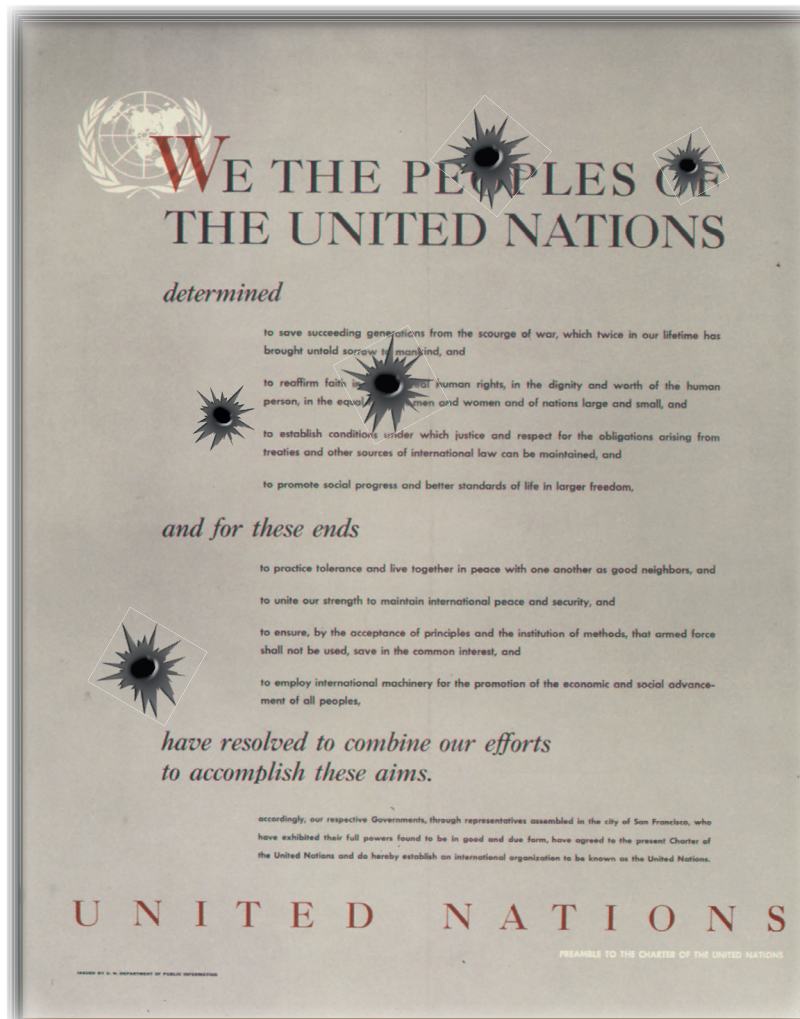


DEMOCRATISATION of the UNITED NATIONS BEFORE OR AFTER A GREAT WAR?



UNITED NATIONS CHARTER¹ *Preamble*

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

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

Continue on pages 28-33 ►

Prof. Xavier Diez

Unió Sindical dels Treballadors d'Ensenyament de Catalunya - USTEC-STE (IAC) - SPAIN

Past, present and future of the right to education

The worst was yet to come. Starting from the 1970s, some of the UN institutions turned towards neo-liberal conceptions. The OECD, the successor to the government agency dedicated to administer the Marshall Plan, soon became a lobby for major multinational corporations that pressured the nations it assisted to take decisions contrary to their interests.

PAGE 3

Prof. Rifat Okçabol

TURKEY

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Overall Situation

Since the concept of human rights developed mainly in the West, the understanding of the West -capitalist countries- was dominant in the declarations. The UDHR did not reflect the expectations of Muslim countries, Far Eastern countries, countries that had not gained independence and the Soviet Union.

PAGE 4-9

Prof. Sanjoy Roy

Department of Social Work, University of Delhi - INDIA

Democratisation of United Nations: A Question?

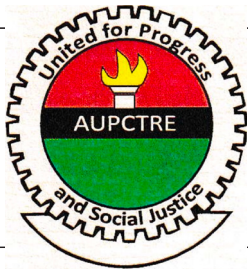
The UN has likely drifted even farther away from current realities and interests than before, falling well short of this aim. The global power structure has undergone significant transformation. The number of members has more than tripled, several emerging nations have become significant players in world politics, and some sovereign autonomous regions have been created.

PAGE 10, 11

Sikiru Waheed

General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations, Ciul Service Technical and Recreational Servtces Employees (AUPGTRE) - NIGERIA

RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN CONFLICT ZONES



Dear Comrade,

We are Trade Union Organisation Opening in Nigeria with Jurisdiction to Unionise Workers in Public Sector. The Union is pleased to makes our contributions towards the Right to Education in Conflict Zones.

The fundamental principles that are behind the success of any determined Student is the ability to adhere to the circumstances surrounding his or her environment, Originally, it has been enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 which says that **"Everyone has the right to education". Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Technical and Professional Education shall be made generally available and higher Education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit".**

The above Statement remains ambiguous and suffered implementation in most African Countries and some parts of the World. Simply because of the selfish leaders that are in the helm of affairs. But the quest for education is over alarming by the day because people forsee danger in the absent of education, they observe that education is the panacea to any good development. Therefore, the right to a qualitative education can't be achieve in a zone where there are conflicts. Although, the word conflict is as old as Mankind therefore, conflict remains inseparable and inevitable ta human existence, despite the colossal amount of human and material resources expended on grobal peace and conflict management by several Nations, States, Regional Organisations and the United Nations (UN). The World Socio-Political environs are still on the boil, rather than tge global crisis diminishing in spite of the several steps taken, it is becoming more virulent and destructive because it has continued to

drain the energy and manpower resources of the troubled spots if not the entire world and emas culate government.

The significance of this article is that in the midst of the fundamental issues that have aggravated or metamorphosed to these conflicts in any zone that seems difficult for education to strive can be curb no matter the high level of incompatibility. As earlier mentioned, conflict is inevitable and it keeps occurring in every individual life, either at home, work and sociar outings or even when we sreep in our Bedrooms without interacting with anyone. Arthouh, we are familiar with those inexhaustible things that cause conflicts, for instance, conflicts over resources, conflicts over psychological needs, conflicts involving values and conflicts over inadequate information.

The above mentioned issues are few causes of conflict that stands inseparable in human existence in any environment

therefore; we manage them while we continuously press on the freedom of education or the right to Lducation. As a student you are a conflict manager you must learn how to manage crisis and proffer solutions where necessary.

However, the subject matter **"Right to Education in conflict zones"** actually is a known facts that in a conflict zones or environment the tendency of educational activities to run smoothly is very slim because it will really introduce negative impacts to the students psychologically, [ime and energy.

Therefore, Government at all levels is advised to put the necessary mechanisms in order to avert unnecessary conflicts in any zone for education to strive without interference.

Please Accept the assurances of our most esteemed regards. Thanks.

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Past, present and future of the right to education*

We often forget how emerged the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the United Nations system. As a historian, it is my responsibility to remind it. After the World War II, in the face of the brutal drama experienced by most of the countries, it was considered necessary to update the failed system of the League of Nations. And there comes Eleanor Roosevelt, the widow of the president of the United States who, a few weeks after the death of her husband, was designated as a delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and a few months later, president of the Human Rights Committee that would be in charge of drafting the UDHR, finally presented on December 10, 1948. Eleanor, with her profound sense of humanitarianism, is widely recognized as the mother of the principles, values and architecture of the United Nations system.

Beyond this little encyclopedic information, it would be interesting to dwell on a few details. The UDHR is not only a response to the trauma of the World War II, the Holocaust, the horrible crimes against humanity of a dark period that would include the period beginning in 1914 when the supposedly civilized world decided to start a kind of "30-year war" based on armed conflicts, genocides and totalitarianisms, but also the collapse of the economy that, starting in 1929, placed the majority of the world's population in a situation of economic crisis and humanitarian chaos. The memory of misery, and how misery nurtured the resentment translated into the emergence of totalitarianism, implied that it was necessary to break with this dynamic and enter a new era of universal peace and prosperity. Then of course there was the issue of decolonization - in fact, the years following the UDHR saw complex and often violent processes of colonial independence and emancipation, especially in Africa and Asia.

How to ensure peace, prosperity and social justice? Education seemed to be the most direct instrument. This is why it occupies an outstanding place in the Declaration. Those men and women who decided to enter into global governance, inspired by the progressive spirit of the New Deal, thought that the best way to build a true United Nations in a state of economic convergence and social harmony was through the education of the younger generation. In this sense, this chapter expresses the trust in the



Eleanor Roosevelt holding a Declaration of Human Rights poster, 1949 (UN Photo)

progress of society through education, an idea shared by the various socialist and republican schools of the XIX and XX centuries. This is why education is an individual right, but, above all, a collective, national and global right. It was meant to improve personal conditions, but also to enable the desired economic development of nations -especially those that emerged after 1948- and to create a much more egalitarian and, therefore, peaceful world.

This first phase of optimism was relatively short-lived. Conflicts arising from decolonization and the Cold War failed to fulfil the hopes of the Declaration's drafters. Although the majority of the former colonies achieved independence, this often turned out to be only superficial, as unequal relations of dependence persisted. Furthermore, public welfare policies were gradually weakened as the communist bloc became weaker and weaker. In many new nations, it was extremely difficult to fulfil the promises of development. The worst was yet to come. Starting from the 1970s, some of the UN institutions turned towards neo-liberal conceptions. The OECD, the successor to the government agency dedicated to administer the Marshall Plan, soon became a lobby for major multinational corporations that pressured the nations it assisted to take decisions contrary to their interests. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank started to put pressure on foreign currency lenders to cut public spending and open their economies to liberalization that was harmful to them. Education was one of the most affected areas. Many nations were forced to privatize their public systems, to cut funding, to stop paying teachers, to close schools. Whenever a country resisted, the US Secretary of State promoted military coups, such as those that took place in Chile (1973) or Argentina (1976), which resulted, especially in the first case, in the total

privatization of its education system, as Naomi Klein explains in her book *The Shock Doctrine*. All in all, the last three decades of the twentieth century were catastrophic for so-called "developing" societies. The new educational policies consisted basically of making teachers less functional (making their profession more and more precarious, worse paid and discredited), deregulating curriculums, decentralizing the system, granting economic and pedagogical autonomy to schools and initiating a system of educational segregation that continues and breaks with the original sense of making schools a space for equal opportunities. Naturally, there are important differences between different realities. Some Asian countries, which achieved high levels of industrial development and economic growth, managed to achieve certain levels of political independence and improved their education systems. Meanwhile, in general terms, regions such as Latin America and Africa, handicapped by the economic inequalities caused by globalization, have not been able to achieve sufficiently mature and effective systems to promote greater well-being.

And we arrive at a time marked by what Karl Schawb has called the "Fourth Industrial Revolution", featuring the internet of things, intensive digitalization and artificial intelligence. While all these innovations are exciting, they also come at the cost of major uncertainties about the future of work and ensure a concentration of power and wealth in the hands of minorities and hence new, large inequalities, perhaps with the difference that it will particularly affect the developed world. It is precisely this new economic agenda that sets the scene for a number of educational changes. We are witnessing this from educational digitalization, with the increasing use of electronic devices, with the growing temptation of distance learning (and

we have had the recent experience of the pandemic, with quite catastrophic results), but also through what they call educational innovation marked by a competency-based approach. This practically means downgrading curricular levels, gearing educational action towards the changing needs of an increasingly precarious and narrow labor market, and a great effort -in the sense of social engineering- to turn the pupil into a flexible individual, adaptable to the mutations of the economy, with few critical capacities, and with a great ability for resignation (disguised under the term "resilience"). Thus, essential elements such as the humanities or pure sciences seem to be an endangered species in schools and colleges. However, we also witness a growing autonomy of schools, both in terms of management and curriculum, which leads us to a segregated school, in which students are classified into social classes and which could take us back to a social structure of a class nature, such as the one experienced in the West before the French Revolution.

And here, especially among developed countries, we see a number of overlapping phenomena. First of all, as a commitment of the European Union, in order to achieve the objective of having 90% of students between 16-18 years of age enrolled in post-compulsory studies, the graduation rate has increased, in such a way that we have gone from worrying percentages of educational failure to an (almost) universal promotion. And the latter is consistent with the fact that there has been a decrease in the educational levels of students since the year 2000. This is a process yet to be analyzed and to guess its causes, even though the perception is that digitalization has a high share of responsibility. However, the progressive loss of the humanities in the school curriculum, as well as unproven educational innovation approaches that imply a progressive lack of attention on the part of students, probably have a lot to do with it. In any event, it is clear that global educational policies, very much marked by the Sustainable Development Goals (also known as Agenda 2030) are likely to be successful in statistics, yet negative effects with respect to the hopes of the men and women who drafted, discussed and approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its Article 26.

* This article is published simultaneously in the 10th issues of PoliTeknik International and PoliTeknik Español

Prof. Rifat Okçabol
TURKEY

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE OVERALL SITUATION*

According to Kuyaksil (2012: 21) human rights are *"The inalienable rights of individuals, inherent to them as human beings, to be equal before the political authorities regardless of their sex, age, beliefs and opinions."* The "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", which was adopted in 1948, is a historic document containing many important articles. This document has been prepared by distilling conclusions from the atrocities, massacres, injustices and suffering experienced in the historical process. Behind the basic conception contained in this document, there are also traces of the reflections and explanations shaped in the historical process. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ensure that countries grant this declaration the importance it deserves.

Connotations of Human Rights in the Historical Process

Slavery emerged in Sumerian societies (4000-2000 BC) as a consequence of wars, it was consecrated by temple priests and merchants turned it into a commodity with the establishment of laws by kings (Ergül & Güvercin, 2021). In the Ancient and Middle Ages, when slavery reigned, there were no "human rights" in the present meaning. Despite this, intellectuals who have given importance to "human beings" have appeared and some of them have granted certain rights. For example, Osiris (2513-2374 B.C.), one of the Egyptian gods, explained his virtuousness with the following phrases; *"I never did evil to anyone. I did not lead my relatives to misfortune. ... I never made anyone work beyond their strength. No one was afraid, no one suffered poverty and pain, no one was unhappy because of me. ... No one shed a tear because of me. I did not kill anyone. I never ordered anyone to be killed by tricking them. I never lied to anyone"* (Hançerlioğlu, 1976: 35).



