PART 11: TOWARDS A PEDAGOGY OF HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

a)   DIALOGUE: A KEY ELEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

By Upendra Baxi

This Report (and all our PDHRE activities) raises the question: How to bring lived experiences of harm and hurt, and expectations of human rights oriented human futures, into the discourse of power that predominates in the making and remaking, observance and implementation, of human rights norms and standards? From the perspective of HRE, we may say that we understand human rights only when we understand the concept of dialogue.

First: DIALOGUE MARKS THE END OF MONOLOGUE

Dialogue is possible only when we recognize the voice of the Other. Dialogue entails the recognition of plurality and multiplicity. Any exclusion of certain voices from the public sphere emerges then as a form of social and epistemological violence.

Second: THIS RECOGNITION IMPLIES CERTAIN IDEAS ABOUT COMMUNICATIVE EGALITARIANISM

For dialogue to be possible at all, several conditions need to be satisfied:

✓   availability of public space
✓   access to means of communication
✓   organization of daily life so that people have time to articulate their views
✓   avoidance of pre-censorship
✓   duty of those who hold public power to listen, not just hear.

Third: DIALOGICAL SITUATIONS ARE STRUCTURED BY CERTAIN TRADITIONS

Free speech is possible only within context of censorship, and traditions themselves codify protocols of power:

✓   They allocate competences - who may speak
✓   They construct forms - how one may speak, what forms of discourse are proper
✓   They determine boundaries - what may not be named or discussed
✓   They structure exclusion - the denial of voice

These protocols themselves undergo constant change in the very processes of dialogue. Far from representing a fixed horizon, they signify endless mobility for human achievement.

Fourth: DIALOGUE IS THE ART OF THINKING
       THE ART OF QUESTIONING EVER FURTHER[19]

"Dialogue is a form that consists not in trying to discover the weakness of what is being said, but in bringing out its real strength. It is not the act of arguing (which can make a strong case out of a weak one) but the art of thinking (which can strengthen objections by referring to the subject matter)." Parties to a dialogue bring their own impassioned commitments, which may themselves mutate in the process. Dialogue is thus intensely and inherently reflexive, endowing parties to it with the power to learn and unlearn.

Fifth: DIALOGUE OCCURS IN HUMAN SOCIAL LANGUAGES

 It consists in the art of using words as a midwife for alternate, and competing, visions of a better human future. Dialogue enables the emergence not just of official authoritative languages but also of subaltern languages of resistance to power and domination as well. Dialogue is a process that testifies to both the languages of power and the power of languages.

Sixth: DIALOGUE IMPLIES MATERIALITY.

Even face-to-face dialogue requires considerable resources of time and space that put parties together in a dialogical transaction. Means of transport and communication furnish the material conditions for developing and sustaining dialogue, while contemporary dialogic situations entail recourse to highly advanced digital technologies. Owners of capital increasingly own the means and methods of conducting dialogue.

Seventh: DIALOGUE CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM THE
        FORCES OF PRODUCTION.

As these develop, human dialogical capabilities also expand, often with enormous price tags, among these the salient being systemically distorted communication. From a human rights perspective, dialogue often signifies acts and performances of antisystemic struggle.

Authentic HRE must involve all human beings everywhere as well as future generations and human rights languages must imbue all human social relations. In other words, all forms of human interaction and conduct should be human rights oriented. HRE is an everyday affair, not a series of special events

b) INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION ON THE PEDAGOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION:
Centro de Estudios democraicos de America Latina (CEDAL)[20]

Introduction

We, educators, activists, and scholars from various regions of the world, have met for five days at the Center for Democratic Studies in La Catalina, Costa Rica, to reflect on the pedagogical foundations of HRE. We considered a wide range of experiences and approaches to issues of education in society, democracy and cultural diversity, gender perspectives, narratives of domination and oppression as well as of paths of liberation. We also reviewed the United Nations' programs, resolutions and plan of action for the Decade for Human Rights Education. After freely exchanging diverse perspectives on these issues, we have agreed on the following elements of a pedagogy of HRE.

Our reflections are based on an assessment of the context within which learning takes place in different societies and the obstacles this context represents to HRE. The need for this preliminary analysis derives from our premise that pedagogies for human rights education should reflect a commitment to transforming unjust structures in order to achieve the social and international order in which human rights can be fully realized and to which everyone is entitled, according to Article 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We recognize the need for wider and further discussion and welcome reactions from all interested parties.

THE CONTEXT OF HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

The content and methods of HRE are inextricably linked to issues of mal-development, patriarchy, militarism and the pursuit of wealth by a few individuals, corporations and states at the expense of meeting people's needs everywhere. The human rights movement -- and consequently human rights education -- offers a coherent and necessary, but not sufficient, response to these threats to human survival and security.

The oldest obstacle to all human rights is the patriarchical structuring of the world. Patriarchy perpetuates hierarchical and authoritarian power forces in all kinds of dominations and oppressions. Abolishing all patriarchical modes of discrimination and violation of women s human rights will open up new routes towards the emancipation and liberation of all individuals and social groups.

State apparatuses, including local non-participatory state structures, are often and correctly identified as significant sources of human rights violations. Conditions for human rights deprivation are also created by non-democratic practices in civil society, including the politicization and militarization of ethnic relationships, which provide conditions for the violation of basic human rights.

We further recognize that the dominant economic and social forces within civil society are frequently involved in violations of human rights, particularly in relation to women's and children's rights as well as the rights of the exploited with respect to land, forest, water and employment.

Such violations in the name of development are carried out, more often than not, with the direct or indirect support of the state apparatus, including its anti-poor judicial system. Such a situation prevails widely not only in the Third World but also in the industrialized West. This nexus between the state apparatus and the ruling classes must intimately inform the pedagogic content of HRE.

HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

By enabling learners to critique modes of thought that manipulate people s attitudes towards dominant power structures or annihilate creativity, HRE opens a dynamic and evolving space which can accommodate diverse and changing communities and contexts without imposing a specific mode of action on them. Thus HRE and struggle

> *HRE, as critical thinking, moral reflection, and meaningful experiences that expose power-relations and power-structures, is both a tool for and the process of the struggle for social change and for the implementation of human rights.*

are in a constant dialectic of empowerment and enrichment. However, this dialectic does not imply — and in fact would be self-defeating if it resulted in — denial or disregard of the indivisibility, inalienability and universality of human rights, or the failure of states to fulfill their obligations under international human rights law. These dialectic relations create a multiplicity of interconnections between local struggle and educators as participants within that struggle, as much as between different struggles.

PEDAGOGY OF TRANSFORMATION TOWARDS A HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE

We propose a pedagogy of transformation in recognition of the reality that the magnitude of human rights violations as well as the obstacles to change are so vast that what is required goes beyond the need for appropriate amelioration and reform. Such a pedagogy is to be contrasted with traditional pedagogy which serves educational institutions as places of social reproduction in which establishment consciousness is –legitimized and preserved.

THE LEARNING PROCESS

Human rights norms, in particular the Universal Declaration, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Vienna Declaration and Plan of Action, define the objective of all education as the full development of the human personality and potential. This objective can best be attained by enabling learners creatively and analytically to construct knowledge and be able to deconstruct fallacious or distorted knowledge concerning their own situation in society and history and reconstructing that knowledge by using critical, reflective, and moral faculties which it is the facilitator's task to assist them in acquiring. Education thus understood is a life process in which individuals become at different times and to differing degrees both facilitators of learning and learners. It is, therefore, essential, although frequently neglected, that the learning process respect the historical, social, psychological, ethnic, gender, linguistic and other contexts of the learners.

