Asia And Pacific Alliance of YMCAs

TOWARDS A CULTURE OF PEACE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

OUR RESPONSES AS CHRISTIANS TO SOCIAL ADVOCACY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction: Towards a Culture of Peace .................... p. 2
II. An Ecumenical Consultation on Social Advocacy ............ p. 4
III. Reflections on Social Advocacy (YMCA) ..................... p. 6
IV. Reflections on Social Advocacy (FABC) ..................... p. 8
V. Cultivating the Culture of Peace and Overcoming Violence (CCA) ......................................................... p. 11
VI. Economic Justice Under Globalization,
    by M.A. Oommens .................................................. p. 14
VII. Social Justice Advocacy in Australia ......................... p. 24
VIII. Korea YMCA and Civil Campaign for Clean Elections ...... p. 30
IX. The Challenge of Advocacy in Asia,
    by R.W. Timm, CSC .................................................. p. 33
X. The Challenges to the Churches in Asia
    in the 21st Century, Brother Anthony Rogers .............. p. 38
XI. Our Challenges: "What Can We Do?"
    – The Asia and Pacific Alliance of YMCA ................... p. 45
    – The Christian Conference of Asia .......................... p. 47
    – The Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences ........ p. 48
XII. Workshop Reports ............................................... p. 50
XIII. The Final Statement:
    Towards a Culture of Peace in the 21st Century .......... p. 55
XIV. List of Participants ............................................ p. 60

I. INTRODUCTION: TOWARDS A CULTURE OF PEACE

A historic meeting took place 4-8 October, 2001, in our region. It was the first meeting together of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC), the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA), and the Asia and Pacific Alliance of YMCA (APYMCA), focusing on the issue of social advocacy. This event, a result of about two years of dialogue and discussion, particularly on the issue of globalisation and its effects in this region, was held at the Redemptorist Retreat Center in Pattaya, Thailand, gathering 28 participants from the respective ecumenical bodies. A statement, entitled, "Towards a Culture of Peace in the 21st Century," issued at the conclusion of the consultation, focuses on "Our Responses as Christians to Social Advocacy," "What Can We Do as Ecumenical Partners," and "Urgent Tasks Ahead for Peace and Non-Violence." We give here an excerpt from the statement.

"At the beginning of the new millennium, we as Christians in Asia Pacific are perturbed by the numerous situations of violence
and conflicts that are threatening many nations, and even the whole of humanity. We are being confronted by a multitude of forces, both global and local, that attack the core of the human person and the human community. We are being challenged to be faithful to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to address these issues in and through the ministry of social advocacy. We as Christians are called to be promoters of peace in the context of violence and conflicts through education for peace and social advocacy...

Urgent Tasks Ahead for Peace and Non-Violence

"Being deeply concerned about the prevalent situation in the world today, the participants identified some key causes of violence and conflicts. We see the urgency to create a culture of peace with justice. In the context of the conflicts among civilisations and the clash of civilisations we are being challenged to promote a dialogue of civilisations through the building up of a civilisation of love and peace. As ecumenical partners committed to building communities characterised by justice, love and peace, we can:

a. Focus on dialogue and education to create understanding of the other's views, be they on economic, political, racial, religious issues, and directed at root causes.

b. Work in partnership among the ecumenical partners, including people of other faiths, to educate our constituencies and others for transformation. This can be in the form of exchanges of our publications and documents.

c. In order to be promoters of peaceful and non-violent methods in conflict resolution, we can look into the possibilities of developing some modules for peace education for use among the members of the churches and ecumenical organisations.

d. Play a more prominent role as mediators or reconcilers in conflicts, ensuring healing and reconciliation. It can be done through the ecumenical networks that we can promote in each of our countries.

e. We can work more closely with other interreligious groups and NGOs which are also promoting human dignity and human rights. In this way the ecumenical network can make social advocacy for peace an affirmation of life.

f. Look for more creative ways in which we can incorporate spirituality as an integral dimension of our responsibility of promoting social advocacy."

(Excerpted from *Headlines*, December 2001, No. 23, the Asia and Pacific Alliance Newsletter.)
II. AN ECUMENICAL CONSULTATION ON SOCIAL ADVOCACY: 
THE CONSULTATION ITSELF

• Background

Recent reflections show that the ecumenical family in Asia needs a holistic and integral approach to social advocacy. This urgent need to implement programs of social advocacy at all levels in the Church and ecumenical organisations is basically related to two processes that are significant in the beginning of the New Millennium.

The first is globalisation, with its accompanying megatrends, megamergers and concentration of wealth—with a growth of relative poverty; global economy under megaplayers; expanding and unchallenged economic ideology of money-theism; political ideology and democracy at the service of market and capital for money-theism; militarism of superstates; information and communications creating the digital-divide, global-culture of sports, entertainment and mass tourism, that distract people from the deeper dimensions of life.

The second significant event is the experiences of the Church and ecumenical organisations in living out the call to active participation in development, justice and peace issues: the Synod of Bishops of 1971 on Justice and Peace; the Asian Ecumenical Conference for Development, 1970; the 5th Assembly of the CCA, 1973, in which the issue of development as social justice was enunciated; the Asian YMCA Planning Seminar on Development, 1976. The wide range of experiences in these ongoing processes has enabled us to integrate charity, development, justice and peace, with the constitutive dimensions of the sharing of the Gospel, in the context of our region.

It is in the context of these two significant experiences that social advocacy has become one of the main agendas for the Church and ecumenical organisations in our region.

This consultation is of great historic significance, as it is the first event of this nature, which has come about after years of dialoguing and working together among the three ecumenical partners.

Objectives

To bring together leaders from the ecumenical partners for engaging in social advocacy through sharing, deliberating and defining common ecumenical understanding and actions on social advocacy within our contexts and for our own constituencies.
Target Group
The workshop is targeted for those who are:
1. already actively involved in social advocacy and/or related activities;
2. concerned and willing to become actively involved in such concerns;
3. involved in research, documentation or policy decision.

Expected Outcome
It is expected the participants of the consultation will:
1. have gained a common ecumenical understanding of social advocacy within our contexts and for our own constituencies;
2. have gained new insights, knowledge and experiences for expansion, consolidation and enhancement of actions on social advocacy;
3. be able to network with ecumenical partners within their own constituencies to carry out possible joint actions of social advocacy.

Program
The program will be participatory in nature. There will be major inputs through presentations and workgroups. Each ecumenical partner will share case studies of social advocacy work they have carried out. Workgroup deliberations on our responses to the challenges of social advocacy work will be a key to achieving the desired outcomes.

Presentation I: Social Advocacy: What it is, What it is not.

Presentation II: Being and Doing in the Light of the Faith

Panel Presentation: How Do We Respond?
✓ Economic Justice in the Context of Globalisation (CCA)
✓ Social Issues (FABC)
✓ Advocacy for Policy Changes (APYMCA)

Panel Discussion: Our Challenge: What Can We Do?
✓ Within our own Organisation
✓ Among the three Partner Organisations
✓ With other Organisations/Groups

Panel Presentations—Case Studies
These presentations by each of the ecumenical partners will be on specific social advocacy work that has been carried out by their organisation. These presentations will provide meaningful references, not only for our understanding of the work in those specific areas,
but also for the planning of further action programs by the partner organisations.

Panel Discussions
The ecumenical partner organisations will form the panel to discuss the challenge before us in the area of social advocacy work, and to share thoughts on how we can act within our own organisation, jointly as ecumenical partners and with other non-government organisations or groups.

Group Discussions / Plenaries
Participants will meet to discuss and review each presentation, and to formulate appropriate responses for further engagement in social advocacy work in our constituencies, jointly as ecumenical partners, and with other non-government organisations or groups.

Resources
Resource persons on the subject will be invited to share their expertise and experiences. Relevant material and documented experiences by the ecumenical partners will be shared with the participants.

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III. REFLECTIONS ON SOCIAL ADVOCACY

ASIA AND PACIFIC ALLIANCE OF YMCA's

In an historic Asian YMCA Planning Seminar on Development, held in Chiangmai, Thailand, in 1976, we had declared that our understanding of development was one of people's participation for the transformation of society. Humankind is made in the image of God, made to be co-creators with God. Humankind will be less than God has intended it to be as long as it is oppressed and dehumanised. Therefore, a growing emphasis in the YMCA's interest in development from 1976 was underlined by self-reliance and social justice, leading to social transformation and/or some substantial restructuring of how economic and political power is distributed in society.
The YMCA has, over the past two decades, recognised and engaged in social issues and social justice. Whilst there has been growth in our work on these issues, the impact of globalisation in recent years has created the urgency to shift our work more into social advocacy, to work on structures and laws that will protect local communities and their rights. We recognise the need to view social justice with social advocacy. We see the relationship between participatory democracy and alternatives for sustainable development. Policy advocacy for structural changes has also been recognised as important. In some of our national movements, these have been actively and successfully pursued. One focus for the movement is to work together with the Church on the theological basis for engagement in social advocacy.

In January 1997, a Regional Consultation on YMCA Mission was held in Tozanso, Japan, to engage in a "mission review to reflect contemporary understanding of YMCA mission in our context." The "Mission Imperatives" adopted are an indication of the commitment of the YMCAs in the region to pursue the biblical vision of "the reign of God," where justice, peace and love prevail; "to work for building people's communities, and to strengthen civil society"; in fulfilment of Jesus' declaration in Luke 4:18, 19:

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach the good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

These "Mission Imperatives" are reflected in Challenge 21, a declaration by the World Alliance of YMCAs, approved at the 14th World Council of YMCAs in Frechen, Germany, in July 1998, which sets out our Missional Tasks, including those of engagement in social justice and social advocacy:

Affirming the Paris Basis adopted in 1855 as the ongoing foundation statement of the Mission of the YMCA, at the threshold of the Third Millennium, we declare that the YMCA is a world-wide Christian, Ecumenical, Voluntary Movement for women and men, with special emphasis on and the genuine involvement of young people, and that it seeks to share the Christian ideal of building a human community of justice and love, peace and reconciliation for the fullness of life for all creations.

Each member of YMCA is therefore called to focus on certain challenges which will be prioritised according to its own context. These challenges, which are an evolution of
the Kampala Principles adopted in 1973, included:

- Sharing the Good News of Jesus Christ and striving for spiritual, intellectual and physical well-being of individuals and the wholeness of communities.
- Empowering all, especially young people and women, to take increased responsibilities and assume leadership at all levels and working towards an equitable society.
- Advocating for and promoting the rights of women and upholding the rights of children.
- Fostering dialogue and partnership between people of different faiths and ideologies, and recognising the cultural identities of people, and promoting cultural renewal.
- Committing to work in solidarity with the poor, dispossessed, uprooted peoples and oppressed racial, religious and ethnic minorities.
- Seeking to be mediators and reconcilers in situations of conflict, and working for meaningful participation and advancement of people for their own self-determination.
- Defending God's creation against all that would destroy it, and preserving and protecting the earth's resources for coming generations.

To face these challenges, the YMCA will develop patterns of co-operation at all levels that enable self-sustenance and self-determination.

IV. REFLECTIONS ON SOCIAL ADVOCACY

OFFICE FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
THE FEDERATION OF ASIAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCES (FABC)

1. Theological Reflections on Social Advocacy

1.1 The proclamation of Jesus that "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me" is our reason for our mission of advocacy today. It has its source and apex in the Spirit of Jesus, that we have yet to discover more fully in our personal and communitarian lives.

1.2 An integral and Trinitarian spirituality will give us the insights to see more clearly the plan of the Father for our world; and to work with the Spirit of Jesus for the new Kingdom of the Father, that Jesus came to build.

1.3 The challenge of journeying together as an Easter People calls for a revitalised sense of the contemplative nature of our vocation, especially in the area of advocacy for the promotion of justice and peace.
1.4 The core and the heart of the renewal to which the Church is being called to undertake in the new millennium seem possible only when there is a new missionary zeal to speak through advocacy, and to confront the world in need of a radical transformation.

1.5 This calls us to an inner transformation, so that we will be able to speak the truths of the Gospel with courage and wisdom. In the midst of acceptance of falsehood and ambiguity we need to speak with a certain audibility and credibility.

1.6 To be able to speak the truth about reality today calls for a process of deep discernment that can come under the guidance of the life-giving Spirit of Jesus. It is this inspiration of our faith that moves us through our words and our works to communicate to the world around us a new path to the future.