Confucius (551-478 B.C.) claimed that strong governments that had achieved unity in China could eliminate injustice and bring peace to individuals and families. Cyrus the Great, Persian emperor (590-429 BC), granted certain rights to the inhabitants of the conquered lands, such as the right



<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6c/Confucius.png>

to worship freely (Akpınarlı, 2018). In the city-states of ancient Greece,

citizens living in the cities, except for slaves, enjoyed certain rights and freedoms. While Plato, Socrates and Aristotle placed the state at the center, sophist philosophers such as Alcimantius, Protagoras and Sophocles placed the human being at the center. For example, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) stated *"The one who by nature does not belong to himself, but to another, is a slave by nature"*, while Alcimantius (420-320? B.C.) stated *"God has given freedom to all, slavery is unacceptable"* (Ergül and Güvercin, 2021: 1). In both ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, democracy for free citizens was practiced, although in a different way than it is understood today. Stoic thinking, which arose around 338 B.C. and was founded by Zeno of Citium, was opposed to the thinking that placed the state above all else and emphasized the individual.

Slavery is an atrocity that lasted until the 19th century. The first "rights" demand actions in history

arose with the slave revolts during the Roman Empire. One of the most famous slave revolts in history is that of Spartacus. When the revolt of Spartacus, one of the ancient gladiators, ended in Italy between 73-71 B.C., Spartacus was killed and 6,000 of his men were crucified along the way (Wasson, 2014). The first and largest black uprising in history was the 'Great Black Revolt' against the Abbasid caliph in 869-883 (Çelik, 2022).

Since God was the source of law and power in the Middle Ages and God was not opposed to slavery, one could not speak of human rights. Despite this, unlike the ancient Greeks and Romans, the pre-Islamic Turks respected women. Yusuf Balasaguni, in his book "Kutatgu Bilig", written in the 11th century, warned that rulers should be guided by reason and that all people should be treated well and fairly (cited by Kuyaksil, (2012: 36). Al-Farabi (870-950), one of the Islamic thinkers of Turkestan, gave importance to justice, peace and social solidarity with the aim of leading people to true happiness. Al-Mawardi (974-1058) of Iraq-Basra also held that the caliph should be removed from office if he did not act according to justice.



wiki commons File:Tod des Spartacus by Hermann Vogel.jpg



Avicenna of Bukhara (980-1036) also affirmed that the superior power of the caliph could acquire legitimate character with the direct or indirect consent of individuals (Tosun, ty, 33-34).

In the Christian world, the Italian Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274), who defended slavery, affirmed that if divine law and natural laws found through reason are violated and individuals are mistreated, they are not obliged to obey rulers. Meanwhile, the Italian Marsilius of Padua (1270-1340) argued that the direct participation of the people in the making of laws was

in England with the 'Great Charter' (Magna Carta¹) signed in 1215 between the king and the landlords under pressure from the latter. With this agreement, it was accepted that the king would share part of his powers with the nobles who owned the land and that the state would be governed by laws, not by religious norms. The security of life and property of the individual was to be protected against the arbitrary actions of the king.

As intellectual development in Europe increased with the Renaissance, advances in human rights were also taking place. For example, the Enlightenment era saw the development of the idea that all human beings are endowed with reason by nature and are therefore equal. John Locke (1632-1704) argued that human beings have inalienable natural rights and that the purpose of political order is to guarantee freedom (Kalabalık, 2016). He stated that when there is no separation of powers (legislative, executive and judicial), the state can interfere with the rights to life, liberty and property, and in this case, the people have the right to rebel against the government. The rigid Christian doctrine of the Middle Ages was softened by the reforms promoted by the cleric Martin Luther (1483-1546) (Çüçen, 2018: 209).

In 1628, the English Parliament sent a Petition of Rights to the king, reminding him of the rights of the Magna Carta. The Habeas Corpus Act, adopted in 1679, recognized the right of a detainee to appear before a judge. In 1689, the Bill of Rights was enacted, which embodied the superiority of parliament over the monarchy and included articles on individual rights and liberties (Kuyaksil, 2012: 29). In Europe, the state system emerged in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War. Human rights have been considered a matter of domestic law of the State (Terzi, 2027). The French writer Montesquieu (1689-1755), emphasized the importance of the separation of powers for the control of freedom and the rights of the individual. The french writer Voltaire (1694-1778), defended that religious institutions and people in power do not have the right to punish individuals without prior trial. The Genoese Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) affirmed that political society is a structure based on the will of individuals with equal rights and obligations, and introduced the concept of 'sovereignty of the people' (Tosun, ty: 36).

In North America, human rights movements originated in the aspirations for independence of the British colonies. The British colonies of eastern North America, when they undertook the process of independence,

formed a joint body called the Congress. This Congress, in a declaration published in October 1774, stated that the inhabitants of the colonies had the right to life, liberty and property. In May 1776, Congress proposed that each colony draft its own constitution (Tosun, ty: 16). Thomas Paine (1773-1809), an englishman who emigrated to America in 1774, published in 1776 his booklet "Common Sense", in which he advocated a republican regime and demanded equal rights for citizens. 20). Virginia, in its constitution of June 1776, included articles affirming that all men are born equal, free and independent. The Declaration of Independence of the United States of

of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen' on August 26, 1789. Some of the statements in this declaration are as follows³:

- Human beings are born and live free and equal in rights.
- Freedom means to be able to do what one wishes without harming others.
- Everyone is presumed innocent until proven guilty.

The Ottoman Empire (1299-1922) respected the beliefs of the peoples who inhabited the regions it occupied. A text similar to the British Magna Carta was signed in the Ottoman Empire on September 29, 1808



America² of July 4, 1776, included the following important statement: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

In France, during the struggle against the king, the 'Social Contract' was published in 1762 (Clapham, 2020: 20) and the 'French Declaration

under the name 'Deed of Alliance'. With this alliance, certain administrative rights were granted to powerful local rulers called 'Ayan'. With the Edict of Gülhane/Tanzimat (means Regulation and Organization) of 1839 and the Edict of Reform of 1856, announced under pressure from foreign powers, some rights were granted to the mostly non-Muslim Ottomans. With the constitution (Teşkilatı Esasiye) enacted in 1876 under pressure from Ottoman intellectuals, the sultan agreed to share some of his powers with the parliament (Gürbüz, 2021).

The industrial revolution, which began at the end of the 18th century, led to the concentration of capital in certain hands and further reinforced social inequality. There has also been an increase in contrary thoughts and actions. For example, the french Saint Simon (1760-1825) argued that, since the basis of society is work, society must be governed by workers. The french Charles Fourier (1772-1837) argued that industry impoverished people, while the Welshman Robert Owen (1771-1858) argued that workers created wealth and that workers had



wikimedia commons: File:946pc-Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789.jpg



wikimedia commons: File:Picture of English History Plate XIV - King John and Magna Carta

a right to be rich. German socialists Karl Marx (1813-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) also elaborated socialist ideas that articulated workers' rights as a source of social wealth. Meanwhile, the French Revolution of 1848, the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Soviet Revolution of 1917 led to the adoption of 'social, economic and cultural rights' (Kalabalık, 2016: 17).

not have the same rights as white Americans. Even though the proposal to abolish slavery was passed in Parliament on January 1, 1863, it was not legislated until January 31, 1865. Black slaves were not granted much right to education until 1867. Although the slave trade was banned in Denmark in 1792, in France in 1794 and in England in 1807, the practical implementation of the prohibitions

of all peoples, (...) to put an end to the arms race' made by Russian Tsar Nicholas II" (Birinci, 2017).

U.S. President Woodrow Wilson announced on January 8, 1918, 14 principles, known as the Wilson Principles, and spoke of an international organization that would mutually guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of all States.

had a great impact and influenced the evolution of this field (Wells, 2021).

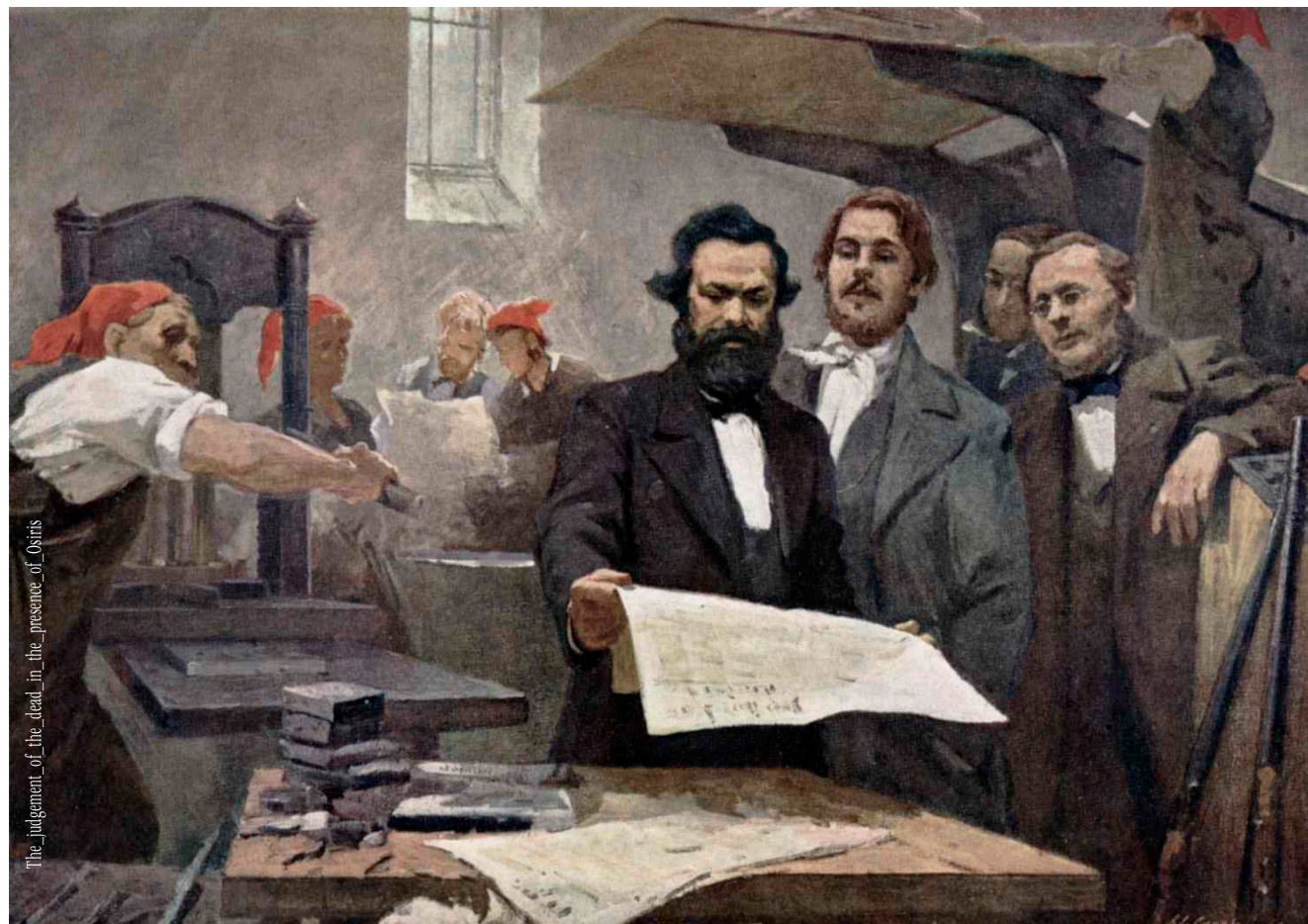
Establishment of the United Nations

The search to ensure international peace and security increased during World War II, especially due to the Nazi genocide of Jews. In this context, delegates from the United States, China, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union met in the United States in August-October 1944 and determined the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations. These principles had been debated with the participation of 50 countries in April-June 1945 and signed as the Charter of the United Nations on June 26, 1945 and the United Nations (UN) was officially established on October 24, 1945. The United States, one of the driving forces behind the drafting of the UN Charter, dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 and on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945, killing more than 200,000 people.

The UN consists of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, the General Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly is composed of representatives of all member states. The Trusteeship Council was created to ensure the best management of international peace and security. The Security Council, responsible for maintaining peace and security, is composed of 5 permanent members; China, the United States, Russia, France and the United Kingdom, and 10 temporary members. The temporary member states change every two years. The UN General Secretariat executes the organization's program and policies, prepares reports on incidents that disrupt international peace and security and submits them to the Security Council. The Economic and Social Council is the body directly responsible for human rights and can also create other bodies to ensure the maintenance of peace and security (Çalık, 2015). The International Court of Justice is the judicial organ of the UN in charge of resolving inter-state disputes. In 1950, the UN created the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to ensure the legal protection of refugees and the resolution of their problems.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The UN Economic and Social Council created the Commission on Human Rights on April 29, 1946, composed of representatives of 18 States, and the Commission on the Status⁴ of Women on June 21, 1946, to ensure equality between men and women. The Commission on Human Rights



The 'International Committee of the Red Cross' was created in 1864 as a result of the work of a commission established in Geneva in 1863 to ensure that belligerent states complied with certain standards. Many Geneva Conventions on the rules to be followed in war have been signed, one of the most important being that of August 12, 1949 (Gürbüz, 2021: 65)

Events Not Complying With These Declarations

Even though the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man were published, the United States and France did not comply with their own declarations. For example, for decades, human rights were considered rights only for white men: Slaves and women could not benefit from these rights. Even in Europe, women gained the right to vote and to be voted for 100 years after the publication of these documents. Vermont, which joined the United States in 1791, banned slavery with a law passed in 1777. The U.S. did not recognize slaves as human beings for years, and in 1857 it was decided that black slaves did

not have the same rights as white Americans. Even though the proposal to abolish slavery was passed in Parliament on January 1, 1863, it was not legislated until January 31, 1865. Black slaves were not granted much right to education until 1867. Although the slave trade was banned in Denmark in 1792, in France in 1794 and in England in 1807, the practical implementation of the prohibitions

took place later (Yurdakul, 2020). Slavery, which Napoleon Bonaparte had reintroduced in the French colonies in 1802, was banned again in 1848. The United States of America (USA), founded by the union of 13 small states, occupied Texas, against which Mexico declared war to protect its territorial integrity, but the USA won the war and occupied the northern region and committed massacres. In North America, they settled in areas where indigenous peoples lived, driving them to other areas and killing them. They also invaded Haiti and reached the current borders. France invaded Egypt in 1798, several West African countries, including Algeria in 1830 and Vietnam in 1859.

