process which will train the youth of all nations to function *as world citizens* and not as nationalistic propagandists. What we need above all to see – as a result of spiritual maturity – is the abolition of those two principles which have wrought so much evil in the world and which are summed up in the two words: Sovereignty and Nationalism.

Problems of Humanity, pp.171-2

Security, happiness and peaceful relations are desired by all. Until, however, the Great Powers, in collaboration with the little nations, have solved the economic problem and have realized that the resources of the earth belong to no one nation but to humanity as a whole, there will be no peace. *The oil of the world, the mineral wealth, the wheat, the sugar and the grains belong to all men*

everywhere. They are essential to the daily living of the everyday man....

The time will inevitably come when – in the interest of peace and security – the capitalists in the various nations will be forced to realize this and will also be forced to substitute the principle of *sharing* for the ancient principle (which has hitherto governed them) of greedy grabbing.

There was a time – a hundred years or more ago – when a just distribution of the world's wealth would have been impossible. That is *not* true today.

Ibid. pp.174-5

1. The United Nations, through its Assembly and Committees, *must* be supported; there is as yet no other organization to which man can hopefully look. Therefore, he must support the United Nations but, at the same time, let this group of world leaders know what is needed.

2. The general public in every nation *must* be educated in right human relations. Above all else, the children and the youth of the world must be taught goodwill to all men everywhere, irrespective of race or creed.

3. Time must be given for the needed adjustments and humanity must learn to be intelligently patient; humanity must face with courage and optimism the slow process of building the new civilization.

4. An intelligent and cooperative public opinion must be developed in every land and the doing of this constitutes a major spiritual duty. This will take much time but *if* the men of goodwill and *if* the spiritual people of the world will become genuinely active, *it can be done in twenty-five years*.

5. The world economic council (or whatever body represents the resources of the world) *must* free itself from fraudulent politics, capitalistic influence and its devious scheming; it *must* set the resources of the earth free for the use of humanity. This will be a lengthy task but it will be possible when world need is better appreciated. An enlightened public opinion will make the decisions of the economic council practical and possible. Sharing and cooperation *must* be taught instead of greed and competition.

6. There must be freedom to travel everywhere in any direction and in any country; by means of this free intercourse, members of the human family may get to know each other and to appreciate each other; passports and visas should be discontinued because they are symbols of the great heresy of separateness.

7. The men of goodwill everywhere must be mobilized and set to work; it is upon their efforts that the future of humanity depends; they exist in their millions everywhere and – when organized and mobilized – represent a vast section of the thinking public.

Ibid., pp. 176-7

The world is one world and its sufferings are one; humanity is in truth a unity, but many are still unaware of this and the whole trend of the present teaching is directed to the awakening of humanity to this while there is yet time to avert still more serious conditions. The sins of humanity are also one. Its goal is one and it is as one great human family that we must emerge into the future. I would emphasise this thought: *it is as one humanity, chastened, disciplined but illumined and fused, that we must emerge into the future*.

The Destiny of the Nations, p.65

The Kingdom of God will inaugurate a world which will be one in which it will be realized that – politically speaking – humanity, as a whole, is of far greater importance than any one nation; it will be a new world order, built upon different principles to those in the past, and one in which men will carry the spiritual vision into their national governments, into their economic planning and into all measures taken to bring about security and right human relations. *Spirituality is essentially the establishing of right human relations*, the promotion of goodwill and finally the establishing of a true peace on earth, as the result of these two expressions of divinity.

Problems of Humanity, p.169

A new world order is possible, and there are certain steps which need to be taken if the vision of this new world is to enter into the realm of accomplished fact....

First, I would ask you all to ponder on the vision of this new world order, preserving an open mind and realising that this new mode of living hovers over humanity and will materialise when selfishness is defeated, right human relations are correctly envisaged, and the ideal of this new world order is divorced from all nationalistic concepts and aspirations. It will not be an American world, or a French world, or a British world, or a totalitarian world. It will be the outcome of the civilisation which is passing and the culture which is the flower of that civilisation, but at the same time it will be neither of them. It will be a human world, based on right understanding of correct human relations, upon the recognition of equal educational opportunities for all men, for all races and all nations, and upon the fundamental realisation that “God hath made of one blood all the peoples upon the earth”. It will be a world in which racial distinctions and national unities will be recognised as enriching the whole and as contributing to the significance of humanity.

