

Dear George:

It was a pleasure  
talking with you!

Here are the materials,  
which I promised to  
want to send you  
right away.

With best wishes  
R/E

# The Years Ahead

## Perils, Problems, and Promises

Edited by  
Howard F. Didsbury, Jr.

© 1993 World Future Society

World Future Society  
Bethesda, Maryland  
U.S.A.

## THE CHALLENGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL: WHAT WE CAN DO

by

Riane Eisler

Logically speaking, in a world where human rights are truly valued the distinction between private and public violence, cruelty, oppression, and discrimination would be seen as absurd. Yet many people still today see private or family relations as separate and distinct, or at best far less important, than political and economic relations. And, though if we really analyze it, it makes no sense, this is the view that has shaped--and by so doing, distorted and stunted--the historical development of both human rights theory and action.

A basic problem is that from the very beginning the modern movement for human rights--for a world where violence, cruelty, and oppression are not considered "just the way things are"--was literally what it is still often called: the movement to protect the "rights of man." Philosophers such as John Locke in the 17th century and Jean Jacques Rousseau in the 18th century, who proposed the then novel idea that men have "inalienable rights," never spoke of the same rights for women or children. Indeed, since their concern with despotism was limited to relations between men and men (or more specifically, between free property-owning white men) in the public or political arena, they did not even address the question of despotism in the private or family sphere. On the contrary, while they frontally challenged the then widely accepted notion that kings had a "divine right" to rule over their "subjects" in the state, the supposedly also divinely ordained right of men to be "kings" in the "castles" of their homes was for these men sacrosanct. For, according to them, rather than being individuals innately possessed of "natural rights," women and children were merely members of men's households, "naturally" to be controlled by them.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that there were women, such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Abigail Adams in the 18th century and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Sojourner Truth in the 19th century, who argued that women too have human rights.<sup>2</sup> And there were also a number of men who made this point. For example, in his essay "The Subjection of Women," published almost two centuries ago, the English philosopher John Stuart Mill noted that "only when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice" can a

---

Riane Eisler, social scientist and international legal expert, of Carmel, CA, is author of *The Chalice and the Blade*.

just society be realized. Similarly, in *The Origin of the Family and Private Property*, published shortly after Marx's death, Engels recognized the family relations between women and men as the model for class oppression. But by and large, as they still generally are today, such views were noted only in passing, and effectively banished to the intellectual ghetto of feminism.

Thus, the splitting off of "human rights" (in both theory and practice focusing primarily on the rights of adult free white males) from "women's rights" and later also "children's rights" was established. And this in turn led to the accompanying distinction in human rights theory and practice between the "public" (or men's) world and the "private" world, to which women and children were still generally confined by custom, and sometimes also law.

Yet human society is based, first and foremost, on the relations between the female and male halves of humanity and on their relations with their sons and daughters. Our very first lessons about human relations (and thus also about human rights) are learned not in the public but in the private sphere. This is where people learn to respect the rights of others to freedom from violence, cruelty, oppression, and discrimination—or where they learn violence, cruelty, oppression, and discrimination.

### THE NEED FOR AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

Only as we begin to apply one standard to human rights violations, whether they occur inside or outside the family, can we see how the distinction between the public and private spheres has served to prevent the application of human rights standards to the most formative and fundamental human relations. And we also begin to see how this double standard for human rights in the private and public spheres has not only resulted in the failure to protect the rights of women and children, but to maintain the kind of society in which people learn very early to accept cruel and oppressive human relations in *both* the private and public spheres as the norm.

For the basic fact is that people not only learn how to behave in their families; just as important, they learn what behaviors will be punished, or not punished—and thus effectively condoned. And as long as acts of cruelty and violence in people's families are condoned rather than condemned and prosecuted, not only will these continue from generation to generation, but so also will acts of cruelty and violence outside of the family.