Establishment of the League of Nations

The Hague Peace Conventions of 1899 and 1907 were held with the participation of the world's most powerful states. "The first conference was organized in response to a call *'to find effective means to ensure a real and lasting peace for the benefit*

On January 18, 1919, in the aftermath of World War I, the Paris Peace Conference began its activities. At that conference, it was agreed to establish a League of Nations for the purpose of ensuring lasting peace, justice and security in the world, solving international problems through cooperation and upholding the rules of international law, and to prepare the corresponding agreement. On January 10, 1920, the articles of agreement were accepted and the League of Nations was created. The victorious states of World War I were founding members of this organization, but the United States and Russia did not participate. This organization adopted the Slavery Convention in 1926 and successfully carried out work in the prevention of trafficking in women and children, in the fight against drugs and in the organization of health issues. However, after Japan's attack on Manchuria and Italy's attack on Ethiopia, Italy, Japan and Germany left the organization, and since World War II could not be avoided, the organization lost its function (Clapham, 2020; Polat, 2020). Meanwhile, H.G. Wells' book "Human Rights", published in 1940,

has prepared a text on human rights. In 1947, the American Anthropological Association pointed out that the text had been drafted in accordance with Western European and American values and also stressed the disadvantages of applying the values of one culture to all peoples (Demir, 2006: 43-44). The text prepared by the Commission was adopted as the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (UDHR) at the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948, without any proposed amendments. Some of the articles of this declaration are the⁵ following:

- *All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood (art. 1).*
- *Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status (art. 2.1).*
- Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person (art. 3).*
- No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms (art. 4).*
- *Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance (art. 18).*
- *Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (art. 19).*
- Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available. Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit (art. 26.1).*
- Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for*

the maintenance of peace (art. 26.2).

Since the concept of human rights developed mainly in the West, the understanding of the West-capitalist countries- was dominant in the declarations. The UDHR did not reflect the expectations of Muslim countries, Far Eastern countries, countries that had not gained independence and the Soviet Union. The Soviets

- abstained from voting for the following reasons; the non-inclusion of rights such as the right to resist oppressive governments, participation in street demonstrations, recognition and respect for the collective rights of national minorities, self-determination of colonized
- peoples, the right of workers to have their own means of communication to disseminate their ideas,
- the non-inclusion in the Declaration of social and economic rights violated by capitalist countries,
- the absence of clauses in the declaration preventing the exercise of rights in a manner leading to fascism, the ignoring of suggestions that human rights should be compatible with state sovereignty (Demir, 2006), and the incompatibility of the understanding of freedom of religion and belief with the Soviet policy that ended the church-school relationship and religious teaching upon the October Revolution. Belarus, Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia also abstained from voting in support of the Soviets who had liberated them from Nazi occupation. Meanwhile, the South African Union abstained from voting because of its anti-racism articles and Saudi Arabia abstained from voting because of the articles reflecting an understanding of secularism.

Efforts to Make the UDHR Functional

Following the UDHR, numerous human rights conventions have been signed within⁶ the UN. The UN has also established a number of independent expert committees to monitor the implementation of the conventions by the signing⁷ states. These conventions and committees usually enter into force a few years after they are signed/established. The UN established the 'Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights' in December 1993 to make the UDHR functional. The UN Commission on Human Rights became the UN Human Rights Council in 2006. The United States joined the Council in 2009. Ambassador Nikki Haley, permanent representative of the United States to the UN, announced her withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Council, which she accused of being a "hypocritical and self-interested

organization" and chronically biased against Israel (BBC News Türkçe, June 19, 2018). Also, special days/weeks related to human rights have been established in reference to the theme of the international conventions and the day they were signed, in order to embrace and disseminate the understanding of⁸ human rights.

In Europe, the Council of Europe (CoE) was created on May 5, 1949 for the protection of human rights and the application of the rule of law. The CoE has elaborated numerous conventions, such as the European Convention on⁹ Human Rights of November 4, 1950. The European Commission of Human Rights, created in 1954, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), created in 1959, and the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe are entrusted with ensuring that signatory states comply with their obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights. Meanwhile, regional human rights conventions have been signed, such as the American Convention on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (November 22, 1969) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights of the African Union (June 27, 1981).

Islamic countries also held meetings on human rights, especially in the 1990s. These meetings, such as the meeting on Human Rights in Islam held in Rome on January 27, 2000, emphasized the religious nature of human rights (Maşalı, 2004).

Human Rights Violations despite the Declaration of Human Rights

It is difficult to claim that the UDHR has been fully implemented since it was signed. Just after the signing of the UDHR, China invaded Tibet in 1950. Imre Nagy, President of Hungary, announced in 1953 his withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact¹⁰ and the Soviet Union temporarily occupied Hungary in November 1956. The forces of the Warsaw Pact members; Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary, temporarily invaded Czechoslovakia to stop the political liberalization reforms, the so-called 'Prague Spring' initiated by Alexander Dubcek in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Between 1979 and 1989, the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan.

The U.S. has not cared about the independence of countries, nor about human rights, and has intervened wherever and whenever it wanted. For example, the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) supported the 1949 military coup that overthrew the elected government of Syria. In Iran, the elected Prime Minister Mosaddegh was overthrown by the CIA

when he nationalized the oil companies. US troops intervened militarily in Lebanon in 1958 to maintain "stability" and invaded Vietnam in 1965. The US overthrew democratically elected governments in Guatemala in 1954, Zaire in 1961, Indonesia¹¹ in 1965, Chile in 1974, Pakistan in 1979, Turkey in 1980, Peru in 2000 and Venezuela in 2002. For example, Paul Henze, CIA Middle East officer, said about the September 12, 1980 coup in Turkey: "Our boys did it"¹². In Pakistan in the 1980s, they trained Islamist groups, known as the Taliban, to overthrow the pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan. Osama bin Laden and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a Taliban, were considered freedom fighters before the attack on the twin towers on September 11, 2001 (Yıldırım, 2004). In 1991, they attacked Iraq, which they had supported during the Iran-Iraq war between 1980 and 1988, and launched an inhumane embargo that lasted a decade, preventing the import of even children's medicines.

In 1999, the US prepared a "National Security Strategy for a New Century". In this document, three objectives were set: to strengthen US security, to promote US economic prosperity and to promote democracy and human rights in third countries (Bilgiç, 2014: 177-178). Despite this, the US invaded Afghanistan after the Twin Towers incident in 2001. They invaded Iraq in 2003, spreading the lie that "nuclear weapons were being made" and claiming that they would bring democracy. Furthermore, 12 member states of the European Union (EU) supported the United States in this invasion. The US, which had organized several attacks against Libya since 1981, used NATO¹³ to attack Libya in 2011 and ensured that Gaddafi was lynched. In Syria, they are supporting the sharia forces against the secularist Assad. No NATO member has opposed this.

States do not respect human rights, and in every country there are many people who do not care about human rights. In many countries, parties that do not value human rights come to power. According to a survey conducted in 15 European countries, fifty percent of those who consider themselves racist to some extent harbor hostility toward Gypsies, Jews, Turks and other Muslims (Yumul, 1998). "What is Europe's biggest human rights problem?" Morten Kjaerum, Chairman of the EU Fundamental Rights Institution, answers this question by saying: "We are confronted with racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism. The attitude of our governments and our society towards asylum-seeking immigrants poses a serious human rights problem" (quoted by Sommer, 2009: 1).

Israel is another country where universal human rights violations occur. The capitalist world helped create the state of Israel in Palestine after the Nazi massacre of the Jews. Under a plan drawn up by the UN, the Jews living in Palestine were able to establish the state of Israel in 1948. Since then, in every incident between Israel and other Arab countries, Western countries, especially the US, have supported Israel. In the cases of Iraq's invasion of Iran in the 1980s and Israel's attacks and occupations against Arab countries, UN sanction resolutions could not be implemented as they were vetoed by the US. Israel has been attacking Muslims in Palestine, occupied by Israel since 1967. At times, it even organises military operations against the Muslim holy site 'Al-Aqsa Mosque' in Jerusalem.

One of the most important human rights issues is racial and religious discrimination. The US is one of the most problematic countries in this regard because of its racist policies within its own country (Akdeniz, 2020). Racism against black people continued until the 1960s. Japanese who had emigrated to the US were interned in camps and isolated from life during World War II. In the late 1940s, Senator McCarthy launched a 'witch hunt' against communists and democrats. After the 11 September 2001 attack on the Twin Towers in New York, Muslim immigrants were also targeted. It is also the US that supports fanatical religious groups to prevent developing countries from turning to the left. The US backed the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood against the independentist Abdel Nasser in Egypt, the nary Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) against the socialist regime in Algeria and the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) against the secularist Yasser Arafat, who was fighting for independence.

The economic and cultural globalisation that began in the 1980s has also resulted in negative developments in human rights. During this process, the exploitation of developing countries has increased and the gap between rich and poor has widened, even in developed countries. As a result of this process, while Western culture spread throughout the world, civil unrest increased in many countries with the provocation and support of Western countries under the pretext of protecting the rights of minorities. For example, terrorism, especially advanced as a result of the separatist movements that began in Turkey in the 1980s, continues its activities and the US cooperates with such movements in northern Iraq and northern Syria. Although Yugoslavia was divided into seven countries at the end of the bloody wars, the unrest did not come to an end. Another negative impact has been the privatisation of pub-

lic services that were provided free of charge by the state. The provision of services by private organisations has a higher cost to society and has increased inequalities in education, leading to the concentrated control of schools in the hands of high-income groups (Chapman, Boyd, Lander, and Reynolds, 1996).

Privatisation of education has increased inequality of opportunity and has led to the emergence of religious schools in Muslim-majority countries (Daun 1996: 50). Privatisation has also accelerated in higher education. In countries that did not have any private educational institutions in the 1980s, the proportion of private institutions increased rapidly over two decades, reaching 80% in Brazil, and 60% in Indonesia (Newman, Couturier, and Scurry, 2004). While the capitalist countries did not take measures for equal opportunities in education, the Warsaw Pact countries and especially the Soviet Union placed importance on equal opportunities in education. There were no public schools in these countries, but after the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union on 25 December 1991, public schools increased in all these countries. Higher education 'for-profit' institutions have also spread in the USA. (act. Crowther and Martin, 2005: 446). In the USA, a student in the top income quartile was 4 times more likely to finish school by the age of 24 than a student in the lowest income quartile in 1979; this probability increased to 10 times in 1995 (Mortenson, 1995: 1). Another consequence of globalisation is the human capital flight from developing to developed countries (Kaya, 2003).

Result

Mexico in 1917, and subsequently many European states included social rights in their constitutions. Nevertheless, even in countries that have human rights articles in their constitutions and have signed the relevant international conventions, it is difficult to claim that sufficient importance is given to human rights. UN human rights conventions and protocols have also not been effectively implemented (Firat, 2010: 65). For example, although there was a massacre of 800,000 Tutsis and Hutus in Rwanda in 1994, the UN took no action (Kavukçuoğlu, 2011: 15). Even when several hundred thousand people were killed in the Sudan-Darfur region, the UN did not get involved. The genocidal atrocities committed in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s failed to be prevented. In 1995, they intervened in the massacre in Srebrenica, Bosnia, when it was too late.

As the consequence of US and EU policies in the Middle East, almost every day migrants who want to flee

to Italy or Greece by sea become victims of the strict mentality of these countries and die by drowning. The EU, which does not want migrants to come to its countries, is capable of leaving Turkey with more than 10 million migrants. Moreover, the EU imposes more visa difficulties on Turkey on a daily basis. An important organisation dealing with racism is the 'European Commission against Racism and Intolerance' (ECRI), established in 1997 within the CoE. This Unit publishes a report on racism in the countries from time to time. According to these reports, racism is a problem in many countries. Turkey, which has not signed international conventions such as the "UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education", the "European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages" and the "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities", is one of these countries (Asia Turkey Strategic Research Centre-TASAM, 2004). According to the document of 31 December 2021 prepared by the ECtHR¹⁴ Public Relations Unit, the percentage of pending cases -applications concerning human rights violations- at the ECtHR by country is as follows: Russia (24.2%), Turkey (21.7%), Ukraine (16.2%), Romania (8.1%) and Italy (5.2%).

Today, the slave trade of past centuries has been replaced by modern slavery. Modern slavery consists of forced marriages, forced labour and child labour. According to the Walk Free Foundation's 2023 report, the countries with the highest rates of modern slavery are: India (11 million), China (5.8 million), Russia (1.9 million), Indonesia (1.8 million), Turkey (1.3 million) and the United States (1.1 million). Even though it has not yet entered the literature on modern slavery, a member of a cult who surrenders his will to his sheikh/leader is also a modern slave.

The US military intervention in Iraq in March 2003 and Russia's military intervention in Ukraine in February 2022 are similar human rights violations. The CoE did not impose any sanctions on the 12 EU countries that acted in agreement with the US. However, on 16 March 2022, the CoE decided to expel Russia from the Council of Europe for human rights violations (Bayraktar, 2022).

