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# DAWN INFORMS

Contingent Alternatives with Women for a New Era



## BETWEEN GLOBALISATION AND FUNDAMENTALISM

### Gender Justice in the Cairo+5 and Beijing+5 Reviews

The challenges facing feminist attempts to link gender justice with economic justice come from two directions.

On the one side there are the poorly regulated processes of globalisation, the new form of a free-market juggernaut riven by deep and growing inequalities of wealth and income, in which rising numbers of impoverished people, especially women, are being marginalised from access to secure livelihoods.



*It is high time NGOs recognised that women's struggles for gender justice, economic justice and participatory democracy are central and may be key to the energy, strategic thinking and innovative wisdom this era of globalisation and fundamentalism demand.*

On the other side is the strengthening of national, religion-based, ethnic or other identities in which the assertion of "traditional" gender roles and systems of authority and control is central. The challenge for women is how to assert the need for both economic justice and gender justice in an increasingly globalised and fundamentalist world.

The conferences of the 1990s were the first significant global occasions when "women's issues" came

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#### November 2001

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A supplement for this issue, 'DAWN Discussion Paper II: Imbalances, Inequities and the WTO Mantra', was produced in time for the WTO Ministerial meeting in Doha.

## DISPATCHES FROM DOHA

*From the International Gender and Trade contingent in Doha: Gigi Francisco of DAWN-SEA/Asia GTN, Mariama Williams of IGTN Secretariat/DAWN Caribbean, Nelcia Robinson of CAFRA/Caribbean GTN, Janice Foerde of ICDA/Europe GTN, and Marianne Holcuth of Berne Declaration/Europe GTN.*



The 4th Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organisation opened in Doha, Qatar, amidst official differences in perspectives, NGO protest and dissatisfaction by delegates over dubious consensus-seeking processes. It continued with protests about the undemocratic process persisting during the meeting.

DAWN and IGTN were amongst those who demonstrated at the entrance of the meeting venue minutes before delegates walked in for the official opening. To P2



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WTO Meeting

we want? Democracy."

A member of the Danish delegation, Janice Forde, who is also a member of the International Gender and Trade Network, was interviewed during the protest. She said it was good to have alternative voices heard.

On the second day a small but determined group of NGOs showed placards outside a room where US Trade Representative Zoellick was supposed to give a briefing, but didn't turn up. The placards read "No Arm Twisting", a direct reference to tactics being employed by the QUAD (Canada, European Union, Japan and US) in dealing with developing countries refusing to support a new round of negotiations.

NGOs circulated a statement asking "Have you seen the Green Man?" The Green Man takes the place of Green Room consultations, a system used by the US and EU to selectively consult small groups of countries and marginalise many developing countries and Least Developed Countries. The Green Men are all male facilitators, underlining the patriarchal mode of operation.

As well as arm-twisting there is also word-twisting, with a US spokesman claiming the facilitator-based (Green Man) bilateral consultations are more transparent because they meant a real debate between two strong and fully-informed persons. There was anxiety over the selection and role of the facilitators and the sort of documents the facilitators would produce, and continuing concern over transparency (selectivity in consultation) and discrimination (only certain views go to print).

In a final demonstration, NGOs called attention to the one-sidedness of the revised draft declaration, highlighting the fact that the QUAD had not honoured promises made during the Uruguay Round. They marched with slogans of "no new lies" and "no more false promises", and wore symbolic images of a bounced cheque drawn on the WTO Bank Unlimited and paid to developing countries.

The meeting extended into a sixth day and many official delegates and civil society representatives, including DAWN, had to depart without sighting the final document.

At that point, results indicated that:

- Democracy and participation were distorted and fractured, with procedural manipulations being employed to steamroll developing countries into the desired consensus of the QUAD and their supporters.
- The TRIPS declaration appeared to meet developing

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Civil society representatives from World Forum on the WTO held in WTO Ministerial Meeting in Doha declared "no" to a new round of negotiations in the WTO. A final declaration voiced concern about a push to militarise globalisation and rules that aim to make trade an absolute and comprehensive principle, pushing aside development, human rights and the interests of people. The statement and recommendations are on P27

countries' demands and reflect some concessions by the US, although some problems remain including: a vague interpretation of public health and lack of consideration for gender and reproductive health; failure to address the wider issue of biopiracy and threats to women's knowledge in health, agriculture etc; and language substitutions of 'should' for 'shall'.

• Some compromise was reached on anti-dumping by the main players, Chile, Korea and Japan versus the US, but questions remain on what is actually deliverable.

• Agriculture texts were largely agreed, but at the expense of the South, with the CAIRNS group (of 15 agriculture

exporting countries) blocking progress on Least Developed Countries issues of a development box or food security.

• No progress areas included implementation

issues, environment (some compromise language but some objectionable language remains), labour (which has resurged on the informal agenda), and textiles.

• Investment and competition maintained references to "future negotiations", while government procurement references to immediate negotiations on transparency and trade facilitation remained despite strong objections.

The text does not call explicitly for a new round, but experts caution it is implicit and critical elements for a new round are embedded in the final declaration. More worrying is that the text appears to commit Members to negotiations at or after the 5th Ministerial, not discussions about whether to have them, as was the case at Doha. 🌻

### Endnotes from P3 opposite

<sup>1</sup> "Traditional" customs and beliefs are often not traditional at all but are customs of recent vintage created for the specific purpose of controlling women or other groups.

<sup>2</sup> This sub-text needs to be read with some care. There is sometimes a tendency among anti-globalisation forces to cast South governments as the champions of a more economically just global order. The power and clout of Northern governments in global negotiations clearly became significantly greater in the 1990s as compared to the 1970s. But this is due, at least in part, to growing disparities among Southern countries themselves. These disparities appear to have eroded the capacity and political will of the South to negotiate effectively together against the North on economic issues such as debt relief, development aid, global environmental controls, or (until Seattle) for a level playing field in international trade. Sharply increasing inequality within many countries has also created powerful supporters of globalisation inside South countries. Nor are these economic struggles simply over national sovereignty; they are also a mixed bag of battles over exclusion from globalisation, or over its spoils.



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Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women expanded on three - the Vienna agreements on women's human rights, Cairo recommendations on reproductive health and rights, and the WSSD macro economic agenda.

These agreements were fraught with controversy although no more so than many other global issues. What was striking about them was the extent to which a small minority of religious fundamentalists and their allies could hold the negotiations to ransom through their attempts to reverse the Cairo and Beijing agreements during the +5 reviews. Although the climate of the 1990s was different from the harsh tensions of bi-polarity in the 1970s and 1980s, some of the actors and tensions had not changed and while the principal text of these negotiations appeared to be women's rights, the critical sub-text was the continuing South-North divide.

In this climate, fundamentalist forces have systematically attempted to emerge as champions of the South. The hard line positions taken by the Northern negotiators on every economic issue from the right to development, to debt, to trade, and to structural adjustment provided fertile soil for a growing closeness between the Vatican and at least some Southern negotiators. More recently, major civil society initiatives for global justice have had the Vatican as an ally. Whatever the rationale, the Vatican began to use its growing clout to oppose women's rights and gender equality in every possible international forum. By the time the Vienna conference on human rights took place in 1993, the Vatican had begun to mobilise its forces against the recognition of women's rights as human rights. In Cairo in 1994, the Vatican allied itself with Islamic fundamentalists to strongly resist the adoption of a reproductive health and rights agenda in the ICPD Programme of Action. At the Social Summit in Copenhagen six months later, this alliance worked to oppose every innovative aspect related to gender equality and reproductive health. This opposition continued through the Beijing and Habitat conferences.

#### What do the fundamentalists really want?

While the conservatives are certainly most virulent (and the Vatican nearly hysterical) on abortion and sexual orientation, this is only symptomatic of their core objection to gender equality itself. They are adamant in their refusal to recognise the brutality of domestic violence against women in all societies and in their vehement assertion of the sanctity of 'cultural' and 'religious' beliefs and practices however harmful to women.

In Cairo + 5 and Beijing + 5 the fundamentalists insisted on full respect for religious beliefs and cultural diversity while refusing to accord the same respect to the diversity among women.

DAWN INFORMS


## Resilience, energy and imagination: women's organisations rise to the challenge

Despite these unfavourable conditions, both the Cairo + 5 and Beijing + 5 reviews ended with the gains of Cairo and Beijing intact, and with further progress on some key fronts. In this light, the political progress observed in the 1990s conferences must be credited to the strategic capacity of global feminist networks to navigate between the Scylla of fundamentalism and the Charybdis of the Northern economic agenda. To do this, women's organisations and networks had to overcome their own internal disagreements and build strong coalitions across the global divides.

In the 1990s, tensions at play within the feminist field itself, particularly in regard to the differences between Northern and Southern women's agendas, were gradually resolved through sustained efforts at building alliances. Women's organisations played multiple strategic and tactical roles during Cairo + 5 and Beijing + 5, essential given the weakness of delegations and the presence of a "do or die" fundamentalist opposition. The extremely important strategic and tactical role played by women's organizations and NGO activists inside and outside government delegations in negotiating the ICPD Programme of Action itself had given them considerable experience and credibility.

In both cases however, women had their work cut out in terms of bringing inexperienced delegations up to speed on the complexities, both technical and political, of the negotiations. Women also worked strategically to analyse the political direction of the negotiations and to support the building of key coalitions among governments. One such crucial coalition that emerged was SLAC (Some Latin American Countries), that began to distinguish itself from more conservative G77 positions during the May Beijing + 5 inter-essional meetings.

Although SLAC itself may have been a short-term tactical phenomenon, its emergence was a signal of major importance. For the first time, a significant bloc of South countries was willing to stand simultaneously for global economic justice and gender justice. By doing so, this bloc challenged others within G77 to show their true colours. In the period after Beijing + 5, SLAC has metamorphosed into GOR (the Group of Rio) in more recent negotiations. What is clear is that there is a strategic need for a global negotiating bloc positioned in the South that consistently links economic justice to gender justice and participatory democracy.

A final word to other development NGOs and networks. Unfortunately, there are still far too many at global and other levels whose commitment to gender equality is weak, and whose beliefs and political practice are fraught with patriarchy. But for too long, the tendency among even the more progressive development NGOs is to leave gender equality to be struggled over by women's organisations alone. It is high time they recognised that women's struggles for gender justice, economic justice and participatory democracy are central and may be key to the energy, strategic thinking and innovative wisdom this era of globalisation and fundamentalism demands. 

Endnotes P2 opposite



## September attacks

# ISSUES AND GLOBAL ACTION

Globalisation. The full paper is listed on [www.seaworld.org/fi/publications/index](http://www.seaworld.org/fi/publications/index) and can be downloaded as a Word document. These are some points from the paper, in which she makes the links between globalisation, fundamentalism and women's lives:

This was not just an attack on America but a wake-up call to all of us; a message to a world that has for too long ignored the pleas and claims of millions of people whose realities are very different from those of the people of the US, Canada and Europe – people whose lives and livelihoods have been stunted by a global economic system geared to place the well-being of the powerful and privileged above those of the majority of the world's peoples, and for whom today's integration of global markets ushers in not a golden age of opportunity but an intensification of the pressures that place at risk the livelihoods and security of millions of people and the planet itself.

For many this kind of shocking terror is perhaps the only logical response to the increasing use of technology to continue the destruction of life. The destruction of the lives of thousands of innocent people in NYC and Washington is criminal, but we need to know that this kind of terror takes place on a daily basis in many parts of our world today. We need to know that there is a link between the structures that produce and perpetuate this kind of destructiveness and those that subordinate women. And

we need to know that when women's lives are sacrificed for the sake of political and economic power and privilege, the consequences for all humanity are terrible!

Political struggles are always about the control of resources. The division of the world between one group of countries that use their power and privilege to command the resources and productive capacities of another group of countries by exercising control over political, cultural and social structures used to be called colonialism. Today it is called globalisation. The globalisation of economic, political, social and cultural structures is not new; what is new is the pace and extent of this process of integration. The gains go to those who have the means to take advantages of the opportunities presented for unprecedented wealth and privilege.

The 1980s saw the reversal of many of the gains made in the 1960s and 1970s as countries adopted the policy framework of Structural Adjustment, the conditions under which they received assistance from the International Monetary Fund as they struggled to repay their international

To P5

### A DAWN Statement

Since our founding in 1984, we in DAWN have envisioned a world:

- ☀ "...where inequality based on class, gender and race is absent from every country and from relationships among countries...
- ☀ where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated...
- ☀ where the massive resources now used in the production of the means of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression both within and outside the home...
- ☀ where all institutions are open to participatory democratic processes, where women share in determining priorities and making decisions..."