Once we look at human rights from this unified perspective, many things that otherwise seem random and unconnected begin to fall

into place. Specifically, the link between force-backed domination in the state and force-backed domination in the family becomes visible.

We can then see why throughout history regimes noted for their human rights violations, such as Hitler's Germany, Khomeini's Iran, Stalin's Soviet Union, and Zia's Pakistan, have made the return of women to their "traditional" (or subservient) place a priority. We can also see why in the United States those who would push us back to the "good old days," when most men and all women still "knew their place" and "holy wars" were the order of the day, have likewise opposed equal rights for women; why for example the rightist-fundamentalists pushed for a "Family Protection" Act that would have cut funding for battered women's shelters—thus protecting a family structure where male "heads of household" can violently exercise despotic control.

As Engels noted, in the despotic Roman Empire the male head of household had life and death powers, not only over his slaves but also over the women and children in his household. Similarly, under the English Common Law that developed during a time when monarchs maintained their rule through fear and force, husbands were legally permitted to beat their wives if they disobeyed them—the well-known phrase "rule of thumb" going back to a legal reform decreeing that the stick a man used could be no thicker than his thumb.<sup>3</sup> So here too we clearly see the systems relation between force-backed domination in the home and force-backed domination in the state.

This connection between rigid male domination in the family and despotism in the state also helps explain the Moslem fundamentalist custom, in chronically violent areas such as the Middle East (areas where terrorism continues to be seen as legitimate and honorable) of not bringing men to trial for the "honor" killings of their wives, sisters, and daughters for any suspected sexual infraction. For it is through the rule of terror in the family that both women and men learn to accept rule by terror as "normal," be it in their own societies or against other tribes or nations.

Studies such as the classic *The Authoritarian Personality* have documented how individuals who participate in and/or acquiesce to authoritarianism, violence, and scapegoating in the state tend to be individuals from families where authoritarianism, violence, and scapegoating were also the norm.<sup>4</sup> In other words, such studies further verify what common sense would tell us: that the link between cruelty and violence in the private sphere of the family and the cruelty and violence of scapegoating, authoritarianism, and other forms of oppression and domination in the political sphere is all too real.

All of which takes us back to the urgent need for a new integrated approach to human rights. For like the submerged mass of an iceberg with only its tip in view, traditions of domination and violence in the private sphere have been the still generally invisible foundations of domination and violence in the more visible political or public sphere.

## FROM DOMINATION TO PARTNERSHIP

Today, as never before in human history, the world stands at a crossroads. On the one side is the well-trodden path of violence and domination--of man over woman, parent over child, race over race, nation over nation, and man over nature. This is the road leading to a world of totalitarian controls and nuclear or ecological disaster. On the other side lies a very different path: the road to a world where our basic civil, political, and economic rights--including protection from domination and violence and, just as urgently, protection of our natural environment from man's fabled "conquest of nature"--will at long last be respected. This is the road that could take us to a new era of human partnership and peace.

In my work I use the terms domination and partnership in a very specific way, to describe two contrasting models of social organization.<sup>5</sup> In the *dominator* model, human differences--beginning with the differences between male and female--are automatically equated with inferiority or superiority, with those deemed "superior" (such as men) doing the dominating of those deemed "inferior" (such as women). In this model, human rights are, by definition, severely limited, as the whole system is ultimately held together by fear and force.

By contrast, in the *partnership* model--again beginning with the difference between women and men--difference is *not* automatically equated with inferiority or superiority. Here boys and girls do not learn early on to divide humanity into "in-groups" and "out-groups." For here both halves of humanity are equally valued. And here "softer" more stereotypically "feminine" values such as caring, non-violence, and empathy can in fact (and not just rhetoric) be given social and economic precedence, since here men do not have to be socialized for domination and conquest--be it of women, other men, other nations, or nature. In short, here human rights can in fact and not just theory be protected in both the so-called private and public spheres.