The Externalisation of the Hierarchy, p.241

...the new world order will facilitate the establishing of right human relations, based on justice, on the recognition of inherited rights, on opportunity for all – irrespective of race, colour or creed – on the suppression of crime and selfishness through right education, and on the recognition of divine potentialities in man as well as the recognition of a divine directing Intelligence in Whom man lives, and moves and has his being.

Ibid., p.192

Peace must not be *imposed* by those who hate war. Peace must be a natural outcome and expression of the human spirit, and of a determination to change the world attitude into one of right human relations.

Ibid., p.208

B. TYPES OF PEOPLE NEEDED FOR THE REBUILDING OF OUR WORLD

1. **The Creative Artists**, particularly in the field of architecture and city planning.

- (a) They appreciate the beauty of an idea.
- (b) They can reduce the idea to an ideal.
- (c) They can materialise the ideal and give it physical form.

2. **The Financiers**. They can produce the money needed to carry out the work of rehabilitation.

- (a) They will work with the energies and forces which express themselves through the interchange and the values of commerce; they will deal with the Law of Supply and Demand and with the great principle of *Sharing* which ever governs divine purpose.... The principle of Sharing... is a soul quality.... They also evoke the soul of the past, linking it with the present and finding it likewise

indicative of the future.

Discipleship in the New Age, Vol. I. pp. 39-40

- (b) The two most modern groups are the psychologists who work under the Delphic injunction "Man, know thyself", and the financiers who are the custodians of the means whereby man can live upon the physical plane. These two groups necessarily, and in spite of apparent divergences and differences, are more synthetic in their foundational aspects, than any of the others. One group concerns itself with mankind, with the varying types of humanity, the mechanism employed, and man's urges, characteristics, and with the purpose – apparent or hidden – of his being. The other group controls and orders the means whereby he exists, controlling all that can be converted into energy, and constituting a dictatorship over all modes of intercourse, commerce and exchange. They control the multiplicity of form-objects which modern man regards as essential to his mode of life.

A Treatise on White Magic, pp.411-2

3. The Educators. They will help create the new civilisation and the coming world culture.

- (a) The educators who face the present world opportunity should see to it that a sound foundation is laid for the coming civilisation; they must undertake that it is general and universal in its scope, truthful in its presentation and constructive in its approach. What initial steps the educators of the different countries take will inevitably determine the nature of the coming civilisation. They must prepare for a renaissance of all the arts and for a new and free flow of the creative spirit in man. They must lay an emphatic importance upon those great moments in human history wherein man's divinity flamed forth and indicated new ways of thinking, new modes of human planning and thus changed for all time the trend of human affairs.

Education in the New Age, pp.46-7

- (b) We must place the emphasis educationally upon those who are under sixteen years of age (and the younger the better) and, secondly,... we must begin with what we have, even whilst recognising the limitations of the present systems. We must strengthen those aspects which are good and desirable; we must develop the new attitudes and techniques which will fit a child for complete living and so make him truly human – a creative, constructive member of the human family. The very best of all that is past must be preserved but should only be regarded as the foundation for a better system and a wiser approach to *the goal of world citizenship*.

Ibid., p.80

4. The Scientists. These are the people who work pre-eminently with the outer garment of God, the so-called tangible and external world.

- (a) ...groups of scientific investigators have arisen, working with the forces and energies that constitute the divine Life, dealing with the outer garment of God, searching from without towards the within, and demonstrating to man his essential unity with all creation and his relationship, intrinsic and vital, with all forms of life.

A Treatise on White Magic., p. 410

- (b) [The scientific servers] will act as a channel of communication or intermediary between the energies which constitute the forces which construct the forms and fabricate the outer garment of Deity and the human spirits.

Discipleship in the New Age, Vol. I, p. 39

4. The Politicians.

...a powerful, though small, group among the world leaders is voicing certain general propositions which must be regarded as imperative.... Their demand is for a new governing principle in politics and in education, founded on universally recognised human rights, on the need for spiritual unity and the need to throw overboard all separative theological attitudes and dogmas in every field of thought.

The Externalisation of the Hierarchy, p. 378

C. A WORLD EXPERIMENT IN FUSION – THE UK – USA – USSR

[Their] similarity of problems consists in the fact that each of these three nations is essentially composite in nature and is formed by an amalgamation of many nations, of many peoples speaking many different languages, and is consequently staging a great experiment in fusion.