1.7 Most importantly, it is in and through our lives that we are called to advocate a new message for a fuller life in Jesus for the life of the world. No. 3 of the Final Statement of the II FABC Plenary Assembly conveys this very clearly: "A movement toward deep interiority so that the Church becomes a deeply praying community, whose contemplation is inserted in the context of our time and the cultures of our peoples today... Integrated into everyday life, authentic prayer has to engender in Christians a clear witness of service and love" (II FABC Plenary Assembly, Calcutta, India, 1978; FAPA, pp. 31-34).

1.8 In the context of the challenges of today, and the pain and sorrows that our peoples have to bear with each day, there is no doubt that the Gospel needs to be proclaimed even more clearly and loudly, and without ceasing. If the proclamation of the Gospel is the goal of the Church, then advocacy for justice and peace is our path to God's Kingdom of harmony and solidarity.

1.9 We can only proclaim Jesus credibly if we are also ready to confront seriously the ways of thinking and acting that are dominant in the world today.

1.10 Advocacy today is the ability to articulate the Good News of Jesus in an audible and credible way to the people of this generation and age, and bring with it a message that gives a more humanising meaning to their lives.

1.11 To be able to speak the truth calls for a movement away from the culture of silence to a culture of advocacy. To advocate, therefore, lies in our ability to speak from the heart and with one voice as Church. In the midst of noise and meaningless words, we need to be promoters of words of a wisdom that comes from the vital sources of an inner life that will be transformed in every facet of life.

1.12 To promote greater participation and democracy in society we need to examine the meaning of freedom and co-responsibility,
in the area of economic and social injustices. The biblical Jubilee theology gives us some new insights.

1.13 We are being called to promote a culture of solidarity and compassion in an area of violence and war by being advocates of peace and harmony. It calls for a culture that protects life, promotes human dignity, fosters human rights, preserves God's creation, and builds peace founded on justice.

1.14 Dialogue with the world of Asia, and discernment as Church in the light of the Gospel, will lead us to be a prophetic Church. It is a process of Dialogue — Discernment — Deeds.

2. Major Challenges for Advocacy in Asia

In the complex but fast-changing scenario of Asia, caught up in the pressures and compulsions of globalisation of the market economy, we have been facing major challenges for advocacy towards a just, humane, participatory and sustainable society.

2.1 In the differing political situation of Asia, democracy and participation of people in governance are still limited and fragile in many countries; while in some others people are trapped in military dictatorships and subjected to the inroads of fundamentalism, communalism and narrow loyalties of language and ethnicity. Advocacy for strengthening democracy and participatory governance is ever important and urgent.

2.2 As we know, most Asian countries are engaged in accelerating development through industrialisation, business and modern technology, especially information technology. Such a process of development is marked by elitism of experts insensitive to the needs of the poor, wary and suspect of people’s movements, their voices and their right to participation in the process of development. Such a situation remains a big hurdle for advocacy for people's causes.

2.3 The task of articulating an Asian paradigm of development that is liberative, inclusive and holistic is still an unfinished agenda. To bring together experiences, insights, interpretations of people of justice rights, peace and harmony in their relentless struggles for a fuller humanity into a paradigm appropriate for Asia, a paradigm that is liberative, inclusive (gender-sensitive) and holistic, marked by preferential commitment to and solidarity with the powerless and marginalised, a paradigm that integrates social justice and human rights with peace and harmony with nature remains an ongoing challenge for advocacy.

2.4 With the growing impact of global market economy on Asian countries, democratic and participatory structures of the State, and governance and functions and structures of peace and co-operation of civil society are being weakened and threatened. Globalisation is
reducing the role of governments and State to serve people and the common good, and making them servants and facilitators of the market and the corporate sector. Accelerating consumerism, individualism and competition are promoting an ethos of having more than being more, and weakening the communitarian and co-operative ethos of people. Moreover, globalisation, with its market liberalisation and privatisation, is advancing homogenisation of people's needs, tastes, and lifestyles, including culture, destroying local and indigenous cultures and lifestyles. The aggressive commercialization of globalisation is overtly and covertly undermining people's initiatives for human rights, justice, peace and harmony, and alternative models of development generated by people's struggles and structures of participation. Agents of globalisation seem to be co-opting peoples' initiatives of advocacy for their own commercial agenda.

2.5 In the continent of cultural and religious pluralism, building intercultural and interreligious communication and solidarity, including inter-ecclesial (ecumenical) communion and co-operation as the way of being Church and mission, is imperative for the work of effective advocacy.

2.6 The local churches of Asia have to embody in credible witness the Good News of God's love in their work of love and service. Only in witness will they be able to carry out advocacy for people's rights, their justice and peace and harmony. They have to become Gospel communities of faith and love, and counter-cultural signs in the face of anti-life and anti-people forces at work.

2.7 A "new way of being Church" for mission of love and service for a fuller humanity of people demands that we live the servant spirituality of Jesus and his kenosis (self-emptying). Only such a spirituality that integrates the Way of the Cross will be able to motivate and sustain our commitment to an effective and credible advocacy on behalf of people, the powerless and marginalised.

V. REFLECTION: TIME FOR FULLNESS OF LIFE FOR ALL:
CULTIVATING THE CULTURE OF PEACE
AND OVERCOMING VIOLENCE
CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF ASIA (CCA)

CCA Concerns on Social Advocacy

The vision of the Programs Area on Justice, International Affairs, Development & Service (JID) is one that looks towards an Asian society in which the fullness of God's creation is experienced by all. Thus, it is a vision of an Asian society that is just, peaceful, civil, interdependent; and one that cares for all of God's creation. Its is a peace based on responding to peoples's security as against
national security. It is a peace resulting from reconciled peoples, reconciled communities and reconciled nations. The implementation of this vision, therefore, will point towards those ways of being Christian, which are both prophetic and allow the fullness of God's Spirit to be experienced. The programs, therefore, will be important not only in terms of their content but also in the ways in which they are carried out. The quality of content and of process will be regarded as essential.

In accordance with the Tomohon Mandate, the Program Area on Justice, International Affairs, Development and Service continues its commitment, strengthening the capability-building of churches in order to bring a fullness of life for all. By this we mean to cultivate a culture of peace within God's creation to restore and reconcile relationships, and to address the brokenness of Asian societies, enhancing the integrity of creation. As a result of these concerns, the main theme to run through the programs will be cultivating the culture of peace and overcoming violence.

On social advocacy, we have identified advocacy in the context in which the ecumenical family is searching for ways to enhance their collective advocacy. The term advocacy has a more particular meaning as a form of political witness on economic and political issues. Specifically, we offer the following working definition of ecumenical advocacy:

Advocacy is a specific form of witness on political and economic issues by churches, church-related agencies and other organizations, which aims to influence policies and practices of governments, international institutions and the corporate sector, in order to bring about a more just, peaceful and sustainable world.

Our vision of ecumenical advocacy is that it is:

- based on our understanding of the Gospel message, which calls all Christians to speak out against injustice, tyranny, and war;
- grounded in our commitment to justice, peace, environmental integrity, and the dignity of all human beings;
- based on solidarity with and accountability to those on whose behalf we are called to advocate, particularly the poor, the marginalized, and those who suffer from the world's injustices and violence;
- focused on promoting change to enable all human beings to live in justice and peace, and on challenging structures which cause injustice and suffering;
- characterized as a sustained process rather than a one-time cam-
paign;
• expressed through a variety of instruments and methodologies at different levels, including public education and awareness-raising efforts, lobbying, empowering people to speak out against their own oppressors, and empowering churches to make advocacy part of their ministry.

Advocacy complements actions of solidarity and accompaniment. Feeding the hungry, educating the unlearned, and consoling the suffering are essential elements of Christian ministry. Advocacy seeks to address the causes of poverty, conflict and injustice. It should be noted that advocacy is not the only form of political witness; for example, churches and ecumenical bodies may be called to play a mediating role between different political groups. Rather than advocating for one position or the other, their role is that of the mediator.

Within the mandate of the 11th General Assembly of CCA, the CCA Justice, International Affairs, Development & Service (JID) on Social Advocacy for the next five years has proposed the following programs:
• monitoring and analysing emerging issues and the dissemination of information and educational materials on issues, particularly in the area of international relations and Asian human rights' advocacy;
• engaging the church leaders in dialogue and consultation in order to encourage them to promote the concerns of human rights, peace and conflict resolution;
• organising regional and national human rights' training programs to focus on freedom of religion and the human rights' situation in Asia;
• strengthening Christian-Muslim solidarity efforts to promote human rights' concerns in countries with a Muslim majority;
• providing assistance and attention to areas where churches face situations of conflict.

The nature of today's world makes it necessary that we think even more strategically about how to change policies at the global level. The pressures of globalization have increased the need to work together, to work ecumenically, and to develop strategic alliances with other actors (including other religious communities and civil society) in pursuit of international policies for a more just and peaceful world. It is not enough to process one's own government on questions of economic justice, when important decisions are made by international institutions and corporations that increasingly exercise power largely beyond governmental control.

By working together (CCA-FABC-APYMCA) in a more international manner, we seek to:
• increase our collective impact on decisions,
gain greater access to decision-makers,
influence public opinion more effectively,
challenge our own church constituencies to become more involved in advocacy,
provide ethical perspectives on major international issues,
increase our common visibility in the political world; and to
release the synergy which comes from pooling our efforts and our resources.

VI. THE CHALLENGES IN ASIA:
ECONOMIC JUSTICE UNDER GLOBALISATION
by
M.A. OOMMEN

"Free and open trade creates new jobs and new income. It lifts the lives of all our people, applying the power of markets to the needs of the poor. It spurs the process of economic and legal reform. And open trade reinforces the habit of liberty that sustains democracy over the long hand."

George W. Bush

'Give ye them to eat'

Jesus Christ

Less than a month ago (on September 11, 2001) the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, two mighty symbols of global capitalism, were razed to the ground. Not only did the event send shock waves to all parts of the globe, it also set many people to think more poignantly about the prevailing social and economic arrangements of the globe. Looking back at the unfolding of events that followed the terrorist attack, I am reminded of Samuel Huntington's The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order (1996), which sees post-Cold War global politics as a clash of cultural identities. In the words of Huntington:

In the post-Cold War World, the most important distinctions among people are not ideological, political or economic. They are cultural. Peoples and nations are attempting to answer the most basic question humans can face: who are we? And they are answering that question in the traditional way human beings have answered it, by reference to the things that mean most to them. People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and, at the broadest level, civilizations. People use politics, not
just to advance their interests but also to define their identity. We know who we are only when we know whom we are against (Huntington (1996): 21).

I was sceptical about the book when I read it four years ago. Today I am inclined to think that it has some valid arguments. Even so, there is nothing amiss in hypothesising that the economic injustices of the emerging world order are also equally important. You are inclined to define yourselves in terms of ancestry, religion or other cultural groups, particularly when you are marginalised in a globalising world. This paper addresses the question of economic justice under globalisation, which may provide more insights into the emerging world order.

1.0 Globalisation: Meaning and Some Magnitudes

Globalisation is a concept that is widely used, but has different meanings for different people. The stress here is on economic globalisation. We may attempt a definition to put the discussion in perspective. Although we see several periodisations in the literature on globalisation, the stress of this paper is on the post-Cold War situation.

For the purpose of this paper globalisation refers to a process of transnationalisation of production and capital, and standardisation of consumer tastes promoted through persuasive national and international media—all these facilitated and promoted by rapid changes in chip technology, telecommunication and transport, and legitimised with the help of international institutions, like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and now the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Capital, it may be clarified, refers not only to foreign direct investment (FDI), but also to finance capital (all portfolio investments, equities, speculative currency transactions, etc.). The daily turnover of foreign exchange on these accounts, which was only $1 billion in the 1970s, is nearly $2 trillion today, which is nearly 100 times the official reserves of the central banks of the world in a year. The mobility of finance capital in search of profit without any reference to real production is thus a key defining feature of globalisation.

For countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which sought to undo their colonial past through planning and state-induced development initiatives, this means a series of economic reforms towards liberalisation and privatisation, as most of them had intro-
duced state controls to facilitate autonomous development. Beginning in the 1980s, most developing countries have taken to market-mediated economic reforms, and strongly promoted global capitalism. India is a late-comer; and efforts towards strong liberalisation may be said to have started only from July 1991.

The theoretical rationale of economic globalisation is derived from neoliberalism in general, and neoclassical economics of market and growth, in particular. The logic of globalisation, as rationalised by IMF and World Bank, is expressed in the two concepts: stabilisation and structural adjustment, which are rooted in the neoclassical doctrines of free market. That it is an ideology is well exemplified in the speech of the present American President, cited as an opening quotation to this presentation.