This process includes the transformation of school communities into places where faculty, students and staff have the opportunity to search for meaning, to pursue the search for justice and to develop their unique beings in an atmosphere of safety, caring, and compassion. We strongly believe that students who are fully engaged in such an educational process are more likely to contribute to the larger struggle for social and cultural transformation than students surviving formal education in traditional learning establishments that rarely provide for human rights learning according to the pedagogy of transformation described here. Vested interests, persistent habits, and bureaucratic inertia resist the incorporation of a human rights pedagogy into formal education that would include the following:

1) *Full respect for all people regardless of class, caste, sexual preference, race, gender, religion, income, ability, age, or other condition*
2) *Participation of students in their own education and sharing in the decision-making process*
3) *The celebration of human experience as an expression of diversity and uniqueness as well as an important source of knowledge and wisdom*
4) *The vital importance of social responsibility*

In this connection, it is important to reaffirm the rights and responsibilities of individual teachers to participate in professional decisions on such matters as the development of curriculum materials and instructional approaches. In addition, teachers have the responsibility to relate to students in a manner consistent with human rights principles. Valuable guidance regarding the human rights that must be respected in teacher-pupil relations may be found in the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, which

includes the child's rights to dignity, security, participation, identity, freedom of thought, access to information, and privacy.

The content of HRE necessarily varies with the learning environment. Among the elements that are frequently pertinent are the following:

✓ *The historical development of human rights and a critical understanding of the history of the struggle for human rights with particular emphasis on successful models*
✓ *The use and abuse of international and national forces*
✓ *The nature and extent of human rights violations, locally, regionally, nationally, and in schools*
✓ *The international instruments protecting human rights*
✓ *The agencies and institutions of remediation*
✓ A *critical understanding of related concepts such as justice, freedom, democracy and peace*

In addition to appropriate knowledge and understanding, HRE, operating within a context of the affirmation of the value of human life and dignity, involves:

- developing the capacity to care and be compassionate

- to commit to the struggle for human rights

- to exercise personal responsibility and human agency to develop the imagination and creativity necessary to envision and create a just and caring community

- the development of the critical consciousness necessary to sustain rational judgment

- the skills of self-reflection and personal transformation
  the courage and strength necessary to sustain the struggle

As we seek to bring HRE to the world's youth, we are mindful that such education must honor their experiences, reflect their concerns and be relevant to youth culture. The great numbers of the world's youth to whom formal schooling is not available should have the opportunity to engage in HRE in other learning environments.

Teachers, facilitators, organizers and trainers should demonstrate, in their personal behaviors and teaching methods respect for the dignity of learners with varying capacities. Those who initiate and guide learning processes based upon a pedagogy of transformation will require capacities to face a range of challenges imposed by the democratization of the teaching/learning process. Thus, we see the need for radical changes in the training of all those involved in HRE.

Women, traditionally excluded from formal education and from general access to learning and the production of knowledge, should be allowed equal access to formal education together with developing alternative modes of learning and specific forms of women's HRE that recognize women's production of knowledge. HRE should encourage positive actions to

achieve equality and representation of women in society and the professional world, particularly to increase their access to positions of power and responsibility in fields traditionally dominated by men.

Universities train elites to join the power structure in government and business by imparting privileged knowledge and embedding networks of collaboration that reinforce the structures of domination. At the same time, universities that respect academic freedom and promote independent research are critically important places where alternative modes of analysis, theorizing, and action can be developed. Universities are, therefore, valuable locations for developing pedagogies of HRE and training students to engage in professional human rights work. One of the tasks of HRE is to expand these opportunities.

Vocational and technical education offer a special opportunity to develop pedagogies that relate the skills of the workplace, which students attending such institutions acquire, to the role of workers in the political economy and the human rights struggles of that context. Similarly, professional schools require specific pedagogies aimed at engaging future lawyers, health professionals, architects, administrators and others in a reflection on the human rights dimensions of their professional field and on the application of their professional skills to the tasks of the human rights struggle.

The relation between school and community is a vital dimension of HRE that can be utilized towards the transformation of societies. It is essential that a particular pedagogy of transformation be derived by the community served by the school.

LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS AND INNOVATIVE METHODOLOGIES

In order to achieve the pedagogy of transformation described above, educators and facilitators of learning need to develop and use innovative methodologies adapted to a wide range of learning environments. The following is a list of environments where specific pedagogies for HRE have been or might be developed:

- **Family in all its forms and identities**

- **The workplace and all its relationships**

- **Formal institutions:**
  ¥formal institutions of education and health care
  ¥ prisons
  ¥army
  ¥ refugee camps
  ¥places of worship

- **Non-formal sites - places where people communicate and ideas are exchanged:**
  - ¥ women's talk groups
  - ¥ village square
  - ¥ shopping malls
  - ¥ market places
  - ¥ discos, clubs
  - ¥ places where daily activities take place, involving work, home, school, etc.

- **Community media:**
  - ¥ printed materials
  - ¥ audio-visual materials
  - ¥ film
  - ¥ posters, bill boards, etc.
  - ¥ information and telecommunications technology (including the Internet)
  - ¥ women's organizations
  - ¥ creative arts and popular cultural manifestation

- **natural disasters:**
  - ¥ places where natural disasters have occurred (earthquakes, floods, fire, etc.) or man-made disasters (war, environmental accidents, economic violence)

- **Interest groups and organizations**
  - ¥ labor unions
  - ¥ cooperatives
  - ¥ consumer unions
  - ¥ self-help groups
  - ¥ task groups (urban and rural)
  - ¥ women's organizations
  - ¥ political parties

Colloquializing international instruments of human rights law by translating them into daily language and reality through culturally appropriate and economically viable expressions is a prerequisite for human rights learning in most environments. This can be achieved by:
  - ¥ writing personal narratives
  - ¥ museums
  - ¥ role playing exercises
  - ¥ drama, stories, cinematography, popular theater, radio, TV soap opera,
  - ¥ computer exercises and games
  - ¥ fora
  - ¥ media interaction, radio and TV
  - ¥ circus, puppetry, pantomime

Human rights education needs to address the commodification of culture through the overwhelming presence of media images that often marginalize opportunities for human rights learning. Learners, especially children, are bombarded by advertising, infotainment, edutainment, government propaganda, commodification of women's bodies (including their objectification through pornography),, indoctrination by interest groups or sects, and other forms of mass communication that denigrate cultural values, especially of indigenous and minority groups, and transmit stereotypes and prejudice, especially of women or glorify consumerism to the detriment of the values and critical faculties described above as essential to human rights education. Facilitators of learning, therefore, need to make a critical understanding of such mediatized images part of human rights education. Nevertheless, the media and electronic communication, such as the Internet, can be powerful tools of human rights education, if developed to achieve the learning goals set out above. Assessment has historically been used in traditional education as a mechanism of reward and punishment which can co-opt the independent thinking of the learners and has thus been a limitation on authentic and meaningful learning. The pedagogy of human rights education proposes that assessment be replaced by a process of self and co-operative evaluation as a means of constructing and deconstructing knowledge gained from various sources, including experience and cooperation, as key in the development of ethical behavior which will lead into action.

c) TOWARD A BUDDHIST SOCIAL ETHICS: THE CASE OF THAILAND

by Tavivat Puntarigvivat[21]

Historically, Buddhism arose in India at the time when the Aryan civilization flourished. Unlike Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, the main concern of religious leaders and philosophers during the time of the founder was not political liberation from social conditions, but personal liberation from human suffering

> **TRADITIONAL BUDDHIST CONCEPTS OF MORAL CONDUCT NEED TO BE REINTERPRETED FOR THE MODERN WORLD AND INTEGRATED INTO A SOCIAL ETHICAL THEORY.**

arising from the cycle of birth, old age, sickness, and death. Thus Buddhism is often criticized as a religion that, being mainly concerned with personal salvation, lacks a social ethics. However, Buddhist teachings on personal conduct do contain principles that could be reinterpreted and extended to a social ethical theory. Buddhist monks in Thailand are part of a unified hierarchical *sangha* (community of monks) which in turn is controlled by the government. Every day, they eat food donated to them by Thai people, the majority of whom are poor and oppressed. This situation makes it possible to look at Buddhism from a social justice perspective, and thereby add a new dimension to the Buddhist hermeneutics for the poor. If greed is understood not just in individual terms but also as a built-in mechanism of oppressive social structures, then to reduce or eliminate greed through personal self-restraint will not be enough; these social structures will have to be changed as well. Many Buddhists seek liberation (Pali: *mbbana*; Sanskrit: *nirvana*) by practicing meditation, but they do not pay sufficient attention to the way the society in which they live is organized.