Models are of course abstractions. But the degree to which a particular society orients to one or the other of these two basic models has profound implications for all areas of our lives. And it

is instructive to note that new evidence from archaeology indicates that, contrary to what we have been taught, for thousands of years in our prehistory many societies oriented primarily to the partnership rather than dominator model; in other words, that strong-man rule, be it in the family or the state, has not always been the human norm.<sup>6</sup>

A detailed discussion of these models is beyond the scope of this paper, but can be found in my book *The Chalice and The Blade: Our History, Our Future*, which also examines the two contrasting configurations of the dominator and partnership models in detail. (An overview of some salient features of both systems is shown in charts at the end of this paper).

The main point I want to stress here is that if we look at the modern human rights movement as a key element in the struggle to free ourselves from a dominator model of human relations, we can see that the first phase of this movement challenged what we might term the top of the dominator pyramid: domination--and with it, institutionalized violence--in the public or political sphere. And we can also see that *the next essential step is the challenge to the base upon which that pyramid rests and continues to rebuild itself: domination and institutionalized violence in the private sphere of family relations, and even more specifically, in the day-to-day relations between women and men and parents and children.*

The encouraging thing is that today more and more people are challenging traditions of force-backed domination in the so-called private sphere of day-to-day interpersonal relations. Not so very long ago, the common wisdom was "spare the rod and spoil the child." Today we are beginning to recognize child beating as child abuse. It used to be joked that "if rape is inevitable" a woman should "relax and enjoy it." Now rape is increasingly recognized for what it is, an act not of sexual passion but a crime of aggression and violence.

Indeed, today long-ignored traditions of violence against women and children are, for the first time in history, being brought out into the open--and prosecuted. This includes traditions of child abuse such as beatings (which until recently have in most parts of the world been considered a strictly private or family matter) and sexual molestation (according to the latest estimates, affecting twenty-five to thirty-eight percent of girls in the U.S. today).<sup>7</sup> It also includes wife-beating (according to the U.S. Department of Justice occurring in the U.S. every fifteen seconds).<sup>8</sup> And it even includes traditions of woman and child murder (from the selective starving of girl children and bride burning in India<sup>9</sup> to the so-called "honor" killings still all too often unprosecuted in many parts of our world).<sup>10</sup>

Gradually the "ethnic tradition" of genitally mutilating girls and women is also being recognized as a brutal means of maintaining male sexual control over both the bodies and psyches of women.<sup>11</sup> And increasingly customs like the payment of "bride price"—where women (often mere children) are purchased from their own fathers into arranged marriages where they must not only bear a man children but often work from dawn to dusk—are recognized for what they are: a form of slave trade.

There is today a growing recognition of patterns of discrimination—to borrow Johan Galtung's term, "structural violence"—against women. For example, at long last—decades after segregation based on race became a major human rights issue—the segregation based on gender, which is still the norm in many parts of the world (including whole nations such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, and Pakistan), is being recognized as a means of effectively barring one group (women) from equal access to educational and employment opportunities, even freedom of movement. Similarly, the custom of segregating jobs into women's and men's work, with work assigned to women given lower status and pay regardless of requirements of technical skill, intellectual ability, or moral sensitivity (which is still the norm in most regions of our world) is also increasingly recognized as what it is: an arbitrary and unjust means of maintaining the subordination of half of the world's population.

These are all major changes in consciousness that could presage a fundamental advance in global respect for human rights. But changes in consciousness must be accompanied by social and political action if they are to manifest themselves in changed institutional infrastructures.

## THE CHALLENGE TO POLICY MAKERS

In other articles and books I have made a number of proposals for government policies and individual actions that can accelerate the shift from domination to partnership in all aspects of our lives. Here I want to focus on the importance of grassroots pressure on the United Nations and governmental and non-governmental organizations to reformulate their human rights policies and action agendas to fully integrate the private and public spheres.<sup>12</sup>

During the past two decades there have been two United Nations conventions that specifically deal with the human rights of the hitherto generally excluded majority—women and children. The first is the 1979 U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which explicitly moves beyond the spurious distinction between the public and private spheres,

specifically addressing the need to integrate "women's rights" into the purview of both human rights theory and action. The second is the 1989 U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, which likewise focuses heavily on the private or familial sphere.