Accordingly, in the aftermath of the events of 11 September, we in DAWN:

share the pain of all who suffered loss on 11 September, and from all acts of terrorism before and since and declare such acts to be crimes against humanity;

condemn all forms of violence in private and public domains, perpetrated by individuals, groups or States; urge the United States and American-led coalition to:

- renounce unilateralism and immediately cease the attacks on the innocent people of Afghanistan and the destabilisation of South Asia and the Middle East and instead to mobilise resources towards a massive humanitarian effort to save lives and inculcate democratic values that recognise the equality of women, and
- fully respect civil rights and the rule of law that requires that justice be done after due process;

name the evils that hurt women and prevent the realisation of the kind of world that DAWN strives for

- globalised greed, militarism, and patriarchal fundamentalism in all its manifestations, including in religion, culture, tradition and neoliberalism; and we

call upon all States, particularly the developed countries, to engage in good faith multilateralism in all fora, including the World Trade Organisation and the Bretton Woods institutions, and ensure genuine participatory democracy, the diversion of resources now wasted in environmentally and socially unsound production and consumption towards the alleviation of poverty, a truly equitable distribution of resources, and fair trade.



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the role of the state, and the relationships between states, markets and civil society.

Women everywhere bore the brunt of these policies, which often resulted in cuts in social services and loss of jobs for women who predominated in these sectors of the economy. At the same time it was women, especially those in poor households, who had to fill the gaps created by these cuts, when states transferred responsibility for the care of the sick, the disabled and the elderly to the market, by the privatisation of services.

In many countries with Islamic populations, the gaps in education, health, sanitation and nutrition were filled by Islamic organizations: the "madrassas" (Islamic schools) offered not only free classrooms but also food and shelter for poor children. There, indoctrination in Islamic fundamentalism spread Islamic patriarchy and militancy. The spread of Islamic fundamentalism and militancy is thus related to the deterioration of public services.

Economic restructuring in the cause of the spread of capitalism (globalisation) has two other consequences that lead to the spread of fundamentalism: the insecurity engendered by deteriorating services and the withdrawal of the state from the provision of basic services encourages people to turn to fundamentalist religion, in all faith traditions; similarly the threatened erosion of cultural values through the spread of Western materialism and consumerism has led many to identity politics as a form of resistance to Westernisation. Nowhere has this been more evident than in Islamic cultures.

Accompanying the increased burden on women's time and labour imposed by macroeconomic policies of structural adjustment was therefore an increase in the level of violence, including domestic violence, fuelled by a number of factors including a rise in religious fundamentalism that is related to the increased sense of insecurity, the need for services, the spread of globalisation and the struggle for economic resources.

Fundamentalism exists in most religions, but one thing they all have in common is the control of women, and especially women's sexuality, and the use of violence to impose this control. Violence is not only physical, but also psychological and even spiritual. Political power is reinforced when it can be linked to religious beliefs, and religious groups use political connections to protect their interests. The symbiotic relationship between religion and politics can be lethal to women, as we have seen in many countries, and not only those in the Muslim world<sup>1</sup>.

The combination of social insecurity, poverty and the struggle for resources came together in the 1980s. During

this phase of the Cold War, the US government encouraged the formation of Islamic groups in Asia and the Middle East to fight communism, in the struggle over resources, specifically oil<sup>2</sup>. These groups used religious fundamentalism to secure and reinforce their political power in two ways – by adopting a code of conduct that offered a way of controlling their followers, and secondly by espousing religious teachings that would guarantee control over women. As the carriers of the culture, the backbone of the family and the people on whom future generations depend, women's support is critical for any revolutionary movement. In many countries women have suffered horribly at the hands of religious fundamentalists.



The point is that macroeconomic policies of structural adjustment that were/are so devastating to women have their parallel in the political struggles waged over resources when religious fundamentalism was used to mobilise and reinforce anti-communist political forces. When capitalism is unchecked, the vulnerable suffer and women more so than any other group since they have primary responsibility for the care of people. When patriarchy is unrestrained, men lose their humanity, and a rule of terror is launched on the world. The impacts on women of unrestrained patriarchal capitalism are devastating

and this has horrendous consequences for the whole society, as we have seen. There seems to be little or no understanding of the fact that the people who have suffered the most from the actions of the "terrorists" who used the lives of innocent people as human bombs to destroy the lives of thousands of other innocent human beings are the people of the countries in which these groups operate, and especially the women.

At this time we need information, reflection, analysis and dialogue to find solutions that will stop the violence, not escalate it. We need a different perspective and women, speaking as women (as distinct from women speaking as politicians or experts of one sort or another) can take leadership in this, in partnership with men who understand that patriarchy robs men of their humanity, no less than it dehumanises women. 🌸

<sup>1</sup> Starting with the processes leading up to the 1993 International Conference on Human Rights and continuing through all the UN conferences of the 1990s, there has been an 'unholy' alliance between the Vatican, the Christian Right and Muslim fundamentalists to resist and reverse any advances in women's human rights.

<sup>2</sup> The Israeli-Palestinian struggle for territory is part of this on-going struggle for the control of the resources of this part of the world.



## ISLAM AS MISOGYNY

President of the Religious Consultation On Population,  
Reproductive Rights after 11 September 2001.

11 changed the world but no agreement on what  
development that may be a possibility of good news in

those changes are. There is, however, a development  
terrible times.

An article by Andrew Sullivan in The New York Times insists: 'This is a religious war — not of Islam against Christianity and Judaism but of fundamentalism against faiths of all kinds that are at peace with freedom and modernity.'

Fundamentalism has come to mean a right wing, ultraconservative, authoritarian, and anti-woman kind of religion, whether Christian, Jewish, Muslim, or any other religion. There is more at issue than "freedom and modernity." The status of women and their rights is a central issue in fundamentalism. The Taliban show this in crude bold relief, but there are Taliban types in all faith traditions.

The surest proof of the fundamentalist syndrome is misogyny. The dominant motive of right wing groups is fear, and they fear women, especially the women who are claiming their rights as fully fledged and autonomous human beings. The Vatican, after fourteen centuries of hostility and war against Islam, is now holding hands with conservative Muslim states

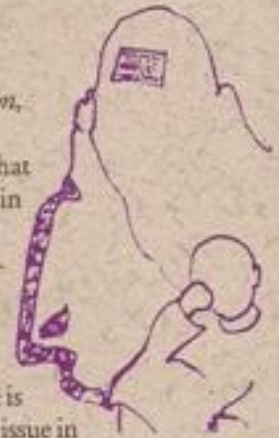
at the United Nations, especially on the issue of the right of a woman to choose an abortion. Is it that these two patriarchies are uniting against a perceived common threat, free and independent women?

So where is the good news? Critical, clear-headed thinking about religion is not commonplace. That is a pity because religions are huge actors on the world scene. Each religion is taken to be a seamless garment of beliefs. In fact, none of them is. They are more like patchwork quilts and not all the patches match. They are also damaged goods, battered by their trek through the tumult of history. It is the beginning of religious sophistication to know this, and even President George W. Bush is seeing it when he heralds the peaceful moral core of Islam in contrast with the fundamentalist, sexist deviations of the Taliban. When right wing Christians blamed the September 11 attack on abortion and other sexual and reproductive matters, they were referred to by many in the press as the Christian Taliban. They were not representing the good moral energies of Christianity any more than the Taliban are exemplars of the best in Islam.

*Extract from the presentation to the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly by Angela King, UN Assistant Secretary-General, Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. She said work was already beginning on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management of conflict resolution and peace-building.*

"Now more than ever we need to have uppermost in our minds, in our deliberations and in our decisions, the gender-based violence affecting women as a result of armed conflict. In this regard, I wish to draw particular attention of delegations to the plight of Afghan women. United Nations humanitarian agencies anticipate that as many as 7.5 million refugees, most of them women and children, may cross the borders in the coming weeks. I would also emphasise that Member States ensure that Afghan women rightfully belong at the peace table whenever negotiations begin. The crisis in Afghanistan serves as a powerful warning of the consequences when women are excluded from decision-making."

*In an open letter to United States President George W. Bush, Dr LeRoy Carlsart of Nebraska said: "...thankyou for your response to the 11 September terrorist attack. Can you now help the nation's abortion providers who have been the victims of repeated acts of fringe radical religious terrorists during the past 25years? They have burnt and bombed our homes and businesses; kidnapped and held hostage our members; and without regard to age or sex have murdered unarmed men and women. Terrorism is terrorism. It should not matter whether they are supported and granted asylum in Afghanistan or that they are supported and granted asylum within the United States. All terrorism must be stopped. Please take a stand against domestic terrorism directed against America's abortion providers."*



Shock is often the birthplace of insight. The consciousness is dawning that right wing sexism is a deviation from the healthy mainstream of these classics of cherishing that we call by the names of the world religions. Thus September 11 called attention to the difference between the decadent state of the world religions including their bias against women, and the authentic messages of those religions which at their best happen to be pro choice and pro women.

In each of the world's major religions there is indeed a conservative, pro-natalist thrust that bans abortion. These religions were spawned in a world in which depopulation, not overpopulation, was the issue. Through most of history, the human race was grazed thin by death. However, as these religions met the complexity of life, they came, each in its own way, to see the need for family planning, including abortion when needed. The moderate view stands on equal footing with the more conservative, restrictive view on abortion and is a legitimate reading of these rich, complex traditions, including Roman Catholicism. Could the long tenured sexist caricatures in all the world religions be more open now to attack? Is this a moment of opportunity? 🌟



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the use of force rather than the processes of justice and the rule of law at a time when the world community is poised to usher into being the first International Criminal Court.

History has demonstrated that to meet violence with violence rather than the rule of law perpetuates the cycle of violence. To those who committed the 11 September attack, the authorisation of a violent response is precisely the victory they seek. By contrast, those who condemn this barbarous act must defy those expectations and stand for justice, and through justice, the restoration of peace and respect for the rule of law.

As an organisation that represents the rights and needs of women, we must insist upon the fact that the most numerous victims of war are the women and children. They represent the overwhelming majority of those amassed now at the borders of Afghanistan.

We therefore call on the members of the General Assembly to set precedents in the interpretation of the Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) and pass a declaration qualifying the interpretation of the Security Council resolution. The United Nations was founded to save succeeding generations from the 'scourge of war.' In carrying out its responsibilities to maintain or restore international peace and security at this moment in time, the Security Council must find the appropriate balance between measures which will truly address this heinous form of violence and those which will exacerbate and perpetuate the breach of international peace and security."

**NEW McCARTHYISM:** Ronnie Gilbert, once a member of the Weavers, a former US folk music group that included Pete Seeger, complained in a letter to the editor of an American newspaper that she was under investigation by the FBI for the second time. The first time, the Weavers were subject to scrutiny in the McCarthy era. This was when anyone involved in opposing violence and racism, supporting peace, or even raising money for refugee children was made a target in the hysterical first phase of the Cold War search for communists. The Weavers were dropped by recording companies and television, and like many teachers, union members, scientists, journalists, actors and entertainers, lost their careers and community standing, while no communist spies were found.

Ronnie Gilbert has now discovered that a peace activist group she belongs to, Women in Black, is being threatened with a Grand Jury investigation. Women in Black is a loosely knit international network of women who vigil against violence. Each group is autonomous and focuses on the particular problems of personal and state violence in its part of the world. Jewish Women in Black of Jerusalem have stood vigil every Friday for 13 years, with Muslim women from Palestinian peace groups. Bosnia Women in Black have been active for 10 years.

A book by Robin Morgan, *The Demon Lover - On the Secularity of the Terrorist* (W.W. Norton Co, New York, 1989), examines the fascination that violence holds for both men and (differently) for women and seeks to find ways to create within ourselves a committed ferocity too intelligent and pragmatic to settle for violent means. She recounts stories of refugee women which she says are an answer to women who believe terrorism is a route to freedom for women, or anyone.

we are looking for iris, mother of three. Please call with any information. we are searching for priti, last seen on the 103rd floor. she was talking to her husband on the phone and the line went.

i am looking for my son, who was delivering coffee.

I am looking for peace. i am looking for mercy. I am looking for evidence of compassion, any evidence of life. i am looking for life.


From "first writing since" by Suhair Hamid



Fundamentalism

FOCUS on the Global South considers the assault on the World Trade Centre horrific, heinous, and unpardonable. "We must, however, emphasise that terrorism is not a problem that can be eradicated principally through police and military methods. If the perpetrators were indeed people connected to Osama bin Laden,

then a lasting solution lies in the US changing its policies in the Middle East, particularly its subordinating the interests of the peoples of the region to its desire for untrammelled access to the world's largest oil reserves in order to maintain its high-consumption, petroleum-intensive civilisation, and its unstinting support for Israel.