The inability of the UN to function adequately is often related to the fact that conventions and protocols enter into force long after they have been opened for signature, that the UN sometimes falls behind events or is biased, and that members of the UN Security Council veto resolutions. Sharia is one of the reasons why human rights have not been sufficiently adopted worldwide, but a more

important reason is the capitalist conception, which focuses on the exploitation of countries' human and natural resources. In Sharia there is no recognition of children's rights or gender equality. A homosexual person can become head of state in the West, but in countries under Sharia law he or she can even be lynched.

The capitalist understanding is even more dangerous than the Sharia. Millions of people do not have enough to drink, eat and shelter, and are deprived of education and health services. The USA, which writes reports on human rights violations in countries, can intervene in any country at any time and can find support from other developed countries for such actions. The US and the EU do not care, for example, about Sharia law in Saudi Arabia, a country with which they have good relations. Nevertheless, countries with secular regimes that oppose it, such as Iraq and Syria, are attacked under the pretext of 'bringing democracy', resulting in the death and displacement of millions of people. Because of the capitalist mentality;

- While people are starving, wounded and dying, arms dealers are thriving.
- There is corruption and drug addiction in almost every country.
- As summarised above, many countries have adopted Sharia law, often with the help of the United States. While complaining that Turkey does not comply with ECHR rulings, the US and EU, even in the general elections support the AKP government, which is on the way to transforming Turkey into a Sharia state, where 'moderate Islam' was considered appropriate in the 1990s.
- In almost no country is democracy and human rights sufficiently addressed in education-training processes.
- Educational procedures are not intended to form free individuals with a conscience who recognise the truth.

As the British Defence Secretary Alan Clarke said in 1998 "*Diplomacy is the business of the reconciliation of conflicting national interests, whether through compromise or threats. Seeking to fulfil the Declaration of Human Rights is pretty low on the list of priorities*" (quoted by Clapham, 2021: 85). This statement is proof that the problem of human rights will continue as long as the capitalist conception continues.

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¹ <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/96147>, accessed June 15, 2023.

² <http://www.tarihiolaylar.com/tarihi-olaylar/amerikan-bagimsizlik-bildirgesi-110>, accessed June 15, 2023.

³ <https://www.birgun.net/makale/insan-ve-yurttas-haklari-bildirisi-266206>, accessed June 15, 2023.

⁴ USA, Australia, Belgium, Belarus, China, Philippines, France, India, United Kingdom, Iran, Lebanon, Egypt, Panama, Soviet Union, Chile, Ukraine, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

⁵ <https://www.ihd.org.tr/insan-haklari-evrensel-beyannamesi/>, accessed June 25, 2023.

⁶ International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965); Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its Protocol (1951 and 1967); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966); International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979); Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984); Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989); Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990); Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2008); International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2010).

⁷ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1979), Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (1965), Committee against Torture (1984), Committee on the Rights of the Child (1989), Committee on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990), Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), Committee on Enforced Disappearances (2006) (<http://cenevrefisi.dt.mfa.gov.tr/Mission/ShowInfoNote/353800>).

⁸ For example, March 8, International Women's Day; May 10-16, Disability Week; September 1, World Peace Day; November 20, Children's Rights Day; December 5, Women's Rights Day; and December 10, Human Rights Day, . . . (Çüçen, 2018: 176).

⁹ European Social Charter (1961). European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1987). European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (1992). Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995). Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Biomedicine (1997). Additional Protocol on the Prohibition of Cloning Human Beings (1998). Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons (2005).

¹⁰ On May 14, 1955, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union signed the "Treaty of

Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" and created a military and political union.

¹¹ U.S. journalist Vincent Bevin wrote a book on U.S. atrocities in Indonesia (Bevin, 2020). According to this book, President Sukarno, who achieved the country's independence in 1945, was a leftist anti-imperialist. Following Sukarno's approach to the Soviets and China, the U.S. began pumping money into the conservative Muslim party and, in 1958, CIA pilots bombed Indonesia, killing civilians in an attempt to divide the country. As the disarmed Indonesian Communist Party steadily increased its vote in the 1960s, the far-right, U.S.-backed General Suharto, using an uprising as an excuse, took full control of the country in 1967. They launched an appalling anti-communist propaganda campaign, arresting and murdering about a million leftists or those accused of being leftists, and sending another million to concentration camps.

¹² <http://anadolumayasi.blogspot.com.tr/2015/10/bizim-oglanlar-basard.html>, accessed June 22, 2023.

¹³ The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a military organization created by Western countries on April 4, 1949 with the purpose of defense.

¹⁴ https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Facts_Figures_2021_ENG.pdf, acceso, 16 de junio de 2023.



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Democratisation of United Nations: A Question?*

There is less tranquilly and serenely in the world now than there was a decade ago. A worldwide recession is imminent as economic instability continues to escalate. Post-Cold War democratisation has reached a critical juncture across the world in reverse motion. Devastating effects are being reaped from climate change. While new wars are boiling to the surface, the hostilities in Syria, South Sudan, Yemen, Afghanistan, Myanmar are still raging. However, despite the fact that there are more and more issues in the world, those national governments are getting worse at fixing them. In most cases, it would appear that national governments do not have the intestinal fortitude to accept creative and comprehensive solutions. The concept of multilateralism, which calls on states to cooperate, has reached a dead end.

The UN was envisioned by its founders as the centre of global political and economic relations and as a body with the authority and capability to address the most important issues facing humanity. Three major commitments formed the basis of the UN. To uphold international peace, to resolve international issues of a cultural, social, economic, or humanitarian character and to encourage and protect human rights. (Nadin, 2019)

UN's Success

The UN has successfully promulgated standards on refugees, internal conflict, civil protection, displaced persons, and the duty to protect. When governments are faced with ambiguous situations, prescriptive rules also play a part in guiding their foreign policy. These norms frequently impact how decision-makers formulate their policies, whether or not they really materially alter state action. There is minimal debate over the importance of the UN's primary humanitarian initiatives, UNICEF, UNHCR, and the World Food Programme. Through OCHA, the UN oversees relief efforts for victims of both natural and man-made catastrophes across the world. The UN is often successful and competent in its capacity. (Nadin, 2019)

UN's Failures

There are certain grave issues in the World like mistreatment of women by UN peacekeepers, the spread of cholera in Haiti, controversy around oil-for-food, the genocide in Rwanda, the mur-

derous rampage at Srebrenica. The list of shortcomings is indicative of a larger group of structural ailments that are important to take into account. Understanding civil wars is challenging because they are sparked and then driven by a number of interrelated variables, such as economic resentment, sectarian conflict, societal institutions, and remnants of colonial control. Local, regional, and international players are frequently perplexed by the complexity of contemporary conflicts, which confuses their reactions. Intergenerational conflicts have emerged in Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Afghanistan, Iraq, the Central African Republic, and South Sudan and many more. Conflict has profoundly changed the basic foundation of these communities. Even if it is seen as a legitimate and neutral entity, the UN's capacity to succeed in these situations is severely constrained. In spite of the fact that prevention is preferable to treatment, the United Nations is and most likely will continue to be a reactive organisation. This means that it will respond to crises after they have already occurred rather than try to prevent them in the first place. Since the conclusion of the Cold War, every Secretary-General has emphasised the value of prevention, but to no purpose. As was previously said, crises are frequently insoluble due to their complexity and intractability. This just helps to emphasise how crucial prevention is. However, the system will never permit such a philosophical change since it would pose an intolerable threat to national security. (Nadin, 2019)

The UN has likely drifted even farther away from current realities and interests than before, falling well short of this aim. The global power structure has undergone significant transformation. The number of members has more than tripled, several emerging nations have become significant players in world politics, and some sovereign autonomous regions have been created. The end of the cold war also marked a significant shift in the balance of power on the global stage, paving the way for a non-ideological epoch of international diplomacy. The apparent replacement for the ideology-driven politics of the past is the growing significance of economic strength in international affairs. Furthermore confronted with 1.3 trillion dollars' worth of foreign debt owed by emerging countries, which

is ruining their countries' economy. The UN is essentially operating in new territory. The convergence of all these trends and shifting dynamics presents a singular opportunity for a re-evaluation of assumptions and a reorganisation of power relations in the UN. (Rajamani, 1995)

For instance at the present stage, President Zelensky, President of Ukraine recently questioned the UN Security Council's function, saying that the organization's attempts to stop the Russian attack on Ukraine were fruitless. In order to address the present dangers to international security, the Security Council urgently needs to be **Reformed**.

My argument and comprehension is that the transition from unipolarity to multipolarity, structural changes including the emergence of developing and third-world countries, and the increase in global population all reflect the changing structure of the international system in the twenty-first century. All of these factors contributed to the need for the U.N.O to become more democratic by increasing the number of U.N.S.C members. This demand rose to prominence as a result of the U.N.S.C's existing membership failing to adequately reflect the geo-political environment at the time. The Security Council is the important organ of the United Nations, and the ongoing need to increase membership and transform it into a body that represents the modern world will be crucial in resolving disputes on a global scale. The present composition of the council includes five members who are appointed to serve in a permanent capacity and 10 members who serve in a capacity that is not permanent. The main issue with the UNSC's current structure is that it exclusively represents **Elite class of nations**, which makes it unsuitable for the requirements of the world today. Other countries are unhappy by the U.N.O's inability to make changes and turn it into an underrepresented body. In the end, this leads to an imbalance in the relationships between the permanent members and other member nations in the power structure. Many nations are concerned about the UNSC's **Undemocratic Representation**, and the absence of strategically significant nations like Germany, Brazil, Japan, and India raises questions. Together, India and a number of other

nations mobilised to demand the Security Council's refurbishment. Since the conclusion of the cold war, a number of proposals for U.N.S.C reform have been proposed. The G4 countries i.e. India, Brazil, Germany, and Japan are noted for their numerous projects. The G4 nations' plan, which advocates increasing the number of Security Council members from fifteen to twenty-five, is intended to help them gain permanent participation in the council. Even while all of the member nations agree that the council should be expanded, little has actually been done since the P5 nations are reluctant to share authority. (Francis, 2022)

Following its attainment of independence 75 years ago, India has emerged as one of the key forces in international affairs. India has assumed the role of leader in the movement to reform the international organisations in order to bring about a New International Economic Order (NIEO). India, a significant global power, has urged for changes including inclusion, representation, and democratisation of international organisations such as the United Nations Security Council, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organisation. In times of crisis, India has been a leader in calling for international solidarity and joint action. India's permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council is the source of the most powerful voice in support of the change. Through multilateral diplomacy and the formation of organisations such as IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa) and G4 Nations (Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan), India is pushing for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. Since Prime Minister Narendra Modi assumed office, India has been relentless in its pursuit of a permanent member with veto power on the United Nations Security Council. A considerable contribution to the United Nations (UN) might be made by India's dedication to non-violence and disarmament. In addition, India took a stance to support the principle that international bodies should operate in a non-discriminatory and transparent manner. India has often said that it is a responsible nuclear weapons state and that it will not deploy its nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states as a deterrent. The NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) has been the target of frequent Indian criticism for its perceived

bias and lack of democracy. The United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operation, development objectives, sustainable development, climate change, and anti-terrorism initiatives are some of the international events and treaties in which India has been an active player. More than 200,000 Indian officers are now serving at United Nations peacekeeping deployments. Additionally, India has made contributions to the United Nations in order to combat global issues such as terrorism, climate change, energy security, the refugee crisis, pandemics, and the reformation of the present international economic world order. (Lalitha & Kumar, 2022)

Nevertheless, the United Nations Charter does not specify the requirements needed to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Indian foreign policy has evolved from non-alignment to multi-alignment, demonstrating the country's confidence in its ability to work effectively with both large and minor players in the international system. The expansion of India's economy, size, democratisation, political stability, increase of soft power, nuclear power, and military strength, as well as its position as a growing power in the South Asian area, are all factors that may be used to argue for India's participation in the organisation. (Lalitha & Kumar, 2022)

When the world is looking for a replacement for the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which has been immobilised by the veto, India has arrived at the ideal time thanks to the alphabetical rotation of the G-20 chair. The UNSC's reputation was at its lowest point most recently during the COVID-19 epidemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The permanent members, together with a sizable portion of the General Assembly, will fight tooth and nail against any effort to restructure the United Nations Security Council, especially if it involves increasing the number of permanent members. India's first move should be to draw attention to the Bali Declaration, submit a road plan during the G-20 preparations, and encourage the sherpas to include it on the agenda. Only Russia may respond negatively since it must bargain on an equal footing with the other G-20 members. Even Russia will accept India's position as an honest broker in the process if Russia is searching for a way out. This will improve India's ability to address the problem in a G-20-approved manner. It will achieve India's ultimate objective of obtaining UNSC reform. The UNSC can formalise the decision and put it into effect for global peace and security once the preliminary work is finished. (Sreenivasan, N.D.)

Although there isn't a consensus on how the Council should be altered, the majority of proposals call for expanding the fifteen-member body, typically

by adding new permanent or semi-permanent members. Inability to settle on a single plan for Security Council reform led the Secretary-General's High-level Panel to provide two different suggestions. The Council now has a total membership of 24 in both forms. While Model B provides a new category of eight four-year renewable seats, Model A adds six new permanent seats. In order to make the Council more "Democratic" and "Accountable," the Panel came to the conclusion that a decision about its expansion is "now a necessity." (Nicol, 2006)

If the council is enlarged will it be successful?

Supporters of the reform argue that the Security Council needs revamping since its existing structure is ineffective. However, it is unclear whether this inefficiency is brought on by the Council's size or by the diversity in the security policy preferences of its decision-makers, which results in less coordinated action for the advancement of global security. What assurance is there that a larger Council (20-23 members according to most reform suggestions) will be more effective and unified in its decisions about various global issues? It is therefore questionable whether an expanded Council will better achieve the goal of preserving international peace and security.