These two conventions provide the core materials for a new integrated framework for human rights, including the urgently needed formulation of new human rights guidelines for use by governmental and non-governmental agencies for altering their charters, policies, and most important, action agendas.<sup>13</sup>

Again, it is encouraging that this process has already started, as not only an increasing number of non-governmental agencies, but a number of governments, are now reporting human rights violations in the so-called "private sphere." For example, after it was introduced during Jimmy Carter's presidency and discontinued during the Reagan regime, in response to years of tireless lobbying by human rights activists such as Fran Hosken, the U.S. State Department in 1989 again instructed its embassies to report the extent to which foreign governments tolerate or condone various forms of violence against women, including domestic or "private" violence. And although, as Hosken notes, they have not been adequately enforced, the two Percy Amendments of 1974 and 1973 actually mandate U.S. and international agencies to study the impact of development programs on women. Similarly, the Netherlands, Norway, Canada, Sweden, and Denmark had by 1987 adopted policy guidelines to try to ensure that funds are used in a manner that will protect and strengthen women's rights by requiring that appraisal reports of their foreign development aid include information about women.

These are important policy breakthroughs, sparked by the efforts of social activists who understand that human rights must apply equally to all. Along similar lines, a major policy breakthrough would be foreign aid policies that, as Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder has proposed, impose trade sanctions against countries that violate basic standards for the treatment of women, just as there have been trade sanctions against the way South Africa treated blacks.<sup>14</sup> Conversely, there could be inducements, such as being placed in favored nation trade categories, for nations that enact and enforce legislation protecting women and children from domestic violence. Also, nations that provide evidence that such legislation is being enforced could receive specific aid to support the enforcement of such laws, not only for humanitarian reasons but because family violence is a major impediment to successful economic development and a model for violence in all relations—including international relations.

In this connection, it is instructive that none other than the chief economist of the World Bank, Lawrence Summers, has recently stated that the most cost-effective investment in the developing world is funding for the education of women. For what it signals is the recognition that not only in human terms, but in simple economic terms, discrimination against women carries enormous social costs.<sup>15</sup>

With the election of Bill Clinton as U.S. President, policies based on this recognition may actually have a good chance. For the new President seems truly committed to both advancing the rights of women and improving conditions for children, and two of Hillary Clinton's major interests have long been children's and women's rights. Perhaps there is even the possibility that as a major contributor to the United Nations, the United States can use its influence to make United Nations agencies subject to equal employment legislation in order to increase the number of women working for the agencies--especially in decision-making positions. Indeed, if we are committed to supporting democracy in the world, steps to address the undemocratic under-representation (and in the case of the United Nations, virtual exclusion) of women from policy-making positions should logically be a top policy priority.

All of which takes us to my next proposal for specific action. This is that we need to make our voices heard to ensure that current efforts to include women in policy making positions is radically accelerated. For if human rights are to be truly respected a new kind of global leadership is urgently needed: one in which both halves of humanity--women and men--as well as stereotypically "feminine" values, such as nonviolence, empathy, and caretaking, are fully integrated into all aspects of policy-making.

For example, without a higher social valuing of the "women's work" of cleaning--and without the socialization of boys and men to also do their share, rather than waiting for women to clean up after them--it is not realistic to expect adequate funding for the environmental housekeeping necessary to deal with our mounting ecological problems. Similarly, it makes no sense to talk about valuing diversity, and providing equal representation for racial and ethnic minorities, as long as the exclusion of women from policy making roles continues to be seen as "natural." For as long as people learn to practice or accept discrimination based on the most fundamental biological difference in our species--the difference between women and men--they are not going to eradicate discrimination based on other kinds of differences.