"FOCUS and other civil society organisations urge the UN to frame a campaign that seeks justice, not revenge. The 11 September tragedy is one more reason for the international community to finalise ratification and establishment of the International Criminal Court. The main thrust of the international civil society effort against terrorism connected with the bombing must be to convince the US government to address not the symptoms but the roots of terrorism, that lie in their 50 year old policies on oil and Israel. There are also causes of terrorism that are principally domestic in character, which stem from the failure of governments to rectify injustices perpetrated against minorities and other oppressed groups or from their inability to curb the ambitions of dominant elites or communal groups." 



...an and Osama Bin Laden. Something must be done about those monsters. But they are not Afghanistan, not even the government of Afghanistan. The Taliban are a cult of ignorant psychotics who took over Afghanistan in 1997. Bin Laden is a political criminal with a plan. It's not only that the Afghan people had nothing to do with this atrocity, they were the first victims of the perpetrators.

Why don't the Afghans rise up and overthrow the Taliban? Because they are starved, exhausted, hurt, incapacitated, suffering. A few years ago, the United Nations estimated that there are 500,000 disabled orphans in Afghanistan—a country with no economy, no food. There are millions of widows. The soil is littered with land mines, the farms were all destroyed by the Soviets.

We come now to the question of bombing Afghanistan back to the Stone Age. Trouble is, that's been done. Would they at least get the Taliban? Not likely. In today's Afghanistan, only the Taliban eat, only they have the means to move around. They'd slip away and hide. Maybe the bombs would get some of those disabled orphans, they don't move too fast, they don't even have wheelchairs.

We're flirting with a world war between Islam and the West. That's Bin Laden's programme, why he did this. He really believes Islam would beat the West. It might seem ridiculous, but he figures if he can polarise the world into Islam and the West, he's got a billion soldiers. If the West wreaks a holocaust in those lands, that's a billion people with nothing left to lose. The war would last for years and millions would die, not just theirs but ours. Who has the belly for that? Bin Laden does."

#### REFLECTIONS ON INFINITE JUSTICE

Azra, a Pakistani woman working with women's groups, wrote a letter that is circulating on email to share some of the pain and grief at hosting a war for the Americans for the second time in 20 years. She questioned what was gained, especially for women, from the previous Afghan war against the Russians, in which today's terrorists were termed heroes.

She said the aftermath of hosting a war includes drug addiction, because of the drug-trafficking that was a product of the war in Afghanistan. Women suffer hopelessness, misery and fear because of the drug problem, afraid to walk in squatter settlements where they could be kidnapped and sold to finance drugs. There is also massive poverty and misery on the streets, particularly amongst the millions of Afghan refugees. The Afghani women are not seen or heard, an invisible presence only worth mentioning as victims of the fundamentalist Islamic faith. The Afghan war brought the Taliban, and fundamentalism is also tightening its grip on Pakistan and children have become tools of militant groups. Women have become used to walking with their heads down, scurrying through streets, ashamed to be seen, guilty of existence. Hatred towards women knows no bounds. Azra said the 'civilised North' criticised them for their harsh, fundamentalist, backward culture, but never acknowledged their own role in the proliferation of these fundamentalist practices.

...ever lost touch with what is going on there in the  
...the comments on American remarks about  
...st be done" in retaliation for the attack of 11



The Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan has made a statement denying that the people of Afghanistan had anything to do with Osama bin Laden and his accomplices. There was a vast difference between the poor and devastated people of Afghanistan and the terrorist Jehadi and Taliban criminals. RAWA said it had warned the US against supporting fundamentalist groups and leaders that trampled on democratic, women's and human rights.



*Worldwide Sisterhood Against Terrorism and War: Women from different religious backgrounds have called on the United States, the United Nations and world community to make massive and immediate airlifts of food and medicine for the people of Afghanistan. They do not support the bombing of Afghanistan, but believe all terrorists must be brought to justice and financial institutions that refuse to disclose the flow of funds to terrorists should be boycotted. They want the women of Afghanistan helped to build a democracy that includes them.*

From *Phantom Towers: Feminist Reflections on the Battle between Global Capitalism and Fundamentalist Terrorism* by Rosalind P. Petchesky who questioned whether there is some alternative, a more humane and peaceable way out of the two unacceptable polarities now being presented: the permanent war machine (or permanent security state) and the regime of holy terror.

"Feminist analysts and activists from many countries have been challenging the gender-biased and racialised dimensions of both neoliberal capitalism and various fundamentalisms for years, trying to steer a path between their double menace. The difference now is that they parade onto the world stage in their most extreme and violent forms.

Maybe out of the ashes we will recover a new kind of solidarity; maybe the terrorists will force us, not to mirror them, but to see the world and humanity as a whole."



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Shiva, wrote on Bioterror and Biosafety in *The Hindu*, 19 October 2001. Here are some extracts:

The threat to public health and the environment from hazardous biological agents is not new. Terrorists can get them because they are around, but they pose hazards even if they are not in terrorist hands.

Bin Laden did not invent bacterial agents. They were invented in defence or corporate laboratories. And genetic engineering of biological organisms, both for warfare and food and agriculture, is creating new biohazards, both intended and unintended. Highly infectious and virulent biological agents are used as vectors in the production of genetically modified organisms. The risks and impact on the environment and human health are unknown, but ignorance of the impact is being treated as proof of safety.

Biowarfare or bioterrorism is the deliberate use of living organisms to kill people. When economic policies based on trade liberalisation and globalisation deliberately spread fatal and infectious diseases such as AIDS, TB and malaria by dismantling health and medical systems, they too become instruments of bioterror. They are different from the acts of terrorists only because they are perpetrated by the powerful, not the marginalised and the excluded, and they are committed for the fanaticism of the free market ideology, not fundamentalist religious ideologies.

*i do not know how bad a life has to break in order to kill, i have never been so hungry that i willed hunger i have never been so angry as to want to control a gun over a pen, not really, even as a woman, as a palestinian, as a broken human being, Never this broken.*

From "first writing since" by Suheir Hammad

**PHYSICS AND ACTIVISTS** A group of activists and academics are internet to call for justice and peace. Their statement is critical of those who offer simple solutions to complex problems, ignore problems and fail to cover the arms trade, western dictatorships or even the everyday struggles of the oppressed for survival and justice.



by the terrorist attack of 11 September, they believe warfare is an ineffective means of opposing terrorism, just as freedom is not defended by the restriction of civil liberties any more than intolerance is challenged by racism. They urge people to stop the drift towards violence and war by speaking up, talking to others with different attitudes, and trying to build peace in daily lives. The dynamics of war requires the opposition of many people if it is to be stopped, in whatever way people want to take action. The important thing is to act whenever possible, in public and private, so terror does not beget terror.

*one more person assume no arabs or muslims were killed, one more person assume they know me, or that i represent a people, or that a people represent an evil, or that evil is as simple as a flag and words on a page, we did not vilify all white men when mcveigh bombed oklahoma, america did not give out his family's addresses or where he went to church.*

From "first writing since" by Suheir Hammad, author of *Born Palestinian*, *Born Black* and other books.



*affirm life, affirm life we got to carry each other now, you are either with life, or against it. affirm life.*

*more than ever, i believe there is no difference, the most privileged nation, most americans do not know the difference between indians, afghans, syrians, muslims, sikhs, hindus, more than ever, there is no difference.*

TRIPs (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights) imposes patents and monopolies on drugs, taking essential medicines beyond the reach of the poor. Privatisation of health systems as imposed by the World Bank under SAPS (Structural Adjustment Programmes) and also proposed in GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services), spreads infectious diseases because low cost, decentralised public health systems are withdrawn and dismantled. It is fully recognised that stronger public health systems are the only response to bioterrorism. However, precisely at a time when public health reports are needed most, they are being dismantled under privatisation and trade liberalisation pressures. 🌻

*i do not know who is responsible, but i know for sure who will pay, in the world, it will be women, mostly colored and poor, women will have to bury children, and support themselves through grief.*



# Gains and Goes Ahead



By Sonia Corrêa

Gender considerations made meagre advances in the October FfD PrepCom compared to earlier documents.

The first draft document, debated in the May PrepCom meeting, mentioned women in only one paragraph, in reference to micro financing. But in the final document emerging from the meeting, even this had disappeared and not a single mention of gender or women could be found.

In contrast, the new Scanero draft had four general references to gender and one to women's empowerment:

As this shows, the current FfD semantics and content still lag far behind the available analysis on the gender implications of the FfD agenda. It is true that in regard to some contents under discussion – as is the case of FDI, ODA, and financial architecture – gender analysis has not yet been fully developed. However the inputs provided by Floros' paper, the Interagency Task Force paper and WEDO proposals that circulated in May should have allowed a deeper and broader engendering of the document, at least in relation to Domestic Resources Mobilisation (including taxation), Trade, Debt and Systemic Issues. The abysmal gap between existing gender inputs and effective incorporation reflects the weakness and fuzziness of the current understanding of drafters and negotiators with respect to the gender implications of development financing.

This gap need not be a major problem if the approach women's organisations fundamentally adopt in regard to FfD will be to stay out there and to insist on the

question raised by the Cartagena Feminist Initiative: "What type of development should be financed?"

If we do think that this "outside strategy" from the margin can be combined with efforts aimed at effectively influencing the process, we need a clear strategy on substance and advocacy methods at this stage.

In my view, at least two steps should be implemented before the next round of negotiations.

The first would be to define priorities with respect to the areas we consider vital to be engendered. It is already clear that it is unrealistic to approach the remaining stages of FfD with the aim of fully engendering the final document.

The second step would be to more consistently devise ways to clarify – for both the Secretariat and negotiators – why and where it is important to adopt a gender analysis in some of the substantive areas under debate. This could help bridge the conceptual gap that can be partially attributed to lack of understanding and knowledge on the part of "stakeholders".

A few positive signs in relation to gender have been heard in the plenary debates. Some countries requested clarification on gender mainstreaming and gender budgets and the Philippines delegation openly supported gender budgets.

Lastly, but not until after Mary Robinson's keynote speech on human rights and development,

many delegations (particularly those belonging to the Rio Group) made clear their commitment to the human rights agenda. This also opens a relevant path for engendering the process. Therefore, if women's organisations and networks decide that it is worth further engaging with text and language, there is much work to be done and few points of entry to be explored between now and January. 🌟

### Scanero Draft

Paragraph 3. *As leaders, we shall join forces through a strengthened multilateralism to ensure stable and sufficient financing for sustainable, gender-sensitive, people-centered development in all parts of the globe. Mobilising the financial resources that are needed to fulfill the multilaterally agreed development goals – including those contained in the Millennium Declaration – will be our first step to ensuring that the 21st century becomes the century of development for all.*

Paragraph 8. *To this end, we shall:*

*Strengthen our efforts to consolidate good governance and the rule of law, including by intensifying our combat of corruption and by enhancing policy and regulatory frameworks that foster a dynamic and well-functioning business sector while promoting equitable income distribution, empowering women and protecting workers' rights and the environment.*

*Ensure sustainable investments in education, health, nutrition, and social security programs, which take special care of children and are gender sensitive and fully inclusive of the rural sector and all disadvantaged communities.*

Paragraph 9. *To provide the necessary support to these efforts, we shall search collectively for ways to:*

*Strengthen technical assistance for capacity building, including in the areas of public finance and administration, gender budget analysis, financial sector development, and debt management, as well as in information and telecommunications infrastructure and management.*

Paragraph 54. *Filling organisational gaps. In the interest of increased and more equitable world economic growth, social development, and environmental protection, several gaps in global governance need to be addressed. To this end, we shall:*

*Strengthen the coordination of the multilateral financial and development institutions to more decisively mainstream gender into economic and development policies.*



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## PrepCom

held 3<sup>rd</sup> FfD PrepCom held 15-19 October 2001 in New York drew a "Statement Should be Financed" at a time of conflicting events and a speech by Robinson, going on in the plenary session. The Initiative's FfD document was prepared by Sonia Corrêa of DAWN, Cecilia Lopez Montañó for the Cartagena Initiative, Dora of WEDO and Maria Floro from the American University,

Washington. The Cartagena Initiative paper was presented by Cecilia Lopez Montañó and included contributions from economists Alma Espino of the International Gender and Trade Network and Rosalba Torado of the Association of Academic Economists. The full paper can be downloaded from DAWN website by clicking on the FfD link at the top of the home page, [www.dawn.org](http://www.dawn.org). These are some highlights:

## WHAT KIND OF DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE FINANCED?

Although equity and redistribution are subjects that vanished from the economic literature of the past two decades, today they are at the centre of the development discourse. The need to successfully undertake the reduction of inequality is presented in the Zedillo Report (Report of the High-Level Panel on FfD, presented 23 June 2001) as a moral and humanitarian challenge due to the dangers now faced by peoples of rich countries. "In the global world, someone's poverty quickly becomes someone else's problem: lack of market for the products, illegal immigration, contamination, contagious illnesses, insecurity and terrorism."