Veto Right- In particular, the G-4 and the African Bloc, which compete for membership on the Security Council, insist on the ability to veto. According to the African Bloc, it is crucial that new permanent members of the Council be granted the veto power for the sake of democracy and equality in the World. If the Council of the "P5" cannot come to an agreement on many global issues, how could an expanded council of about 11 permanent members be effective and unified? In fact, the new permanent members may acquire a tendency to use their veto authority only to make their presence known, putting this expanded Council at a high danger of deadlock. It is crucial to know that the Council will not become more effective or competent by adding more veto players to the decision-making process. However, ensuring the independence of Council decision-making and the openness of Council processes, with broad acceptance, is what will increase the Council's effectiveness and efficiency. It is important that all members of the Council have the ability to operate freely and make decisions without facing any kind of interference or pressure from the other members of the Council, whether they are permanent or not.

Taking into account fair regional representation; Council's size- The aspirant member states' demand that the Council take into account the organization's diverse regional makeup being wholly legitimate. However, it is unclear how any nation may serve as the

Security Council's de facto representation of its region. The only way for regional representation to be effective is if all countries within a region agree on a single country to represent them as a permanent member of the Council and that country pledges to prioritise the interests of the region over its own. A difficult job for any aspirant state will be prioritising regional interests over national ones. (Sarwar, 2011)

Weighted Voting in the General Assembly- The general assembly, where each nation, regardless of size, has one vote, is an area free of conflict. This is unquestionably democratic, but it frequently suffers from the dictatorship of numbers. JF Dulles proposed a two-tier voting system in which each state would have an "Assembly vote" that reflects the sovereign equality of all states and grants each state an equal vote, as well as a system of "weighted voting" that would allow the outcome to roughly indicate a verdict in terms of also ability to play a part in world affairs. Weighted voting may initially appear undemocratic, but it is important to keep in mind that if the assembly is to take on greater responsibilities, there must be a mechanism in place to prevent countries from imposing their own serious military or financial obligations on other countries.

Gender Justice in the UN- According to Article 8, the UN shall not impose any limitations on the admissibility of men and women for involvement in its major and subsidiary institutions in any capacity and on an equal basis. Despite being referred to as "obvious" and "redundant," this clause was introduced at the San Francisco convention (1945) on the insistent demands of women's organisations. Unfortunately, even the modest promise of Article 8 has not been kept today, despite the charter having been in effect for close to 50 years. Although there have been general assembly resolutions aimed at increasing the percentage of women in the UN system from the current 20% to 25% by 1995. Not much has been accomplished. The most professional positions are still solely reserved for men. There aren't many women officials in organisations like UNICEF. Only 4% of the senior executive workforce at the UN were women up until 1990. This is a dismal track record for a group that only advocates for equality on the surface. Today, the UN has been accused of engaging in gender racism. The implications are staggering. Gender equality policies won't be implemented if women aren't empowered even at this level, and the equality of the sexes will only ever exist in theory. (Rajamani, 1995)

Conclusion

Since the Special Committee in 1975, recommendations for UN reform have been given about 20 years of consideration. The majority of the recommendations stated in this paper for a more

powerful and democratic UN have likely been made before. Political will to make the necessary reforms didn't exist back then, and it presumably won't exist now either. The council's permanent members will be willing to give up their privileges for the "greater good of mankind," but the play of vested interests will invariably cause the organisation to collapse. I believe that any multinational organisation must function within these constraints. At the tenth UNGA session, Indian delegation head Krishna Menon stated, "Unless you have unanimity we cannot amend the charter and if there is unanimity, the justifications for revising it will be very modest." Perhaps it is impossible to change the charter in the current political climate such that it more accurately reflects global aspirations. However, that has no bearing on the UN's continued existence. In its 78 years of existence, the UN has made significant advancements in the creation of a global community and has unquestionably justified its existence in other ways as well. Here, an analogy from under-secretary general for special political affairs Brian Urquhart appears suitable. "This city has a high crime rate, but it does not justify calling for the dissolution of the police department. On the contrary, it creates a need for its enhancement. Therefore, democratisation of UN is very much required now when we see the World politics and dominance of few, so that equality and equal responsibility can be sustained in the world.

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THE DEMOCRATISATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

Current Situation, Challenges and Perspectives



The matter of democratising the UN remains a concern, as the current challenges at both regional and global levels are significant. Therefore, implementing reforms to make the organisation more inclusive, representative, and transparent appears critical. In fact, the criticisms and objections to the current UN structure are well founded. In its actual state, the UN privileges the major powers and marginalises the Southern States. While its democratisation would enhance global cooperation and equity, it also raises concerns among the Northern states that fear a loss of influence. Furthermore, potential models and approaches for democratising the UN can also be put forth. Similarly, practical measures can be taken to actualise this process of democra-

tisation. Ultimately, strategies are required to overcome resistance and build consensus for the democratisation of the UN and the task is an ambitious, yet essential one, to address the complexities of the modern world and establish a stronger and effective global organisation.

The United Nations (UN) is a major global organisation entrusted with addressing global challenges and promoting peace, security and development. The objective is to examine the concept of democratising the UN, highlighting the issues and critiques of the current system, and underscoring the necessity to enhance inclusivity, representation, transparency and accountability. And to suggest strategies to ensure transparency, accountability, and to overcome objections, with the aim of reaching a

consensus among member states for a more democratic and effective UN.

1. Democratisation efforts at the UN.

The UN is an international organisation that brings nations together from around the world to address global issues and engage in international diplomacy. Founded in 1945, the United Nations was established after World War II to promote peace, security and cooperation among nations. The UN was built on the idea of giving all member states an equal voice, regardless of their size or influence. However, as the world has evolved, so have the challenges and critiques of the United Nations's structure.

Challenges and critiques of the current United Nations Structure:

One of the primary criticisms directed at the UN is its lack of inclusivity and representation. With 193 member states, the current structure heavily favours the major powers and excludes smaller ones, particularly those from the Global South. Not all countries are equal in decision-making. The second major critique of the UN is the imbalance of power among its member states. The Security Council consists of five permanent members (the United States, United Kingdom, France, China, and Russia) with veto power, exerting a disproportionate influence on decision-making. This dynamic has led to accusations of bias and unfairness in the UN's work. Lastly, the decision-making process

lacks transparency. When significant decisions are made at the UN, some member states feel excluded. Critics argue that the decision-making process can be slow and opaque.

Imperative of democratisation within the United Nations

A more democratised UN would bestow equitability of opportunity upon all member states. In such an embodiment, even the diminutive nations could raise their voices and find resolutions to their concerns. Moreover, augmented inclusiveness and amplified articulation could culminate in more ingenious solutions and heightened sense of global synergy. The democratisation of the UN also is of paramount importance in rectifying global disparities and addressing the concerns of the Global South. These realms frequently find themselves relegated to the fringes, subject to a sense of neglect and marginalisation. Granting them an augmented role and enhanced influence within the UN's framework would effectively bridge the lacuna in endeavours aimed at realising a more just global order.

2. Potential models and approaches for the democratisation of the UN

Among the potential models for democratising the UN, **regional representation and rotation** could present a significant transformation. This approach would ensure that each region possesses a seat at the decision-making table, alternating positions periodically to prevent the emergence of power imbalances.



© UN Photo, Rick Riedinger
A view of the Secretariat Building, with Member States' flags flying in the foreground, at United Nations headquarters in New York.

Another option involves **expanding the Security Council**. Presently, the five permanent members wield substantial influence. By introducing more nations into this exclusive circle, the prospect of forming a more diverse and representative body becomes feasible.

Lastly, a **reformation of the General Assembly** will be necessary. All member states convene in the General Assembly to deliberate and adopt resolutions. Strengthening the role of the General Assembly could furnish it with grater authority to shape UN policies and ensure that decisions are made in a more transparent and democratic manner.

The UN has made significant strides in advancing peace and cooperation, yet the time has come to infuse it with new vigour. Democratisation endeavours are imperative to address the challenges and criticisms of the current UN structure. By rendering the UN more inclusive, representative, and transparent, it becomes conceivable to forge a stronger and more efficient global organisation.

common ground will be pivotal in overcoming differences and nurturing mutual understanding. Engaging in constructive dialogue and providing opportunities for all member states to shape the future of the UN are paramount.

Establish an effective implementation mechanism. A clear mechanism and structure are imperative to implement the democratisation process. This entails delineating roles and responsibilities, setting measurable objectives, and establishing monitoring and evaluation frameworks. Regular revisions and adjustments will be essential to adapt to changing circumstances and ensure the success of democratisation efforts.

Enhance participation and representation in UN decision-making. To render the UN more democratic, enhancing participation and representation in decision-making processes is crucial. Key focal points encompass: Encouraging greater civil society involvement, mobilising civil society organisations and grassroots movements brings diverse perspectives and skills to the fore. Actively

tisation process. The democratisation of the UN must be accompanied by transparency and accountability to garner trust and support from member states and the global community. Establishing transparency mechanisms is vital. Openness and transparency should serve as guiding principles throughout the democratisation process. Instituting mechanisms such as public hearings, regular reports, and access to information will ensure the decision-making processes are visible and accessible to all. This will help prevent undue influence from powerful actors and bolster public confidence in institutions responsible for their actions. Strengthening these mechanisms within the UN will aid in combating abuses of power and ensuring that decisions are made in the best interest of the global community. Audits, performance evaluations, and independent reviews must be conducted to uphold the integrity of the democratisation process.

Overcoming obstacles and building consensus to democratise the UN. The implementation of democratisation within the United Nations may encounter opposition from powerful member states and interest groups. Here are strategies to surmount these challenges: *Addressing concerns of powerful member states.* Powerful member states may apprehend that democratisation could dilute their influence or compromise national interests. It is imperative to address their concerns and demonstrate that a more democratic UN benefit all parties in the long run. *Engage in constructive dialogue.* Presenting successful case studies and underscoring the potential of improved global governance can help allay their apprehensions. *Engage in diplomacy and negotiation.* Diplomacy and negotiation are pivotal tools to forge consensus and garner support for UN democratisation. Engaging with member states through diplomatic channels, bilateral discussions, and multilateral negotiations can aid in finding common ground toward the shared objective of crating a more democratic and equitable UN.

The democratisation of the United Nations is not merely a significant stride toward a more inclusive and representative global governance system; it is also imperative to grapple with the complexities of the modern world. By embracing reforms that bolster participation, transparency, and accountability, the UN can more effectively serve the interests of all member states and adeptly confront the global challenges we face today. Through the collective efforts of member states, civil society, and international actors, the vision of a truly democratic and potent UN can materialise, heralding an era of cooperation, equity and justice on the global stage.

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3. Implementation of Democratisation

To democratise the UN, the following practical steps must be undertaken to expedite the process:

Revise and Amend the UN Charter. The UN Charter, the organisation's bedrock, was crafted in a different era and necessitates updating to reflect democratisation principles; ensuring alignment with the aspirations of a more inclusive UN. This process demands meticulous deliberation and cooperation among member states.

Forge consensus among member states. The implementation of UN democratisation hinges on fostering consensus among member states with diverse interest and priorities. Diplomacy, negotiation and seeking

seeking their input and involving them in decision-making processes will result in a more inclusive and effective United Nations, serving the interests of all.

Promoting gender equality and women's participation, gender equality isn't merely a buzzword; it's a cornerstone for a truly democratic United Nations. Women's voices and experiences must reverberate and be valued within decision-making for a. Measures must be taken to promote gender equality at the UN, including increasing women's representation in leadership roles and addressing structural barriers to their full participation.

Ensure transparency and accountability in the UN democra-



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A view of the Secretariat Building, with Member States' flags flying in the foreground, at United Nations headquarters in New York.



UN Photo/Manned Etna



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Of Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its Limitations in Uganda

On December 10, 1948, a concrete foundation for humanity was laid. This was the birth of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; a document that many nations have incorporated in their national constitutions. Unfortunately, many of them have not fully operationalised it due to a host of many challenges and limitations.

The old adage that easier said than done has never been evident than today when it comes to the implementation of UDHR. Despite the incorporation of the UDR in most national constitutions, facts on the round depict to the fact that many school going children are not going to school especially in the less developed world.

In the early years of universal primary and secondary education in Uganda, there were massive enrolments of over 200%. This was really good news to everyone. Unfortunately, because of several encumbrances on the side of the learners, parents, schools and the system, the completion rates were despicably decimal.

Cases of market size classrooms, insufficient infrastructure like furniture, places of convenience, limited or no teacher's residences, insufficient instructional materials, paltry capitiation grants which are usually released late are some of the many challenges surrounding the implementation of Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In a study carried out by Dr. Innocent MURAMUZI in Mukono district of Uganda entitled, A Universal Right as a Limited Right: Challenges of Basic Human Right to Universal Secondary Education in Mukono District of Uganda, it was found out that the programme of universal secondary education was a step in the right direction in the implementation of UNESCOs desire to have every school age going child to go and stay in school, but the challenges surrounding the implementation and sustainability of the programme have not allowed it to achieve its intended objective.

These challenges however affected the girl child more than the boy child. Most of the dropouts were found to

be girls because of their inability to walk long distances in some sub-counties where the universal secondary schools were far, the preference by parents to pay the school fees for the boys first leaving the girls to stay at home thereby making them hate the school the more, inability to provide scholastic materials by themselves compared with the boys, inability to maintain body cleanliness especially during their monthly biological obligations and a host of other issues. It was recommended that government as well as other non-governmental organisations in the education subsector need to plan and reserve a sizeable amount of resources so that education becomes free, universal and even compulsory.