Two IMF theoreticians have defined a stabilisation program as "a package of policies designed to eliminate disequilibrium between aggregate demand and supply in the economy, which typically manifests itself in balance of payment deficits and rising prices" (Khan and Knight (1981):2). Actually, this implies restoring two types of balances, viz., external balance of payments, and budgetary equilibrium, which are assumed to be complementary. They are expected to contain prices. IMF's policy packages, such as devaluation (aimed at promoting exports and restricting imports), and containing fiscal deficit by reducing government-spending, and promoting privatisation, etc., are derived from this.

While stabilisation measures are short-term packages, administered by IMF, structural-adjustment administered by the Bank are longer-term measures aimed at deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation, as against the government-controls of the past. The economic logic underlying these measures rests on the assumption (not yet fully tested or proved) that market-mediated growth will ensure efficient allocation of resources, more growth and prosperity for all (see Bush's speech given in the beginning). "Set prices right" (which means to let market forces operate fully), and poverty reduction and social welfare will automatically follow. A series of trade, industrial and financial reforms to open up the economy for world competition and trade by dismantling tariffs, quota restrictions, licensing, capital control, labour market policies, etc., are essential parts of this exercise. Most countries of the world have fallen in line.

Since January 1995 there is also the rule-based operation of free trade and "trade-related" services and measures, globally promoted
and administered by WTO through a series of multi-lateral agreements, (28 in all), known through such acronyms as TRIPS (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights), TRIMs (Trade-Related Investment Measures), GATS (General Agreement on Trade-in Services), etc., with powers to execute, adjudicate and punish. Participating countries have to "harmonise" national laws to be in conformity with these agreements. The national treatment clause and market access provision want a level playing ground for local and foreign business. Subsidies to inputs, operating costs, preferential user charges, public distribution system, etc., are "actionable categories," obviously because the WTO Agreements approve of market price only as the "right" signal in social production and distribution. It is claimed that this will create a framework for more equitable distribution of the benefits from world trade.

Investment in host countries by Transnational Corporations (TNCs) is an important hallmark of present globalisation. TNCs—the firms that engage in international production—now comprise over 500,000 foreign affiliates established by some 60,000 parent companies, with a gross production of $2.67 trillion, and sales turnover of over $11.4 trillion in 1998, as against a total world export of goods and services to the tune of $6.57 trillion. The ratio of exports to turnover is 1:7, indicating the "deep integration" of the glove as against the "shallow integration" brought about through the time-honoured foreign trade. It is important also to note that the ratio of FDI flows to gross fixed capital formation (GFCF) has exceeded 6 per cent of the world as a whole, and 10 per cent for developing countries in 1997. The share of developing countries in world FDI inflows has exceeded their shares in world exports and imports between 1991-1997.¹

The World Investment Report (1999) also shows the values of cross-border Mergers and Acquisitions (M and As), which doubled in the two years from 1996 through 1998 and their annual rate of growth, which was around 21 per cent during 1986-1990, rose to 73.9 per cent in 1998. Besides showing the growing presence of transnational corporations over global production, this also indicates that despite the avowed goal of competition, monopoly forces are gaining the upper hand.

World Investment Report gives details about the regional distribution of FDI inflows and outflows between 1995-1998. Devel-

¹ The data in the paragraph are based World Investment Report (1999).
oping countries account for 37 per cent of total FDI inflows in 1997. Although this fell sharply to 25.8 per cent in 1998 largely due to the financial crisis of 1997-1999, in Asia there is a sharp upturn in recent months in most of the Asian countries. FDI inflows to Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Lao People's Republic, Myanmar and Nepal, which can be called the less developed countries of Asia, dramatically declined. FDI generally bypass countries and areas that cannot yield good dividends. China, receiving 45 billion dollars in 1997, remains the largest recipient of FDI in the developing world. Despite the decline in FDI, inflows into the Asian region still account for over half of the flows into developing countries, and over half of their FDI stock. The FDI stock in the region reached $717 billion in 1998, an increase of 13 per cent over the previous year.

Cross-border M&As have become increasingly important as a mode of entry to Asia for TNCs. In 1999, some 390 M&As' deals, valued at $100 billion, were wrapped up in Asia. That is 46 per cent more deals, and 61 per cent more money than in 1998. In 2000 the trend was reported to be even stronger. (See Granitsas A. (2000): 66)

While the freedom of capital movement is ensured in the new globalisation regime, this is not so in regard to labour. It is governed by migration laws of individual countries. Yet one can find increasing labour migration from Asia to the rest of the world, particularly from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Philippines. A large proportion of the outmigrants from Sri Lanka and Philippines consists of women, partly reflecting the higher level of literacy in these countries, and partly the push factor of poverty in these countries.

2.0 Economic Justice: What Does It Mean?

Ever since Socrates asked the question, "What is justice?" in Plato's Republic, justice has been widely and frequently debated in social thinking. It is irrelevant to examine the rich but extremely controversial literature related to this in this paper. Even so, it is to be affirmed that justice must conform to some measure of fairness, equal treatment and desert. In our context, economic justice must at least see that, as investment (both finance, as well as real) trade and growth expands, there is improved egalitarian distribution of income and wealth, (individually as well as spatially); and everyone is assured a progressively-improved standard of living, however small it may be. Ultimately, social and economic inequalities, as Rawls argues, "must be to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged
members of society" (see Robert C. Solomon and Mark C. Murphy, ed. (2000):341).

This extremely brief noting on economic justice will be incomplete without reference to "freedom," because the raison d'être of globalisation is free market. But terrible famines, colossal unemployment and great deprivations can happen without any body's freedom being violated. In Orissa (India), because of poverty, a reported sale of children for paltry sums has happened (continues to happen). This is also freedom of trade! Freedom of whom and freedom for what are more important questions we have to look into, when we seek operational meaning to the question of economic justice. As Amartya Sen observes:

The uncompromising priority of libertarian rights can be particularly problematic, since the actual consequences of the operation of these entitlements can, quite possibly, include rather terrible results. It can, in particular, lead to the violation of the substantive freedom of individuals to achieve those things to which they have reason to attach great importance, including escaping avoidable mortality, being well nourished and healthy, being able to read, write and count, and so on. The importance of these freedoms cannot be ignored on ground of the "priority of Liberty" (Amartya Sen (2001):66).

Denying the freedom for the wretched of the earth or "the least advantaged," as Rawls calls them, to be healthy, and cherish the lives they have reason to value, is denying justice to them.

3.0 Justice Under Globalisation: The logic and evidence

Justice in the free market neoclassical economic regime is equated with the freedom to trade. There is apparently equality of exchange between the buyer and the seller. Market is conceived as an ideal ground for competition between buyers seeking to maximise utilities and sellers maximising profits. The major fallacy of this assumption is that it abstracts from economic classes and categories. Actually your participation in the market is dictated by your

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2 The author is aware of John Rawls (1971) and his refinements regarding justice as fairness in Rawls (1993), as well as Sen's criticisms of the approach (see Amartya Sen 2001).
resource endowment. If you do not have adequate purchasing power, you are priced out of the market. Exclusion is thus built into the logic, as well as the reality, of the market. "Set prices right" is a constant refrain you find in World Bank documents. Obviously, it is difficult to appreciate the antipoverty rhetoric of the World Bank in recent years.

Globalisation straight way ignores the unjust and unequal international division of labour. Chad, Rwanda and Mali are treated on an equal footing with USA, Europe or Japan. That the latter countries have an imperial past, and that they account for over 95 per cent of all technological invention of today do not matter in the game of the so-called equality in the global market. The trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPS), investment measures (TRIMs), etc., are efforts towards protecting the momentum of the initial advantages in perpetuity, rather than the fairness and equal treatment of all member countries. It becomes difficult for the raw material exporting countries to tide over the adverse terms of trade which they have been suffering under the colonial regime. Under the dispensation of the new globalisation two-thirds of the world’s population will continue to suffer from falling relative prices.

Another simple corollary of the extension and integration of the market also shows that globalisation cannot be equitable. As we have noted above, market caters only to the wants of those who have the purchasing power. This means that global production pattern (here the state has no say except as a 'consumer') is largely conditioned by the demands of the rich of the world. The poor are marginalised by the logic of the system.

Global economic justice today is equated with the freedom of private transnational corporations to indulge in crossborder mergers and acquisitions, their freedom to buy public sector enterprises, and the freedom of finance capital to move in and out of countries, to indulge in speculative transactions to make profit, and so on, as we have already noted. Recent World Investment Reports show that collaborations and mergers of firms based in North America, Europe, and Japan doubled in the 1980s but progressed much faster in the 1990s. Big giants, like Microsoft and World Com, barely existed 20 years ago. The automobile, aircraft, oil, chemical and electronics industries—the core of today's old economy—have also passed through mergers and acquisitions. Even telecommunications, biotech and e-commerce are all in this trail. In the financial sector, the number of commercial banks fell 30 per cent between 1990-1999, while the ten largest were increasing their share of loans and other
assets from 26 to 45 per cent. (For elaborate evidence see Richard Du Boff and E.S. Herman (2001).)

In mergers and acquisitions there is no competition; there is only monopoly and corporate concentration. It is naively assumed that the most competitively efficient are aptly rewarded. The wage of the agricultural worker is low, and that of the company executive is high because their marginal productivity is different! Even if we concede that there is perfect competition, there is no justice in unequal competition and the rewards that follow from it. Then imagine what happens when the world deliberately moves towards heavy concentration and centralisation of economic power. The world is fast heading towards plutocracy, and definitely not towards democracy in any meaningful sense of the term.

What is the empirical situation? Has globalisation helped the process of world become a wee bit more egalitarian? All evidences go to show that the tremendous technological advance, expansion of wealth and income and social modernisation, have not altered the untenable situation of unprecedented poverty in the midst of growing plenty for a relatively few. Some illustrative facts based on UNDP (1999) and UNDP (2001) are noted below.

In 1960 the 20 per cent of the world's people in the richest countries had 30 times the income of the poorest 20 per cent; in 1997, 74 times as much. The richest one per cent of the world's people received as much income as the poorest 57 per cent. The richest 10 per cent of the US population (around 25 million people) had a combined income greater than that of the poorest 43 per cent of the world's people (around 2 billion people). The assets of the 200 richest people are more than the combined income of 41 per cent of the world's people. Gaps in wealth and income between the poorest and richest people and countries have continued to widen. There is no use multiplying these abominable statistics which the Human Development Reports have sharply focussed during the last decade. Even so, to underscore the injustice involved in the reality, let me quote Robert H. Wade, who made a special study of world income distribution in the context of globalisation. "Here the conclusion is unambiguous: World income distribution became much more unequal over the past quarter century, whether we use decile distributions or an average coefficient, like Gini; and whether we weight individuals or countries equally" (Robert H. Wade (2001): 14).

Indeed, rapid expansion of capital and trade have not brought about any convergence of income which the neoclassical growth
theory claims. The assertion of the neoclassical growth theory is that
the average income of countries will converge as capital moves from
developed countries, (experiencing the so-called diminishing returns
to capital), to developing countries where capital has higher returns
because of higher returns due to scarcity. Although these theories
have no empirical validity they are continuously being pressed into
service to buttress an ideology.

These growing inequalities in wealth and income are a matter
of deep concern also because of the alarming deprivations in peoples' lives,
especially in the developing countries of Asia and the Pacific. Of the 4.6 billion people in developing countries more than 850 million
are illiterate; nearly a billion lack access to better water supply,
and 2.4 billion lack access to basic sanitation. The majority of them
are in South East Asia. Nearly 325 million boys and girls are out of
school. Every day 30,000 children below the age of five die from
preventable diseases. Around 1.2 billion people live on less than $1
a day (1993 PPP US$), and more than 44 per cent of them live in
South Asia. (For details see World Bank (2000)).