The association between poverty and terrorism is not evident. What is clear is that hatred is terrorism's engine, nourished by an impoverished and unsatisfied world. Today's wish is for solidarity to replace retaliation, and for agreement on a new international order. Humanity expects real changes.

The FfD conference must begin with the debate on what kind of development is needed today. This subject does not appear at all, implicitly or otherwise, in the preparatory documents. On the contrary, the documents assume that the guidelines will be applied as they have always been. If today's model is increasing inequity and dissatisfaction to the point of such high levels of hatred as witnessed recently, is it justified to find new financial resources to intensify this reality?

The scheme of development imposed by the leaders of the world conditions the capacities of individual

nations. If new paradigms that recognise the specificities of the countries are not adopted, the restrictions imposed by the actual model — its non-sustainability and the small importance attributed to equality in general and particularly gender equality — will limit the efforts to construct a fair and more dynamic world.

### CARTAGENA INITIATIVE

The DAWN/REPEM seminar on Financing for Development held in Cartagena de Indias 15-17 July 2001 was the basis for a new grouping, the Cartagena Feminist Initiative, to take forward the Latin American gender perspective in the FfD process. DAWN Research Coordinator for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, Sonia Corrêa, and Alejandra Scampini of DAWN/REPEM were on the Cartagena Feminist Initiative team for the resumed FfD PrepCom in New York, 15-19 October 2001. The Cartagena Initiative has organised an e-group linking all those who attended the FfD seminar and others interested in the discussions. IGTN, CLADEM, Women Transforming the Economy, Social Watch, MARCOSUR Coalition, Women and Habitat Network and the Social and Economic Rights Programme of UNIFEM in the Andean Region, Women's Eyes on the Multilaterals, Milenio Feminista and Group of Feminist Economists are amongst those involved in the Initiative. UNIFEM is supporting the activities of the Initiative to plan for the FfD Conference and also for the next World Social Forum at Porto Alegre, Brazil, in January 2002. The Cartagena Initiative is planning a panel to focus on FfD for the WSF.

Without denying the importance of obtaining high rates of economic growth, poverty, distribution and fairness are unable to wait in both developing and developed countries. Gender equality must be recognised as a key for growth and a fundamental step to arrive at fair societies. Persisting differences demand changes more radical than those generated by present policies. The gender bias that impregnates institutions, markets and economic processes has in many cases been reinforced by the macroeconomic policies and strategies of development.

Fiscal, finance and commerce systems have norms of gender ignored by economic agents. The inclusion of gender in processes of political and economic decisions implies an approach that should be in fact transforming. The fragmented approach of specific problems of women in development generates not only incoherence, but prevents visualisation of the close relations between the economic order and the gender order that sustains it.

Maria Floro presented a gender audit of the facilitator's draft outcome document of the FfD Conference. "The facilitator's text acknowledged the importance of meeting internationally agreed commitments, particularly in the promotion of

- gender sensitive sustainable investment in education, health, nutrition and social security programmes



...st the groups actively following and contributing to Financing for Development in the FfD process for DAWN, presented a paper at a Nordic Conference on FfD in Copenhagen, 5 October 2001. Here are some excerpts from her paper.

## Global Governance?

...beyond raising resources to meet development targets. The draft outcome document clearly recognises that the UN Conference is as much about what is called "global economic and social governance".

Before identifying new goals for governance, however, we need to look at the nature and structure of global governance as it currently stands. It is recognised that it is very difficult to set goals for a system that is under question, reflected in the draft outcome document in paragraph 6 "... domestic policies are not enough: to redress unsustainable international asymmetries and imbalances, national development efforts need to be supported by an enabling international environment."

Creating an "enabling international environment" is what I think the FfD is all about.

Defining and redefining global governance is not a new thing but the big difference now is the phenomenon of globalisation. Two aspects of globalisation — economic integration and the Highlander approach to economic modeling,

To P13

From P11

- capacity building in gender budgets and
- mainstreaming of gender into economic and development policies by multilateral financial and development institutions.

- the need to ensure that women and their concerns are duly represented in the ordinary economic environment and in economic growth.

Jocelyn Dow asked what type of development, and for whom?

The introductory section of the facilitator's draft provides the overarching development goal of the forthcoming conference which is to "...ensure that the goal systems of finance and trade fully support economic growth and social justice for all peoples of the world..."

*"A good way to describe the social frustrations of the Region, in the dawn of the new century, is recognising that only half of Latin American youth feel they are better off than their parents."*

It is also commendable that the facilitator makes it clear that the recommended actions are being guided by the principles of economic and social governance: equity, solidarity, co-responsibility, foresight, participation, ownership and partnership under the leadership of the UN.

*"Women do not have to be treated as a vulnerable group, despite the predominance of discrimination. Women constitute a majority of the population, and within this group, poverty predominates."*

In order to ensure that these principles are upheld they will need to take into consideration the social and distribution consequences of economic actions and policies, particularly as they affect the totality of women's work: their roles and wellbeing through their participation in the market economy; the unpaid, non-market activity including household tasks, care for the sick, water and fuel gathering and subsistence production.

*"...small development projects, limited resources and welfare is a demonstrably inoperative strategy. Women must be included in the big league, on equal terms with men in development policies."*

There is a need to recognise:

- that economic decisions of government and international bodies influence not only the mobilisation of resources but also the distribution, access to and control over them and allocation of their use
- the need to adequately redress imbalances in distribution of social and economic benefits and costs resulting from agreed domestic policies and international efforts

Latin America is about to become another failed continent. There is an exclusion of women's views of how they see democracy and there is an inherent exploitation of women in Latin America. The largest groups of indigenous peoples are not part of Latin American discussion.

Capitalism represents a war against everything we have fought for, it is war against women. We have to distinguish what is human capital, and the outcome has to be sustainable livelihoods. In a society that has a drugs market there has been an increase of women arrested over drug sales since structural adjustment.

There is desperation, and we should produce our own figures to humanise it and bring the many faces of development to the table. There is a real way in which political discussion has been wiped out in the new economic order.

It is a long process, and we have to hold on, delegates in the FfD Women's Caucus suggested during some of the darker moments at the resumed FfD Prepcom. While there were groups, such as the Rio group, talking about coherence and the need to link human rights and development, delegations seemed to lack energy to pursue these matters. A strong United States statement about the need for a commitment to capitalism shocked the women's caucus and raised serious concerns about the FfD process. Sonia Corr ea of DAWN suggested a much-needed political assessment session that re-energised the women and clarified the questions they had to have answered. One of these was about who the real stakeholders are. The answer seemed to be the millions of people dying from poverty. ☀



is much less than the number available to developed countries when they were still developing. When the United Nations decides to take a leadership role as it promises in this conference, it must be ready to resolve the tensions that have arisen from the challenges to national economic sovereignty.

The FfD needs to define the principles of three inter-related and overlapping areas that will form the foundation for "global economic and social governance": international economic policy, international political economy, and international economic law. It is very important for the FfD to explicitly address certain key issues in these three areas:

On international economic policy we must question the legitimacy of informal government groupings or networks that

invariably initiate policy, which becomes the "global standard". For example, the Basle Committee made up of the G-10's central bank officials is not transparent in its activities and it is a limited group of technocrats whose mandates for representation is unclear, at least to me. We can say the same thing about ad-hoc groups such as the G-20, the G-8 and G-15. An informal grouping or network is not so bad if its actions did not have such an influence on policies, procedures and standards outside of their respective "jurisdictions."

We can ask if policy making by these informal networks constitutes a global public good or have a negative effect on non-member economies. Will new financing for global public goods cover this type of problem?

On international political economy, a way of measuring economic sovereignty of a state is by looking at the power and influence it exercises in multilateral forums. While the one-state-one-vote process implies that all states are equal, but despite developing countries having two-thirds majority in the UN General Assembly they are unable to use their number to acquire special treatment.

Suspensions over the manner by which multi-lateral groupings are "led" persuade countries to form blocs or

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create side-agreements. Regional agreements, strictly speaking, undermine the multilateral agreements but can prove to be a positive development for weaker countries.

On international economic law, there are now substantive legal formulations in trade, money and finance, and investment.

It appears though that international economic law is weak in the area of international development law, where most formulations are not binding or are considered "soft law", for example,

UN resolutions.

There may also be a lack of perspective on fairness and justice. We might have to ask how international agreements that are economic in nature relate to other legal instruments such as those covering human rights.

One other concern in law making is the relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government. The executive branch forges many of the international agreements, which have domestic legislative implications. Civil society must not only raise questions on the accountability of multilateral institutions but also the accountability of national representatives working within those institutions.

Finally, there are also cases of countries so powerful, they can choose to export their own legislation. An example is US anti-trust legislation. National legislation is always undertaken to promote national interest, which may not be the same as any other country's interest.

Paragraph 58 of the draft outcome document suggests that "a world economic body at the highest political level" be set-up under the United Nations. How will this world economic body define "global economic and social governance"?

It seems to me that the United Nations through this "world economic body" will act as the first among equals. Yet I wonder if there is room for some hierarchy, where the Bretton-Woods Institutions and the ad-hoc groups are accountable to the General Assembly.

The body at the "highest political level" should have a structure that clearly includes civil society organisations.

The real challenge of the FfD conference lies in resolving the tensions resulting from globalisation's challenge to national economic sovereignty. To meet this challenge, the FfD conference must directly address the following points:

- National economic policy making with implications outside of their jurisdictions
- Voting structures that do not empower governments
- Justice in international economic law





## Working Inside and Out

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l in the FfD  
guage, the

Women's Caucus concluded after watching developments in the October PrepCom. Caucus Co-Chair, Ruth Jacobi, said it was clear there would be no systemic changes or new institutional initiatives emerging. Nor would there be space within for a real critique of the neo-liberal model. It was therefore necessary to work outside on a critique while continuing work on language that pushes initiatives around tax organisation, debt arbitration and others.

In reponse to increasing polarisation which threatened to derail the dialogue process, the caucus made the following statement of concern that was signed by 40 organisations including DAWN, REPEM and IBASE, and distributed to delegations during the PrepCom.

"In previous meetings we have been pleased with the spirit of collaboration, openness and innovation that has marked the FfD process. We would regret seeing this dialogue derailed by increasing polarisation. We therefore call on all delegates to commit to:

- Continuing with all current stakeholders at the table, including states, international financial institutions, private sector and civil society

Reaffirming all six thematic areas under discussion without prioritising or minimising any topics

The process linked to programme and commitments within the Rio + 10 process

The roundtable discussions at the International Conference on FfD which guaranteed a 50 per cent representation of women, as well as the voices of the impoverished, in the delegations from governments, international financial institutions, private sector and civil society.

### Outcome

Integrating a human rights framework in the outcome document as a necessary part of the development process, not as a mere add-on

Integrating into each of the six specific areas recommendations regarding gender implications of FfD

An implementing mechanism to guide policy-making in global socio-economic governance beyond the Monterrey International Conference."



*DAWN and the Cartagena Feminist Initiative in New York for the FfD PrepCom, clockwise from left, Marina Durano of the Philippines, Sonia Corrêa of Brazil, Alejandra Scampini of Uruguay, Frine Lopez of Mexico, Laura Frade of Mexico, and Cecilia Lopez of Colombia.*

The FfD website, [www.un.org/esa/ffd](http://www.un.org/esa/ffd) has updated information on the process as well as policy statements from NGOs.

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, spoke at the FfD PrepCom, 16 October 2001:

"In the aftermath of these events (September 11 attacks), there has been remarkable, unprecedented and welcome international co-operation through the United Nations in combating terrorism. It must be all our hope that the new spirit of international solidarity can also lead to new thinking about the role of international co-operation in development and in creating a more equitable and balanced world. We must focus our attention on making increased resources available for development. Financing for development is the best investment we can make today, in order to ensure security and human dignity for all in the future. Inequality, injustice and discrimination generate conflict. From Seattle to Genoa, protest on the streets reflects the deep concern over the perceived inequality and injustice in the global economy. A central response in addressing these concerns is to strengthen participation...give an effective voice to countries that feel they are left out of the process, and to people who are marginalised and denied access to resources. This requires institutions of governance to be transparent and accountable."