I wish to offer a challenge to Buddhist ethical values by interpreting liberation as necessarily involving social as well as personal liberation

The Thai Political Economy

Since the end of absolute monarchy in 1932, Thai politics has gone through five stages, from constitutional military rule and military dictatorship through democratic experiments and ideological conflict to the rise of a middle class and the promulgation of a reformed constitution.   The social and economic development of Thailand within the global market economy in recent decades has increased the division between urban and rural society. This social dislocation has brought about a continuing decline of rural social structures, tradition, and culture, and has created the problem of overpopulation in the big cities.

▸ *Industries and services have been emphasized in the cities, while the agricultural sector in rural areas has been neglected.*

▸ *Education and economic growth have been concentrated in Bangkok and other urban areas, leaving most of the rural population undereducated, poor, and far behind in access to public services.*

▸ *Tenant farming and agribusiness corporations have uprooted traditional farmers from their own lands and pressured many younger men and women to migrate from the countryside to the cities in search of jobs.*

▸ *Most of the young male migrants have become low-wage laborers in construction, factories, and service businesses; since the 1980s, many have left to work in the Middle East, Taiwan, Brunei, and Singapore*

▸ *Many young women from the countryside, particularly from the north, have become prostitutes in Bangkok and other cities.   More recently ,some have traveled to Japan and elsewhere to work as prostitutes.*

The widening gap in both income and education between urban and rural society has torn Thailand into two worlds:

the world of the urban rich and the growing middle class
the world of the rural poor and city slum-dwellers

In 1996, the population was approximately 60.5 million. The top 20% of the people in the income pyramid possessed almost 60% of the country's wealth, whereas the bottom 20% (approximately 12 million people) owned only 3.5%. While the demand for democracy among urban Thais is increasing, it remains a low priority in the countryside where economic concerns are primary. If *Thai democracy is to grow, the conditions of rural people need to be dramatically improved, reducing income and educational differences between them and their urban counterparts.*

The Thai government, under the influence of multinational corporations and international capitalism, has failed to address the real problems facing farmers and rural people. Government development projects tend to draw human and natural resources from the periphery to the center, leaving the country people in desperate poverty.

Structural Poverty: From the Perspective of Thai Prostitution

Thailand has over a quarter of a million monks in thousands of monasteries throughout the land; yet it has more prostitutes than monks.

In the past, many women were tricked or forced into prostitution by mafia gangs. Today they are pressured by structural poverty, consumerism, and sometimes a distorted idea of filial piety." Although prostitution is illegal in Thailand, the government, because of the inefficient and corrupt bureaucratic system, seems unable or unwilling to help these unfortunate young women. Prostitution is against the teachings of the Buddha, but the Thai *sangha* hierarchy has said virtually nothing about this issue

THE CHAIN OF EVENTS

➡ The harder Thai farmers work, the deeper they find themselves in debt because of their dependency as tenant farmers.

➡ Both sons and daughters are driven to leave home in search of work, but it is easier for women because they can quickly become prostitutes, earning more money than factory workers. Their sin is forgiven and they are treated well in their village. Thai parents value daughters over sons because they can help at home and in the fields, both before and after marriage. Unfortunately, this traditional Thai attitude fits in with the exploitative structures in which young rural women can find jobs in the urban areas, even if such work exposes them to the threat of AIDS. (The proportion of people in Thailand infected with FIIV is among the highest in the world.)

➡ Development projects undertaken by the central government have brought roads, radio, television, and popular magazines to the villages, spreading the religion of consumerism. People are no longer happy with older lifestyles.

Traditional values are threatened by desperate poverty, the inability to possess land, and agribusiness; meanwhile, the new values increase the demand for consumer goods. Most rural Thai families are torn apart by these forces, and under such circumstances, it is hard for young men and women to stay home and be happy in rural areas. Today most rural villages, especially in the north and northeast, are populated only by those left behind - old people and children.

➜   Few people mention this problem in public, although Thai feminists and Buddhist social activists are beginning to speak up in defense of the rights of their mothers, sisters and daughters, reminding society that prostitution represents a distortion of traditional cultural values and is caused by modern structural poverty.

Buddhist Base Communities in Thailand

In the face of these forces, only a revitalization of Buddhist values can help rural people retain a level of self-sufficiency and independence.   Before the modernization of Thailand under capitalism, the Buddhist *sangha* provided villagers with Buddhist teachings, culture, ritual, education, medical care, and occupational advice. The spirit of sharing and cooperation prevailed. This social structure has collapsed under the impact of economic dependence, social dislocation, and cultural transformation.

> *What is needed in rural Thailand today is what I call **BUDDHIST BASE COMMUNITY**, with leadership from well-educated or well-informed Buddhist monks or laity. Such a community would seek to promote the enduring values of Thai culture, which are ultimately rooted in a religious worldview. Cultural identity would be fostered through the adaptation of such values, and Buddhist social ethics would become guidelines for action. The economic model of such a Buddhist base community would be one of relative self-sufficiency rather than market dependency. Buddhist teachings, as well as the increase in self-respect and self-confidence likely in a society based on such teachings, could reduce the impact of consumerism, which in recent years has been exacerbated by omnipresent advertising on television and radio and in popular magazines.*

CASE HISTORY #1

Phra Khamkhian s Community

Phra Khamkhian Suvanno s community at Tahmafaiwan in northeastern Chaiyabhum is an exemplary Buddhist base community centered around a charismatic leader. Khamkhian, a forest monk and dedicated meditation teacher, has campaigned to help poor people in the northeastern rural areas where he has established rice banks and buffalo banks, which function as independent local cooperatives where poor people can borrow the necessities for agriculture, such as grain and water buffalo. If necessary, they can borrow rice for their own consumption. When they produce a surplus of rice, they deposit it in the rice bank. When a borrowed buffalo gives birth, half of the young buffalo belongs to the farmer and the other half belongs to the buffalo bank.

Khamkhian believes that the villagers' constant battle with poverty and hunger is due to their being caught up in the *main-stream, greed-motivated economy*. He encourages them to be self-sufficient by raising their own vegetables, digging family fish ponds, and growing fruit trees, instead of producing a single crop like tapioca or eucalyptus and buying food from outside the village.   Near his forest monastery, he gave a plot of land to one family to try vegetable gardening without chemical fertilizers or pesticides, and the experiment was successful. To broaden the villagers perspectives, he has encouraged them to visit other villages where integrated farming is successfully practiced.

> Khamkhian has preserved against encroachment about 250 acres of
> lush, green forest atop the mountain, and plans to send monks to live
> deep in the forest so that villagers will not dare damage the sanctified
> area, which has been declared a forest monastery. He has also led the
> villagers fight against local authorities who support illegal logging. By
> attacking consumerism with a renewed affirmation of Buddhist social
> and ethical values, he has helped the Tahmafaiwan community win some
> measure of local cultural independence

CASE HISTORY #2

Phrakhru Sakorn s Community

Before Sakorn Sangvorakit came to Wat Yokkrabat at Ban Phrao in Samutsakorn, most people who lived there were impoverished illiterate farmers. The area was often flooded with sea water which destroyed the paddies and left the people with no means of subsistence. Sakorn suggested planting coconut trees, following the example of a nearby province, and once this was underway, he advised them not to sell the harvest, because middlemen kept the price of coconuts low.