To illustrate, economic inequities--such as the industrialized nations of the North continuing economic exploitation of the South, and the fact that within the South post-colonial native elites continue

to politically oppress and economically exploit their own people's labor, living in luxury while their sisters and brothers starve--are integrally related to unjust gender relations. People who are brought up in a world where (as the United Nations reports) women perform 3/4 of the world's work, and for this earn 1/10th and own 1/100th of what men do,<sup>16</sup> learn from childhood on, in their own most intimate family relations, to see nothing wrong with those who work less earning and owning more, while those who work more earn and own less.

I am not suggesting that only women can formulate the policies we so urgently need. But I am suggesting that the entry of large numbers of women into all areas of leadership is an essential element in the shift from a dominator to a partnership form of political, economic, and ideological organization--and that it is totally unrealistic, as some well-meaning philosophers have argued, to merely try to elevate stereotypically "feminine" values from their subordinate place without also making concomitant changes in the status of women.

Finally, I am suggesting that we need to lobby both governmental and non-governmental human rights organizations to launch an international mass media human rights education campaign, focusing on stopping violence and abuse in the family as the basis for a less violent, more peaceful, and more truly democratic world.

## THE MEDIA, EDUCATION, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

As I write this, there rage in our world scores of armed conflicts, most of them civil wars where men, women, and children are being maimed, tortured, and killed, for example the horrible carnage in Somalia and Yugoslavia. Not only that, but terrorism is on the rise. And so also is the violent scapegoating of members of powerless groups. Yet at the same time television, films, rock music, and comics continue to bombard the world with images of "entertaining" violence. In the United States, movies are X-rated (or even censored) if they contain nudity or sex. But movies, comics, rock videos, and television programs that are watched by millions of young people constantly show men engaged in beatings, rapes, murders, and even dismemberment and torture--with women frequently portrayed only in the role of victims.<sup>17</sup> All this of course effectively accustoms people to view domination and violence as normal, and even "fun"--thus further teaching us to be insensitive to people's human rights.

In terms of the conceptual framework here proposed--of modern history as the tension between a powerful movement toward partnership and the strong dominator systems resistance--the

contemporary escalation of violence in both reality and the mass media is not surprising. In fact, it is predictable that when faced with a threat to its very existence, a social organization based on rankings backed by force and fear will promote violence to maintain its hold.

But I should here stress that this is not a matter of conspiracies, but (as we are now learning from scientists such as Ilya Prigogine and Isabelle Stengers)<sup>18</sup> of how living systems maintain themselves. In other words, it is a function of what scientists like Vilmos Csanyi, Eric Jantsch, and David Loye term systems self-organization.<sup>19</sup> For, just as the system of organs that constitutes the human body functions to maintain itself, so do the various institutions of a particular type of social system.

However--and this is of critical importance--despite these systems-maintenance mechanisms, living systems can, and do, fundamentally change. This happens, as Prigogine and Stengers describe in *Order Out of Chaos*, during times of extreme systems disequilibrium. While Prigogine's and Stengers' work describes living systems on the chemical level, similar dynamics are observable on the level of human societies, as the social psychologist Kurt Lewin found a half a century ago and I have found in the course of my recent research. And in human society, there is the added element of conscious choice: of changes in consciousness and of specific actions to alter not only belief systems but social institutions.

One of these specific actions, essential if we are to complete the shift from an inherently violent and abusive (or dominator) system to one where violence and abuse are no longer directly or indirectly supported by pivotal social institutions such as the family, religion, the formal and informal educational system, and the law, is a campaign to use the mass media to model non-violent and humane interpersonal and international relations. And clearly such a campaign must begin with education for recognizing human rights violations in our intimate relations: the day-to-day relations between men and women and parents and children.

Of particular relevance, and encouragement, in connection with such a global human rights education campaign is the fact that the proposed theme for the International Year of the Family, which has been set for 1994 by the United Nations, is "building the smallest democracy at the heart of society." For this points to a growing consciousness that we must move beyond the double standard for violations of the human rights of women and children in the family and violations of men's political and economic rights in the state.