*...N World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia  
...countered many hindrances and ended abruptly with a document that was not  
...re, the terrorist attack in the United States took place, suddenly changing the  
...validity of the conference outcomes and the chances of them being implemented  
...role of defining itself differently from the we/they, good ones/bad ones, black*

## THE FUNDAMENTALS OF HUMANITY



WCAR, held in Durban, South Africa 31 August - 8 September 2001, raised the hopes and aspirations of many racially segregated groups and others affected by racial and other forms of discrimination. But the final result was

a very weak official document leaving out groups such as the Dalits in India, Romas in Europe, gays, lesbians and disabled persons. Some positive outcomes, however, were adopted in relation to migrants, the Afrodescendant population in the Americas and indigenous peoples, even though an article was inserted to avoid problems associated with their rights to decision-making and self-determination.

Participants struggled to reach last minute consensus on three important issues: reparations linked to colonialism and slavery; the Middle East; and grounds of discrimination. The polarisation and politicisation of these matters resulted in ambiguous language and became the focus of media reporting which ignored other important issues.

The complicated Palestinian issue became intensely politicised, its effects reaching the NGO Forum. Finally agreement was reached on the right to the self-determination of the Palestinians and the creation of a Palestinian state, recognising at the same time the right to security for all states in the region, including Israel. Meanwhile, the victims of ethnic wars in Central Africa, the dismembered children of Sierra Leone, the kidnapped child soldiers of Myanmar and the increase of HIV/AIDS amongst war rape victims were either forgotten or given very low profile at the conference and the NGO Forum. Nor does the Durban text contain explicit reference to religious fundamentalism, no mention of the Taliban and denial of the rights of Afghani women.

At times it seemed the issue of slavery and reparations was the only topic of interest to African countries, but legal complexities and ramifications were impossible to solve or even determine at the conference. The topic was also restricted to the treatment of Africans by western countries, and did not open discussion for French, Dutch and British colonialism in the Asia-Pacific region, or Spanish colonialism, slavery and extermination in Latin America.

The domination of these two topics weakened efforts to arrive at concrete recommendations for a universal fight against racism and discrimination.

The text that defined the grounds of discrimination was the key to defining the victims and possible action. Northern countries had proposed a more inclusive list, but African, Asian and Islamic countries had a limited one and Latin America and the Caribbean were divided between

with Brazil, Equador, Chile, Guatemala and Canada proposing the inclusion of a sexual orientation paragraph that was not adopted. Nor were the intersections of multiple forms of institutionalised discrimination such as gender, sex, age, disability, language, class, culture, religion, health status or caste recognised. The final definition used elements from 50-year-old conventions, representing a great loss of opportunity to recognise a broader concept of human rights founded on diversity and mutual respect.

The NGO Forum failed to reach consensus in time for a final document to have an influence on the governments at the conference. The Forum's failure to have a significant role in the Durban process was due to the selection of NGOs for the International Executive Committee, which lacked leadership; lack of Spanish and French translations; and the lack of method in drafting the final document. Despite the hybrid documents the Drafting Committee received, it managed a certain coherence that placed diverse opinions in a framework of respect for human rights and diversity, although it was not possible in relation to the language on Palestine and Anti-Semitism.

The final conference document was not, really, what women wanted, but it managed to place intersectionality on the NGO agenda as an important concept for the analysis of discrimination in general, and not only for women. Despite unflagging efforts at the preparatory meetings and in Durban, the Women's Caucus was unable to achieve discussion of the universality of human rights, the importance of education and literacy with a gender perspective, the role of media, or how women face diversity and difference. The women were without doubt, and despite several disagreements, the most organised and had a clear democratic discourse, but they were unable to achieve much. Durban was such a mixture of ineffectiveness, intolerance and ignorance it could have been a rehearsal for what we are living today.

Generally, WCAR has achieved a major objective: to generate publicity on a theme that is rarely discussed in international arenas. It has also developed legal texts and action plans for international treaties. However, the most important gain has been the strengthening of civil society through the preparatory processes, which will enable the formation of a social watch to ensure implementation of the agreements in the post-conference process.

There are surely many challenges from now on, but the first will be to demonstrate that the only valid fundamentalism is the one that recognizes people as fundamental. 🌻



(AIDS in the context of sexuality and gender, interested participants at a 9 August 2001. The NGO Forum was held in conjunction with the World Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, 31 August-7 September. Anglophone Africa, and Celita Eccher, DAWN Regional Coordinator for Marking Bodies. Here are some highlights from the panellist's presentations.

## THE "MARKED BODY"

WCAR

Cecilia Millan, Latin America, provided an opening piece on the 'Marked Body' theory tracing the 'marking' of women's bodies from colonial times. The status and values assigned to women and their roles have evolved and acquired different connotations according to culture and time.

"Slavery is a good example because it has been one of the most brutal ways of physical appropriation of another's body, and comprises all forms of exploitation and corporal repression. The appropriation (white man/black woman; Spanish conqueror/Indian woman) of the female body is the first fact that shapes the women's world, the feminine side, in our cultures. This fact, together with maternity, will deeply affect the creation of gender identity of women and men regardless of their race or ethnicity.

The control of another one's body, the control of women's bodies by men, includes the control and regulation of women's sexuality by husbands, fathers, family, kinship networks, religion, media, State. They have marked women's body, just as masters made their mark on slaves, on horses and on cattle. This marked body has subsisted as the feminine sex, different and inferior to the masculine sex. The inferiority has been legitimised by the ideology of "natural" superiority of men over women, with the excuse of biological difference. The biological difference between the sexes: corporeal differences, particularly limited to genital organs and the value assigned to them, is what shape us, what give us our identity, what makes us different from each other, what draws the boundaries.

All those differences have their origin in the primary incomprehension between man and woman, and gives origin to sexism, to discrimination.

We don't exist without a body, it is our own property, and some times the only property we have. The moment we think about one's body as property, differences start to show up depending on whether we think from a woman's or a man's perspective.

The word "gender" incorporated the body into the political agenda. For feminist discourse, the construction of the person's identity is basic, obviously without leaving aside the material aspect of sexual difference (body). Sexual rights are an important concept, strongly linked to sexuality and again to the marked body. When we put these rights on the agenda we see the various forms with which societies control women's bodies. Here we have the "other" discriminated against because of the "deviant" use/enjoyment of her/his own body.

If gender prejudice and power relationships which

*Anglophone Africa Regional Coordinator, Bene Madunagu, reported on the WCAR NGO Forum:*

*A final all night meeting of the WCAR NGO Forum ended in a form of consensus. The major problem arose from changing the concept of thematic caucuses into a total of 39 caucus groups formed by special interest lobbies. They could not all finish their meetings in time to submit reports for the drafters to include in the final document. Discussion on the document was therefore delayed.*

*The final afternoon was taken up with the closing ceremony. When discussion on the NGO Forum document began that night, there were initial problems concerning the large number of people who wished to speak. One representative of each caucus was nominated to vote, which speeded up the process. All concerns of the caucuses were incorporated and resulted in strengthening the document.*

*There is, however, a need for the women's movement to change strategy. There is enough "language" in CEDAW, ICPD, ICPD+5, Beijing, Beijing+5, WSSD etc. and what is happening now is that the language is being recycled, sometimes risking being watered down. Resources should instead be invested more into areas such as capacity building, mobilising young people, and using the rich work from all documents of the past decade to develop simple manuals that could change the lives of women everywhere.*

convey and protect this prejudice are neither attacked nor eradicated, no ways of including marginalised or excluded populations by virtue of their color, culture or other grounds will lead to a real transformation of our societies.

The challenge is how, in a globalised world where we face a diversity of identities that are not immovable/unchangeable but under permanent construction, we change attitudes. How do we go beyond the examination of the intersectionality of gender and discrimination and link these with other issues: sexual rights, reproductive rights, legal reforms, etc?

We have to insist on the role of education, but if education is not accompanied by a critical view to achieve social change and equality in power relationships, it will be only a rhetorical exercise.

Non-sexist education enables people to overcome prejudice because it takes into consideration gender, race, ethnicity, age etc., and is key to eradicating sexist stereotypes in collective minds, to denouncing and attacking sexist ideologies and practices within the home, media, culture, religion, and states, with actions which favour equity. 🌸



either directly as the disenfranchised Indigenous Peoples, displaced and oppressed Africans, Indian indentured workers, or as the Oppressors".

The Caribbean has experienced so much violence between the races in the course of its development into a modern society that current populations are anxious to preserve peace and social stability even at the price of perpetuating racial inequality.

Although women who join together to challenge gender inequality themselves encounter racial discrimination, and although they live in societies where racial difference is an ever present subtext of interpersonal and societal relations, there seems to be an implicit compact to avoid issues of race. Segregation along lines of race and ethnicity is evident among feminist groups both at national and regional level. It is unknown to what extent this is a deliberate practice, or an unconscious trend.

Caribbean women have been willing to challenge the very foundations of society on gender issues. Their concentration on this, to the exclusion of race, may best be explained in terms of capacity, strategic focus and timing, a tactical recognition of a lack of capacity to fight all fires at the same time. However, given the important but limited success of the women's movement in respect to correcting gender inequity, and the continuing negative impact of racism in our lives, WCAR must be grasped as an opportunity for women to begin to examine the legacy of racism within their own ethnic groups and work towards similar engagement across races. Such an approach will serve to bring into the open the degree to which Caribbean women's bodies are marked by race. Confronting issues of race will be as difficult as confronting issues of gender, however since both impact so profoundly the lives of Caribbean women, attention to the explicit intersection of the two forms of inequality is a necessary ingredient of future mobilisation among women. It is yet to be proven whether we are strong enough to overcome the deep-rooted pain of our racial experiences to build bridges to each other for the advancement of women. 🌺

- A mother rubbed pepper on her six-year-old daughter from head to toe, including her vagina, because a neighbour reported to the mother that she caught their male neighbour attempting to "rush" her daughter in the bathroom. The child was accused of luring the man.
- A nine-year old reported to her aunt that her 23-year-old uncle was harassing her at night for sex and had broken the lock on her door to allow him easy entrance that night. "May your heart's desire be met" the aunt replied, indicating that she did not believe her niece. She was not offered any protection, neither was her uncle reprimanded.

*Cesralmihilo Dorothy Amen'oua,  
on sexuality, HIV and AIDS issues in Africa.*

*Raijeli Nicole* reflected on Fiji's May 2000 political crisis in a paper titled *Indigenous Rights or Racism in Fiji? - Whose 'normality and stability' are they pursuing anyway?*

On May 19<sup>th</sup> 2000, Fiji's third coup in 13 years was carried out, like the previous two, in the name of indigenous rights and the rights to self-determination of the Fijian people. It involved taking the country's first Indo-Fijian Prime Minister and his government hostage. Paramount was a perceived lack of Fijians and Fijianess in key determining facets of the country. But this lack of participation is really about the struggles amongst indigenous Fijians, although it is continually masked by racial conflict rhetoric.

Following the coups of 1987, the administration embarked on discriminatory affirmative action programmes to encourage and speed up the participation of Fijians in business. By proving one was a Fijian he/she was eligible for special treatment. In practice it meant that chiefs and well to do Fijians always benefited, resulting in the creation of an affluent Fijian middle class and the downfall of the National Bank of Fiji with over millions of dollars of bad loans that were written off in 1997. Similar programmes are being pursued today, but do not address the needs of marginalised disadvantaged Fijians in particular, or needs of groups such as women in business.

Trade liberalisation programmes, value added tax, wage freeze, sale of public assets, deregulation and measures to stifle unions hit all working class citizens and shifted focus away from dealing with Fijian economic backwardness. Women (now 40 percent of the workforce compared with 13 percent in 1986), work mostly in the garment and manufacturing industries under sweatshop conditions, discriminatory labour laws, and low discriminatory wages.

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WCAR

and problems. The ordinary person was beginning to benefit and those business interests being propped up before began to find it difficult. The coup took place after only one year. The coup-makers said that it was needed to protect Fijian interests and rights.