1. The U.K. is the nucleus or the living germ of the British Commonwealth of Nations wherein *a great experiment in free government* is being tried out; this gives complete internal freedom and choice to each related Dominion, plus an equally complete and free interrelationship. The Dominions are all of them independent nations, but belong to a united Commonwealth; a pattern is thereby presented for world consideration.
2. The U.S.A. is a fusing centre wherein all nationalities are represented and are being slowly blended into a miniature One Humanity. *A great experiment in right relationships* is being undertaken and is making real progress. A culture and a civilisation will emerge which will be the result of right human relations and which can provide a world pattern in relationships. I refer here to the presentation of democracy. There is nothing satisfactory yet in the presentation of the dreamed-of democracy. France and Great Britain are

equally democratic, and more successful because more mature and experienced, but the "melting pot" of the U.S.A. will provide eventually the outstanding experiment in right relations because of its many races and nationalities – all blended together within the borders of one country.

3. The U.S.S.R. is also seeking to blend and unite into one great national project many diverse nations and races – European and Asiatic – and the effort is still largely embryonic. In Russia a world ideology is being wrought out which (when proven) can be presented to the world as a model system; this, however, will not come as a result of dictatorship, nor can it be presented aggressively to the world. Russia is in reality – whether she realises it or not at present – undertaking *a great experiment in education* and, in spite of evil methods and sinning against the soul of human freedom, eventually this educational process will prove convincing to the world and provide a world model. This can only take place when the present group of dictators and arrogant men have passed away or been forced out of power by an awakening people.

In these three great nations, therefore, the three major divine aspects are being brought into manifestation, thus laying the foundation for the new world order. All three are of equal importance.

1. In Great Britain • right human government
Will or Power
2. In the U.S.A. • right human relations
Love-Wisdom
3. In the U.S.S.R. • right use of the mind
Intelligence

This must be remembered and taught, and men of goodwill everywhere should work for a closer relationship between these three peoples. These three points of a divine triangle of energy should not be isolated points, each holding its own point of tension; they should be related points, each point distributing strengthening energy to the other points and admitting a free circulation between all points around the triangle.

The Rays and the Initiations, pp. 631-3

D. HARMONY THROUGH CONFLICT

If you have followed intelligently what I have said, two points will emerge with clarity in your minds in relation to the initial and immediate activity of these two rays – the sixth and the seventh. First, that entire groups of people are increasingly susceptible to their influence and this inevitably leads to these groups (responsive to either the sixth or the seventh ray forces) being in opposition to and antagonistic to each other. The problem is that, owing to the developed sensitivity of the race, this antagonism is now upon a world-wide scale. Hence much of the present conflict of ideas, and the opposing ideologies, and

hence also the feud between the old inherited traditions and the ancient forms of civilisation, of government, of religion on the one hand and of the newer emerging ideas on the other. These new concepts should usher in the New Age and will eventually revolutionise our modern life and standards. They will relegate the old ideas to the same position as the ideas which governed the race one thousand years ago have today assumed in our consciousness.

The Destiny of the Nations, p.45

In the world at this time the two aspects of this fourth ray – the aspect or Principle of Conflict and the aspect or Principle of Harmony – are struggling to bring about the liberation into equilibrium of mankind. Until quite lately, the Principle of Conflict has grown increasingly in power, yet as a result of this conflict a definite trend towards harmony can be seen emerging in human thinking; *the concept* of harmony through the establishing of right human relations is slowly coming into recognition....

The factor that must and will relate the Principle of Conflict to the expression of harmony and bring about the new world order, the new civilisation and culture, is the trend and the voice of public opinion, and the opportunity offered to people everywhere to bring about social security and right human relations. It is not the government of any nation which will bring this about, but *the innate rightness* of the people themselves when they have been educated to see the issues clearly, the relationships which should be established, and the immense subjective unity of mankind. This will not come about without an intensive period of planned education, of a truly free press and radio – both free to speak the exact truth and to present the facts as they occur, without being controlled or influenced by governmental interference, pressure groups, religious organisations, or by any dictating parties or dictators.