As the International Year of the Family approaches, there will be more and more talk of "supporting and strengthening the family."

This opens the way to raising a fundamental, though still rarely articulated, issue: what kind of family do we want to support and strengthen? If it is a dominator family where women and children have few if any rights, the prospects for human rights--in both the private and public spheres--are grim indeed, as are the prospects for a less violent and more democratic world. If it is a partnership family where the rights of all members are fully recognized and implemented, there is good reason for long-range hope.

It is on this note of hope for the future that I want to close. I know that completing the shift from a dominator to a partnership social and ideological organization is a long-range goal that will require fundamental changes at all levels of society. But I am convinced that if we now begin to do the foundational work, we can build a better future. And ultimately the only realistic way to break cycles of violence--be they interpersonal or international--is by changing the way women and men and parents and children from generation to generation have been taught to condone, accept, and all too often participate in precisely the kinds of abusive and violent relations that in the international arena, through ever more deadly weapons, today threaten our very survival.

In sum, I believe that we can create a less violent and more humane world--but only if we first lay the necessary foundations with policies firmly rooted in an understanding of the link between what happens in the private and the public spheres. And an important step toward this end is a new integrated approach to human rights--one that at long last addresses not only the rights of "man" but the human rights of the neglected majority: women and children.

TABLE 1

THE DOMINATOR AND THE PARTNERSHIP MODELS:  
BASIC CONFIGURATIONS

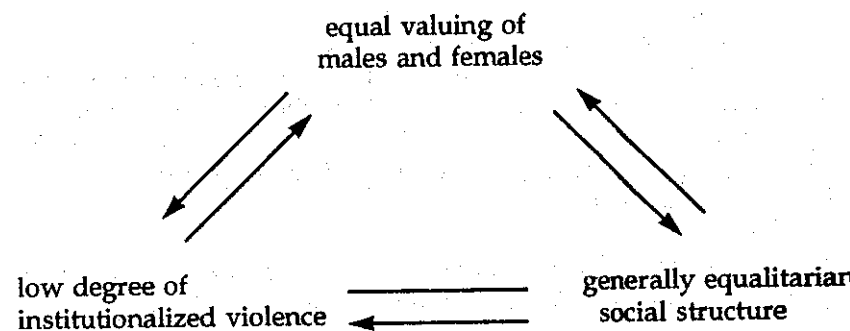
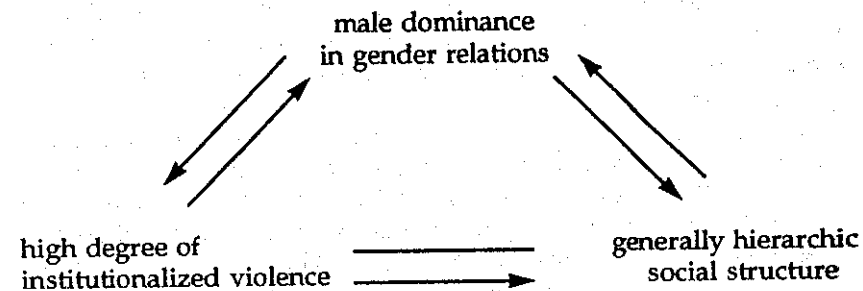
| COMPONENT                      | DOMINATOR MODEL   | PARTNERSHIP MODEL  |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| <u>One: Gender Relations</u>   | The ranking of the male over the female, as well as the higher valuing of the traits and social values stereotypically associated with "masculinity" rather than "femininity."*                                 | Equal valuing of the sexes as well as of "femininity" and "masculinity," or a sexually equalitarian social and ideological structure, where "feminine" values can gain operational primacy.                  |
| <u>Two: Violence</u>           | A high degree of institutionalized social violence and abuse, ranging from wife- and child-beating, rape, and warfare to psychological abuse by "superiors" in the family, the workplace, and society at large. | A low degree of social violence, with violence and abuse not structural components of the system.  |
| <u>Three: Social Structure</u> | A predominantly hierarchic** and authoritarian social organization, with the degree of authoritarianism and hierarchism roughly corresponding to the degree of male dominance.                                  | A more generally equalitarian social structure, with difference (be it based on sex, race, religion, or belief system) not automatically associated with superior or inferior social and/or economic status. |