The return to 'normality and stability' has involved calling on Fijians to support their administration, with chiefs from the different provinces reiterating this call. Whenever Fijians have dared to defy the Fijian Unity badge to think for themselves

and vote against the chief's party, coups have been the answer, with the Fiji Indian community used as scapegoats. Ethnic or any form of fundamentalism is not supportive of women's rights and this coup was no exception. It further entrenched the traditional patriarchal Fijian status quo and has taken the women's movement back by years. However, the women's movement continues to be one of the most active, visible and vocal voices advocating social justice. The gains for women that stand to be lost if Fiji does not return to parliamentary democracy are testimony to the work done by the movement in the past 15 years, including draft legislation against domestic violence and industrial and family law reviews, all of which have been put on hold. The challenge for CSOs, NGOs, activists, and academics is to show our respective constituents the way the race card is used, how it negates real development for the country and how it marginalises the position of women. 🌸

*Cesnabmibilo Dorothy Aken'ova, the Executive Director of the International Centre for Reproductive Health and Sexual Rights in Niger, spoke on sexuality, HIV and AIDS issues in Africa. She drew out some of the sex stereotypes in a series of anecdotes that showed how boys were socialised to be aggressive, macho, dominant, in control and always ready for sex, while girls were to be passive, submissive, to give in to a man's sexual power and desire yet not to have sexual desires of their own.*

*• A man was overheard in a maternity ward exclaiming "after all this trouble, a girl!" He turned away and walked out of the hospital without welcoming the child into the world.*

This process of upbringing is an annihilation. The child is emptied of those authentic, natural, enriching wants and desires and fantasies to leave a vacuum that is most often filled by those who want to exploit her. These girls and women are unable to cry out even when violated, as they often fail to perceive they are being violated. Some pay a terrible price.

African women need to redefine who we are and how we want to relate with one another as men and as women, within and outside the home. We need to turn the negative impact of globalisation around to favour us, analyse and redefine who is the "head of family" the "bread winner" and renegotiate our status. This is an effective strategy for stemming the exponential rise in HIV/AIDS infection among young people in Africa, a way of equipping the young girl with a particularly high risk profile given her current status. Why hold on to cultural prescriptions that will rob us of quality life and destroy us? 🌸

diagnosed HIV positive along with his ailing wife, who died a few days after the diagnosis. He had kept late nights and disappeared for days, but he dared not complain or suggest the use of condoms. When she died, the community sang her praises, referring to her as an ideal wife. Since in his culture a man was brought up not to be without a woman, he married again, but a 25-year-old woman who dared not investigate the sickness that killed his first wife. The regulation on ethics and a defective national policy on HIV prevented anyone breathing a word of it to her. The new wife wanted children and did not use condoms. She got divorced after their second year of marriage because she would not tolerate her husband's long absences from home, but she received little sympathy from anyone and was accused of trying to "spoil" her husband's name. She died of AIDS after a little more than two years, having never lived to see her ex-husband marry one of the girls he was spending time with while they were married. The third wife was also divorced after two years, by which time the man's condition was deteriorating. His wife was accused of being a witch and wanting to do away with him to inherit his wealth. She is now in the final stage of the infection and her pain is that they did not live together till death. The man died two years after the final divorce without admitting that he had AIDS — as do many of his known girlfriends.

*Cesnabmibilo Dorothy Aken'ova,  
on sexuality, HIV and AIDS issues in Africa.*

*• A husband sent his wife packing for making noises at night, indicating that sexual activity was giving her pleasure. He called her a prostitute.*

Deviation from the models set by our cultures always gives rise to social concern and disapproval. The process of negative socialisation begins from the very day a girl is born.

Having internalised her sex and gender identity, the girl child grows up in an atmosphere of fear, warnings and suspicion regarding her sexuality.

*• On a live TV phone-in programme, a man said women who wanted to be caressed and fondled during sexual activity have lesbian tendencies. He put the display of pleasure in bad light by comparing it with a sexual behaviour that is unpopular.*



## FORUM 2002

Porto Alegre, Brazil, 31 January - 5 February, concurrently with the World Social Forum, usually in Davos, Switzerland, but this year is to be in New York. The World Social Forum was first held in Porto Alegre in February 2001 and drew thousands of participants. DAWN is going ahead to make the WSF into a world process, interlinking social

movements and struggles. An International Council has been established, on which DAWN is represented. There are also Mobilisation Committees of groups and movements that have been established in 16 Brazil locations and 22 international locations. Through the committees, WSF proposals and principles will reach people at all levels in different locations to allow the WSF to be truly a democratic, open meeting place. The Mobilisation Committees are involved in organising participation in the WSF and organising simultaneous initiatives.

The International Council met in Sao Paulo in June, and again in Dakar, Senegal, 30 October - 1 November, to work on the overall development of the WSF and assist the organising committee with arrangements for the 2002 Forum. The Dakar meeting discussed WSF initiatives, visibility, general organisation, financing, the identity and continuity of the Forum, and planning for WSF 2003. An important number of African organisations and social movements mobilised and the first Africa Social Forum is planned for Bamako in January 2002. A synthesis of discussions in Dakar on the international situation said the events of 11 September had provided a useful excuse to shift focus from popular demands and to impose those of neoliberal globalisation. "While many international conferences were cancelled, the WTO meeting was held. Commodification of the world is being accelerated and new constraints imposed on countries in the South, notably in areas of investment and intellectual property rights. The first WSF produced evidence of the blockages and ravages of neoliberal globalisation. Unable to disavow the disastrous results of their policies, forces such as the media, governments and multilateral institutions have been unable to react except by criminalising social movements that oppose neoliberal fundamentalism. They have attempted to profit from the emotions brought on by the September 11 attacks."

DAWN will be represented at WSF 2002. DAWN is also part of the Cartagena Feminist Initiative, which is planning a panel with Social Watch for WSF. The Cartagena Initiative is also organising a regional panel on Development, Globalisation, Markets and Rights: Women's perspectives. Participants will be from the networks and groups that comprise the Initiative. UNIFEM is supporting the activities of the Cartagena Feminist Initiative for the World Social Forum and also for the FiD conference.

Updates on WSF activity are available on [www.forumsocialmundial.org.br](http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br)



### Remember this?

"The best feminist moment at Porto Alegre was a surprise demonstration against the international abortion policy of the new United States President, George W. Bush. The diverse and colourful protest reflected the feminist mode of doing politics."

### The NGO Caucus on Race, Poverty and Globalisation raised three major concerns in the WCAR Plenary:

- First, the discriminatory and exploitative policies and practices on which the process of globalisation is built that reinforce racism and related intolerance, resulting in uneven sharing of benefits and inequitable distribution of costs.
- Secondly, the type of globalisation dominated by trade liberalisation and privatisation that is promoted by institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation, in effect deepens the historic and existing racial and economic inequalities, undermining the possibility for sustainable and equitable development for all. To advance globalisation, the privatisation of health care, education and water have made these basic needs inaccessible to the poor and marginalised, the majority of whom are racial and ethnic minorities.
- Third, the private sector, including transnational corporations, are a major force in economic globalisation and a multi-lateral strategy is required so that governments can regulate and oversee the corporate sector to ensure the rights of their citizens, including enforceable standards of corporate conduct to prevent and eradicate racism and related intolerance.

- An overworked 29-year-old woman gave birth to her third daughter. Her husband abandoned her in the hospital without any provisions. When she was discharged after a week in the hospital, she found a taxi by herself and went to borrow some money to settle the hospital bill.





## THE ALTERNATIVE

### 1. Alternative vision

There has been much disappointment about how the notion of sustainable development has been re-framed into a technocratic project of ecological modernisation. But at the same time, sustainable development is one of the few already established footholds that provide resources to oppose neoliberal economic globalisation.

Neoliberal discourse governs by excluding and delegitimising any talk on alternatives. Alternatives are shown as mutually exclusive opposition to globalisation or dismissed as a return to local closed markets and traditional communities. But Sustainable Development provides an available and institutionalised route towards alternatives.

### 2. Towards Sustainable Production and Consumption

If sustainable development is such a contested concept why not concentrate on Sustainable Production and Consumption, a debate that evolved out of chapter 4 of Agenda 21. This debate is focussed on ways and means for change and allows an escape from the "amoeba-like", diffused and contested meanings of sustainable development. While still burdened by connotations of technocratic global ecology, the concept also embraces alternative policy and action tools that are a counterweight to technocratic eco-efficiency approaches. The SP&C toolkit includes policy and strategies for sustainable products, fair trade, local markets, "civilising" global product chains, and such goodies on the agendas of environmental governance as precautionary principle, company reporting and right to know, clean production, extended producer responsibility, and environmental footprints.

Since debates on SP&C link it with reduction of poverty and improved quality of life, it has the potential to integrate social, environmental, and political dimensions of sustainability that have been separated from each other with the neo-liberal turn in governance. In the Southern contexts SP&C is talked about as an anti-poverty livelihoods strategy to hedge local communities against the risks and volatilities of the global economy.

### 3. North vs South.

The paradoxical metaphor of the (rich) North and the (poor) South persists in both mainstream and critical debate. The neo-liberals promise that the South will one day become like the North, and debates on globalisation follow in the colonial, ethnocentric footprints of development discourse. One of the ways to challenge the Washington consensus, economic liberalism, unfettered economic growth, etc. is not only to deconstruct unequal relationships with the South, but also deconstruct the North.

First it should be limited to North/West. Despite appearances, for the majority of East Europeans, every day life is closer to that of developing countries than to the media-projected affluence of the West. In the last decade the highest increases in poverty have been in Africa and in the transition economies of the former second world, which have now become a part of the global South.

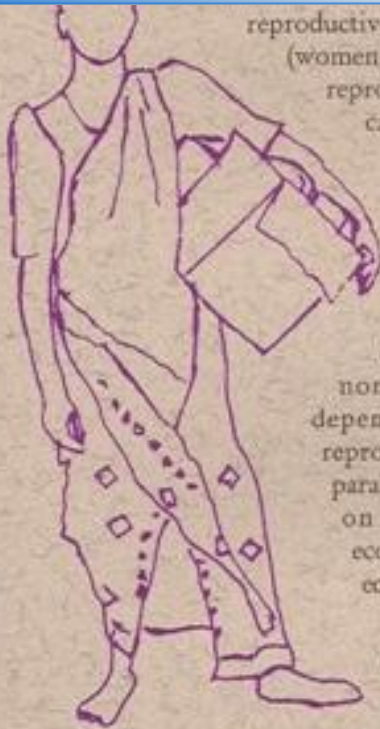
The global South has even extended into the North/West. Alternative indicators designed to measure quality of life show that real income poverty and time poverty have increased in the North Western countries, in particular in the former working class/new service class, and also among the former middle class. The quality of life would have declined further, if not for the increase in household indebtedness (consumer credit) and entry of women into the labour market. Juliet Schor, Jerome Segal, Michael Rowbotham, William Cobb & Herman Daly in their index of sustainable economic welfare, United for Fair Economy, use alternative concepts and indicators to make visible the declining quality of life in the North Western economies.

The loss of security, and the new costs, unexperienced by the previous generation, eg. the costs of education which has been increasingly privatised, put additional pressure on household budgets. The restructuring of the North West, has taken its toll on perceptions of well-being and resulted in psycho-social stress of globalisation and accelerating and profound changes in work arrangements, means of generating income, social status, gender relations, etc. The psycho-social costs of global restructuring include the rise of domestic violence and violence at work. While these experiences are shared by almost all societies worldwide, the "North/West" has its problems unnamed and unchallenged. Declining material quality of consumption, including the decline in the durability of goods, is masked by new consumer aesthetics and symbolic projections of quality and the ever increasing supply of seemingly new cheap consumer products manufactured in distant and local "global souths." According to the neo-liberal global contract, the social and environmental costs of the consumption growth that compensates for declining quality of life are disproportionately transferred to the South.

### 4. Gender and governance

Environmental and ecological economists locate the roots of ecological crises in the assumptions of neo-classical economics that do not take environmental costs of production and consumption into account. Feminists, including DAWN members, unpacked the concepts of free markets to show how macro-economic policies, markets and households are gendered and gender biased, and how





mitigating the costs of structural adjustment and the risks of financial crises and global economic volatility. This buffer function is over-stretched, so is the regenerative capacity of ecosystems. Rents and profits are not only derived from acceleration of production and consumption, and from externalising environmental costs of production and consumption, but also because the social costs are neither gender differentiated nor accounted for.

Environmental discourses, whether the ecological modernisation or environmental justice kind, are gender blind. We need to make visible the linkages between feminist and environmental critiques of economic governance.

Re-focussing on gender differences makes it possible to break the top down approach of ecotechnocratic discourse, which glosses over any differences in political and economic power and responsibilities for the environment among people as citizens, workers, consumers, producers, and corporations or states.

Not only the environmentalists should take feminist concerns on board. Many feminists prioritise women's equal access to the market and more equitable division of the benefits of economic growth, without acknowledging that current economic growth patterns undermine nature's economy and the base for life on earth as we know it. As Bella Abzug put it, women should not strive to enter into a dirty stream.

## 5. Gender lens on quality of life

Quality of life has been linked to environmentally sustainable development by way of putting on the agenda people's every day life, more quality time, emphasis on community values, participatory governance, and locally oriented production and consumption. Feminists have questioned romantic approaches to community values. Religious fundamentalism, Catholic, Moslem or other, is defending its own ideas of traditional local communities. The integration of feminist and environmental agendas for quality of life requires the questioning of blanket endorsement of community values.