Any hope of deliverance towards a little more just world is ruled
out by the technological choices implicit in the globalisation pro-
cess underway. The organising principle of this process of production
and distribution is profit maximisation. This is most efficiently
done when labour-utilised per unit of capital is least. Already the
world over we witness an era of "jobless growth." Globalisation fa-
cilitates the mobility of capital in search of cheap labour and "social
paradies," free from trade union trouble. Actually there is a great
move towards amending labour legislations the world over to facil-
tate easy hiring and firing. The impact of globalisation on labour is
best expressed by the key words feminisation of labour, informalisation of labour, and casualisation of labour. Actually, the
globalisation process marginalises unskilled labour, the majority of
whom are female labour. In the case of Asia where the so-called
Export Processing Zones are established during the last decade and
half, the burden of adjustment falls on female labour. It is reported
that NIKE pays Michael Jordan more to advertise its products than
it pays its South East Asian labour in one year (see M. Carr, 1998).
The East Asian financial crisis has thrown out millions of employ-
ees, especially women, working in small units in Indonesia, Malay-
sia, Thailand, South Korea, and even China. To add insult to injury,
the drastic cut in subsidies for food grants distributed through the
public distribution system has affected the poor families, especially
the women who have to balance the family budgets. In India, as food
grains prices rose and unemployment increased, the off-take of food
grains declined sharply, resulting in the strange situation of mounting stock as high as 61 million tonnes co-existing with starvation.

The poor households everywhere have been affected as a result of globalisation. The fiscal correction following structural adjustment has affected the poor households. The cut in social sector expenditures, especially those relating to health, education and social securities, made their position unbearable in most countries of the world.

To conclude, there is no economic justice under the globalisation regime well underway in the world. As the state retreats to give full play to the market forces, the intensity of injustice has turned acute. Actually, a distorted picture of social realities has caught the mind of the people, which had led many to imagine that there is no way out or an alternative. Widening income inequalities, mounting unemployment and appalling deprivations will generate social tensions and political turbulence. The really beneficial fallout of globalisation is that the poor too are getting aware of their identities, though not of their objective conditions. At any rate it has become difficult to replicate the dependence and domination style of yesteryears. Even so, the rich of the world are not seeing the writing on the wall. Even for their simple survival more purchasing power (through more asset distribution, social security, employment, land reforms, public works programs, etc.) will have to be given to those who can demand more goods and services. IMF, World Bank, and even the UN agencies concerned with policy measures, are virtually unconcerned with the dangers of unfolding inequalities and deprivations. After all, they are the real beneficiaries of the plutocracy they promote. The State has to play a more responsible role along with well-meaning voluntary associations. A powerful global alliance of workers/trade unions, voluntary organisations, etc., can do much in countering the onslaught of globalisation and working toward an alternate social order which is a little more just and equitable. A lot of reforms of the global institutions, including the unequal financial architecture (especially regarding reserve currency), and a rapid quest for alternatives are the need of the hour.

References

**VII. SOCIAL JUSTICE ADVOCACY IN AUSTRALIA: ACSJC CASE STUDY**

The Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference mandates the Australian Catholic Social Justice Commission (ACSJC) to promote research, education, advocacy and action on social justice, peace and human rights, integrating them deeply into the life of the whole Catholic community in Australia, and providing a credible Catholic voice on these matters in Australian society.

The mandate sets out why the ACSJC was created and makes clear that the work for social justice is a central part of the mission of the Church. It also sets out the principles or philosophy by which the ACSJC works. These are derived from Catholic Social Teaching. It then sets out the specific tasks of the ASCJC (see Mandate). These tasks fall into three main areas: building social justice networks; education and formation, research; advocacy and public policy.

Each year the ACSJC decides on a small number of issues on which to take action. The level of staff and financial resources avail-
able to the ACSJC limit the number of issues that can be addressed at any given time (see issue selection flow chart). The network building, education and formation, research and advocacy activities of the ACSJC in any year will all focus on the issues selected for action in that year.

1. Building Social Justice Networks

**Mandated Tasks**

- Building social justice networks within the Catholic Church, encouraging local action, coordinating action at the national level, and maintaining contact with relevant international Catholic agencies.
- Collaborating with national and international agencies with objectives similar or complementary to those of the ACSJC.
- Witnessing to and promoting unity among Christians through ecumenical action in favour of justice and peace.

**Ways in which the ACSJC has addressed these tasks:**

- Acting as a clearing house for information among social justice groups.
- Putting people in touch with others on areas of common concern.
- Preparing a monthly e-mail briefing to contacts in dioceses and other interested people, letting them know about ACSJC activities, coming events, and sources of information.
- Organising an annual gathering of diocesan contacts who have been designated by their bishops to be the people through whom the ACSJC should work in the diocese. This is an opportunity for the sharing of information and ideas, mutual support and co-ordination.
Conference Against Racism, Fair Wear Campaign.

2. Education And Formation

Mandated Tasks:
- Presenting Catholic Social Teaching and the social justice tradition of the Catholic Church.
- Applying Catholic Social Teaching to current social justice, human rights, development and peace issues in Australia and overseas.
- Promoting a spirituality of justice and the integration of concern for social justice into the liturgy, worship and general life of the whole Church.
- Educating the Catholic and wider community on social justice, human rights, development and peace issues in Australia and overseas by providing guided experience and educational materials.

Ways in which the ACSJC has addressed these tasks:
- Publish and distribute a free quarterly newsletter Justice Trends.
- Publish a series of discussion papers called the Catholic Social Justice Series. These papers are intended to promote discussion on significant issues from the perspective of Catholic Social Teaching.
- Prepare and publish ACSJC Position Papers outlining the stance of the ACSJC in relation to topical social justice issues. These papers set out the issue, highlight relevant Catholic Social Teaching, and apply it to the issue.
- Publish ACSJC Background Papers providing background information on topical social justice issues.
- Assist the bishops by preparing an annual Social Justice Sunday Statement
- Publish Seasons of Social Justice; a social justice calendar which highlights key dates that can provide a focus for social justice activities in parishes, small groups and schools. The dates come from the liturgical calendar, dates commemorated by the Australian community at large, or the international community. It contains reflection, prayer and action material for some of the key dates each month.
- Promote a spirituality of justice by producing resources for prayer and worship, e.g., prayer cards, liturgy notes.
- Action leaflets and other materials are produced as necessary,
e.g., *Ten Steps Towards Reconciliation, Ten Steps Towards Welcoming Asylum Seekers.*

- Occasionally the ACSJC will organise conferences, seminars & workshops, and staff try to accept as many invitations to speak at such events organised by others.
- The ACSJC has a bishop chairman, and pastoral statements by the Chair are often used to draw attention to particulars issues, e.g., the annual *Pastoral Statement for the Feast of St. Joseph the Worker,* that focuses on issues surrounding work, unemployment and industrial relations.
- The ACSJC maintains an active website with a significant archive of Church statements on social justice issues, www.socialjustice.catholic.org.au

3. Research, Advocacy and Public Policy

**Mandated Tasks:**

- Researching issues and monitoring trends in public policy and current affairs in Australia and overseas.
- Speaking out against injustice, the abuse of human rights, poverty and violence, and in favor of change for a more just society, and thereby ensuring a credible national Catholic voice on these issues,
- Advising the bishops on statements and actions for justice and peace, and assisting them as required.

**Way in which the ACSJC has addressed these tasks:**

**Australian Government**
- The ACSJC presents its views on issues to the national Government through letters to relevant Ministers.
- Where an issue is of sufficient importance or dialogue with the relevant Minister has been exhausted, the ACSJC may write letters to the Prime Minister. Such letters could take the form of a private letter from the Chairman of the ACSJC, or the President of Bishops' Conference, or an open letter.
- Another way of advocating on issues is to seek meetings with relevant Ministers and/or their advisors.

**Australian Parliament**
- Where change might be achieved through action of the Parliament, letters to leaders of political parties, expressing concerns, seeking dialogue, asking for public endorsement of particular views may be sent.
- Submissions are made to Parliamentary inquiries, e.g., Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade inquiry into religious liberty.
• The ACSJC encourages local groups to write to their local members and to seek meetings with them on particular issues, e.g., unemployment.

• The ACSJC has worked with other groups for the presentation of petitions as a result of signature campaigns, e.g., land mines, international debt.

Bureaucracy (public service)
• Cultivating contact with Department officials, seeking briefings from them, and also briefing them on ACSJC concerns, e.g., asking for the views of Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade officials, and expressing to them concern and suggestions for Australian Government action on the situation in Pakistan, Hong Kong.

• By cultivating contact with officials ideas can be fed into the policy formation process, e.g., the NSW Government legislation for the protection of outworkers was influenced by input from the Fair Wear campaign of which we are part.

Government of Other Nations
• The ACSJC writes letters to the diplomatic representatives of other countries in Australia at the request of counterpart agencies and reliable sources known to be in harmony with the positions being taken by the relevant local churches, e.g., Hong Kong, India, Pakistan, and Japan. If a country’s diplomatic representatives fail to respond to or acknowledge correspondence, letters are written more directly to Heads of State or relevant Ministers in the country concerned.

• The ACSJC encourages the Australian Government to take up issues with other countries, e.g., via input to the Australia-China Human Rights Dialogue.

United Nations
• As an NGO in Special Consultative Status with ECOSOC, the ACSJC is occasionally called on to answer surveys. We also send reports on any relevant activities or concerns, e.g., letters to the Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance, and to the CERD Committee.

• The ACSJC seeks to inform Australian delegations to UN events of our positions and concerns.

• Where possible the ACSJC attends key UN conferences.

Public Opinion Campaigns
• The ACSJC uses media releases as a way of publicizing its positions on issues to the broader Australian community. They are usually reported in religious media and often in secular media. Be-
cause of the improtance of accuracy and rigorous argumentation in such statements, the ACSJC has established guidelines for preparation of major statements.

- ACSJC publications and networks are used to disseminate information, education and action materials, encourage letter writing campaigns and signature campaigns, and consumer actions, e.g., Fair Wear.
- The ACSJC also seeks to influence public opinion by speaking at rallies and events, writing letters to newspapers, and briefing journalists.

4. Challenges for Ecumenical Social Advocacy in the Asia-Pacific Region

We all have limited resources for this work. Extrapolating from my experience in Australia, I would suggest that we need to:

- Focus on a limited number of issues on which we will commit to work with each other
- Establish criteria for choosing issues on which we will work together
- Plan achievable strategies and identify specific actions for each partner to undertake
- Find a way to monitor our work together & evaluate follow through

We come from different parts of the Christian family with different ways of doing things. We also come from different parts of a diverse geo-political region. I think this means that we need to:

- Understand each other’s methods of social advocacy and internal decision-making protocols
- Know the justice and peace structures of other churches and other places
- Choose carefully with whom we will be able to work on any given issue
- Commence new collaboration with modest objectives
- Start shared action in areas where there is significant agreement
- Share reliable information about country situations and particular issues
- Let each other know what would be appropriate solidarity actions to take to support us
- Develop mechanisms for dialogue in areas where agreement is lacking
- Find ways of moving forward when the local church is silent or unresponsive
• Co-ordinate actions so that we build on each other's work rather than repeating it

VIII. KOREA YMCA GIVES LEADERSHIP IN CIVIL CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTING UNTAINTED LEADERS

The Korea YMCA had, for more than 10 years, been conducting its campaign for a clean and fair election together with like-minded civil groups, based on the strong support of concerned citizens. Faced with the General Election in May 2000, the YMCA, by consensus of all local YMCAs, decided to join and lead the Civil Solidarity for the General Election with a view to moving deeper into pressing political reform agenda. The YMCA saw the urgent need for civil society to creatively intervene in the political legitimacy-building process, which had been left exclusively to the political parties. Thus, this campaign went beyond the on-going "fair and clean election campaign."

Although democratization of Korea began by virtue of the democratic struggle (out of dictatorship) in June 1987, the development of Korean democracy during the last 13 years had shown slow progress. While procedural democracy has been achieved, the traditional political circle has remained blind to the new order. Engrossed in blocking political newcomers' entry into the National Assembly, government and opposition members of the Assembly have generally ignored many public welfare problems. Organisations were prohibited to hold election campaigns through negotiated election laws and indulgence by consent between the government and opposition parties. In the 2000 General Election, groups of regional-based politicians, such as those of the Jeonra, Kyungsang, Chungcheong Provinces, were bound to appeal to their voters to maximize their exclusive antipathy against other regions, with the possibility of even social break up.

In order to rectify the politics which are regarded as the root cause of all social evils in Korea, and to inculcate the missing "capability for self-purification," the Civil Solidarity for General Election was formed. The Solidarity brought together 500 civil organizations engaged in social reformation and civil rights' protection. It was determined at least, to "disqualify tainted politicians" who had indulged in activities such as corruption, violation of constitutional order; or who had from time to time furthered regional antipathy, even though they might not be able to reform all the old political structures of Korea. To achieve this, the Solidarity chose and publicly announced a list of 86 such persons, which it regarded as un-
suitable candidates, who should not be officially endorsed for Election to the National Assembly. The Solidarity Campaign was also to initiate a move to change the practice of political dealings "behind closed doors" into a nationwide consultation process in which the voters of all social strata participated.