The Rays and the Initiations, pp. 621-2

As we study the effect of the Principle of Conflict as the instigator of eventual harmony in relation to the nations, let us remember that the widespread extent of the conflict is indicative of *climax*, that the "points of crisis" which express the conflict are today well known to all men, that a "point of tension" has now been reached (of which the United Nations is a symbol) which will eventually prove to be the agent that will bring about a "point of emergence." I would ask you to keep these three phrases – descriptive of the working of the Ray of Harmony through Conflict – constantly in mind in relation to developments in your own life, in the life of your nation or of any nation, and in the life of humanity as a whole. They embody the technique whereby the spiritual Hierarchy of our planet brings good out of evil without originating the evil or infringing the free will of mankind.

Ibid., p.623

Everywhere the fourth Ray of Harmony through Conflict is active in the human family and is dominating human affairs; everywhere in the life of the individual, in the lives of groups, organisations and churches, in the life of nations and in the life of mankind as a whole, the issues are being clarified, and humanity is being led from one renunciation to another, until some day the human kingdom will unitedly take the fourth initiation and the Great Renunciation will be accepted; this step, lying far ahead as yet in the future, will affiliate humanity with the Hierarchy and release millions of men from the thralldom of materialism. This moment in human history will inevitably come. The first indication that the distant vision has been glimpsed might perhaps be noted in the prevalent instinct to *share*, motivated at present by the instinct to self-preservation, but definitely developing as a possible mode of action upon the far horizon of man's thinking. True sharing definitely involves many little renunciations, and it is upon these small renunciations that *the capacity* for freedom is slowly being generated and *the habit* of renunciation can eventually be stabilised; this capacity and these habits, these unselfish activities and these spiritual habitual attitudes are the preparatory stages for the Initiation of Renunciation, just as the effort to serve one's fellowmen is preparatory to the taking of the third Initiation, of the Transfiguration.

Ibid., p.614

This Principle of Conflict is also active in all institutions, groups and organisations in all lands and in every department of human thought. Its results are, first, the awakening of humanity to certain major human developments and possibilities, and secondly, it will lead to certain basic renunciations, once the issues are clearly seen and the cleavage which exists in reality between the desirable spiritual values and the undesirable material values has been made clear. In politics, for instance, the two-party system is based upon a correct premise, but it is not at present a satisfactory system because of human stupidity. It stands in truth for the reactionary groups in any land and also for the progressive party who are alert to the new possibilities; one party aims at the holding back of the life of the spirit, at clarifying by obstruction and at holding back or preventing the too rapid rushing forward of the impatient and the immature; the progressive party should be composed of those who are aware of the unneeded and old issues, and who *pioneer* all the time, even though frequently without much skill in action. Such a clear line of demarcation between the two basic world parties is not yet possible, nor are the spiritual values of either group appreciated by the unthinking masses. Today, party politics are as selfish, and therefore as reactionary, as are the mass of men; the real good of humanity is not the goal of the average politician in either group, for usually only his own selfish ambition and the desire to preserve a certain political ideology which has put him into power are the goal of his efforts.

Ibid., p.613

The general effect of these clashing ideologies and the result of the war among the world religions have started men thinking in every land. Men are emerging out of the mental lethargy which has characterised them for so long. The man in the street is today thinking, pondering, wondering, planning and deciding. In past centuries, it was only those who had benefited by education and those in the "upper brackets" who thought and planned. This tendency to thought indicates the coming into activity of a new and better civilisation, and this is preparatory to spiritual events of major importance. The spirit of man, usually unconsciously, is driving onwards towards a more spiritual civilisation and culture.

Ibid., p.748

One interesting aspect of goodwill is that, as it develops in the human consciousness, it first of all brings a revelation of the existent *cleavages* which distinguish the political, the religious, the social and the economic life of people everywhere. The revelation of a cleavage is ever accompanied (for such is the beauty of the human spirit) by efforts along all possible lines to bridge or heal the cleavage. This is testified to by the thousands of groups and organisations working to end cleavages and to pull down the barriers to right human relationships. That these efforts may be faulty and fruitless is often of less importance than the fact that the attempts to heal, to help and to establish right human relations are everywhere being made. Modern psychology is an evidence of this, dealing as it does with the problem of the integration of the human being and the healing of the cleavages of his nature. One of the first things to be done is to educate the individual in the necessity to have goodwill not only to his fellowmen but also to himself. The emphasis of medieval Christianity upon weakness, wickedness and the innate sinfulness of the human being has today to be offset by a true appreciation of divinity in human form.