Re-written from feminist standpoints, the quality of life agenda should include the issues of health and reproductive health. One of the pillars of the environmental debate is the critique of the hydro-carbon economy. The thrust of the critique is that current economic models undermine the resource base and regenerative capacities of ecosystems and therefore undermine livelihoods and prospects for sustainable growth.

They also damage human and environmental health, including reproductive health. In particular, the introduction of endocrine disrupting xeno-biotic substances (e.g. chemicals used in pesticides or solvents), unknown during the millions of years of evolution, or exposure to 'old' chemicals in previously unknown quantities, is responsible for the disruption of immune, neurological, and hormone systems in the body. They affect reproductive health not only of individuals but also of future generations, therefore threatening the reproduction of whole species, including humans. Given the transfer of social costs of reproduction to women, and women's direct role in reproduction, women bear the brunt of the costs of dirty growth.

The transition to sustainable production and consumption is a strategy to protect human and environmental health.

Environmentalists' efforts to base models of governance of chemicals and GMOs on the right to know and precautionary principle correspond and overlap with feminist efforts and stakes in protecting women's reproductive health.

## 6. Global social contract.

Discussions of environmental governance are often focussed on international treaties, multilateral environmental agreements, or on proposals for strengthening UNEP or establishing a World Environment Organisation (WEO) to provide a counterweight to WTO. While important, the discussion should also extend to proposals for a global social contract that integrates issues of social justice, environmental justice, and gender justice, and provides a fair basis for negotiating the interests of producers and consumers, employees and corporations. The Johannesburg Summit provides an opportunity to work towards a fair, binding and accountable global social contract. 🌻



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working partners are undertaking a major review and revision of Women's Action Agenda 21, the platform presented at the UN Conference for Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The updated version, Women's Action Agenda for a Healthy Planet 2002 is to provide women's strategies for the summit by building on the outcomes and achievements of previous UN world conferences, including Cairo and Beijing. Preparation of the WAA2002 includes a series of consultations and regional meetings.

At the Latin America meeting scheduled for 19-20 October 2001 in Rio de Janeiro, DAWN Latin America Regional Coordinator Celita Eccher was invited to speak on a panel on Women's Agenda in UN Conferences: Advances, Regressions and Perspectives. Her focus was on the implementation and monitoring of CONFINTEA V (5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Adult Education, Hamburg, 1997).

DAWN Joint Research Coordinators on Sustainable Livelihoods, Ewa Charkiewicz and Yvonne Underhill-Sem are working on a critical feminist analysis of environmental issues, Sustainable Production and Consumption.

South Africa, as the host country, will have an important influence on the agenda of the Summit. At a meeting on International Environmental Governance in Algiers 9-10 September 2001, South African Environment Minister, Valli Moosa, said the single most important threat to sustainable development globally is poverty and the widening gap between the rich and the desperately poor. South Africa has therefore submitted "the eradication of poverty as the key to sustainable development" as the Summit theme.

He called for a global compact between governments, private sector and civil society to develop a shared vision from their different interpretations, and a pragmatic and accelerated programme of action similar to the already-developed New Africa Initiative. A key theme is the economic issues that underpin the ongoing marginalisation of developing countries in a globalised world economy.

There was also a need for new agreements in key development areas of water, energy, biodiversity, desertification and land degradation, forests, food security, oceans and coasts, atmosphere and waste.

He said South Africa supports the rationalisation of Multilateral Environmental Agreements into issue-based clusters with secretariats geographically based in the same centres, with a coordinating institution. Review and possible restructuring of the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) is a critical component of this debate.

*The World Summit on Sustainable Development (known as WSSD, Rio+10 or Earth Summit 2002) will take place in Johannesburg, South Africa, 2-11 September 2002. It follows ten years after the UN Conference on Environment and Development, UNCED, that took place in Rio de Janeiro June 1992. The Earth Summit 2002 process has already begun with round table, national and regional meetings and an initial PrepCom. A series of subregional preparatory meetings were held in Asia-Pacific in September, with the Asia-Pacific regional prepcom scheduled for 27-29 November 2001 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The 2<sup>nd</sup> PrepCom is scheduled for 28 January - 8 February 2002 in New York, the 3<sup>rd</sup> PrepCom will be 25 March - 5 April 2002 also in New York, and the 4<sup>th</sup> Prepcom 27 May - 7 June 2002 in Indonesia.*

In the Pacific, the Pacific Concerns Resources Centre has become the focal point for issues on sustainable development. A report by Patrina Dumaru of PCRC from a Multi-Stakeholder Consultation in Apia, Samoa, 5-7 September 2001, said that although not all NGO issues were reflected in the final document of the meeting, a number of fundamental concerns were reflected, including gender, globalisation, climate change and adaptation, good governance, and civil society participation.

There was difficulty in having gender recognised as an over-arching, cross-cutting issue, with document drafters repeatedly dropping the reference to gender. Some of the arguments against including gender were that all issues of equity, e.g. race, age, abilities, needed addressing and not just gender. There was a notion the term 'gender' was being over-used and there was no need to re-emphasise it as it was a commonly accepted concern. Another argument was that only a few critical issues distinctive to the Pacific Islands should be pursued by the region on the understanding other regions would pick up other issues such as AIDS, poverty and gender.

Few of the delegates at the meeting fully understood how fundamental the issue of gender is to sustainable development.

#### RESOURCES

*Web sites to give further information include:*

- the official website  
[www.johannesburgsummit.org](http://www.johannesburgsummit.org)
- the Heinrich Boell Foundation site  
[www.worldsummit2002.org](http://www.worldsummit2002.org)
- the London-based UNED Forum is a network of stakeholders on sustainable development established by the Sustainable Development Unit of the United Nations Association of the United Kingdom and has a website, Earth Summit 2002, which has extensive information on the process from many perspectives,  
[www.earthsummit2002.org/](http://www.earthsummit2002.org/)
- the Earth Summit 2002 women's caucus  
[www.earthsummit2002.org/wcaucus/cv/ngo.htm](http://www.earthsummit2002.org/wcaucus/cv/ngo.htm)



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## and Neoliberal Orthodoxy

...ns Research Institute for Social Development) News, Number 20, Jacques ... the challenges facing the global community as it seeks to implement the lofty ... e rightly argued, renders impossible the fulfillment of many of the social ... of the international community. The reduction of inequalities, in particular, ... has virtually disappeared from public debate during the last quarter of this century and a crude form of Social Darwinism ... pervades the modern ethos. The only notable exception to this general trend, according to Baudot, has been the emphasis on equality between women and men. "Gender equality has gathered significant political and sociological momentum, in part because it may be seen as compatible with the basic tenets of the neoliberal credo." Shabira Razavi, UNRISD Project Leader coordinating work on Gender, Poverty and Wellbeing, found this to be a striking statement, begging further reflection.

"Gender equality has, undeniably, registered increasing legitimacy in global (and national) debates and arenas since the mid-1970s. But this has, in no small measure, been due to the pressure that individual activists, women's groups and specialized feminist NGOs have brought to bear on the powers-that-be, even under difficult circumstances in authoritarian and exclusionary regimes. At the recent global conferences, one could not help but notice the growth of an astute and regionally diverse cadre of advocates skilled in navigating the murky waters of global and regional policy and in moving through the circuitous corridors of influence. But is their success in keeping gender equality on the global agenda indicative of the compatibility of gender equality with the neoliberal credo?"

Looking through some of the literature emerging from orthodox institutions like the World Bank, the reader will no doubt notice how some of the more digestible elements of the feminist discourse have been absorbed, reinterpreted and sometimes distorted to fit the neoliberal credo. In this line of reasoning, policy attention to women is often justified by framing gender justice in terms of the social and economic dividends it will produce (it is even argued that physical violence against women reduces the efficiency of their labour!). But this strained attempt to squeeze gender justice into the neoliberal straightjacket can hardly be seen as indicative of their compatibility.

In fact, in the case of developing countries, women's movements in general - and feminist movements in particular - have historically been associated with progressive agendas for social reform and redistribution. Many of the Southern feminist groups emerged from within left-wing political parties and radical student groups, and have retained a commitment to radical change in the "relations of production". A prominent tenet of their thinking and advocacy over the past two to three decades has been an emphasis on the inseparability of gender relations and class relations (and of the spheres of "production" and "reproduction"). It has repeatedly been argued that the struggle for gender

equality is meaningless if it does not address other social inequalities (class, race) and align itself with broader social transformation.

In response to the neoliberal economic and social policies of the 1980s and 1990s, these advocates have underlined how restructuring of the social sectors in particular imposes a disproportionate burden on working women (especially those from the poorer social strata), who are forced to stretch their already long working days in order to compensate for the shortfall in public sector resource commitments. In other words, "the praise, in the contemporary ethos, of everything 'private' and the contempt of everything 'public'", which Baudot correctly sees as a central feature of the spirit of the time, has been at the forefront of feminist critique and advocacy in recent years.

In their socially assigned roles as "carers" and "nurturers", women know - perhaps better than anyone else - what the new development agendas around welfare delivery and poverty alleviation really mean. The fact that gender advocacy has gained strength at a time when policy arenas are dominated by a faith in money and markets, and by opposition to equality-based state interventions, is not because gender equality is somehow compatible with the basic tenets of the neoliberal orthodoxy.

Many would consider the prominence of gender issues in the conservative decades of the 1980s and 1990s to be a historical coincidence - an unfortunate one - that has generated a wide gap between the visibility of women's movements on the one hand and their ability to change the lives of considerable numbers of women in both North and South on the other." 🌸

*We cannot work for peace with hearts and minds that are consumed with anger, or a deep sense of grievance, or that are unwilling to forgive. We cannot work for peace by looking at what we can get out of it for ourselves or our family or community, or political constituency, at the expense of someone else, some other community, some other constituency. We cannot achieve peace by winning, by being victorious and conquering another group. We can contribute towards peace-building by being prepared to change our outlook and mindsets, by being prepared to understand the roots of the conflicts and violence we experience, by examining with an open mind how and why people are able to be mobilised into perpetrating acts of violence, by being prepared to give up some of what we have to systemically address some of the root causes of conflict and violence, and to invest time and resources in building the necessary institutions for ensuring the peace, security and well-being of all.* DAWN General Coordinator, Claire Slatter, Towards a Culture of Peace panel discussion, Fiji, 25 September 2001.



Livelihoods, Ewa Charkiewicz, presented a paper on the role of the state in gender mainstreaming at the WIDE (Women In Development Europe) conference. The theme was Gender mainstreaming for invisibility or women's empowerment? The more we scrutinise it to see if it has any transformative outcomes, the more thirsty feminist imagination and clever power brokers. These are a few of the key findings from the meeting proceedings and made available on the DAWN website, [www.dawn.org.pl](http://www.dawn.org.pl)

## Is Gender Mainstreaming a Mirage?

From the standpoint of feminist activists and advocates of women's rights and gender justice, gender mainstreaming implies a strategy to transform power/gender relations. In the contexts of bureaucracies and policy discourses that operate in the framework of political and economic liberalism, not only are gender blind approaches challenged, but the meanings of feminist interventions for gender mainstreaming are transformed.

Liberal democratic theory provides an enabling environment to legitimise and institutionalise women's human rights. In organisations that operate under the

*Civil society domains are also increasingly privatised as social movements turn into NGOs and adopt corporate organisational and management structures. Women's NGOs compete for projects in gender mainstreaming and their energies are captured and channelled into acting out the neo-liberal rationale.*

master frame of economic liberalism, such as the World Bank, gender mainstreaming is translated into the recognition of sexual difference among political and economic actors, and it is operationalised through emphasis on gender disaggregated statistics or projects that target gender disparities, for instance in access to education, micro-credit or paid work. While such changes are better for some women, potentially transformative outcomes of the liberal emphasis on individual rights are disabled by economic liberalism.

Neo-liberal economic globalisation is made into a development project without alternatives.

As highlighted in a number of position papers by DAWN, the neo-liberal turn in economic globalisation is accompanied by the rise of patriarchal religious fundamentalism and of violence against women. Both feed on men's defensive responses to restructured masculinities.

The conservative alliance forged by the Vatican and fundamentalist Islamic states to oppose women's rights agendas attempts to separate and replace the discourse of rights with the discourse of needs. This emphasis on basic needs and reduction of poverty is commendable. However, at the same time the Vatican and other hierarchical religious institutions maintain cosy relationships with leading institutions of economic governance. In Poland and Chile, the "shock therapies" of structural adjustment and

stabilisation programmes have been carried out by governments led by Catholic-nationalistic political alliances.