Abdulwahed Muhammad

Kurdistan Teachers Union - IRAK

Arrears are loans that need to be repaid

The issue of salary payments arose in early 2015 and was delayed month after month as a result of the conflict between the Kurdistan Regional Government and the federal government as well as the so-called independent economy process. Finally, it resulted in forced savings in late 2015 and early 2016, particularly in February, which is against the legal requirements of the Salary Law No. 23 of 2008 and the Civil Service Law No. 24 of 1960. The money was saved for 34 months. That is, the savings have always ranged from 20% to 70%. Twelve full wages were not paid after this. Four months were in 2015, with the remaining eight months in 2019 and early 2020. Salary cutbacks of 21% and 18% were implemented over a ten-month period. It costs between ten and seventy million in Local money ((dinars)) every in-

structor and staff. Meanwhile, salary increases have been suspended since 2015. It would have undoubtedly satisfied some of the family's and individuals' dreams and goals. In any case, the stage was completed, but with much difficulty and austerity. It was the cause of distinguishing the lights of people's hopes, as well as the death of the dreams of families and individuals in society. It is worth noting that those who have made life more difficult for the Kurdish people must not forget this and must not take the situation lightly. They should not believe that teachers and employees merely passed the stage. On the contrary, all those who have been mistreated in this position have one slogan: (Arrears are debts that must be repaid.) The silence of the Kurdistan government and the hand-to-hand policy have

infuriated the people of Kurdistan. It means that it is sometimes argued that the Kurdish administration must refund the debts, and other times that Baghdad must repay the debts because Baghdad was the main cause of it. It is apparent that it was referenced in the reform initiative, and there have been several discussions about it. However, they were all unfulfilled. As far as I am concerned, the Iraqi government does not regard itself to be the primary responsible party for resolving the situation and repaying the payments, and it has announced that it is not responsible for it. The ball has now been returned to the field of the Kurdistan administration. It is past time for Kurdistan's administration to make the courageous decision to repay the money. It must not enable the people of Kurdistan, particularly those who

have faced numerous challenges, to wait for assistance from Baghdad. I believe that no teacher or employee believes that their savings must be reimbursed all at once. However, if they are returned in a single payment, it is not comparable to the number of times they were forced to adopt the savings system. They merely want the Kurdish administration to confirm that it owes the Kurdish people money, and that the amount of the obligations be shown in a bank account, where it can be used and spent for various purposes. They also expect the government to reimburse as much as possible each month. It is, in my opinion, the bare minimum that the Kurdish administration can do for its teachers, employees, and loyal Kurds.



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Which interests are absolutely opposed to a “qualitative education for all”?

In an era driven by technological innovation, global connectivity, and a quest for equitable progress, the pursuit of qualitative education for all remains a fundamental aspiration. Yet, beneath the surface of this noble endeavor lies a complex web of interests that stand in stark opposition to the realization of this goal. These interests, often shrouded in political agendas, economic disparities, and systemic biases, contribute to a pervasive inequality in educational access and quality. This article, authored by Joseph Chishimba, sheds light on the underlying forces that vehemently resist the march towards a world where every individual can benefit from a qualitative education.

The Struggle for Educational Resources

At the heart of the battle for universal qualitative education lies the challenge of resource allocation. While numerous countries are blessed with abundant wealth and resources, they often fail to distribute these equitably among their citizens. The interests of those who control these resources — whether it be governments, corporations, or privileged individuals — may lead to policies that favor specific groups while neglecting marginalized

communities. This unequal distribution perpetuates a cycle of subpar education for certain segments of society, denying them the opportunity to develop their full potential.

Maintaining Socioeconomic Hierarchies

Society's power structures often thrive on maintaining the status quo. For the privileged elite, access to high-quality education is not merely a means of personal growth but also a means of perpetuating their socioeconomic dominance. By restricting access to qualitative education, these interests can ensure that certain groups remain subservient and unable to challenge the established order. This ensures a steady supply of cheap labor and limits the emergence of new leaders who might disrupt their stranglehold on power.

Preserving Ideological Control

Qualitative education has the transformative power to cultivate critical thinking, empathy, and a broader worldview. However, those who seek to maintain strict ideological control over a population may perceive these qualities as threats. Such interests, often entwined with authoritarian regimes or extremist ideologies,

may deliberately curtail education that promotes independent thought. By restricting access to diverse and comprehensive knowledge, they can manipulate public perception and sustain their grip on societal narratives.

Profit-Driven Education Models

The commercialization of education has led to the emergence of profit-driven educational institutions that prioritize financial gains over educational outcomes. These interests tend to prioritize enrollment numbers and revenue streams, leading to compromises in curriculum quality, teacher-student ratios, and infrastructure. For-profit institutions might resist the notion of universal qualitative education because it challenges their business model, potentially diluting the exclusivity and premium they place on education.

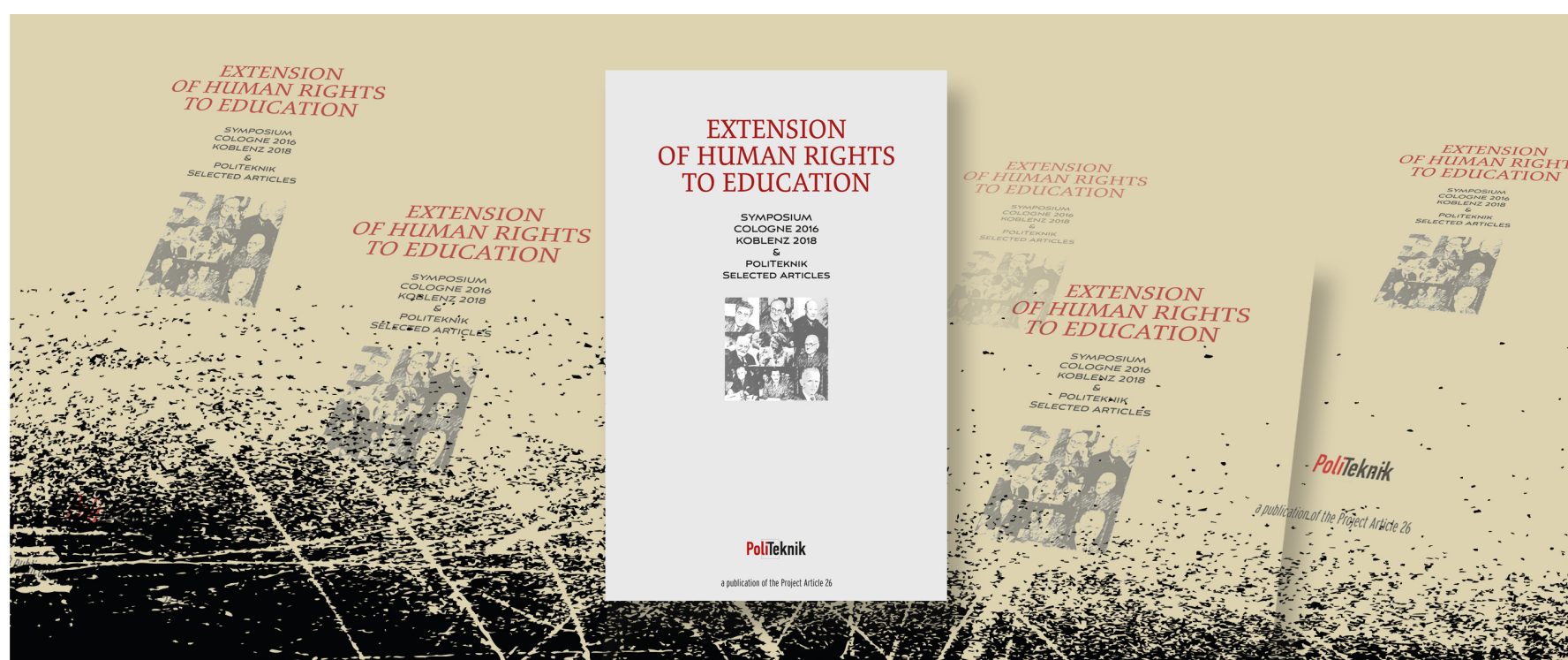
Combating the Opposition

To confront the interests that oppose a qualitative education for all, a multi-faceted approach is essential. Governments must commit to robust policy frameworks that ensure equal distribution of educational resources and opportunities. Collaborative efforts among nations, organizations,

and educators can help dismantle the barriers created by political agendas and profit motives.

Furthermore, advocacy for educational equity and societal transformation is paramount. Grassroots movements, driven by educators, parents, students, and activists, can build public pressure to drive change from the bottom up. Raising awareness about the corrosive impact of unequal education and fostering a collective demand for reform can erode the foundation upon which these opposing interests thrive.

In conclusion, the path to universal qualitative education is marred by a myriad of interests seeking to preserve inequality and control. By understanding these forces, society can mobilize and strategize to dismantle the barriers that impede progress. Only through collective action and a steadfast commitment to the transformative power of education can we break the chains that hold back individuals and entire communities from realizing their fullest potential. "Education is the passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to those who prepare for it today." - Malcolm X



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Feasting: A Gallant Proposal



Feasting is an important program for the United States and modern society, indeed a transformative possibility for humane social policy considering present existential threats.

The United States faces many deep challenges to its preferred way of life. The peril to American families is first on the list. Divorce rates are enormous, children are abandoned, and people become impoverished as barely sufficient family incomes must now sustain two households. Divorce rips apart grandparents from grandchildren and in-laws from their children's spouses. The psychological damage of divorce and child neglect is enormous and the economic consequences of depressed people who take inordinate numbers of mental health days and slack off at work are proportionately large. It is well known that poor mental health leads to poor physical health as the depressed seek solace in drugs, alcohol, and food binges. Family members throughout the generations desperately need to reinforce their commitments to each other.

In addition, an immense amount of energy goes into fertilizer and mechanized farming to produce beef and other meats. The run-off from fertilizer is damaging the oceans and its fishes. Moreover, the diversion of cropland to grow feed for cattle reduces the production of cereals for human consumption thus driving up costs for necessities and increasing the hunger of poor populations in the third world. Eating farmed meat is a slap at global warming and efforts to reduce the carbon footprint of human beings.

While much of the world is starving, Americans are immensely overfed, in large part because of their seeming addiction to meats. Related obesity is a huge problem in the United States. A leaner diet would not only preserve American lives but reduce morbidity – fewer heart problems and less diabetes – and the national outlay for costly medical care.

Costly medical care is in large part, but of course not entirely, related to sustaining the comatose well past any reasonable surmise that they can be brought back to life. Clinging to life weighs on both the dying and their families. The elderly in America have little sense of completion and largely because, as noted above, families are fragmented but still stewing in the hostilities, recriminations, and bitterness of imperfect relationships. But too, their children, guardians of their living wills, are ever hopeful of a final reconciliation and so seek to defer the death of their loved ones as long as possible. If only their parent would regain consciousness, they pray, all could be set right before the inevitable, irreversible, and final demise. If some final act of reconciliation were possible, the comatose would gladly slide into oblivion and their children would gladly sit by without any guilt.

Moreover, the care of elderly in the US is a travesty. Many are abandoned and forgotten, consigned to solitude and very poor nutrition. Indeed, the poor nutrition of the elderly is implicated in the early onset of many chronic conditions, notably Alzheimer's, that are, again, very expensive to treat.

In addition, the American way of death is phenomenally expensive and dependent on some of the worst hucksters we have ever allowed to become a profession. There is hardly an American who has parted from a loved one without being gouged for burial plots and cemeteries, caskets, urns, services for the departed, embalming and the rest. Most feel that they were sorely taken advantage of during the vulnerability of their grief by the mortuary professions.

What could encourage family reconciliation and stronger families, lower health care costs, nurture healthier Americans, reduce the nation's carbon footprint, realize a brighter prospect for the world's poor, decrease the costs of bidding farewell and rid the nation of the blight of final hour chicanery?

Hey, let's eat grandma, grandpa, and just about everyone else who passes on.

This program analysis begins with an emphatic clarification. Feasting IS NOT CANNIBALISM, a disgusting remnant of primitive society. Cannibalism is the murder of the living in order to harvest flesh for either ritualistic or nutritional purposes. I repeat, cannibalism is murder. In contrast, feasting on loved ones and the noble departed is an affirmation of life and the living; it is adamantly opposed to creating the dead.

Feasting is the ultimate ritual of family solidarity. The assurance that the dying will live on in the flesh and souls of their descendants, families,

neighbors, and friends, loosens their grasp on life relaxing them into a comfortable death. At long last, they glide into peace without endlessly picking over difficult relationships, without guilt, without having to say I am sorry. All is forgiven as the beloved dead are organically sealed with the living. Feasting is unconditional love.

The living are similarly spared the anguish of self-scrutiny as they ingest their parents, relatives and friends in a ritual that absolves them of any wrong and ennobles them for forgiveness. Feasting also expresses gratitude to the dead for slipping off in a timely way and preserving the inheritance. Feasting is tasty.

Feasting allows the dying and the living to get on with family life, inexpensively, joyously, gratefully and respectfully. With each feast the married children of the departed renew their own marital vows. Family bonds are strengthened; families are preserved.

The feast itself raises ritualistic gravity with songs, dances, commemorative speeches, games for children such as hide and seek Grandma's collar bone, prayers, and storytelling. Family ritual builds bulwarks of commitment.

I consulted experts in writing *The Sentimental Butcher* – a guide for catering feasts. I made inquiries at the Wotho center on the island of Ailinglaplap in the Marshall Islands. The Ailinglaplap aborigines are a poor, nutritionally challenged people who have been cannibalizing each other

since time immemorial. By the way, when the natives were asked by the World Bank what the bank might do to lessen their poverty, their response was remarkably consistent: send more missionaries. There is some humor in the fact that the early missionaries introduced the metal pots in which they were boiled. After all, Stone Age primitives could only roast each other.

Iffali Wat a connoisseur of folk traditions and the director of the Wotho Community Center sent back a savory recipe. They call it Missionary Stew. It begins with two instructions: first, sew up the mouth and then be sure not to cook with the Bible. It would be sacrilegious and cause terrible indigestion. In any event, it should be obvious that you do not have to have a Mormon for Mormon Stew just like you do not need an Irish person for Irish stew.