Ibid., p.750

E. FIVE MAJOR IDEAS

Humanity is today more sensitive to ideas than ever before, and hence the many warring ideologies and hence the fact that – in defence of their plans – even the most recalcitrant of the nations has to discover some idealistic excuse to put before the other nations when occupied with any infringement of recognised law. This is a fact of great significance to the Hierarchy for it indicates a point reached. The major ideas in the world today fall into five categories which it would be well for you to bear in mind:

1. The ancient and inherited ideas which have controlled the racial life for centuries – aggression for the sake of possession and the authority of a man or a group or a church which represents the State. For purposes of policy such powers may work behind the scenes but their tenets and motives are easily recognisable –

selfish ambition and a violently imposed authority.

2. Those ideas which are relatively new such as Nazism, Fascism, and Communism, though they are not really as new as people are apt to think. They are alike on one important point, i.e. the State or community of human beings counts as of importance whilst the individual does not; he can be sacrificed at any time for the good of the State or for the so-called general good.
3. The idea, neither old nor particularly new, of democracy in which (supposedly but as yet never factually) the people govern and the government represents the will of the people.
4. The idea of a world state, divided into various great sections. This is the dream of the inclusively-minded few, for which many regard humanity as yet unready. Towards this the entire world is headed in spite of its many ideologies, each fighting with each other for supremacy and oblivious of the important fact that all these ideologies may be temporarily adapted to the groups or nations who adopt them. They are none of them suitable for general use (and I say this equally of democracy as of any other ideology); they suit well in all probability the nations who accept them and mould their national life on their premises; they are only transitory substitutes in this transition period between the Piscean and the Aquarian ages and cannot permanently last. Nothing as yet is permanent. When permanency is reached, evolution will cease and God's plan will be consummated. And then? The greatest revelation of all will come at the close of this world period when the human mind, intuition and soul consciousness is such that understanding will be possible.
5. The idea of a spiritual Hierarchy which will govern the people throughout the world and will embody in itself the best elements of the monarchical, the democratic, the totalitarian and the communistic regimes. *Most of these groups of ideologies have latent in them much beauty, strength and wisdom, and also a profound and valuable contribution to make to the whole.* Each will eventually see its contribution embodied under the control of the Hierarchy of the Lords of Compassion and the Masters of the Wisdom. The restoration of the

ancient Atlantean control by the spiritual forces is still in the future but the Aquarian Age will see the restitution of this inner and spiritual guidance on a higher turn of the spiral....

Modern man is apt to condemn the ideology which is not familiar to him and for which he has no use. He repudiates those ideas which do not lie at the back of his national and personal life or tradition and which would not suit him as an individual nor meet the need of the nation to which he belongs.

The recognition of these facts would lead to two results if correctly applied: first, the individual who accepts and is devoted to a particular ideology would cease fighting other ideologies for he would remember that the accident of birth and of background is largely responsible for making him – as an individual – what he is and determining his beliefs. And, secondly, it would bring to an end the attempt to impose a personally or nationally accepted ideology (political or religious) on other nations and persons. These are basic steps towards eventual peace and understanding and hence I emphasise them today.

The Destiny of the Nations, pp. 8-10

Is it not possible that the ideologies which we have been discussing are the response – distorted and yet a definite and determined, sensitive reaction – to the energies playing upon humanity from the two higher major centres? I would like to suggest that the ideology which is embodied in the vision of the totalitarian states is an erroneous but clear-cut response to the Shamballa influence of *will*; that the ideology behind the democratic ideal constitutes a similar response to the universality which the *love* of the Hierarchy prompts it to express, and that communism is of human origin, embodying that ideology which humanity has formulated in its own right. Thus the three aspects of God's nature are beginning to take form as three major ideas and what we see upon the planet at this time are the distorted human reactions to spiritual impulses, emanating from three different centres, but all equally divine in their essential natures, and in their essences. Ponder on this.

Ibid., pp.22

MEDITATION

PRACTICAL POINTS

1. Sit in a comfortable position, erect but not tense or strained. Relax. See that the breathing is even and quiet.
2. To meditate always in the same place is helpful.
3. 15 to 30 minutes daily is suggested. 5 minutes every day done regularly is of far more value than 30 minutes done irregularly.
4. If you have not had previous experience of meditation, difficulty in concentration is to be expected. Perseverance is needed. If necessary bring the mind back to the required work every time it wanders. Patient practice brings ever increasing skill.