Civil Politics Through Voters' Positive Actions

In a press conference on January 26, the Korea YMCA presented the "Korea YMCA's Position on the 16th General Election." In order to mobilise the participation of voters for political reform, it called on the citizens to support the Solidarity Campaign to disqualify "tainted" candidates. Secondly, it called for the expansion of voters' "election watch" activities by running 50 Civil Complaint Centers throughout the country to receive and supervise the validation of allegations of corrupt and illegal practices. It also organized Young Voters' Solidarity Groups to overcome the apathy of youth, between 20 to 30 years of age. Fourthly, it invited candidates to give talks on political reform, not only in the towns but also in the villages.

The Korea YMCA also established the headquarters for the YMCA Civil Campaign General Election 2000, to run the Solidarity Campaign, as well as the Civil Complaint Centers nationwide in 67 areas. Over 5,200 young men and women were organized into the Young Voters' Solidarity. The YMCA was engaged in the Candidates' Pledge Campaign which focussed on the Korea YMCA's 10 Great Policy Targets for the 16th National Assembly:

1. To reform local autonomy law
2. To introduce citizens' recall system
3. To improve the environment protection system
4. To establish joint legal procedure law
5. To enlarge education fund for the development of a knowledge-based community
6. To implement education autonomy in the basic units, such as Shi (city), Gun (province) and Gu (municipality)
7. To strengthen youth vocational education
8. To establish democratic citizens' education supporting law
9. To strengthen social welfare system for the rehabilitation of family functions
10. To let consumers participate in the determination of public utilities charges

These targets, which will certainly provide the 16th National Assembly with concrete policy tasks and civil campaigns to work
on, were accepted by 171 candidates from 84 election districts. They pledged to take them up in Parliament, when elected. The Korea YMCA with its large nationwide network of 45 local YMCAs, played a principal role in the local organization and management of the Solidarity Campaign which had become well-known for its work and achieved social credibility of its own.

Solidarity Campaign Bears Fruit

Solidarity released the names of 86 persons targeted as "tainted" candidates ten days before the Election Day, 3 April. The list had been drawn up through a meticulous screening process of some 1,000 candidates. The bases for the disqualification of these 86 persons were: corruption, violation of election laws, working against the constitutional system, previous records against human rights, instigation of local and regional sentiments, attitude to reformation bills and policies, sincerity of legislative activities, and others, including non-declaration of assets, tax evasion, and previous offenses. Furthermore, Solidarity named 22 persons from among them as targets that necessitated an intensive nationwide bus-tour campaign to inform the voters of their shortcomings.

YMCA led a Voters' Signature Campaign to vote against those who promoted local or regional sentiments, those disqualified by the Solidarity, and not to accept any bribes or promises of favours. The Complaint Centers provided the voters with the information, via telephone, on the allegations of inequity and corruption against the named candidates.

An evaluation of the 16th General Election has shown that it had indeed been the forum of judgment by the voters on the corrupt and incompetent politicians. Fifty-nine persons, 68.6% of Solidarity's Campaign target of eighty-six candidates from the total of 227 election districts, were defeated. However, in the capital city area, 95% of those targeted lost. All 22 targeted in the intensive campaign were defeated.

This result is regarded as an achievement of the fervent wish and will of the people for political reform. The government and opposition parties' disregard of the demand of discarding the corrupt and incompetent politicians was condemned by the people. In this General Election, the leading actors were the voters who had only been the audience in the past. While the Solidarity Campaign bore much success, yet there are other elements that are yet to be achieved, e.g., encouraging more young voters to participate. However, the
results and experiences of the Solidarity Campaign are viewed to be invaluable for the political reform of the Korean society. The Solidarity Campaign was seen by many as a first step of an "election revolution" by the voters to initiate political reforms, both structural as well as systematic.

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IX. THE CHALLENGE OF ADVOCACY IN ASIA

Rev. R.W. Timm, CSC

Advocacy is the act or process of advocating. It comes from the Latin *advocatus* (called to or summoned). An advocate is one who pleads the cause of another, especially before a tribunal or judicial court. Advocacy, as a legal term, means "pleading for someone else. The counterpart to advocacy in religious terminology is 'witnessing'. ... It means actively taking up the case of those whose rights are violated" (Dr. Yash Ghai, University of Hong Kong Law School). I see that one of the criteria for participation in this workshop is a general understanding about Social Advocacy. Being uncertain of just what it means, I wrote to Brother Rogers to ask him: "What is advocacy?"

On September 22 I received the CCA Concerns on Social Advocacy, where it is defined as a specific form of witness on political and economic issues by churches, church-related organisations, etc., in order to influence government policies and practices, international institutions and the corporate sector. But as Humpty Dumpty says in Alice in Wonderland, "A word means exactly what I want it to mean." It seems to me that advocacy is most effective when it concentrates on one particular issue (such as the debt crisis of poor countries), or an outstanding or systematic violation of human rights (e.g., the application of internal security acts). The Hotline Urgent Appeals were a form of advocacy which anyone could easily participate in, and which were often effective in righting widespread injustices. This was the "old" advocacy, but the "new" advocacy seems to be broader and more complex.

The main tool of advocacy is Mahatma Gandhi's "soul force," or moral pressure. We overcome violence and injustice by "taking the high ground" of *satyagraha* and *ahimsa* (truth-seizing and non-violence). Advocacy is an active power but not only a power for action. It is also a strong educational tool, not only for people of
good will who might be attracted to join an advocacy network, but also for pedagogy of the oppressors, of those against whom an advocacy campaign is directed.

In a Christian gathering it should also be mentioned that the Holy Spirit comes to us as an Advocate (Jn 14:26). "The Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything." Paracletos or Paraclete (from parakalein—to invoke) literally means advocate or intercessor, one who entreats in favour of another. Scripture emphasizes the Paraclete in counteracting sinful activities.

If advocacy means supporting victims of injustice and oppression, its predominant virtue is solidarity—one ness with the oppressed and with each other in the supporting group. "Solidarity helps us to see the 'other'—whether a person, people or nation—not just as some kind of instrument, with a weak capacity and physical strength to be exploited at low cost, and then discarded when no longer useful, but as our 'neighbour', a 'helper' (cf. Gen. 18-20)" (Sollicitudo Rei Socialis, 1987, Encyclical Letter of Pope John Paul II).

The previous words are by way of introduction. I want to begin with a caveat—a word of caution. The Bangladesh Commission for Justice and Peace (CJP) was involved in advocacy issues during the 22 years I was its secretary. I felt that we had to ally ourselves with the majority Muslim community, since they are almost 90% of the population, in order to be effective and to have national influence. We were influential in forming the Coordinating Council for Human Rights in Bangladesh and in giving it leadership. Group advocacy was not always the method adopted, however, since the greatest success of the CJP—stopping the army from carrying out forced sterilisation, beginning in an adivasi (tribal) area—was done through personal or individual advocacy, without the army or newspapers knowing anything about it. I did this by approaching the donor of the national sterilisation program—USAID—and threatened to ruin their whole program unless they stopped the injustice immediately. This they did, and through public or social advocacy pressure, later on withdrew funding for the entire program.

Another example of social advocacy was my taking part on behalf of the NGO sector in Bangladesh in an Asian NGO attack on the Asian Development Bank at their Silver Jubilee meeting in Hong Kong. I was one of three to hold a joint discussion on Hong Kong radio with ADB representatives on the harmful social and environmental impacts of ADB-funded projects. The two projects of
Bangladesh which I analysed for the meeting (having access to all the documents in the Dhaka ADB office) were a rubber plantation and an afforestation program, both in Madhupur Forest. Both projects had adverse socio-economic effects on the adivasis and harmful environmental effects on the forest, especially resulting in the loss of biodiversity.

As a result of our NGO advocacy, ADB turned down the funding for a second rubber plantation and stopped the funding for the afforestation program. After the Hong Kong meeting the Bank set up compulsory environmental evaluation of all proposed projects, establishing three categories according to the probable influence of the project on the environment. They also set up a Social Impact unit centrally, to observe the benefits and adversities affecting minority and disadvantaged groups in project areas.

These may sound like highly-successful advocacy programs, but they were not seen in that light by the Bishops' Conference, who thought that we were putting the Church at risk by our involvement in politics and economics. We are such a tiny Christian minority, only 0.3% of the population, that we should only assert ourselves when the rights of the Church are directly threatened, e.g., when the weekly holiday was changed from Sunday to Friday, or when Easter Sunday was not declared as a holiday. Since a local priest has now taken my place as Secretary of the CJP, plans have been drawn up for a much more expensive program, of which all the activities are only within the Church itself.

The policy for human rights, by the way, stands in sharp contrast with the policy of Caritas Bangladesh, which was the first religion-affiliated NGO to work equally for people of all faiths in the same area, who were affected by the same natural disaster or adverse socio-economic conditions. I bring this up as an obstacle within Catholic circles, since one of the objectives of the seminar is to "challenge our own church constituencies to become more involved in advocacy." When the connection of the OHD with Hotline, Hong Kong, was severed by a few disgruntled bishops about six years ago, here at Pattaya, the Church withdrew even more from the type of advocacy we are stressing now. For this reason, our Hotline Bangladesh, formerly under the CJP, is now registering as an independent NGO.

I feel that advocacy could well be for us more a process of education than of protest, because of the need for understanding before effective action. St. Paul wrote (in my Bible from 1940) about people
"having a zeal but not according to knowledge." As a scientist I believe that the discovery of truth ranks infinitely higher than aimless action. My paper should be a stimulus to advocacy, rather than a cautionary tale against misdirected enthusiasm. I hope that it may serve as both.

My second observation pertains to the "new" advocacy itself. One subject matter of advocacy which has become immensely popular is globalisation, or interdependence of nations. The enormity and complexity of the challenge is a discouraging factor. Globalisation is by far the biggest issue the Church has ever confronted. We are being asked to face up to much more than we were even 10 years ago. Do we have the people to match the highly-qualified and highly-paid professionals of the World Bank, IMF, ADB, WTO, etc.? Maybe you youngsters are able to acquire a more rapid education nowadays through IT, than did we old-timers who laboriously had to slog through heavy tomes to acquire it.

One charge brought against globalisation is destruction or pollution of the environment. A recent advocacy campaign of 72 NGOs of Indonesia was directed against the introduction of cotton-BT, a gene-modified plant, developed by Monsanto. The main contention is that transgenic agriculture is somehow wrong by nature, that it contradicts nature. Long lists of harmful effects were sent out but they were all said to be only probable. We were asked to send protests, referring to at least one scientific study, but they themselves did not cite any. On the other hand, in the US Department patents are issued by the Patent Office only after verification by independent scientific agencies. My point is that the constituent elements of globalisation are extraordinarily complex, and we do not serve the cause of justice by jumping on every advocacy bandwagon for a joy ride. The protestors may be right, but they have not convinced me.

I note in the CCA paper that in the list of the ways of working together in a more international manner, our contribution is "to provide ethical perspectives on major international issues." Ethical concerns are those most likely to be left out in top-down development in recent times. Popes Paul VI and John Paul II are two of the outstanding commentators on development in recent times. They say, in sociologists, political theorists, anthropologists, etc., we have experts in the social sciences, but we are "experts in humanity." It is the ethical or moral outlook in development which is the major contribution of the churches. The churches emphasize human dignity as the basis of human rights, and the human person as the subject of development, rather than a commodity to be peddled in the market.
like fish or radishes. Mahatma Gandhi said of poverty vs. the resources available in the world: "There is enough for everyone's needs, but not enough for everyone's greeds." As least, if we can't keep up with the experts, we can study the impact of development projects on all the classes of people affected by them.

One area untouched in the CCA paper is social advocacy for strengthening the instruments that work in favour of the people who are left out in development. Advocacy could address some general educational issues about human rights which have been neglected by the United Nations. For example, the UDHR mentions human rights 51 times but mentions duty only once, even though rights and duties are mutually and irrevocably connected. Strangely enough, considering the strong emphasis on individual rights, the reference to duty in the UDHR is to social duties. (Art. 29, 1: "Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.") Richard Falk in Commentary (June 2001) has suggested drafting a UN Declaration of Human Duties as an indispensable companion to the UDHR. In fact, the Charter of the Unity of African States and the American Declaration of Rights are formulated in terms of duties of states, the former exclusively, and the latter embracing 27 rights and 10 duties. This is an area of social advocacy within our competence as educators.