Feasting is natural, even primordial in its pleasures. Our ancient animal memory buried deep in the ancient stem of our brains lusts to consume its own species. Vestiges still abound: the pleasure we take in sucking up the blood that seeps from our little cuts and scratches. Yummm. Recall when you were out camping, and your love interest was bitten by a rattler: you bent to the task of sucking out the venom but had to restrain the instinct to swallow the blood. Remember when you were in the Amazon jungle during a lightning fire and began gagging over what you thought was the smell of burning monkeys. It was only burning monkey hair. But as the fire

calmed the delicious smell of roasted primate flesh caused you to drool, especially if it had fallen into a garlic patch while cooking. Yes indeed we try to deny the biological in our own animal natures.

Vegetarianism is the ultimate denial of feasting. Rather than promoting humanism and a green earth, vegetarianism undermines all the benefits of feasting to both our own people and the Third World's poor. Vegetarians are selfish, deeply troubled human beings who would be liberated from their anxieties guilt and fears through feasting. But if they were smart enough to feast they would not be vegetarians to begin with. It is a point of riotous hypocrisy that the vegetarian, ever so piously protective of animal species, is indifferent to the suffering that their food mania causes among vegetables. The shriek and squeak of lettuce as it is ripped apart, the torture of boiling broccoli, the gasping suffocation of asparagus in vinaigrette, the agony of oven roasting potatoes, the pleas, the moans and the tears of Brussels sprouts ripped from the mothering arms of their natal stalks. The vegetarian is conveniently, even neurotically, oblivious of the tortured vegetable. Vegetarian cruelty is beyond the curative abilities of psychotherapy. Something sterner needs to be used.

Feasting provides a number of ancillary benefits:

The elderly will be well cared for in their declining years and especially in the few months before death. No

more scraggly-assed old ladies and whisper thin old men. People will understand that for rump roast ya' gotta' have a rump.

Those who die unclaimed by families will be charitably shared with orphanages. The little lonely ones will go to sleep with warmed, round stomachs and comforted psyches, having enjoyed concrete evidence that they are loved. A whole-body donation provision in one's will is a sacrament of life.

Feasting will stimulate small business growth, art and literature: jewelry design and construction, reliquaries for the remains, urns, and memoirs of the afterlife, edible tattoos, among others. Think of the definitive fashion statement made by wearing preserved ears with a pearl insert as earrings or cufflinks, bone necklaces, even the heads of the beloved shrunk and worn as pendants on memorial occasions. Delicatessens for cured flesh. And without irony or a sense of superiority, even the export of surplus bodies to the starving third world. The employment possibilities are enormous.

Day trippers from abroad, notably Canada and Mexico, will flock to America for tastings, swelling the tourist trade and improving our balance of payments.

Feasting further offers countercyclical macroeconomic benefits. Greater mortality during hard times will enhance the supply of high-quality

protein leading to improved nutrition among survivors that stimulates their contributions to the economy without increasing taxes.

Not least of all, feasting refreshes the meaning of finger food.

There are a few additional considerations:

Just as there was initial resistance to adopting automobiles, phones, computers and monogamy, there will certainly be a reluctance among several people to accept feasting especially if vegetarians maintain their prominence. Movement feasters need to advocate, lobby, and publicize: tee shirts, conventions, community sing-a-longs, bake sales and recipe competitions. For a generation or two politics will be obsessed with the struggle between feasters and gaggers. But reason and Pepto-Bismol will eventually triumph.

Further, some few will not be eaten. As the ultimate punishment for terrible crimes some will not be tolerated as feast food; the nation will refuse to eat them. Their souls will roam the afterlife even as feasting supplants salvation as the ultimate soul-quest of believers.

To sum up the meaning of feasting -- for centuries, human beings have been consuming each other but now, with compassion, wisdom and good manners through feasting.

The "PROJECT EXTENSION of HUMAN RIGHTS to EDUCATION" invites you to join a special democratic experience for the humankind



The Project "Extension of Human Rights to Education" has been conceptualized as a COUNCIL. Various social actors involved in the extension of human rights to education will work out different aspects of this matter with the aim of formulating a "Declaration on the Extension of Human Rights to Education" to the UN for voting. The project focuses on Article 26 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights which is to be modified/supplemented in the sense of a progressive enlargement.

The project is designed to take on board concerns of affected and interested parties around the world, and to meet needs that are new or neglected.





Maurine Njeri
Member of the Young Communist League - KENYA

REVOLUTION, THE ONLY SOLUTION FOR THE YOUTH



Under the Constitution of Kenya 2010, youth is defined as the collectivity of individuals who have attained the age of 18 years, but not the age of 35 years, thus youths under the Kenyan law are persons between the ages of 18-34 years. Under the African Youth Charter (AYC), a youth is a person between 15-35 years. In Kenya, the youth agenda has increasingly dominated the political scene, especially during elections as youths continue to bear the heaviest brunt of systemic crisis. The youth continues to be conditioned that elections must only adhere to the doctrine of tyranny of numbers and apart from being used as conduits for ethnic political violence for handouts, they themselves are nothing but mere election statistics for tilting electoral results among the pro-capital ruling class. Therefore in a face-off between one oppressor and another, bourgeois elections bereft of ideological struggle reduce the youths into objects for rubber-stamping successive oppressive regimes in Kenya. That they do, with the false promise that those elections alone will emancipate them from the harsh capitalist offensive. It's the science of marxism

that has clearly shown that capitalism has revealed its true face to broad masses all over the world in a way that is impossible to hide and that we must change the system and not periodically just change the faces. He (Marx) adds that "The oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representative of the oppressing class are to represent and repress them". The Young Communist League is conscious of the fact that there is no other thing which will make the lives and future of the Kenyan youths more valuable and meaningful than the honour of joining the revolutionary struggle to overthrow this barbaric system of oppression of person by person. Capitalism is the system based on private property and exploitation and oppression of person by person and is the basis of corruption, mental health instability, greed and inequality choking the majority of Kenyan youths to a near death.

To begin with, the ruling class in Kenya in addressing the horrors of mass poverty among youths have pushed to the limelight ideas which are or seems to be only acceptable within

the limits of the establishment. In fact, history teaches us that in seeking to address the challenges of the youth, one must understand their relation to wage labor either as young workers or potential workers. The Kenya kwanza led administration campaigned on the Hustler platform (hustler here refers to youths who struggle to make ends meet in an economy that no longer works for them) and on 17th of October, the Chairperson of the President Council of Economic Advisors David Ndii further clarified in a tweet that "The ethos of #HustlerNation is capitalism. Our promise is to give every Kenyan equal opportunity to be a billionaire, or the president, or both". On 15th November, the cabinet approved the legal institutional framework to anchor the establishment and implementation of the inclusion Fund (Hustlers' Fund). It's also important to mention that apart from establishing Uwezo fund in 2014, the former president Uhuru Kenyatta while attempting to change the constitution, rallied the Kenyan youths that it was only BBI that could be their lifetime springboard from the life of poverty, suffering and want occasioned with

unemployment. The two have done the same thing while appearing to be otherwise; that legislation alone in a class society will act as a silver bullet in bailing the Kenyan youths from the capitalist economic violence. They do this yet the 2010 constitution has pronounced itself on youth issues in article 55 that were they to implement the current constitution in good faith, they would not only put the youth but the entire country on the road to prosperity. In fact, in a class society like Kenya, constitution is part and parcel of the state and the class that runs the state interprets it to its advantage and interest. Thus, it's only foolish to think that we can legislate the system of capitalism out of its inherent crisis for its in the interest of the ruling class to always shift blame from the collapsing system to other abstract notions like changing or modifying the constitution.

The hustler narrative subtly wrapped with near socialist phraseology (Hustler/economic revolution) as advanced by the government is nothing near class war from the bottom against the leeching class, but

an opportunistic and class conciliatory agenda of political competition among the filthy rich; intraclass theatrics as a set up for gullible citizens desperate for change. The narrative reminds the poor youth that "it's up to you" to hustle your way through the system, a classical bourgeois propaganda of the possibility of individual liberation from rags to opulence. All these are happening against the backdrop of political elite bankrupt of the alternative ideas -if at all they ever had some, leaving us to reckon with the famous words of Fanon that, each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it. It is for such reasons that all oppressed youths must violently rebel, organize themselves in social movements and progressive parties like the Communist Party of Kenya and stand radically opposed to the conventional politics of silencing the poor youths by rewarding youths from the rich strata in the guise of all-round inclusion. For the greatest all-round inclusion can only be achieved in a society of shared wealth; "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". William Ruto-the hustler narrative ring leader joined politics fresh from the university and became part of the dreaded Youth for KANU wing where they not only campaigned for the oppressive regime but also used their positions of power to acquire wealth whilst paying lip service to the struggles of the majority of the poor Kenyans under the infamous Harambee philosophy. In his entire life just like his predecessor Uhuru Kenyatta, he has had no history of employment anywhere to justify their stinking wealth neither have they fought for progressive changes in Kenya. In KANU, he did not champion for the youths he today call hustlers, instead he joined the government of the day in furthering state repression where many young people were detained without trial, expelled from universities, exiled and brutally murdered. Its silly, hypocritical for Ruto to dupe young people that he hustled his way up the ladder of billionaires through chicken selling and that through hardwork, resilience and most importantly Prayers, they can march their way to opulence. Its open that no sooner was he sworn in than he started unpacking anti-poor youths policies from expensive education, no jobs in sight, privatization of natural resources -water, police brutality to more and more neoliberal economic policies. Its in order that for us to understand the future and the current crisis, we must scientifically look at the past and identify the root cause of poverty, mass unemployment, police brutality among other problems facing majority of youths in Kenya.

This essay therefore seeks to, in the simplest way possible, drive the Marxist perspective on youth issues in Kenya by demonstrating that the ruling class through capitalism cannot absolve the Kenyan youth and has no desire to do so by quashing the bourgeois propaganda that capitalism can be reformed to meet people's needs and more specifically that genuine freedom, unemployment and police brutality cannot be solved without liquidating capitalism.

Class character of the youth.

According to the OXFAM report, the country is sharply divided into 0.1% filthy rich against 99.9% poor. A country of 0.1% millionaires and billionaires obsessed with primitive accumulation and 99.9% beggars. We refuse to approve of the statistical (GDP, GDP per Capita ..) analysis of the economy as the only way of measuring development for they hide the ownership gap and the sadness index among the majority of Kenyan youths. Those statistics continues to praise our economy, yet they bypass the plight of the majority of youths condemned to poverty and involuntary unemployment. Its the OXFAM report that paints the stratification of Kenyan youth -as to whether one belongs to the idle or laboring class, minority or majority class, exploiting or exploited class, wala-hoi or wala-hai, propertied or propertiles class, youths of Mathare or Muthaiga, of Kileleshwa or Kibera slums, of Karen or Mukuru kwa Njega and the division continues as long as the society is divided into two antagonistic classes courtesy of capitalism.

But again, the mainstream media is a class weapon in minimizing class struggle among the youth even further such that despite the youth being an heterogeneous population in Kenya, the mainstream media at the service of the bourgeois network is conducting a systematic propaganda that the youth is a monolithic entity (youth as a uniform tribe), that a win for any youth is a win for all youths. Its the science of Marxism that has demonstrated that the young section of every class are conditioned and shaped by social conditions of that class. The interest of the youth from the 0.1% are antagonistic to the interest of the youth belonging to the 99.9% (working class, middle class, peasantry origin). While the former are interested in maintaining their class privileges of oppression characterized with their possessive mentality, the latter is a class that must sell its labor, body and "heart" in the bourgeois market to survive and is only racing poverty for a dignified life. As long as the system of capitalism still stand undeterred, as long as the society is divided into exp-

loiters and exploited, a win for any youth is not a win for all youths but a victory which mirrors his/her's class interest. Leo Huberman would have said that, the relationship then that exist between the youths of bourgeois descent and the youths of the working class descent in a capitalist society is the relationship of a knife to a throat.

Today the mainstream media is popularizing the youthful daughter of the president Charlene Ruto as a youth on a mission. The truth is that her class interests and your class interests are as opposed as day and night and that she represent the class interest of bedbugs in Kenya (comprador bourgeois). This does not exclude the youthful Winnie Odinga and Vincent Musyoka. For so long as you keep confusing your class interests and their class interests, you will always remain in false solidarity with your enemy class. The youths of each class grows parallel with their class; the youths of the working class or peasantry origin grows parallel as their class forming the majority and will eventually join the working class and industrial reserve army (unemployed) while the youth of the propertied class grows parallel with their class and continues forming the class of the insignificant minority who lives on the sweat of others. Its no wonder that the narrative that swallowed JM Kariuki is still haunting us to date, from a country of 10 millionaires and 10 million beggars to a country of 0.1 % millionaires and billionaires and 99.9% beggars, a system occasioned with economic development without growth. Oppressed youths of Kenya unite, we have nothing to lose but our chains!. What you do not know and you should know is that those three among others are not class-innocent either and are being prepared for an historical task of advancing the capitalist system of oppression in the near future and if you are not careful, the politics of the future will merry around Mois, Jimmy Kibaki, Charlene Ruto, Winnie Odinga and Vincent Musyoka!. They are the emerging pro-capital ruling class an indication that the current crop of politicians does not desire that the youth with pro-workers and peasant ideological leaning capture the state power. They are so determined to see you in perpetual poverty that they are prepared to do anything to block your path to a dignified life!.

What then is the Marxist yardstick as to whether a youth is reactionary or progressive? Are we in any way saying that youths from the 0.1% filthy rich are reactionary and the youth from 99.9% poor are progressive? Are we saying that Charlene Ruto, Winnie Odinga and even Vincent Musyoka are reactionary just because they belong to the minority faction? No! In

fact, were that to be true, Oginga Odinga, JM. Kariuki in their riches would not have led progressive struggles in Kenya and Jomo Kenyatta would have not betrayed the Mau Mau ideology having originated from the class of the poor.

Josia Mwangi Kariuki

J.M Kariuki originated from a peasantry family and joined Mau Mau army at approximately 23 years of age, at 17 years, J.M was already awash with the political developments in the country, 1946.