\* Please note that the terms "femininity" and "masculinity" as used here correspond to the sexual stereotypes appropriate for a dominator society (where "masculinity" is equated with dominance and conquest) and not with any inherent female or male traits.

\*\* As used here, the term hierarchic refers to what we may call a domination hierarchy, or the type of hierarchy inherent in a dominator model of social organization, based on fear and the threat of force. Such hierarchies should be distinguished from a second type of hierarchy, which for clarity may be called an actualization hierarchy, for example, of molecules, cells and organs in the body: a progression toward a higher and more complex level of function.

TABLE 2

As the diagrams that follow indicate, the relationship between three major systems components is interactive, with all three mutually reinforcing one another.



## NOTES

1. For a more in depth discussion of the historical antecedents to the split between the "private" and "public" spheres and "women's rights" and "human rights," as well as for more detailed citations, see R. Eisler, "Human Rights: Toward an Integrated Theory for Action," *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 9, August 1987, pp. 287-308. Also addressing the split between "women's rights" and "human rights" is an excellent article by C. Bunch, "Women's Rights Are Human Rights: Toward A Re-Vision Of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 12, 1990.

2. For example, at the first United States Women's Rights Convention in 1848 (the same year Marx and Engels issued the much more publicized "Communist Manifesto"), Elizabeth Cady Stanton adapted the U.S. Declaration of Independence as a Women's Rights Manifesto by adding to it two critical words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal..." ("Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments," in *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings*, M. Schneir, ed., New York: Random House, 1972, emphasis added).

3. For a discussion of the English and American common law affecting women, see R. Eisler, *Dissolution: No Fault Divorce, Marriage, and the Future of Women*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1977. See also W. B. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 19th London ed., Philadelphia: Lippincott Company, 1908.

4. T.W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswick, D. Levinson, and S.R. Nevitt, *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harper & Row, 1950.

5. See R. Eisler, *The Chalice and The Blade: Our History, Our Future*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987 and R. Eisler and D. Loye, *The Partnership Way: New Tools for Living and Learning*, San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1990.

6. *Ibid.*

7. E.S. Blume, *Secret Survivors: Uncovering Incest and Its After Effects in Women*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1990, p. xiv.

8. Bureau of Justice Statistics, August, 1986, *Preventing Domestic Violence Against Women*, Washington, DC, US Department of Justice.

9. "The Lesser Child: The Girl in India," A report prepared by the government of India to mark South Asia's Year of the Girl Child 1990, has recently verified how truly heartbreaking the situation of women in India is. For example, it reports findings of UNICEF that 25% of girls in India die before the age of 15 because of systematic patterns of neglect, discrimination, and sometimes infanticide due to their gender. (B. Crossette, "25% of Girls in India Die by Age 15, UNICEF Says," *New York Times*, October 5, 1990).

10. Because of this failure to prosecute (or even criminalize) violence against women in many world regions, both Women Living Under Muslim Laws International Solidarity Network and Terre des Femmes are at this writing seeking political asylum for Maryan Zerazi in Germany, on the grounds that women fleeing from "honor killings," widow burning, genital mutilation, and other gender-specific human rights violations should be recognized as political refugees. Zerazi is a Syrian woman who has fled halfway around the world to protect herself from a very violent husband who threatened to kill her if she left him. (letter from Women Living Under Muslim Laws, November 11, 1992).