With assistance from three nearby universities that were interested in the development and promotion of community projects, the people of Yokkrabat began selling their coconut sugar all over the country. Sakorn also got the villagers to grow vegetables and fruit, encouraged them to grow palm trees for building materials, and to plant herbs to be used for traditional medicine. Breeding fish was also encouraged. Within a few years the people's livelihood improved significantly.

Sakorn believes that a community's basic philosophy should be self-reliance and spirituality. He encourages residents to determine what they need in their family before selling the surplus to earn money and buy things they cannot produce by themselves. In this way, villagers depend less on the market. This principle of self-reliance also underlies the community's credit union project: members are encouraged to borrow money for integrated family farming rather than for large enterprises in cash crops. In addition to these projects on economic development, Sakorn has taught the villagers *Dhamma* - the teachings of the Buddha - and meditation. He trains the younger generation of monks and novices for leadership and encourages them to take greater responsibility for their own community.

CASE HISTORY #3
Buddha-Kasetra Community
Buddha-Kasetra is a group of Buddhist base communities in northern Thailand which was founed in Chiengmai in 1989. It has established a number of schools to care for orphans, juvenile delinquents, and economically deprived children. The first Buddha-Kasetra school, established at Maelamong in the northern province of Maehongsorn, began its self-support program by growing their own rice and vegetables, producing organic fertilizers, and raising cows to produce milk for the school children as well as to supply milk at a cheap price to the local communities. They also initiated some small commercial projects to produce traditional foods and desserts, weave and sew clothes, and make bricks and concrete posts for construction. All the teachers and school children, in addition to school work, participated in occupational training and manual labor. A public health center was established to care for the health of the local people.

The Buddha-Kasetra has campaigned to protect women s and children s rights and to alert people to the problems of prostitution and child abuse in northern Thailand. At the Buddha-Kasetra school at Nongho, girls and young women from poor, marginal family backgrounds are admitted to the school for education and occupational training, as well as instruction in Buddhist ethics. There are six teachers, all female except for the principal, Phasakorn Kandej, and eighty-six female students ranging in age from thirteen to eighteen.

If these students were not admitted to the school, it is likely that most of them would have resorted to prostitution. The foundation, which has its own printing press, publishes a monthly newspaper, as well as a number of books on Buddhism and social issues.

Buddhist Social Ethics: A Structural Analysis

A retro-utopian view, such as Buddhadasa s dhammic socialism, which uses the older form of traditional Buddhist society as a model for a contemporary society, does not take sufficient stock of the intractable nature of structural problems. If the life of the Thai people in the past was "better" than today, it was mainly because of the self-sufficiency of their local economy and the decentralization of political power, ensuring the integrity of local culture and social values. To advocate a change of form without changing the underlying structure is to miss the point. To ask society to return to an older form of Buddhist society is to advocate the impossible, and to risk ignoring the systemic nature of modern problems (in Buddhist terms, *dukkha*). Without changing unjust, inequitable and violent economic and political structures, a dictatorial *dhammaraja* is not so different, in today s context, from an absolute dictator.

**In order to overcome greed, hatred, and delusion
a person needs to change not only his or her
personal conduct or lifestyle
but also the system that creates them**

Buddhist ethics, such as the FIVE PRECEPTS (*sila*), needs to address this structural change more vigorously.

THE FIRST PRECEPT: *Refrain from killing and harming living beings*
In Thailand, the military budget, which comprises a large portion of the GNP, should be reduced. The violation of human rights, including political or economic assassination, the torture of prisoners, and child abuse, has to be halted. There must be an end to the slaughter of wild animals, especially endangered species. The rainforests that shelter wild animals need to be recovered and preserved.

THE SECOND PRECEPT: *Refrain from stealing*

The situation in Thailand, warrants a more just social structure in order to prevent politicians, the military, police, civil servants, and businessmen from engaging in corruption and systematically robbing the common people. Destruction of the rain forests and degradation of the environment are stealing the future of our children and grandchildren.

THE THIRD PRECEPT: *Refrain from sexual misconduct*

Prostitution is a systematic violation of this rule, a problem Buddhists need to take more seriously. Among other things, a substantial improvement in the economic well-being of rural areas, as well as the enforcement of laws punishing those profiting from the business of prostitution, are needed to reduce pressure on rural young women to resort to prostitution.

THE FOURTH PRECEPT: *Refrain from false speech*

Buddhists need to advocate truthfulness, even when this means challenging the status quo and a corrupt system that often violates this demand. Political and bureaucratic reforms, laws guaranteeing a free press, multiple political parties, and grass roots participation in democracy are required to establish and maintain this precept at a structural level.

THE FIFTH PRECEPT: *Refrain from intoxication*

This precept is systematically violated by the smuggling of drugs from Thailand which has contributed to the worldwide drug problems, and this must be stopped.

Toward Buddhist Social Liberation

First: *Buddhist base communities all over Thailand should be linked, forming a grass-roots movement to combat social injustice and environmental destruction. Their more self-sustaining economy and relatively decentralized polity can serve as models for a better society.*

Second: *Buddhist intellectuals and social workers at all levels should learn more from the oppressed. By listening to the poor, they can contribute to Thailand s broad-based reform, helping raise people s consciousness and fostering a determination to work for change.*

Third: *a more just society could be obtained by pushing for political reforms. The newly-won constitution, which includes a reformed democratic process with a structural check and balance of power - including elections, government administration, parliament and the judicial system - is a first step. The Thai bureaucracy, now the biggest obstacle to social and political reforms in our country, needs restructuring in order to become more efficient and decentralized.*

d) APPLYING THE NONVIOLENT BUDDHIST PROBLEM–SOLVING APPROACH IN SRI LANKA

By Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne[22]

When Sri Lanka was Buddhist, both in precept and practice, there was no need to talk about peacemaking because there was no fundamental value crisis in the Sri Lankan society in spite of internally or externally caused strife and power struggles, which sometimes led to bloody rebellions and wars. Peace prevailed in the minds of the general public and their communities because the generally accepted value system remained un-attacked by contending groups.

It is common knowledge that in Sri Lanka today legalized structural violence prevails and extra-legal violent methods are used as well to resolve conflicts. Some call it an *ethnic problem*. Some others call it a *terrorist problem.* Yet others call it a *militant struggle for liberation*. There are still other groups trying to identify it with a more simplistic description, calling it a kind of war between the Sinhala Buddhist majority and the Tamil Hindu minority.

Some scholars trace the problem back to the Aryan Dravidian origins of the Sinhala and Tamil races. Others have taken great pains to prove who inhabited the island first. Human rights have been discussed in great detail. Dialogues and negotiations have been going on for several years with militant groups at the level of political parties and governments. There is hardly anything useful that can be achieved by adding to those writings and peace formulae - additions may even create more confusion in the minds of the people. In spite of all this, not only the people who have taken up arms - those with declared legitimacy on the part of the government and extra-legally on the part of the militants - but large numbers of innocent men, women and children get killed, become disabled for life, lose their houses and property, become destitute and suffer untold agony. Certainly the way political and economic structures are instituted and managed today can hardly be called Buddhist either in precept or practice.

> Seventy percent of the people in Sri Lanka are said to profess Buddhism. There is hardly any place in the country where an ancient or modern Buddhist monument or monastery in not found. There are around 20,000 monks attending to the religious needs of the people and religious ceremonies and related activities are going on continuously. The teachings of the Buddha in its most pristine form is found in Dhamma texts. Even non- Buddhist laymen and politicians liberally quote chapter and verse from the Buddha s Words in their public utterances. When one sees and hears all this, one gets the impression that Sri Lanka is a Buddhist country.

The political structure is based on the so-called party system which has been adopted from the west. Political parties in practice promote what is called in Buddhism the four defilements, namely, *chanda, dvesha, bhaya* and *moha*.