In closing, I am still not convinced that the advocacy I read about in the preliminary papers should be our main endeavour, rather than locally-oriented initiatives. A good example from Bangladesh shows the benefits that can be gained from advocacy support groups, and also illustrates the harmful effects of violent protest, as against the use of peaceful means to combat injustice. Two large organised groups of landless peasants received substantial quantities of government land for cultivation. But they were prevented by the powerful and influential landowners of the area, who tried to get control of the land for themselves. The group which used non-violent means had the backing of a strong support group, and even though the general secretary and prime minister of the reigning party tried to get their co-operative de-registered, ultimately the members regained the full ownership and use of their land. The group which reacted violently to defend their obvious rights was swamped by numerous court cases, which have not all been settled yet 18 full years after the clash between the co-operative members and the large landowners. Another example is the eco-park which is planned for the northeast hilly area of Bangladesh. Up to 2000 adivasis live there, making their living by raising betel vines on the trees. They have traditional land rights,
which are not recognised, but they have been paying taxes on the land as government unused land (khas). Government, under its own funding, is trying to make an eco-park out of it, where the environment will be preserved (by thousands of tramping feet?). At first government wanted to banish the inhabitants but after well-organised protests at the inaugural ceremony, and in a prominent protest spot in Dhaka, the people are now to be allowed to live there and be on display to the tourists like animals in a zoo. Though they have not solicited outside help, a Sister in the USA has taken up their cause and has sent out a well-written background paper, requesting groups to appeal to the Bangladeshi government to choose a nearby site, which is not occupied by people and where a genuine eco-park, preserving the natural environment and bio-diversity, and as is likely to be much more successful.

It seems to me, before hearing all the arguments of this seminar, that such kinds of localised advocacy should be the main focus of small organisations like our Bangladesh CJP, rather than participation in intricate international issues which are beyond the competence of most of our members.

X. THE CHALLENGES IN ASIA: THE 21st CENTURY
THE CHALLENGES TO THE CHURCHES IN ASIA – PACIFIC

ANTHONY ROGERS, FSC

Introduction

In the context of the emerging megatrends in the beginning of the 21st Century the church is being challenged to respond in new and creative ways to make the Gospel of Jesus relevant to the people of today. This is only possible if we as churches in Asia-Pacific begin to develop a more critical awareness of the complex and diverse realities of the world around us. It is in this context that we need to begin the process to have a deeper understanding of advocacy in the context of Asia-Pacific.

As we begin this consultation, we have experienced the tragic events and its consequences by the attacks on the United States by terrorists that shocked the whole world on the 11th of September 2001. Side by side with this tragedy is the drama that has been going on in the region. Our consultation cannot thus be an academic or intellectual exercise but one that hopefully will move us to respond with urgency to the demands of advocacy in this new millennium.
Looking around us today, we see ourselves in a world that is undergoing radical transformation in almost every aspect of life. The process of globalisation is moving us to live in a world of homogenisation that marginalises many of our peoples and communities. We are thus as Christians challenged to reflect on these situations in the light of the Gospel. We hope to develop a perspective of the realities around us, and thus begin to see with new eyes those events that are unfolding before us. It is this faith perspective that will enable us to discern and discover new ways in which we can promote social advocacy today.

In one sense we are being called to humanise globalisation. How do we bring human dimensions based on the word of God to the process in which we begin to speak on behalf of the poor and the voiceless. It is obvious that we need to dialogue with the world, with the Word of the Lord, and with each other. We can thus say that the task before us is to: Review the Context in which we Live (Our World); Reflect on the Word of the Lord (Our Faith); and Respond in Love to the needs of the least of our sisters and brothers.

In attempting to journey together in this process we see the importance of ensuring the dignity of the human person; and the promotion of human rights is the foundation of our attempts at social advocacy. The focus of advocacy is not just the individual but also through the community that seeks to concretise its commitment to the Common God. This focus on the dignity of the human person created in the image and likeness of God, and our responsibility for the common good, are what seem to us as the new path to move away from individualism arising out of our lack of identity and competition, which have to give way to a culture of community and cooperation.

The question before us, therefore, is: How do we concretise our commitment to social advocacy in the context of Asia—Pacific?

1. Our common understanding, or perspective, of the context in which we live. This is in the prerequisite for the formulation of new strategies in the area of social advocacy. The diverse realities and cultural experiences often prevent us from coming to see the reality around us as a community. Divisions result in partial or distorted perceptions, and thus in our understanding. It is this movement to stand on some common grounds that will facilitate our progress in attaining the goals that we have identified.
2. Our common strategies can only emerge if we see the interrelatedness of our realities at the global, regional, national and local levels. We cannot hope any longer to make advocacy effective, without making the vital links at all these levels.

3. The formulation of our common priorities pertaining to both regional concerns (related to human rights' violations in a particular country, economic injustices, etc.) and thematic issues (campaign against death penalty, migrants and refugees, militarisation, etc.), will have to be identified as a result of a process of consultations, hopefully resulting in consensus and commitment to advocacy.

4. Our co-operation in our tasks related to education and awareness of the members of the Church, our direct advocacy campaigns through information and urgent appeals, petitions to the authorities, etc., will have to be painfully planned and implemented at all levels.

Thus, we can say that our attempts to promote social advocacy is a process of forging a new global solidarity based on the values of the Gospel. This is our attempt to move from a globalisation with marginalisation to a process of humanising globalisation.

**Notes for Reference**

**Megatrends At the Beginning of the New Millennium**

1. Megamergers and Concentration of Wealth—Growth of Relative Poverty. The top 20% of the world's richest in 1960 had 30 times more than the bottom 20%. In 1995 the top 20% were getting 82 times more than the bottom 20%. 1.3 billion people in the world live on less that US$1 per day. 800 million people are hungry all the time.

2. Global Economy under Mega Players. 500 top companies control 80% of global wealth. Their aim is to maximise profits and not the interest of the majority of those who need basic goods.

3. Economic Ideology of Money-theism is expanding and unchallenged.

4. Political ideology and democracy at the service of Market and Capital for money-theism

5. Militarism of Superstates. Promotion of New World Order. Destruction of Identity and Nationality

6. Information and Communications for Digital Divide

Consequences of these Megatrends
1. No global and moral authority to bring order into the world since the Nation States have lost their power. They do not govern people but serve the ideology of money-theism.
2. Greater and greater marginalisation of poor people and nations in the economic South. Growth of religious and ethnic violence and conflicts.
3. Individualism, as persons, communities and nations. Concerned about local but not global. Networks of economic alliances.

What are the Signs of Hope?
1. Pockets of resistance to globalisation and world trade organisation, Green Peace, etc.; but no alternative proposals.
2. Some governments critical about some of the global issues
3. Interfaith consciousness about moral values based on transcendental values, justice and common heritage of humanity

The Context of Asia Today
Extracts from *Ecclesia in Asia*
The Roman Synod of Bishops 2000

Religious and Cultural Realities

6. Asia is the earth's largest continent with nearly two-thirds of the world's population, and China and India make up almost half of the total population of the globe. It is a continent with its peoples who are "heirs to ancient cultures, religions and traditions." It is not the size of the population that amazes us but the intricate mosaic of its many cultures, languages, beliefs and traditions.

Asia is also the cradle of the world's major religions—Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Hinduism, and the birthplace of many other spiritual traditions, such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Sikhism and Shintoism, as well as other traditions; and seek to engage in sincere dialogue with their followers. The religious values they teach await their fulfilment in Jesus Christ.

The people of Asia take pride in their religious and cultural values, such as love of silence and contemplation, simplicity, harmony, detachment, non-violence, the spirit of hard work, discipline, frugal living, the thirst for learning and philosophical enquiry. They hold dear the values of respect for life, compassion for all beings, closeness to nature, filial piety towards parents, elders and ancestors, and a highly developed sense of community. The family is a vital source of strength that nurtures a powerful sense of solidarity, a spirit of
religious tolerance and peaceful co-existence. In spite of bitter tensions and violent conflicts, there is a capacity for accommodation, and a natural openness to the mutual enrichment of peoples in the midst of a plurality of religions and cultures. Moreover, despite the influence of modernisation and secularisation, Asian religions show a great vitality and a capacity for renewal. Many, especially the young, experience a deep thirst for spiritual values, and thus indicate an innate spiritual insight and moral wisdom in the Asian soul; and it is the core around which a growing sense of "being Asian" is built. This "being Asian" is best discovered and affirmed not in confrontation and opposition, but in the spirit of complementarity and harmony. In this framework of complementarity and harmony, the Church can communicate the Gospel, being faithful both to her own Tradition and to the Asian soul.

Economic and Social Realities

7. The nature of economic development is diverse; some nations are highly developed, with their effective economic policies, while others live in abject poverty. Some of these poor nations are among the poorest nations on earth. In the process of development, materialism and secularism are also gaining ground, especially in urban areas. These ideologies, which undermine traditional, social and religious values, threaten Asia's cultures with incalculable damage. These changes have both the positive and negative aspects. There is also the accompanying phenomenon of urbanisation often associated with the rise of organised crime, terrorism, prostitution, and the exploitation of the weaker sectors of society. There is also the migration of peoples due to poverty, war and ethnic conflicts, the denial of their human rights and fundamental freedoms. We also experience the adverse effects of industrialisation. These seriously affect family life and values. The construction of nuclear power plants have little regard for the safety of people and the integrity of the environment. Tourism has often a devastating influence and effect upon both the moral and physical landscape of many Asian countries. The negative impact of tourism is seen in the increase in prostitution of young women, and even of children.

Faced with population growth, we need to be aware of false solutions that threaten the dignity and inviolability of life. We recall the Church's contribution to the defence and promotion of life through health care, social development and education, to benefit peoples, especially the poor. And we noted the contributions of Mother Teresa of Calcutta. New forms of behaviour are emerging as a result of over-exposure to the mass media and the kinds of litera-
ture, music, and films that are undermining the Asian cultural traditions. These are often controlled and used by those with questionable political, economic and ideological interests. As a result, the negative aspects of the media and entertainment industries are threatening traditional values, and, in particular, the sacredness of marriage and the stability of the family. The effect of images of violence, hedonism, unbridled individualism and materialism "is striking at the heart of Asian cultures, at the religious character of the people, families and whole societies." This is a situation, which poses a great challenge to the Church and to the proclamation of her message.

The persistent reality of poverty and exploitation is rooted in history where people have been kept economically, culturally and politically on the margins of society. Although there is the awakening of women's consciousness to their dignity and rights, the poverty and exploitation of women remain a serious problem throughout Asia. Millions of indigenous or tribal people throughout Asia are also living in social, cultural and political isolation.

The extensive economic growth of many Asian societies has witnessed the emergence of a new generation of skilled workers, scientists and technicians, that is growing, and thus augurs well for Asia's development. The most recent and far-reaching financial crisis suffered by a number of Asian countries had serious consequences on the lives of the Asian peoples, but it also shows what the Asian peoples can do for themselves with a view to their own development.

Political Realities

8. The Church always needs to have an exact understanding of the political situation in the different countries. The political panorama is highly complex, displaying an array of ideologies ranging from democratic forms of government to theocratic ones, together with military dictatorships and atheistic ideologies. Some countries recognise an official state religion that allows little or no religious freedom to minorities and the followers of other religions, while others reduce minorities to second-class citizens with little safeguard for their fundamental human rights. In some places Christians are not allowed to practise their faith freely, and proclaim Jesus Christ to others. They are persecuted and denied their rightful place in society.

With progress, there is also the widespread corruption existing
at various levels of both government and society. People are helpless to defend themselves against corrupt politicians, members of the judiciary, administrators and bureaucrats. With the growing awareness and people's capacity to change unjust structures, people demand greater social justice, participation in government and economic life, for equal opportunities in education and for a just share in the resources of the nation. People are becoming increasingly conscious of their human dignity and rights, and more determined to safeguard them. Long dormant ethnic, social and cultural minority groups are seeking ways to become agents of their own social advancement. The Spirit of God helps and sustains people's efforts to transform society so that the human yearning for a more abundant life may be satisfied as God wills.