11. Among African nations that have begun to take measures against the continuation of genital mutilation are Egypt, Kenya, and Sudan, where in 1979 the Khartoum Seminar organized by the World Health Organization (WHO) recommended the eradication of these practices. A groundbreaking work on this subject is F.P. Hosken, *The Hosken Report: Genital and Sexual Mutilation of Females*, MA: WIN News 1982, 1984. Hosken's quarterly Women's International Network (WIN) News has a regular feature on genital and sexual mutilations. At a World Health Organization-sponsored conference in Dakar, Senegal, in 1984, groups joined together to form the Inter-African Committee (IAC) an umbrella organization dedicated to abolishing female circumcision and to dispelling the ignorance and myths that perpetuate this practice, such as the false belief that the Koran demands circumcision. A revised and updated copy of the *Hosken Report*, is available from Fran Hosken, Women's International Network News, 187 Grant Street, Lexington, MA 02173. Hosken has also written and distributes *The Childbirth Picture Book*, an extremely valuable tool for women in developing countries, which also has an addition on excision and infibulation. To date *The Childbirth Picture Book* has been translated into English, French, Arabic, and Spanish. Hosken is currently working on an urgently needed Somalian translation, as genital mutilation is almost universally practiced in that nation.

12. I have been personally active in these attempts, for example through the international conference "Empowering Women: Achieving Human Rights in the 21st Century," held from October 29 -31, 1993 at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, which specifically focused on some of the building blocks needed for a new integrated model of human rights and its implications for reducing violence worldwide.

13. There are many United Nations instruments that can be used to this end. For example, under the United Nations Charter, when countries join the U.N. they pledge "to promote and protect human rights," and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

(ICCPR) provides that those countries that sign it (115 to date) undertake to ensure that all individuals in that country are guaranteed the rights in the Covenant, in other words, that these rights will actually be enforced. In addition, a number of United Nations Conventions and Declarations specifically impact the rights of women and children. These include instruments designed to protect women and children in emergencies such as armed conflicts; those requiring equal remuneration for work of equal value; and instruments dealing directly with slavery and the suppression of traffic in persons and the exploitation of prostitution. However, the main problem is that most of these instruments lack enforcement mechanisms which is an issue that women's rights organizations are strongly pressing for, as for example in the activities surrounding the June 1993 World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna, Austria.

14. From Representative Schroeder's testimony before the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, as well as an interview with her that appeared in *USA Today*, March 27, 1990.

15. Lawrence Summers quoted in "Male-Dominated World Bank Says Best Investment Is In Women," *Jordan Times*, Sept. 24, 1992.

16. *State of the World's Women Report*, 1985, prepared for the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women held in Nairobi, Kenya, July 15 - 26, 1985.

17. Recently a bill introduced by Senator Paul Simon was passed that at least paves the way for some change. It allows heads of television networks to meet together to establish rules governing the use of violence in programs without fear of anti-trust legislation for combining their efforts. On the surface, it seems far-fetched that they would ever have been prosecuted under anti-trust laws for this reason, but it was only through Senator Simon's efforts that ABC, CBS, and NBC officials reached an agreement on standards for television violence. It remains to be seen how these standards, which distinguish between "appropriate" and gratuitous" and "excessive" violence will affect actual programming, particularly how the provision that violence must not be mixed with sex as erotic will be interpreted.

18. I. Prigogine and I. Stengers, *Order Out of Chaos*, New York: Bantam, 1984.

19. See e.g. V. Csanyi, *Evolutionary Systems and Society: A General Theory of Life, Mind, and Culture* (London: Duke University Press, 1989); E. Jantsch, *The Self-Organizing Universe* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980); D. Loye and R. Eisler, "Chaos and Transformation:

Implications of a Non-Equilibrium Theory for Social Science and Society," *Behavioral Science* Vol. 32, 1987, pp. 53-65. See also R. Eisler, *The Chalice and The Blade: Our History, Our Future*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987, particularly the introduction and chapter 10.