CHANDA: means the bringing about of alienation between one another in the minds of the people. The existing caste, linguistic, racial, communal or other differences are surreptitiously and sometimes openly used by political parties to promote their own self-interest, instead of promoting compassion and the idea of well-being of all in the minds of people. Therefore, the political parties hold a notorious record for promoting alienation among the people of Sri Lanka.

DVESHA: is ill will, which is the direct result of the aforementioned alienation. Organized gossip, rumor, falsehood and so on supplement various kinds of apparently democratic, political and economic propaganda, carried out by most of the leaders of political parties. While the political elite may have a common understanding of the game they play according to their own rules, the unwary ordinary people fall prey to their machinations and develop longstanding enmities and irreconcilable conflicts. This explains the origin of a lot of the violent confrontations we witness in Sri Lanka today.

BHAYA: is mutual fear. In post-independent Sri Lanka, while an unjust, unhealthy and a borrowed party political system was kept going for the benefit of a tiny minority of powerful people, mutual suspicion and fear among common people also gathered momentum. Many scholarly analyses were created, based on a hoard of statistical data and historical facts which did not affect the thinking of either the man on the street or the basic political and economic structure that promoted the disharmony and conflict in the first place. In other words, philosophizing that does not touch the basic roots of mental defilements and the social realities resulting from them, in Buddhist terminology is simply called *moha* or ignorance.

When ignorance becomes organized it is a disaster for communities that have a right to expect more positive interventions from the more educated sectors. In Sri Lanka today, different groups hold onto their own uncompromising positions while the sound of guns and explosions continue to be heard. The economic goals, structures and processes that are officially promoted also are not conducive to building peace in a Buddhist way. Promoting consumerism is one extreme which Lord Buddha rejected as *Kamasukhallikanuyoga.* Since independence, the country has been drawing away from the Middle Path. Four hundred and fifty years of western influence and rule, the deliberate promotion of the materialistic way of life and the existence of a small elite group who have achieved that affluent level, have made the general population also aspire to achieve material prosperity as their sole aim in life. But few succeed. Most end up in a situation worse than they were in before. With the introduction of the so-called free economy during the last ten years and with plenty of imported consumer goods floating around, everyone is bent on making quick money to acquire these non-essentials.

Malnutrition is on the increase; crime is on the increase; the cost of living is skyrocketing and bribery and corruption have reached record heights.

In a Buddhist society, neither political nor economic activities promoted by the state should contradict
the teachings of the Buddha

There are teachings that can guide a state dedicated to following the teachings of the Buddha. Primarily a Buddhist has to abstain from

killing   stealing   committing adultery   lying
consuming   intoxicants

Even when all five injunctions are formally promoted by the state this is not the same as building a Buddhist economy. When speaking of economic development, Lord Buddha not only stressed the importance of increased efficiency in production (*Uttana Sampada*), but also the importance of the protection of resources and the environment (*Arakkha Sampada*), a friendly social milieu in which economic activities should take place (*Kalyana Mittata*) and a wholesome lifestyle towards which all the economic activities are directed (*Sama Jeevakata*).

Production and consumption are the material foundation on which higher objectives pertaining to human life and culture are to be attained. The way in which production, distribution, consumption, technology, and marketing are carried out determines whether these higher objectives are promoted or hampered. The economy in Sri Lanka makes it very difficult to realize these higher aspirations. The lack of a spiritual balance is resulting in widespread ecological and environmental problems which in turn affect the thinking and conduct of human beings. In Sri Lanka, the Sarvodaya Shramadana approach to peacemaking has been tremendously successful.

THE SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT
The message is the awakening of everyone through sharing
Sarvodya
sarva: - to embrace everything   *udaya* - awakening
the awakening of all

Shramadana
shrama - energy or labor   *dana* - to give away
the sharing of labor or energy

The **Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement** (SSM) in Sri Lanka began as an educational experience in the mid-1950s, when a group of socially conscious high school teachers in Colombo decided to translate their convictions into action.

They organized *shramadana* camps in which groups of students from relatively affluent urban homes gave up their vacations to share their time, thoughts and efforts to work in the country s most backward and out-caste villages, whether Sinhala, Tamil, or Muslim. They went wherever they were invited.

First: SSM tries to re-establish a value system, technologies, and structures that would release processes leading to a more sustainable society.

Second: SSM addresses itself to problems that need more immediate attention.

Awakening

The chief objective of Sarvodaya is awakening. The root problem of poverty is seen as being a sense of personal and collective powerlessness, and awakening is to take place not in isolation but through social, economic, and political interaction. Personal awakening is seen as being interdependent with the awakening of one s local community, and both play a part in the awakening of one s nation and of the whole world.

To awaken all, we have to awaken ourselves as human beings, as human families, as village communities, as nations, and as world community. The movement embraces everybody and therefore we have to work nonviolently, truthfully, and in a self-sacrificing manner. We believe in a nonviolent, sustainable order where spirituality and science are combined. We believe this cannot be done at the macro level, because love, for example, cannot be organized. It has to be felt, expressed and educated at the micro level the individual, family, and community.

Programs

ONE: *Early Childhood Development Program*

TWO: *Poverty Eradication and Empowerment of the Poor program (PEEP)*

THREE: *Rural Technical Services Program* in which rural people acquire the necessary skills, and, through appropriate technologies such as solar energy, build their own houses, toilets, irrigation and drainage systems, and carry out reforestation and other light industry projects.

FOUR: *Sarvodaya Economic Enterprises Development Services* (SEEDS)

management training institute - training village people in management so that they will not be cheated by people in the city or internationally**savings, credit and small enterprises program** - government monies have now been released for this. If people save a particular amount of money, we guarantee the funds and give the people five to 10 times that amount to start their own micro enterprises. **Rural Enterprises Development Services**

FIVE: *Elders Action Committees* coordinate all the other governmental

and non-governmental organizations. They also work on certain issues, such as the environment, human rights preservation, freedom of the media, and freedom of the judiciary.

**relief   rehabilitation   reconciliation
reconstruction   reawakening**

In addition, we have independent Sarvodaya organizations, like the women s movement, legal aid services, the peace brigade with about 77,000 volunteers, and a group that helps children who are abandoned, malnourished, or disabled. After some time, we make every village independent of our large organization. This is a decentralized, people s participatory democracy, as opposed to party and power politics. In this manner, we are attempting to bring about a social, nonviolent revolution based on people s self-reliance, community participation, and planned action.

BUILDING A NO-POVERTY SOCIETY

WE REJECT AFFLUENCE

It is impossible for all people in the world to attain that standard of living - the earth simply does not have the resources. Even if the resources were artificially manufactured, that technology would not allow this environmental life-support system to survive. The entire economic system introduced by the West, which our government has accepted, is wrong. It cannot sustain itself.

WE REJECT THAT SYSTEM

We believe that the most urgent need today is not to create an affluent society, but to create a no-poverty society in which all people have their ten basic needs satisfied: water, clothing, food, shelter, health care, energy requirements, communications, education, and spiritual and cultural needs, which can be satisfied with the people s own self-reliance, community participation, and planned action.

There are over 8,000 villages out of a total of over 23,000 villages in Sri Lanka where the Sarvodayav experience is shared by thousands of people attending regular Shramadana camps. Peacemaking on a national level is inconceivable without all the people in the country coming together on a psychological level of spiritual infrastructure building. Buddhists give loving kindness, compassion and respect for life the highest priority. We are not allowed to harass, harm or kill even a small living insect. A friendly mental energy is radiated from the minds of people who have respect for all life forms. In such a spiritual climate, pleasant and inter-personal relationships become constructive, affectionate, selfless and nonviolent. Modern society suppresses this kind of spiritual relationship through economic and political competitiveness.
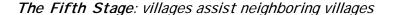
The techniques developed in building community awareness, ensuring community participation and sustaining community management of integrated community water supply and sanitation schemes in hundreds of Sri Lanka villages has been its greatest achievement. Sarvodaya has postulated a five-stage model of village community development.