In Poland the nationalistic Catholic government was mainstreaming gender in government policies, programmes and funds in terms of fixing women in their roles in the family and reproduction. In Washington the World Bank is re-writing gender mainstreaming in terms of efficiency and advocates women's rights to education and access to labour

markets not as intrinsic values in themselves, but for the sake of enhancing economic growth. Women are used as servants of God or Mammon.



The neo-liberal economic rationale applied to policies and projects in gender mainstreaming re-frames them as a matter of efficiency, reduces project and program proposals to

*While collective ownership and state control over all public assets have not delivered gender equality and continuous improvements in the quality of life, the drive towards privatisation dismantles the gains women had when at least some of the costs of social reproduction were borne collectively, either through re-distribution of income in the welfare state or by providing state paid healthcare, childcare and housing.*

tangible goals and easily identifiable benefits, made manageable and achievable within short project timelines. This is gender equality fitted into a

technocratic straightjacket and in one format for all.

The vocabulary of "success stories" is one of the strategies of the neo-liberal discourse on governance to contain the domain of the debate and to prevent the critique and discussion of obstacles to gender mainstreaming, sustainable development, etc. While we need to share positive experiences, we also need to compare notes and draw conclusions on problems and obstacles in mainstreaming gender equality.

While gender mainstreaming is not a "magic bullet", delivering substantial improvements in the quality of life of women and men or transforming gender relations, it can have a role in reducing some gender disparities, opening access for women to claim their agency in governance, undermining the rationales of mainstream discourses, and keeping open the space for other feminist interventions. The main concern is that supporting gender mainstreaming as selectively reformed by mainstream institutions can turn it into a vacuum cleaner extracting energies away from transformative projects. The feminist critical analysis and visions of gender mainstreaming are essential in moving it towards gender justice and women's rights. 🌻



Bene Madunagu, gave a presentation on women's rights and girl's rights in Development (SID)/Bernard Van Leer Foundation roundtable on Building man rights of children and women, at the United Nations in New York, 14-



and reproductive health needs and rights of adolescents, particularly girls, are largely unrecognised, some say neglected. Sexuality education remains a taboo topic embedded in misconceptions, leaving young women in a state of near-ignorance that increases risks of exposure to a host of problems.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) says there are no differences between the rights of men, boys, women and girls. Just as all other rights, written and unwritten, sexual rights refer to all peoples. Although neither of the two words - sexual and rights - is a new creation or women's creation, the terminology has received such opposition that it is bizarre.

Women are enjoying some of these rights, even in remote communities, but may not realise it. Many women, including those from rural communities who travel to distant places as traders, are engaging in large numbers in work outside the home. Such women are concretely freeing themselves from perpetual control. Girls now leave home to stay in boarding schools. These new experiences obviously play a role in assisting women decide over their sexuality. What they need is information to be able to make the right decisions, and to become empowered to claim their rights.

There is institutional collusion at all levels of policy and decision making — from individual countries, through regional bodies, to the UN - to perpetuate violations of the rights of girls and women. There is collusion to perpetuate the marginalisation of girls and women and efforts to water-down both the content and language of the recognition and endorsement of equal human rights for women. A strategy often adopted by the minority groups is to place any issues that relate to the sexual and reproductive health and rights of women and girls under the cloak of "controversial matters", too delicate to deal with at the main UN committees. Such matters must be put in brackets and sent to a special group with representations from both "sides". Some factions capitulate under pressure and trade-off the rights of girls and women that advance their social and economic interests, but threaten profit-oriented policies.

I draw inspiration from our work in Girls' Power Initiative (GPI) Nigeria to show that while there are continual attempts to paint a grim picture of how girls and women are the vulnerable group, the opposite is true. Given the opportunity, through correct orientation and accurate, non-judgemental education, girls and women are demonstrably courageous, persistent and skilled achievers.

GPI runs a three-year educational program for in-school and out-of-school girls, aged 10-18 years, using a curriculum that focuses on the all round development and character building of the girl-child. The concern is to see that today's girls grow up to become empowered women of tomorrow and that they act as agents of change in their society. They are therefore involved in social action programs as part of the requirement for graduation. GPI also works at empowering girls' parents and teachers to support the girls in their efforts to overcome gender prejudices and harmful traditional practices. 🌸

### Steering Committee/Secretariat Notes

The Secretariat has shifted office and the mailing address is now: DAWN, PO Box 13124, Suva, Fiji Islands, telephone/fax 679 - 314 770. The email address currently remains [dawn@is.com.fj](mailto:dawn@is.com.fj)

DAWN's web site, [www.dawn.org.fj/](http://www.dawn.org.fj/), has been included in the Women's Virtual Library created by CEDIM, the Women's Rights State Council of Rio de Janeiro, with support of the Research Support Foundation of Rio de Janeiro. The library is based on work on women and gender relations and contains sections on health, violence, culture, work, rights, citizenship, education and political participation. The site is organised thematically, and gives choices of Brazilian or foreign sites. Each theme is divided into sections on civil society, research institutions, governmental institutions, intergovernmental institutions, programmes and projects,

publications, women in sport and the arts, services, events, database, support agencies, conventional and virtual libraries, and more. The site is at: <http://www.prossiga.br/bvmulher/cedim>

Magaly Pazello, from DAWN Brazil in Rio de Janeiro, spent several months at DAWN-SEA in Manila and DAWN Secretariat in Suva. She also ran a workshop in East Timor on her return journey. In Suva she worked with the Communications Officer, Seona Smiles, to re-design the DAWN site and set up the main sections in Portuguese, continuing earlier work on developing the DAWN and REPEM sites towards a virtual resource centre. The new design will make it easier to access documents in Portuguese, Spanish and French. New sections already in place include Financing for Development; Gender and Trade; AIDS, Public Health and Human Rights debates; and the DAWN Discussion Paper prepared for the WTO meeting in Doha.



formed a common platform to demand a fundamental review and reform of TRIPs at the WTO meeting in Doha. The main concerns are on patenting of life, biopiracy, food security, public health and affordable medicines.

### SRI LANKA GMO LEGISLATION

The World Trade Organisation succeeded in delaying by 60 days new legislation passed in Sri Lanka to ban genetically engineered organisms, GMOs. Friends of the Earth organised a civil society petition to the United States Trade Representative, Robert B. Zoellick, protesting against the United States Government's attempt to undermine Sri Lanka's ban. The petition said Sri Lanka should not be subject to punitive action by the WTO because of its efforts to protect its citizens from unknown risks posed by GMOs, or because of moral objections raised by its people. The insertion of a human gene into tilapia fish makes this GMO unacceptable to some religions in Sri Lanka.

### CANADA GM WHEAT

The Canadian National Farmers Union has asked the Canadian Government to prevent the introduction of genetically modified wheat until farmers' and consumers' concerns about market loss, risks to seed quality, food safety and environmental damage are addressed.

### SAVING THE KYOTO PROTOCOL

A statement issued by environmental and other NGOs during the UN climate summit in Bonn 16-27 July 2001 warned against further weakening and distortion of the Kyoto Protocol through 'market mania', e.g. proposed global free trade in greenhouse gas, as governments try to accommodate the irresponsible position of the United States and a growing number of other countries. Proposals to create a global emissions market would allow industrialised countries to significantly increase their emissions instead of reducing them by an average of 5.2% as agreed upon in Kyoto.

### ACCOUNTABILITY CALL

The Vatican has been called to account for sexual abuse of nuns and other women by Catholic clergy. A statement supported by Catholic and other organisations called on the Vatican to take such measures as apologise, make reparation for victims, cooperate to provide rape evidence and prevent of violence against women.




### MILLENNIUM ROAD MAP

Letters of concern were sent to the UN, WHO, World Bank and UNFPA expressing concern that the goal of "making accessible, through the primary health care system, reproductive health to all individuals of appropriate ages as soon as possible and no later than the year 2015" was not part of the Development Goals to be included in the UN Millennium Declaration Roadmap.

The letters said the foremost goal of ICPD was to shift to an integrated sexual and reproductive health offering instead of a vertical focus on one service. The ICPD Reproductive Health goal must be put back in as the central framework of the ICPD agenda and the words "Reproductive Health" included in the Millennium Development Goals. Women's health and rights groups worldwide fought long and hard for an integrated approach to sexual and reproductive health that respects human rights. Opponents of ICPD would like to turn back the clock and have reproductive health removed from UN documents, and are hoping to achieve indirectly what they could not do openly in the presence of civil society. "It is our considered opinion that if allowed to succeed, it would set a dangerous precedent and make a mockery of democratic processes and the credibility of United Nations conferences and agreements."

DAWN received responses from UN Assistant Secretary-General Michael Doyle, and UNFPA Executive Director, Thoraya Ahmed Obaid. They said the Millennium Declaration, which was adopted in September 2000 by 191 nations, cannot be amended.

Assistant Secretary-General Doyle said that a meeting on 21 June 2001 of various UN agencies, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, International Monetary Fund and World Bank to develop indicators to monitor the fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goals outlined in the Millennium Declaration were "not able to include the 'reproductive health' goal included in the International Development Goals adopted earlier. They included among designated indicators for "maternal mortality" and HIV/AIDS MDGs the same indicators that were used to measure "reproductive health" in the International Development Goals. He also noted that the preamble to the list of Millennium Development Goals "does not undercut in any way agreements on other goals reached at the global conferences of the 1990's."

The UNFPA Executive Director said the organisation was committed to the ICPD goals and had the language and mandate to act forcefully. 



should make us cautious against pressures on developing countries to make more concessions. We refuse any use of global trade or its mechanisms as a tool in the current declared war.

The seven years since the creation of the WTO has given ample time to examine the promises of prosperity and other numerous benefits and to find what has really happened is the complete opposite. Economic stagnation spread; developing countries faced huge losses in their economies and exchange; protectionist measures in the countries of the global north remained an obstacle to the product of the South; agriculture and food security was hit with tremendous losses and damage; the technological divide between north and south became unprecedented; and the workforce was barred from free movement.

The WTO has shown that it is completely biased in favour of big multinationals and global capital. There is no consideration of international justice, the interests of developing countries, or even the people of the global north. This explains the emergence of a global movement opposed to the very existence of WTO.

The WTO aims to become a trading authority above countries and nations, thus practically eliminating their ability to formulate social, economic, and financial policies that achieve development.

The creation of a global organisation with such power and authority is a dangerous issue in itself. It becomes more and more ominous in light of the current push to militarize globalization and the unipolar hegemony on the global decision.

We therefore declare:

- 1) We refuse a new round of negotiations in the WTO and any inclusion of new issues on the agenda, especially those connected with investment, competition, government procurement, and other issues that will overwhelm the meeting and puts the delegates of developing countries in a position where it is impossible for them to follow negotiations on all those issues at the same time.
- 2) We call for the reevaluation of previous agreements in light of the practice of their implementation that showed a great bias against the interests of developing countries. This includes the reevaluation and the correction, or the annulment, of harmful agreements, or those that were signed under pressure or ignorance. Those being factors that eliminate will and corrupt the contract.
- 3) We call for the cancellation of agreements on intellectual property that inhibit developing

countries from providing adequate health care to their people; that block the transfer of technology, and that protect the interests of supranational organisations and facilitates their pilfering of cultural and genetic heritage of developing countries.

- 4) We call for the exclusion of agriculture from the scope of the WTO and the ban on dumping practiced by multinational corporations. This means the lifting of agricultural subsidies in industrialized countries, and the opening up of their markets to the agricultural products of developing countries. It also includes the right of developing countries to create national policies to develop and protect their agriculture and farmers. It also means the refusal of any measures that aim to monopolise the production of seeds through patents and genetic modification.
- 5) We refuse to include basic services (water, health, education, etc.) in trade agreements, since these are connected directly to the well being of people. These should remain under the control of people through their national institutions and not market forces and the purpose of quick gain.
- 6) We refuse the inclusion of labour standards in WTO agreements and call for the adherence to the standards of the ILO.
- 7) We refuse any transgression of international environmental treaties, and we call for the adherence to trade agreements and practices to respect environmental safety and health standards.
- 8) We refuse the internal mechanisms of the WTO, especially its conflict resolution process, since they are neither democratic, nor transparent, nor do they provide equal representation in the decision-making process. We call for new mechanisms based on those conditions and the abilities of developing countries.

Global economy and global trade should follow the bases of the consolidation of global justice and equality. They should allow all countries to benefit from economic, scientific, and technological advancement. This way global trade will strengthen peace and global stability and not become an instrument in the creation of conflict and war.

Our world is not for sale and peoples' lives and well being are not a material for trade.

Civil society represented at Doha declared the draft ministerial statement "an outrage."

A post-Doha strategy meeting for NGOs is being planned for the first week in December 2001, to be held in Brussels. 🌸





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men and their children.

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