Extracts from *High Tech — High Touch*, by John Naisbitt

If the process of globalisation has to do with a dynamics that:

"Intoxicated by technology's seductive pleasures and promises, we turn our backs to technology's consequences and wonder why the future seems unpredictable. Few of us have a clear understanding of what place technology has in our lives (or should have), what place it should have in society, and most fundamentally of all, what it is. We grant technology a special status, as if it's a natural law, an inalienable right that our daily lives, our formative experiences, even the natural world are destined to be "managed" by increasingly sophisticated software. Technology marches to the beat of our economy, while we are left to plug in, get online, motor on, take off, and ultimately pick up the pieces. We feel that something is not quite right but we can't put our fingers on it. The Intoxicated Zone is spiritually empty, disatisfying and dangerous, and impossible to climb out of unless we recognise that we're in it. As Marshall McLuhan liked to say, he didn't know who discovered water, but he was sure it wasn't a fish. When you're in something so deep, it's hard to see it." (Introduction to *High Touch High Tech*, John Naisbitt Broadway Books, New York.

Symptoms of a Technologically Intoxicated Zone:

1. We favour the quick fix from religion to nutrition.
2. We fear and worship technology.
3. We blur the distinction between real and fake.
4. We accept violence as normal.
5. We love technology as a toy.
6. We live our lives distanced and distracted.
Link between Worship and Justice (Chapter V—Ecclesia in Asia)

In working and sacrificing for human development we need to examine the core insights of biblical and ecclesial tradition. Ancient Israel insisted on the unbreakable bond between worship of God and care for the weak, represented typically in Scripture as "the widow, the stranger and orphan" (cf. Ex 22:21-22; Dt 10:18; 27:19), were most vulnerable to the threat of injustice. We hear the cry for justice, for the right ordering of human society, without which there can be no true worship of God (cf. Is 1:10-17; Am 5:21-24). God, wants "mercy not sacrifice" (Hos 6:6). Jesus made these words his own (cf. Mt 9:13). Saint John Chrysostom: "Do you wish to honour the body of Christ? Then do not ignore him when he is naked. Do not pay him silken honours in the temple, only then to neglect him when he goes cold and naked outside. He who said, 'This is my body' is the One who also said, 'You saw me hungry and you gave me no food'... What good is it if the Eucharistic Table groans under the weight of golden chalices, when Christ is dying of hunger? Start by satisfying his hunger, and then with what remains you may adorn the altar as well!". In the call for human development and for justice in human affairs, we hear a voice, which is both old and new. It is old because it rise, from the depths of our Christian tradition; it is new because it speaks to the immediate situation of countless people in Asia today.

XI. OUR CHALLENGE: WHAT CAN WE DO?

1. Asia and Pacific Alliance of YMCAs

When the YMCA began in 1844 in England, it was to address the situations faced by the young people in the context of the Industrial Revolution. The YMCA at that time responded through prayer, as well as action, on issues they faced. At our last Quadrennial Assembly, the focus of deliberation was on the process of globalisation and its impacts on society in the Asia and Pacific Region.

The mandate from the Assembly articulates the vision of the YMCA and our thrusts in responding to the challenges of the times, and to which our YMCAs are committed.

Today, a major focus of work of the YMCA in the region includes the following:

1. Issues related to Culture, Religion and Spirituality
2. Empowerment of Improverished Peoples
3. Sustainable Development
4. Gender Concerns
5. Youth Concerns
6. Empowerment of Migrant Workers
7. Building and strengthening Civil Society

YMCAs in our region have diverse expressions on the above issues leading to social advocacy, based on analysis and reflection. The theological reflections and various presentations made at this Consultation on Social Advocacy have reinforced our belief that we not only need to speak out for the oppressed and the marginalised, but also to act together with them in resolving the root causes of their plights. In so doing, we need to ensure that their dignity and rights are upheld, and that justice prevails.

A. To strengthen existing social advocacy efforts, and to encourage greater engagement in social advocacy work within the YMCAs in the region:

1. We will share with the YMCAs of the region the common ideas and concerns that together we identified in our journey of ecumenical sharing during these past few days, through our publications, leadership development programmes, and other regional seminars/workshops on the need for an understanding of, and actions on Social Advocacy.

2. The elements and issues of Social Advocacy, as enunciated at this Consultation, will be further emphasised in our structured and systematic basic, intermediate and advanced leadership development programmes.

3. Local and National YMCAs will be encouraged to share practical experiences in social advocacy work within our own regional YMCA network.

B. To further our efforts as ecumenical partners for engagement in Social Advocacy work:

1. We will continue to participate in joint ecumenical issue-oriented deliberations for information-sharing and learning together, through study, analysis and reflection together.

2. Networking on selected common identified issues of Social Advocacy will be pursued and necessary support garnered.
3. We recommend invitations for participation in each other's programmes related to issues of Social Advocacy, e.g., on empowerment of the impoverished, the migrant workers, the dispossessed, peace-building and reconciliation, etc.

4. Where it is practical and possible, to collaborate with ecumenical partner(s) for Social Advocacy work, e.g., in East Timor, Cambodia, Laos, Mongolia.

C. We will also extend our solidarity and co-operation with other like-minded organisations and groups, in particular those of other faiths, on common issues of Social Advocacy.

As our commitment to our Constituency and our Ecumenical Partners, we will share these proposals and recommendations for co-operative and collaborative efforts in Social Advocacy work with the Executive Committee of the Asia and Pacific Alliance at our next meeting in March 2002, for its endorsement.

2. Christian Conference of Asia

CCA has been involved in the process of Social Advocacy for a long time within three major program areas:

1. Justice, international affairs, development and service
2. Faith, mission, unity and URM
3. Gender, justice, youth empowerment and education formation

We deal with awareness-building, human-rights issues, peace and conflict resolution, inter-religious dialogue, etc. This also includes healing projects, which are also a process of advocacy, environmental friendly

Programs in management-development training for the grassroots, where we help them in small-scale industries.

As a part of a self-criticism, we stress the need for a reorientation of the CCA programs on social advocacy, and the need to focus more critically on selected areas.

One major event that attracted our concern relates to the situation in East Timor, which is very vulnerable today. CCA thought of a peace-building and reconciliation mission for East Timor. We suggested sending a medical team for their help. Youth can also be mobilised for this purpose. We found out that human-rights education has an important role to play in this.
We would like to suggest there be had training programs on conflict management and resolution (to overcome violence and to cultivate the culture of peace). We have been doing this before. We would like to call upon the FABC and the YMCAs to come forward for a joint effort in this regard.

We have to disseminate the consequences of this present consultation to our constituencies. In the context of CCA we would inform our member churches and member councils. Likewise, it would be good if YMCAs and FABC would do the same.

We would like to bring to your notice an important aspect. As Asians, we are facing oppression in various forms, namely, economically, culturally, politically, etc. It is high time that we counter this. One way to counter this is through an Alternate Asia Forum, or the Other Asia. This is a struggle for alternatives to the existing oppressive social order. The thought of organising a joint cell comes out of this consultation.

As a result of our discussion we came out with two important ideas or suggestions, namely: the Asia Forum For Peace, and the Asia Forum For Alternatives. Later on, if we all agreed upon this, we could setup a working group to develop out a blueprint.

3. Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences

The group included people from three regional structures of the Catholic Church in this field: Caritas Asia, the Asia Partnership for Human Development, and the FABC Office for Human Development, as well as people from several national justice and peace commissions in the region, and collaborators, such as Catholic Relief Services, the religious orders and Hotline Asia. In this way the major Catholic actors in this field were represented, as well as including clergy, religious and laity.

Some of the key insights from the consultation were identified:

- Analysis of the context today had highlighted problems associated with globalization, violence, the soullessness of materialism and a culture of death.
- Biblical and theological reasons for the commitment to social advocacy had been clearly articulated. The need to inject moral energy into advocacy was affirmed.
- The need for action at the local, national and regional levels had become clear.
- The group’s understanding of social advocacy had been broad-
ened to encompass information and analysis, education and the generation of alternatives, as well as attempts to influence decision-makers.

- Even the Catholic agencies among themselves are not always aware of each other's priority issues and activities in the area of social advocacy.
- The need to work with other Christians and with people of other faiths was affirmed.

The group spent some time discussing whether or not a new structure was needed to facilitate co-ordination of social advocacy in the region, or if a looser form of networking around particular issues would be more appropriate. Questions of authority and mandates were raised.

It was agreed that it would be better to form networks around some issues of shared concern. Each organization could then participate according to its own mandate and priorities. The networking on issues would be conducted at three levels: within the Catholic Church; among Christians; and with people of other faiths.

It was agreed that it would be helpful to share on a regular basis the priorities of each organization. This would help each organization to identify common interest with others, and to collaborate on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The existing regional Catholic structures, Caritas Asia, APHD, FABC-OHD and Hotline, were happy to receive and circulate such information.

It was agreed that it would be helpful for the groups present to continue to meet, perhaps annually, for shared reflection, prayer, analysis and action-planning on issues of shared concern. Other means of increasing communication, such as setting up an E-group, were also suggested.

It was agreed that issues of shared concern at the regional level should be identified from the local priorities of groups.

After discussion, the following issues were identified as priority issues of shared concern for the region:

1. Sustainable communities (responding to globalization and environmental pressures through micro-credit, organic farming and other alternatives)
2. People on the move (migrant workers, asylum seekers, internally and internationally displaced people, trafficking)
3. Environment and ecological issues
4. Peace and reconciliation (responding to fundamentalism, national and international armed conflicts, racism)

The ways in which the group hopes to respond together to these issues include:

- Education and formation within Church communities themselves (education resources and ideas to be shared among those in the network).
- Campaigns on regional issues (issues' networks to organize campaigns).
- Generating alternative models (information and ideas to be circulated. Hotline can help.)
- Urgent appeals on local issues that need international solidarity (to be done through Hotline).

XII. WORKSHOP REPORTS

Workshop No.1 — Questions for Reflection

In the light of the process of globalisation (political, economic and cultural) (the Context Today):

1. What are some of the urgent and major challenges in the Context that you identify with; and what is your personal understanding of Social Advocacy?

2. As a result of the personal sharing in your Group:
In about 10 – 15 sentences formulate the Group's Common Understanding of Social Advocacy

Group Reports

Group 1
A. Major Challenges Today
- Ideology of Neo-liberalism.
- Role of the Nation State. (National politics have been redefined by globalisation.)
- Analysis — Who is behind structural adjustment programme?
- Space has to be given to the politic sector.
- New forms of development/needs; terrorism due to deep deprivation.
- Relief from poverty through killing.
- "Major Mergers" in a new order of immorality and "valuelessness."
- Ignorance Wall both in the West and in Church.
- Religions are breeding grounds of division.
- Global Culture in helping process of globalisation.
B. Social Advocacy is:
  * An on-going process of influencing the decision-makers with a commitment in the pursuit of TRUTH, in identifying the needs and rights of the disadvantaged in society.
  * Advocacy is not only ACTION but involves a comprehensive, in-depth analysis and reflection.
  * Advocacy has to be at various levels, namely global, regional, national and local, and attempts to confront unjust ideologies.

**Group 2**
1. Challenge
A. Social:
   1.1 Raise critical level of awareness. Broad, focussed education.
   1.2 Church hierarchy. Approval politics—fear. Faith aspect.
   1.3 Project to process orientation to change social structures. Identify with people—Ownership.
B. Political: The state. Aligned with market forces—TNCs insensitive
C. Economic:
   3.1 Culture of consumerism, loss of human values, homogeneity.
   3.2 Food security—genetic engineering, industry waste.
   3.3 Environment—air, water, land.

2. Social Advocacy:
  * Social analysis precondition for social action.
  * Justice aspect—suffer with the suffering.
  * Practical compassion—solidarity questions structures—Church has failed.
  * Objective—equitable power structures.
  * NGOs can be proactive and involve grassroots level.
  * Reflection/faith analysis.
Group 3
Question 1:
Economic Issues:
• Erosion of the agricultural base of Asian economies.
• Displacement of people internally and externally.
• Migrant workers.
• Trafficking in women, girls and boys.
• Feminization of poverty.
• Environmental issues.

Political Issues:
• Incapacity of governments to rule in the face of economic forces, e.g., TNCs, requirements of SAPs
• Religious freedom in the face of fundamentalist responses to globalisation
• Building peace and reconciliation, true freedom rather than "responding to terrorism".

Cultural issues:
• Gender justice.
• Changing social roles.
• Consumerism and materialism.

Question 2:
We believe that the Gospel calls us to speak and act for social justice. To advocate on behalf of the poor, oppressed and marginalized is part of the practice of our faith. As Christians, we are committed to non-violent means, such as the use of spiritual force or moral pressure. The subject matter and means of our advocacy should be informed by and give expression to our faith.