The First Stage: psychological infrastructure building begins with a village level discussion about local needs and organizing self-help activities.

The Second Stage: when villages have formed one or more community groups of farmers, mothers, children, youth and elders.

The Third Stage: the village is organized to satisfy its own basic and secondary needs and water and sanitation related programs are initiated. The village Sarvodaya groups are institutionalized as a legally incorporated body (the Sarvodaya Shramadana Society) which is entitled to open its own bank account, obtain loans and start economic activities with support from District level and National Level Sarvodaya structures.

The Fourth Stage: villages are expected to become self financing in their Sarvodaya activity.

The Fifth Stage: villages assist neighboring villages

e) HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION FOR MUSLIM WOMEN
By Leila Bedeir[23]

Introduction

The purpose of this human rights education model is to facilitate transmission of the universal human rights concepts inscribed in the major international documents to grassroots populations in Muslim societies. Because the prevailing economic, social, cultural, and political conditions affect the transmission process, the Sisterhood Is Global Institute (SIGI) aspires to offer a multidimensional model - although no model can reasonably be expected to accommodate all the problems that occur in real situations.

The model purports to develop a framework that grassroots populations can easily use to convey universal concepts in association with indigenous ideas, traditions, myths, and texts rendered in local idiom.   Since 1995, SIGI has been actively designing, developing, and testing a flexible, culturally relevant women's human rights education model. This model, reflected in the manual *Claiming Our Rights: A Manual for Women's Human Rights Education in Muslim Societies* has been developed specifically to respond to the needs and conditions of the Global South, and seeks to provide some of the groundwork for new and innovative human rights education both in theory and in practice. The manual has been carefully designed to promote human rights awareness among women at the grassroots level, particularly those living in Muslim societies, and provides concrete guidelines aimed at promoting dialogue among women about themes relevant to their daily lives. The themes reflect the concerns articulated during the Fourth World Conference on Women convened in Beijing in September 1995, and include:

- women's rights and responsibilities within the family (sample session)

- women's rights to subsistence

- women's rights to autonomy in family-planning decisions

- women's rights to bodily integrity --- confronting domestic violence --- assisting victims of rape and punishing the perpetrator --- resisting violence: making the law work for women --- reconsidering participation in public life

- women's rights to education and learning

- women's rights to employment and fair compensation

- women's rights to privacy, religious beliefs, and free expression

- women's rights during times of conflict

* women's rights to political participation

The goal of *Claiming Our Rights* is not to convey a "right" answer in terms of women's human rights. Rather, it is to provide a forum for women, regardless of their intellectual sophistication or political and social awareness, to define, discuss, and reinterpret their rights in the context of their respective personal and public spheres of life.

SIGI Programs in Lebanon – An Example

As in many countries, it is difficult for women in Lebanon to express themselves freely on issues of human rights and violence against women. SIGI's HRE program in Lebanon has developed interesting entry points for women to embark on such discussion. While it is difficult for women to justify to their families their participation in simple discussion groups, they have no difficulty participating in skills development programs where there is discussion of human rights and violence against women.

Amlieh School for Girls Program

The HRE programs have been set up at the Amlieh Elementary School, where the Training for Trainers prepares teachers to become facilitators at the school. The Training for Mothers program provides human rights education for the mothers of the children at the school, within a vocational context. Afifa Dirani Arsanios, SIGI Vice-President and Field Coordinator, believes that training key educators, such as the principal of the school and the religion teacher, is essential since often it is these people who hear first-hand from the mothers or the children about cases of violence and human rights violations within the home. SIGI's HRE Program provides the tools to address questions children or mothers may raise; facilitators may intervene if such a request is made. They are prepared to educate the children about their rights through religion classes where they support their ideas with teachings from the Qur'an. As part of their training, they are required to facilitate workshop sessions held for the mothers.

Training for Mothers is aimed at the poorest and most disadvantaged of mothers, divorcees and widows who suffer terribly from being single mothers in a society which still values a father's influence above all else. These women are unlikely to have either the

> A TESTAMENT *"these workshops become like group therapy. The women share and exchange solutions and resources."*
> Afifa Dirani Arsanios

time or the money to involve themselves in HRE workshops. They are primarily interested in learning skills which could generate income or be useful in the household, especially to justify their absence from their homes. Consequently, sewing, glass etching and basic literacy classes are offered as the entry points for human rights education. This format encourages economic empowerment, legal literacy and human rights education.

Within the context of these classes and with the use of SIGI manuals *Claiming Our Rights: A Manual for Women's Human Rights Education in Muslim Societies*, as well as *Safe and Secure: Eliminating Violence Against Women and Girls in Muslim Societies*, the often related topics of women's human rights and violence against women are addressed. It is emphasized that, contrary to popular cultural beliefs, human rights, as they are articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments, are not in contradiction to Islam.

Bekaa Valley Project

SIGI's HRE Program is also offered in the Bekaa Valley. Women from this region are very active in food processing. However, they lack the marketing and packaging skills necessary to make their activities truly lucrative. In light of the specific needs of these women, SIGI combines its HRE program with a small business education program for women, producing rose-water, jam and other food products. Along with SIGI manuals, they are provided with a UNIFEM manual entitled *How To Start Your Own Business*. This group has also received a "business start-up" grant for the purchase of containers and other supplies. The women must invest part of their profits towards the financing of their daughters' education, a commitment the women are ready and willing to honor. Once again, verses from the Qur'an and the Hadith are used to support the principles of women's human rights which are discussed during these combined workshops.

Akkar Valley Project

The Akkar Valley is a very poor rural area of Lebanon. Discussion groups based on the sessions featured in SIGI manuals are held in the homes of the facilitator and the participants. Since here the participants primarily are illiterate women, the teaching of basic literacy is an essential part of the program. The intimate and familiar surroundings of the participants' homes allows for a freer environment and supports relationships of trust which inevitably develop among the women.

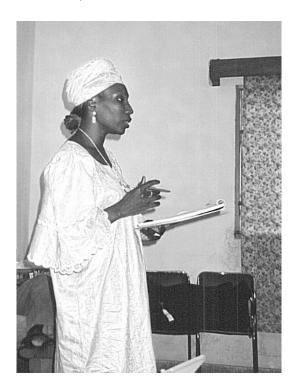## The Knowledge Partnership Program (KPP): Tools for Communication and Advocacy

The Knowledge Partnership Program (KPP) complements the HRE program s work to empower women to secure their human rights. Through this program, they are able to connect with other human rights activists and organizations across the Global South and in the North. The KPP node in Lebanon provides a unique opportunity for women to acquire skills training on the latest communication and information technology.

Here they learn to use computers and the Internet to access information related to women's human rights locally, nationally, regionally and globally.

Participants include women of all ages, at levels ranging from total computer illiteracy to a prior familiarity with computers. SIGI has formed a very successful partnership with the Continuing Education Program (CEP) at the Lebanese American University, where the program is currently housed. The association with a reputable academic institution helps to establish the credibility of SIGI's Knowledge Partnership Project, and thus to attract participants. Its popularity is mainly due to the results demonstrated by its significant outreach capacity. Participants have been unanimous in requesting follow-up workshops.