ATTITUDE TO BE ASSUMED

1. Remember we are sharing our effort with a dedicated company of men and women of goodwill.
2. Realise that essentially you are a soul and as such have rapport with all souls.
3. Be conscious that meditation is not a passive, reflective form of devotion but a positive creative use of mind, actively linking the inner and the outer worlds.
4. Use the creative imagination to see yourself at one with all humanity and with all that is new, progressive and spiritual.
5. Adopt a confident attitude which evokes spiritual illumination. This 'as if' attitude can have magical results.

MEDITATION OUTLINE

STAGE I

1. Reflect upon the fact of relationship. You are related to:
 - (a) your family
 - (b) your community
 - (c) your nation
 - (d) the world of nations
 - (e) the One Humanity made up of all races and nations
2. Use this mantram of unification:
**The souls of men are one and I am one with them.
I seek to love, not hate.
I seek to serve and not exact due service.
I seek to heal, not hurt.**

STAGE II

1. Dwell upon the theme of service, your links with service groups and how, with your fellow servers, you can help the divine Plan.
2. Reflect upon the Problem which you are studying and know that goodwill can bring solution. Include the Seed Thought:
That is truly spiritual which properly relates man to man and man to God.... Spirituality is essentially the establishing of right human relations, the promotion of goodwill and, finally, the establishing of true peace on earth.
3. Invoke the spiritual inspiration in finding solution to the problem by using the final stanza of the mantram of unification:
**Let vision come and insight.
Let the future stand revealed.
Let inner union demonstrate and outer cleavages be gone.
Let love prevail.
Let all men love.**

STAGE III

1. Realise that you are contributing to the building of a bridge between the Kingdom of Heaven and earth. Think about this bridge of communication.

STAGE IV

1. Having built the bridge, visualise light, love and blessing descending over the bridge to humanity.

2. Use the Great Invocation. Say it with deliberation and full commitment to its meaning:

From the point of Light within the Mind of God
 Let light stream forth into the minds of men.
 Let Light descend on Earth.

From the point of Love within the Heart of God
 Let love stream forth into the hearts of men.
 May Christ return to Earth.

From the centre where the Will of God is known
 Let purpose guide the little wills of men –
 The purpose which the Masters know and serve.

From the centre which we call the race of men
 Let the Plan of Love and Light work out.
 And may it seal the door where evil dwells.

Let Light and Love and Power restore the Plan on Earth.

OM

OM

OM

WORK PROPOSAL

Suggestions for Consideration and/or Discussion

- Continue with the daily meditation.
 - Consider the following questions as a basis for group discussion or to provide a structure for expressing your own ideas.
1. In what direction do you believe the world is going at this time? Can you see hopeful signs among the confusion and conflicts of today?
 2. What do you consider are the qualities of the “old entrenched forces”? Please be specific; it is important to recognise the nature of the reactionary forces and which of them seems the most dangerous.
 3. Some of the new ideals which are under discussion today have certainly been recognised by you. Which of these would you like to see materialise? What do you understand by the term “new consciousness”?
 4. What do you consider to be the “middle-path” between the pair of opposites which will lead to world unity and right human relations?

In Study One you may have selected a particular problem as providing a possible field of service for you. On the completion of this Course would you be prepared to say whether or not you have found the study of these problems of value? If so, in what way? Which aspect of the study has helped you the most? What do you think may be your **soul's** intended service in the world, working through you as a personality?

With the completion of these seven Studies, World Goodwill offers you the opportunity to remain on our mailing list, to use the services of our lending library, and to receive regular notices of our monthly meditation meetings. Please contact us for further information (see back cover).

The World Goodwill course on the Problems of Humanity is not intended to be didactic. Some statements may be new or unfamiliar. We suggest that these be neither accepted on authority nor lightly cast aside, but instead that they be deeply explored. The questions above are to help stimulate this deeper exploration. This can be done by individual thinking on the questions. They could also form the subject for discussion in a group. We suggest that you try to interest others in the issues raised in this course and form a discussion group. You may also be interested in participating in the online discussion forums at www.lucistrust.org/goodwill/poh/

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