The process of advocacy includes:
• Analysis of issues (identification of what is happening, points of leverage, our targets for lobbying, our allies and strategies).
• Theological reflection.
• Education and communication about issues.
• Networking locally, regionally and globally (organizing groups, sharing information, building a database of people with information and/or skills).
• Action, such as lobbying decision-makers, using connections, public campaigns, and consumer actions.

Workshop No. 2 — Questions for Reflection

In the light of our Faith Reflection today:
Question 1. What do you see as the roots of violence and conflict today?

Question 2. How do you understand Advocacy for Peace?

**Group 1 Report**

Question 1 for Reflection:
* Greed, systems (free trade and capitalism) that promote a "me-first" vision, rather than a "we-first" vision.
  * Inequalities/injustices (economic, racial, religious, etc.) that lead to hatred, prejudice and desire for vengeance.
  * Feeling of oppression or hopelessness that people cannot contain violence.
  * Lack of good governance—people's participation and representation are not adequate.
  * Many times throughout history, the Bible has been misinterpreted (linked to domination and exploitation).
  * National interests override those of the global common good.
  * Culture of intolerance.
  * Lack of respect/understanding of the inalienable rights to land and identity.

Question 2 for Reflection:
* Focus on dialogue—understanding the other view, rights and obligations, directed at root causes of conflict, violence and war.
  * Working in Partnership
  * Educating people for transformation (not just poor, but all people).
  * Promoting a culture of peace and non-violence.

**Group 2 Report**

Question 1:
Roots of Violence and Conflicts
* Lack of religious values in our families.
* Inequalities in our society (rich, poor) (different religions, etc.).
* Human nature of competing with each other.
* Lack of understanding of each other.
* Intolerance.
* People desensitised to suffering and pain of others.
* Self ego, tendency to control others (why Cain killed Abel).
* Religious fundamentalism.
* Social structures.
* Political, economic and social inequalities.
* Domination of one race, caste over other.
Question 2:
Advocacy for Peace
- Forming impartial truth commissions (e.g., South Africa, Chile).
- International tribunals.
- Peaceful and non-violence methods in conflict resolution.
- Dialogue.
- Self-sacrifice, not own interest.
- Start with ourselves/inner peace.
- Join hands with people of other faiths.
- Advocacy should start at local level.
- Play the role of mediators or reconcilers.
- Education to remove prejudices.
- Promoting basic human communities.
- Defining peace in every situation.

Group 3 Report

Question 1:
Roots of Violence and Conflicts.
- Inequality.
- Abuse of power.
- Lack of mutual understanding.
- Selfishness.
- Group prejudices and religious prejudices.
- Hidden violence.
- Historical grievances.
- Lack of mutual respect.
- Human instinct.
- 3 kinds of violence:
  - individual violence
  - violence of the people
  - violence of the State
  Structural violence
  Violence of State
  Violence of people

Question 2:
Understanding of Advocacy for Peace
- Concern for the weak, the poor and the innocent.
- Healing process needs to be included.
- Reconciliation.
- Aim is real development.
- Aim is an affirmation of life.
- Must address poverty, inequality.
- Must promote human dignity and human rights.
- Spiritual dimension is important; must be integrated with political and economic dimensions of advocacy.
- Meaning of Holy Spirit as Helper.
XIII. FINAL STATEMENT

Towards a Culture of Peace in the 21st Century

Introduction

At the beginning of the new Millennium, we, as Christians in Asia-Pacific, are perturbed by the numerous situations of violence and conflicts that are threatening many nations, and even the whole of humanity. We are being confronted by a multitude of forces, both global and local, that attack the core of the human person and the human community. We are being challenged to be faithful to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to address these issues in and through the ministry of social advocacy. We as Christians are called to be promoters of peace in the context of violence and conflicts through education for peace and social advocacy.

It was the urgency of this task before us that moved us as Christian organisations to come together to foster new ecumenical endeavours in order to address our current global crisis based on the culture of death and violence. Thus, the Asia and Pacific Alliance of YMCAs, the Christian Conference of Asia, and the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences organised this Joint Consultation on Social Advocacy, 4-8 October 2001, at the Redemptorist Centre, Pattaya, Thailand. We, twenty-eight participants, of Asia and Pacific, through a process of dialogue deepened our common understanding of the realities of our peoples and the societies that we live in. Without faith there can be no new and creative actions; and it is for this reason that we reflected on the meaning of our faith, so that we would be able to translate these into actions. Our commitment to social advocacy, we believe, is based on our determination and willingness to journey together as Christians, committed to working for the Kingdom (Reign) of God. We hope through this process to foster greater collaborative efforts in the building-up of a new network of committed Christians to meet the challenges of the new Millennium. This is indeed our common and concerted response to the call of the Lord in the context of Asia-Pacific.

1. The Context of the Challenges Today

1.1 Our analysis of Asian-Pacific realities points to the numerous negative effects of the impact of globalisation, and the subsequent economic and political, social and religious, and ethnic upheaval. With the emergence of various forms of neo-liberalism, accelerated by the process of globalisation, the role of the Nation
State is being undermined, and diverted from its basic responsibility of promoting the common good and protecting the basic human rights of individuals. We believe that the State is not the servant of the Market Driven Economy, but has the sacred duty of being the Protector of the People.

1.2 In the area of economic life, the phenomenon of megamergers has led to the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, and has given rise to gross inequalities so evident in our Region. These trends take away the very life support systems from the majority of our peoples, so that they are no longer able to live with dignity as human persons. Science and technology, knowledge and information, and communication technology, seem to give priority to the growth and expansion of capital and investments for profits, rather than to satisfy the basic human needs of persons and communities, including food, health services, sanitation and education. The subtle promotion and pursuit of a culture of individualism, materialism, consumerism, and excessive competition move people and communities away from the fundamental values of respect for human dignity and stewardship of the ecology, and a way of life that stresses the transcendental and spiritual.

1.3 It is this lack of political will to engender policies for the common good, that breeds inequality and creates an increasing gap between the rich and the poor in our nations. It is also clear that this emphasis on the material and economic aspects of development is creating communities that are slowly being marginalised and sidelined, becoming breeding grounds for division and fragmentation of our communities. Various forms of religious fundamentalism, often related to the negation of ethnic and fundamental human liberties and rights by both the global forces and national governments, are emerging. Violence of the People is justified as a response to both Global and National Violence. Often such volatile situations bring misery and sufferings to millions of people in the Region. Furthermore, there is a growing sense of insecurity when ethnic and religious communities become targets for each other's anger and revenge.

1.4 A new social scenario is emerging before our very eyes. We see the gradual erosion of the agricultural base of our economies, the displacement of millions of people internally and externally, the situation of millions of migrant workers who have to leave their homes and families to work as contract labour with little security and under deplorable conditions. There is the gradual and blatant increase in the trafficking of women, girls and boys, and the feminisation of poverty, accompanied by violence against women. The rapid de-
terioration of ecology and environment is largely due to the pace of unethical and unsustainable development, resulting in the indiscriminate destruction of natural resources and the environment.

1.5 The prevalence of greed in an organised manner within the systems that promote various forms of neo-liberalism-based trade and capital liberalisation has created inequalities and institutionalised injustices in the economic, political, ethnic and religious spheres. This leads to feelings of oppression or hopelessness, hatred, prejudice, and to desire for vengeance, resulting in violence. The lack of good governance and social structures that deal effectively with political, economic and social inequalities in our society has resulted in a culture of intolerance where people lack respect and understanding of each other; and there is domination of one race, caste, over the other. Historical grievances have also caused individual violence, violence of the people, and violence of the State. Declining religious values and increasing religious fundamentalism have also brought about clashes and conflicts.

2. Our Faith Reflections in the Context of Asia-Pacific

2.1 We believe that the Gospel calls us to speak and act for social justice. To advocate on behalf of the poor, oppressed and marginalised is an integral part of the practice of our faith. As Christians, we are committed to non-violent means, such as the use of spiritual force or moral pressure. The subject matter and means of our advocacy should be informed by and give expression to our faith. We see the need to return to an authentic spirituality that revitalises our relationships as members of the community of Jesus, so that we will be the salt, leaven and light for the transformation of the world. We realise that our journeying together has to be with people of all faiths and beliefs, so that peace can become a reality for us and for the future generations.

3. Our Understanding of Social Advocacy

3.1 Social Advocacy is seen as an on-going process of influencing decision-makers with a commitment in the pursuit of TRUTH; and thus brings changes to social policy; or to enforce laws; or to repeal them, if they violate norms of UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS. It is also a process of offering alternatives by enacting new laws and influencing behaviour and changes in lifestyle.

3.2 The Process of Social Advocacy thus begins with identifying the needs and rights of the disadvantaged in society, involving a
comprehensive, in-depth social analysis and reflection, including faith analysis. It calls for justice and solidarity with the suffering, and works towards the creation of equitable power structures.

3.3 The Levels of Social Advocacy include the Global, Regional, National and Local.

3.4 The Dimensions of Social Advocacy should include awareness-education and communication about issues and strategies for appropriate actions, such as, creating networks and alliances, techniques for the monitoring and lobbying of decisions-makers, to organise public campaigns, and consumer-actions. The creation of alternatives is, indeed, the greatest challenge for promoters of social advocacy.

4. Our Responses as Christians to Social Advocacy

As members of the Ecumenical Partnership in the Asia and Pacific we can, by engaging in Social Advocacy, make peace a reality, and nurture signs of hope among our people through:

a. Education in linking Faith and Life, giving priority to all the People of God to foster greater Christian involvement in the transformation of the world.

b. Proper training in the values, changes of attitude, and acquiring of skills required for Social Advocacy.

c. Recognising the importance of this formation for promoting Social Advocacy within each of our Churches/Ecumenical Organisations, and the total Christian Community.

d. Building a new network of collaboration and co-operation in the area of Social Advocacy.

e. Inculcating a new spirituality, based on the Gospel of Jesus, that will bring persons and communities to be involved in Social Advocacy.

5. What can we do as Ecumenical Partners?

We can work towards promoting a common understanding of Social Advocacy in the context of Asia and Pacific today as Ecumenical Partners by:

a. Sharing the Church's teaching on ethical and social issues today, and in dialogue keeping in mind the inter-religious perspectives:

b. Sharing and exchanging practical experiences in the area of advocacy, including human rights, migrants, rights of women and children, ecology and environment, etc.
c. Being involved in the formulation of programmes and processes for the formation and education of pastors, the laity, particularly youth and women, and families.

d. Working together on the processes and programmes to integrate Social Advocacy into the pastoral plans of the local Church and the bishops' conferences, and local units of the organisation.

e. Deepening knowledge and practical skills in the area of communications, publications, use of Internet and web sites, education campaigns, international and local campaigns, etc. to spread the message of Social Advocacy.

f. Identifying new like-minded partners for collaboration in the area of Social Advocacy in order to promote greater justice and peace.

g. Intensifying the efforts of individual organisations in Social Advocacy, as planned during the Consultation.

6. Urgent Tasks Ahead for Peace and Non-Violence

Being deeply concerned about prevalent situations in the world today, the participants identified some key causes of violence and conflicts in the world today. We see the urgency to create a culture of peace with justice. In the context of the conflicts among civilisations and the clash of civilisations, we are being challenged to promote a Dialogue of Civilisations through the building-up of a Civilisation of Love and Peace. As Ecumenical Partners committed to building communities characterised by justice, love and peace, we can:

a. Focus on dialogue and education to create understanding of the other views, be it in economic, political, racial, religious issues, directed at root causes.

b. Work in partnership among the Ecumenical Partners, including people of other faiths, to educate our constituencies and others for transformation. This can be in the form of the exchanges of our publications and documents.

c. In order to be promoters of peaceful and non-violent methods of conflict resolution, we can look into the possibilities of developing some modules for Peace Education for use
among the members of the Churches and Ecumenical Organisations.

d. Play a more prominent role of mediators or reconcilers in conflicts, ensuring healing and reconciliation. This can be through the Ecumenical Networks that we can promote in each of our countries.

e. We can work more closely with other interreligious groups and NGOs that are also promoting human dignity and human rights. In this way the Ecumenical Network can make Social Advocacy for Peace as an affirmation of life.

f. Look to more creative ways in which we can incorporate spirituality as an integral dimension of our responsibility of promoting social advocacy.

**Conclusion**

We hope to continue the journey that we began through this Consultation by ensuring that we will more consciously share our resources by keeping each other informed of our programmes and activities, and strengthen this informal network that we have developed at the level of the Asia and Pacific Region. The Organising Committee of this Consultation thus sees as its responsibility the need to meet from time to time, to search for ways and means to further follow-up on the deliberations of the Consultation.

* * *

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