A Look to the Future

SIGI's workshops in Lebanon are educating women about their fundamental human rights. They also serve to show them that they need not stray far from their spiritual and religious beliefs to claim these rights. Through SIGI's workshops, women receive practical tools which empower them to improve the material and social conditions of their lives. In Lebanon, as in several other countries where SIGI has projects, there is an increasing demand for more workshops. SIGI remains committed to sustaining these projects and to developing more educational and pedagogical materials which will help women realize their full potential.

f) SCHOOL AS A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNITY, COMMUNITY AS SCHOOL: THE KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT
By Prof. Muki Tzur [24]

Introduction

When the Kibbutz movement was born at the beginning of the century, its members read and were determined to practice the code or codes through which the society and humanity of our times were deciphered: they studied Freud, Marx, Buber, Russian Anarchism, Populism, etc. They were part of an ongoing discussion of cooperation in the world. bringing to it the hunger to try, to materialize, to escape the safe shelter of theories. They were the sons and daughters of a community well practiced in mutual help and charity, a community forced by circumstances to make constant adjustments to its environment, weathering momentous crises while maintaining warmth, solidarity, a huge reservoir of dreams and fantasies, and warm, expressive familial relations. Some of the founders of the kibbutz movement had been exposed to the complex Jewish experience of entering the modern world full of expectations but with a growing understanding of the enormity of hatred addressed at the Jew: hatred from conservative Gentiles who worried that modernism, which the Jew was supposed to represent, would shatter an old world in which they believed, and hatred from modernizing Gentiles who would only tolerate for Jews to enter the new world if they were ready to completely discard any remnants of the old Jewish cultural identity.

> *The Kibbutz was built on the premise that human freedom could only grow in the crucible of an intentional community, based on the presupposition of the equality of all human beings, and shaped by the spirit of solidarity.*

The founders of the Kibbutz saw this anti-Semitism as a dangerous symptom of a new kind of racism, born of despair at a world seemingly out of control, but they believed that in the new world yet to be built, socio-cultural fractures would mend, that great political events were paving the way for ever-growing human emancipation, with the help of well-honed tools for personal and social education. They also believed that this emancipation would both allow and demand deeper, more conscious connections between persons. Everything about their deeds and their deliberations was done with extreme care, and they were committed to experiencing the process of change. If they themselves belonged to various political parties and cultural groups, they decided to create a new society regardless of cultural differences among them.

Sharing Work And Its Fruits

The Kibbutz distinguishes and combines two distinct aspects of community:

- **The cooperative** -- a partnership in means of production, with the firm conviction that the goal of human equality could be achieved solely through equal participation in the laborer's work and in the management of the community.

- **The commune** -- a partnership in consumption and equal access to the basic requirements of life .

Work is an integral part of Kibbutz life; it is regarded as a vital means of personal involvement in the life of the community, but no cash value is put on it and no salaries are paid. Teamwork is stressed in an atmosphere of informality, with minimal emphasis on status differences in role behavior. In the majority of the Kibbutzim, there is no differentiation in salary based on specialization or rank in a professional or institutional hierarchy. Workers of various professions receive according to the ability of the community, with the understanding that needs are varied and change with time and circumstances. While some of the early kibbutzim eradicated private ownership altogether and transferred all possessions to the community, the choice of communal property has generally been of a more moderate kind. And while over the years, full equality has come to be seen as an unattainable goal in some kibbutzim, all of them assume a great amount of mutual liability, full support in issues of health, accommodation, care for the elderly and education. The communal kitchen provides food for the community, most meals are taken in the communal dining room and the kibbutz provides housing. Each kibbutz is an autonomous unit, but there are strong bonds of co-operation and mutual help between them. Smaller groups dispersed throughout the country have entered into   cooperative partnership with each other both in the city and in the country, both for road-paving and for building construction and bonds have been formalized in national federations that coordinate activities and provide various economic, social, cultural and other services.

Commitment To Change

The ideological and practical founders of the Kibbutz conceived of it as a creation for generations to come. In keeping with the reality of historical evolution, change should be not just allowed, but positively facilitated as well. The community should pass the message from one generation to the next, but each generation should also find a way in which to form itself according to new data of successive eras.

There was great challenge in this tension between continuity and change, between a vision materializing pragmatically and pragmatism as itself a vision. This challenge was rooted in the Jewish belief that, at the core of the religious community, there is education through a perpetual, and perpetually renewed dialogue with the basic texts.

Communal life itself is a kind of Talmudic reading which is the constant reinterpretation of reality in the light of a text; sacred texts, legal texts, legends, stories, anecdotes, jokes even -- all serve to cast light on life, inform actions, resolve controversies, answer dilemmas, help in decision-making. The rooting of the Kibbutz movement in the turn-of-the-century Youth Movement further reinforced this aspect.

The Youth Movement

In the 1920's, the youth movement was the most important educational laboratory for the Kibbutz. The idea of youth movement was not in itself a Jewish invention, having originated in the British and Central European societies. The British scouts occupied themselves in forging their character, recreation, and working for others within the context of imperial ideology. The German youth movement, operating in what was then a highly conformist and bureaucratized society, focused on youthful rebellion, creating new symbols, trips in nature and the attempt to educate the young into non-conformity and critical thinking. Central European movements focused on sports, scouting movement as nationalist movement These youth movements went through tremendous turbulence and some severe maladies, as well: some were stricken with over-romanticism, women's discrimination, and harsh anti-Semitism. With time they also became more and more politicized, a process, which led some of the youth movements to the abyss of Nazi ideology.

The Zionist youth movement was not satisfied with developing modes of togetherness, rebellion, and adolescent culture. They wished to create a permanent mode of living, to transform youth rebellion into a human creation. Freedom, equality and fraternity would materialize through building a society organized as a direct democracy.

The attempt to actually live according to the principle of the intrinsic value of the equality of all human being and to translate it into socio-economic language was very complex in itself. It is true that when a community is poor and the needs it can satisfy for its members are limited, then equality is possible, as the group caters only to the very basic needs which are more or less the same for all: food to prevent hunger, cloths to prevent the cold, a roof over their heads. But even then the needs differ: they are not the same for singles and families, children and adults, healthy and sick, weak and strong. And there were other needs as well, such as free time, or enforced unemployment. Eretz-Israel of those days was undeveloped agriculturally or industrially, not organized to provide welfare. At times employment was available for only three or four out of a group of twenty, and it was up to them to finance the entire group. Personal ambitions, and having to give their salary to the collective fund created enormous stress, which some of them could not take, who eventually left. Parental situations varied as well -- some members' parents were poor yet the Kibbutz could not help them, whereas some parents wished to help the Kibbutz but were rejected by their children for being bourgeois. All those issues came up in the collective discussions, and the dilemmas were tremendous.

At the same time, the kibbutzim became a huge educational enterprise. They created a norm of interchange and training between experts and workers. The motivation for improvement was very high, and the opportunity to study and be educated was an inseparable part of the life of the kibbutzim.

Preserving Human Dignity

The reality of the Holocaust seemed to be teaching that there is no freedom, no human dignity and no rights, neither for the individual nor for the community, yet it was among these groups of youngsters dreaming of the Kibbutz and practicing its principles so far away from any glimmer of hope that education based on the belief in humanity and human freedom was put to the test. It is not mere coincidence that it was among these very groups of youngsters that many rebellious acts against the murders and the destruction originated.

When WW2 ended, the Israeli kibbutzim sent many of their members to Europe in search of children and surviving members of the youth movements, in order to organize them anew as youth and refugees kibbutzim, in an attempt to reinstate the faith in voluntary choice of partnership groups. The Kibbutz saw itself and was seen by others both in the Jewish community and outside of it as a model for

Democracy   consensual partnership   equality

Members were constantly confronted with obstacles: both in their relations with the surrounding society, which did not live according to the same norms, and in the endless number of agreements required to keep alive a dialogue among the people, to eliminate alienation and internal squabbling over material and spiritual matters. Many a time, the very idea of the Kibbutz seemed distant and remote, not for lack of practice so much as for diminishing sense of identification with the vision and for the many difficulties in its materialization.

Children Of The Kibbutz

Over the years, the Kibbutz had learned that having the young self-educate themselves to create a new society is not enough. New questions arose as children were now born into the community. How to educate them to continue the social-moral project of their parents? Can one assume that children whose homeland is the Kibbutz would be able to carry on without experiencing the revolution themselves?

The first issue to be raised at the level of infants' education was the question of the rights of the woman -- the mother. Does motherhood uproot the very basis of equality for women? Does it not create an impossible infrastructure in the relations between mothers and fathers, relations which then reflect the impossibility of integrating women into the

community as professional workers? Does the family make equality and freedom impossible?

Some members then raised the question: should one marry at all? Or should the community open children-centers that will make child-care professional and release some of the women to work in farming?

At the end of the First World War more children were born. Raising them was difficult. In 1918, women with babies convened. They brought their babies, since it seemed to them that child rearing is becoming the most serious obstacle on their road

> *At the birth of the first son of the first Kibbutz, there was an argument regarding the child's name. Who is authorized to name, and which names to give? The issue was raised at the Kibbutz assembly. Should it be the community? -Or would the power of convincing itself be excessive power? if the couple chose the name, would that create a wedge within the larger group? One of the members suggested the child be named "Adam" after the first human being, since we are not following the maladies of humanity but starting a whole new thing. The suggestion was rejected.*

to emancipation and to their ability to participate in the new social creation. It was then that they agreed to build child-centers to give women the time to work.

Schools For A Society Of Rebels?

As the children grew, the need to start schools or educational centers arose: a new school for a rebellious society. The argument over its character started immediately. The first children's community was founded in Emek Yzrael at Kibbutz Beit Alpha. The head of the "enterprise" was a shoemaker and an intellectual: Eliahu (Elija) Rapoport was a philosopher who dealt extensively with the creation of a *Gemeinschaft* (a community with a common vision) and, an intimate community based on dialogic relations and on inter-personal relations expressing the attentiveness to the Other.

Rapoport never gave up his trade and his home making; he taught while working. He aspired to a new kind of education: education through mutual study and activity. The child lives in a children's community and is not submitted to a school with an authoritative teacher; to his mind, youngsters running their own democratic lives would learn creativity and mutual understanding.

The first schools to bloom at that time grew in the shadow of the Kibbutz itself. The children lived and breathed the fact that the teachers admired the founders of the Kibbutz, their students' parents; even when the teachers had come from the outside specifically to teach, they still felt that entering Kibbutz life and being involved, joining the work-places, interacting with the adult members was the best way to teach the children of the Kibbutz so that they would maintain their parents' revolution.

In some Kibbutzim, children 12 years old and up already participated in the Kibbutz assembly meetings.

Gradually, three major modes of education developed in the Kibbutz movement, all aimed at enabling the child of the Kibbutz to deal with, and be active within a larger society whose rules were changing. Common to all those modes was the belief that it is unnecessary to exercise power and authority to reach children and to enable the growth of a human being able to function in the new society.

THE FIRST MODE

Focused on the psychology of adolescence, an age in which the human being is mature enough to live his vision, his critique of the state of affairs, without succumbing to routine and accepting as normative the maladies of the society of the grown-ups. Such reliance on the psychology of adolescence necessitates separation from the Kibbutz of the adult parents. Such a school should create an independent and critical community of young adolescents, a situation that reproduced the creative tension found in the world of the Youth Movement.

THE SECOND MODE

Aimed at developing a human being capable of revolting against conformity and of integrating into a society of human rights through freedom, equality and fraternity, wished to do so through direct and full participation of the children's community in the adult society. The idea was to establish educational institutes within the various kibbutzim. Those schools were intimately involved in the life of the community and interaction with its members was considered a part of the educational process. Inner democracy should be developed, but also a tradition of the study of historically-rooted cultural values going back for generations, all the while building the culture of revolution, social radicalism. The example of the veterans, the actual building of the Kibbutz, the respect for and importance of the manual laborer all will all create identification of the children with the idea and the challenge of the Kibbutz.

THE THIRD MODE

Aimed at internalizing the contents of modern, scientific, universal culture to be transmitted as an open message, as a legacy: it argues that these contained in themselves the idea of Man (Human Being) and society; in themselves, these contents will stand in contradiction to the existing regime in society, and the students will naturally feel this contradiction. This mode of teaching is based on the principle of free choice and science as principles leading to the adoption of a way of life based on the intrinsic value of equality. One should therefore gather the best teachers in area-schools that will be not ideological but strictly focused on intellectual proficiency and knowledge.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL
CHALLENGE FOR THE KIBBUTZ

In 1948 the State of Israel was established. This was a dramatic change. The Jewish youth of Europe, who had started and nourished the Kibbutz, was murdered in the Holocaust. Some of the survivors established new Kibbutzim, wishing to start a new society to express the relations with the murdered Jewish people, and the desired new Humanism. It was a brave decision -- to live as a community of partnership, and education, and to burden this community with the challenge of being a memorial to some of the darkest days of human history.

    No poems can be written after Auschwitz   *-- Theodore Adorno*

    After Auschwitz there is a need to re-write
    the vision of human hope *-- Kibbutz Lo'chamey Ha'geta'ot*
                                      (The Fighters of the Ghettos)

Contrary to the hope which the founders of the Kibbutz carried for Israeli society, the latter became an immigrant community, hungry, even greedy at times, fast-growing, saturated with inner and external conflicts, new technologies, new problems, new labor relations and new politics. If in the past it had seemed that a free Israeli society would become an esoteric place in the world, a utopia able to carry out social and cultural democratic experiments in peace, now Israel became a small country in the center of great international conflicts, markets, and interests. Many of the tasks the Kibbutz voluntarily took upon itself were absorbed by the structure of the nation-state.

In an immigrant society, which is constantly bothered with issues of security, social merger and social activism, there is vast space for officials and clerks, for technocracy, and for hierarchy. The State of Israel speedily retreated from becoming a state of equality.

The Kibbutz faced a huge challenge, maybe the biggest of its whole existence: How, on the one hand, to keep firm in its commitment to the basic notions of equality, of choice and of solidarity, but also, on the other hand, how to avoid transforming the ideological conflict with the environment into a state of siege; how to avoid education changing from a renewal and innovative deed to a deed of superficial self-preservation. The transmission from one generation to the next in dramatically changing circumstances is problematic. But the Kibbutz still has a deep-rooted tradition of placing questions, of attempting to live them through social experience, of questioning each solution, critically dealing with its consequences and price.

The Kibbutz always submitted to severe inner critique, always activated the sense that its basis needs constantly to be checked: to avoid unripe dreams but also to avoid succumbing to evil, even when to the naked eye, it appears dressed up as fate or authority.

The immigrant, voluntary Israeli society created a state based on the belief that governmental statutory tools, the general outlook of a sovereign system and a rich welfare society could solve all problems; instead the state has turned into a congested urbanized state of deep inequality, bent under the pressures of world market, global shock, conflicts between global powers, chronic wars and bitter inner conflicts.

Immigrants coming from fragmented and shattered communities from all over the world and carrying diverse ideologies tend to view openness as a threat, and to shut their community against any universal point of view.

To all these threats one must say the following:

> *The number one challenge of modern society is the creation of open-ended communities, living in social justice and in freedom and cooperation with one another.*

> *The responsibility of the state is to enable such free organizations to develop in its womb and to develop a humanistic universal perspective out of choice.*

> *The Kibbutzim and the communes, the schools and the youth movements should all contribute to such future development.*

From its very beginning onward, regardless of the enormous differences between the first kibbutzim and the kibbutz at the end of the millennium the questions deliberated by their members have remained the same.

- Is it possible to change the face of the large society via the experience of the small one?

- In order to achieve social emancipation, does one need an abstract model, or is the personal experience enough?

- Could a model of social engineering stand up to the confrontation with the rulers of the world, those holding the control boards of world economy, those wielding the key to politics in both totalitarian and democratic societies, all equally determined to undermine the communal critical experiment, the search for human freedom and equality?