Undeterred by working with Jomo Kenyatta, now among the few rich in Kenya, he abandoned the privileges of his current class of millionaires, committed class suicide and identified with the ten of millions of Kenyans thrown into the abyss of poverty in the struggle for worker's liberation. He patriotically stared at death in the face like a young man saying that in the interest of my country, "I choose wealth redistribution or death!, socialism or death!"

He said that,

"We combined forces for many years to fight colonial and racist injustice - injustice in social, economic and political opportunities. But it is injustice if some of our children cannot afford education; live in inhuman conditions, die before getting to health centres and die of hunger and malnutrition. The country's commercial and industrial sectors at independence were in the hands of Patels and Singhs, the Smiths and the Jones (now) a few Kariukis and Odongos have taken over these business monopolies with the intention of exploiting the masses. We must find ways and means of communal ownership, cooperative societies (and) parastatals. We could have a group of young people who would look for ways and means of promoting these changes but as it is now, that is absolutely impossible. Things are becoming worse and worse."

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga

He was son to peasants and later became part of the petty bourgeois class as a teacher and business man. However these did not stop him from leading progressive nationalist struggles in line with Socialism, he did not only lead in the formation of KPU, but with Anyona, he even attempted to stage Worker's party before he was thrown into house arrest by the forces of reaction. Oginga from his youthful age, was not moved by the trappings of power or the petty bourgeois privileges. He spent his life on the side of the masses for their true liberation and is remembered of his "It's not yet Uhuru" slogan. As a rich man, he identified with the ideology of the oppressed class from his youthful days.

Dedan Kimathi

Aside from being born in extreme poverty when the primary contradiction was colonialism (colonies Vs imperialism), in his late 20s, rebelled and took a militant stance against the brute forces of British colonialism ultimately mid-wifing the declaration of independence in Kenya from direct tyranny and imperial hegemony of the colonial forces.

Kimathi instead of waiting for colonialism to disappear on its own as you are waiting for capitalism to disappear on its own; rebelled, joined the forces of resistance and led the mau mau army in fighting for the country and it's people.

It was so clear to Kimathi that the fundamental struggle was class struggle for the landless and all the oppressed of Kenya to a new order of self determination through national revolutionary war. Today we do not celebrate Kimathi as a Kikuyu, but as a patriotic youth who placed his country ahead of himself.

What is more, the task of solving the contradiction between the working class verses the bourgeoisie has been thrown to the youth.

Musalia Mudavadi

When the then minister for Local Government and Physical Planning Moses Mudavadi was pronounced dead 1989, the youthful Musalia Mudavadi took over as a member of Parliament at 29. He did not champion for the youths of the oppressed strata but fought even through corruption to maintain their class privilege of the rich class even if that meant impoverishing his fellow youths. He used his political influence to accumulate wealth to the current tune of Ksh 4 billion. Even as he ran through the country with fancy economic catchwords, he was speaking about the economic well being of his class and not yours. He was a youth from a rich class who identified with the ideology of that class. Needless to say, is that his current position in government gives him another chance to add more billions as you cheer him in your poverty!

Uhuru Kenyatta

When progressives had ganged against the 24 years rule of KANU administration, the then outgoing unpopular president endorsed the son of the first president of Kenya Uhuru Kenyatta, young and energetic, Uhuru Kenyatta was a young man who was fronted to defend private property with a populist presentation of a candidate with fresh ideas. In his political life until 2022 when he left the presidency, he did not genuinely fight for the young people of the poor

strata but instead used his position to accumulate more wealth for his family. To prove how inhuman he was, they have conspired to hide their family wealth in off shore accounts where they not only evade taxation but also ensure that the Kenyan wealth is hidden far away from the producers even as the country struggles with its debt ridden budget. Were he to want a dignified life for youths of the poor strata, he would have surrendered his class privileges in the interest of the public good. To date, he is remembered as a president whose administration was the breeding ground of rampant corruption where at least Ksh 2 million was lost on a daily basis.

Does being youthful guarantee progress? Does it mean that to be young is to be fresh in ideas and to be old is to harbor oppressive ideas as the ageism propaganda stand today? History vindicates us! While the Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association (KYPA) prides itself as a youth leaning faction in the National Assembly, senate and county assemblies, its 2017-2022 exit report exposes it as a talking shop bedding imperialist organizations. One of its five years achievements is succumbing to the whims of FORD Foundation in its trainings on bourgeois democracy. For the record, Ford Foundation is an Imperialist, capitalist foundation that believes that as they say "We have obligation to capitalism", to strengthen and improve capitalism that the inequality arising from capitalism is not a threat but an opportunity to create the condition for more philanthropy. In fact the problems of capitalism can never be addressed regardless of how many new philanthropists, CBOs, NGOs it creates. How then can a foundation worshipping the god of mass poverty then mould young Parliamentarians to liquidate the system that ensures its existence globally? From Ford Foundation as Paulo Freire said on similar tendencies, is lovelessness clothed in false generosity.

For Ford, it seems that every other form of inequality should be challenged, whether it's based on race, gender, sexuality, income, geography or disability, but the structure of the economic system -the biggest privilege producing machine on the planet, must be preserved", Michael Edwards.

Not even the young Parliamentarians are speaking to the foundation of youth crisis but united on self aggrandizement. What we ought to see is a left vibrant youth wing in the parliament, imbued with progressive ideology that will not only advance the struggle of workers in general and youths in particular, but will continue advancing the case of Socialism

within that reactionary institution. No other party in Kenya except CPK is training youths on that path.

Its from those examples that we respond by saying that a youth can be progressive or reactionary based on the class position and ideology one identifies with during specific historical and material condition irrespective of his class origin, rich or poor. It is therefore true that even in electoral politics, it's not enough to conclude that the increasing participation of youths as candidates is progressive as we are forced to believe but we must investigate their ideological bearing during those historical times.

Illusion of Freedom

Capitalism is taught in schools as though it is eternal and guarantees freedom or individual liberation. In fact education in Kenya is not class neutral, education can function as an instrument used to facilitate the synthesis of younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity as it's designed to do or become the practice of freedom as a means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate on the transformation of the world. In a nutshell, education in a capitalist society serves the interest of the ruling-class by imposing false consciousness where the children of the workers and peasants are indoctrinated to blame themselves as a subservient class -sometimes as a lazy class that exist to be exploited for profit while the children of the ruling class are prepared for the positions of power and domination.

Again, in a capitalist society, freedom which bourgeois intellectuals insanely praise under capitalism bears class character. Any freedom -Lenin said-if it does not submit to the interest of the freedom of the workers from the oppression of capital, is a deception. Freedom of the youth as well is determined by the ethical system of the society they are born into, in which case, the economic relations of the society. The freedom of the youth of bourgeois descent and the working class descent is antagonistic. In a "man eat man society", it's imperative to understand that the freedom of the "eater" cannot be same as that of the "prey", the former enjoys all the freedom to set the rule of eating the prey while the later has no freedom in the proper sense of the word except that of choosing who should eat him and when, otherwise he will starve to death. Is the option of choosing how to be exploited or die really genuine freedom as taught in the bourgeois education system? Under monopoly capitalism, freedom is the freedom of the capitalist to exploit labor for profit

without restrictions but labourers are not free to receive things like education or healthcare in accordance to what they need; only in accordance to what they have to pay -freedom of capital (of a few). In contrasting freedom in hitherto existing societies and the higher society, Marx says that freedom has always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, at another a universal right.

In the health sector, majority of youths for their inability to sustain privatized healthcare, have the freedom to choose death over death, for treatment whether in public or private hospital, begin and end with money which they don't have. While youth of the bourgeois (filthy rich) descent have the freedom to access quality healthcare whenever necessary even if it means flying to high-end facilities abroad, the poor youths have to choose the abandoned public dispensaries, death or stare at expensive hospital bills where they have to sell family land if any or be imprisoned in the hospitals. Its under socialism that majority of youths can secure the freedom of free healthcare as demonstrated in Cuba among other socialist countries. Under the leadership of the Communist party of Cuba, Cuba operates a national health system and assumes fiscal and administrative responsibility for the health care of all its citizens in provision of Universal healthcare. Her socialist ideology puts emphasis on access to healthcare as a fundamental human right and is the world's most efficient and quality system providing free healthcare for all. She demonstrates the healthcare contradictions that exist under capitalism and socialism; in the former, profit comes first through privatization in healthcare while in the latter, humanity comes first in meeting people's needs. In a system where the primary motive for the production of goods is the making of profit, Huberman says that, it is inevitable that profit should be regarded as all-important—more important even than lives. And so it is. In capitalist society, it is not uncommon for dollars to be valued higher than human beings". I remember that in the various secondary schools for the visually impaired (commonly known as the schools for the blind), it's majorly the children of the poor people who completely lost sight not out of choice [in many cases] but it's the system of capitalism that gave them that brutal freedom -of choosing to be blind because they are too poor to afford medical intervention in a country where healthcare is a commodity for trade; was it not recently that Rosemary Odinga (scion of the ruling class) was flown to India, Israel and China for specialized eye-care when she was on the verge of running blind? Capitalism is not only guilty of

genocide, but it has ruined lives of the poor youths in different degrees.

Thanks to the expensive nature of education in Kenya, completing 8-4-4 system comes with economic pain, stress and suffering direct into non existing graduate jobs. In point of fact, to turn education into a commodity to be bought is another undoing under the dictatorship of capitalism where the death of public sector is not only organized, but in its place rises flourishing private schools, colleges and universities for profit. Its the youths from the rich strata their intellectual capacity not withstanding, who have the freedom of attending the best private international schools from Brookhouse international schools, St. Andrews Turi, Banda to Aga Khan academy among others in Kenya whereas majority of the youths from the class of rags are idling in villages for lack of fees to advance their education. In the Kenyan universities, majority of the students are always on the verge of dropping their courses or operating as "students during the day and watchmen at night, students during the day and sex workers at night". It's stupid for one to think that majority of the youths in this country have genuine freedom to shape their lives. Is the option of choosing commercial sex work or dropping from university genuine freedom? Marxism demonstrates beyond any shadow of doubt that the only individual liberation this stinking system can offer the oppressed youth regardless of their education level is the happiness of finding a job and serving under the command of capital, as perfect candidates to be exploited [wage slaves]. When Bretton wood institutions like IMF and World Bank impose their anti-poor students policies in universities, it only indict the capitalist system that an arrangement where young poor girls have to sell their cunt to access education is a country that is running on the wheel of hatred for the poor youths; double oppression of female students as women and as children of the poor. For that matter, the Communist party of Kenya correctly puts it that there will be no genuine freedom for the youth within the system of capitalism other than in its antithesis, Socialism; where the Communist party of Kenya will intervene by providing Universal education at all levels.

Throughout the country, majority of the youths are leading extremely hopeless life with suicidal thoughts. In Nairobi for example, the smell of class inequalities is so sharp that majority of the youths have the freedom of choosing to crowd in the slums like Kibera, Mathare occasioned with inhuman conditions or lie in the streets as homeless individuals in the midst of expensive people-less homes in

the city. At the same time, youths of the rich strata have the freedom to lead a decent life either in Kileleshwa or Runda, Muthaiga or Karen etc. Infact its the business of capitalism to always create a network of privileged minority by putting profit ahead of humanity and where homelessness of the majority is not only normalized, but it's highly glorified.

Access to food is no better, our agriculture sector is heavily controlled by multinationals, NGOs and private sector whose production is geared to meet the market demand as cash crops for export with subsequent import of mitumba products. It was recently that Bill Gates in his business trip put emphasis on the adoption of GMO maize in Kenya as a means of solving food insecurity in the country yet that will not only put the life of the poor people in danger, but it is a market policy for the rich seed multinationals to make a kill of profit. The private sector in alliance with government leaders have thrown the country into artificial hunger for many years by hoarding agricultural produce putting us on the endemic path of relief food as a coping mechanism for the poor. Its moral under capitalism for the poor people to die in the midst of plenty until such times when food prices have skyrocketed to guarantee maximum profit. In an interview with Chilean Magazine, despite the death of many, including young poor people in the face of hunger and malnutrition, Booker says that "...this is all happening in a country where the political leaders are suffering from obesity, because they have stolen so much that they have almost eight meals in a day. Their days are spent eating: when they wake up, they have some breakfast, and by ten o'clock, they have what they are calling heavy tea. They have even adapted the language of the colonizer to normalise their greedy appetites. At one o'clock, they settle down for a three-stage meal; and before it is fully digested, they have high tea at four o'clock before they can retire for dinner. Their diners' transition to drinks for the rest of the night". Under such circumstances of extreme economic stress, the system of capitalism gives the poor youth its two inherent options, the freedom of resorting to crime or starving to death!

But how is it possible to maintain this system where the misery of the majority is the wealth of the minority, where wealth is socially produced but privately appropriated, where a class of the minority rich dictates the impoverished majority, where one class jealously leads a dignified life on earth and on the other hand the other is promised a dignified life after death? -the state

The state

In a capitalist society like Kenya, the state is a class weapon of the super rich against the 99.9% poor for protecting Private property and therefore it's a limiting factor for the oppressed youths; any attack on private property [eg grabbed land] is met with force. According to Marx, the state is an organ of class rule, an organ of oppression of one class by another which was a product of irreconcilability of class antagonism. The state therefore arose from the society but placing itself above it with emergence of private property which was the basis of division of the society into classes. Private property, Mganga says, is that property that is made and increased by exploiting the labour of other persons that are deprived of access to the means of production.

Historically, in classless society, say, primitive and mature communalism, the state was not only absent but unnecessary for there was no private property necessitating the existence of an organ of class rule; for example land was communally owned. This society did not know prisons, armed police force, courts, standing army and other institutions of coercion. Instead the old organization was managed through family values, customs, traditional beliefs which were in harmony with the relations of production during those historical times. For that matter, the development of productive forces as men acted on nature alongside with the coming of the colonialist, called for corresponding political advancement (superstructure).

Engels further clarifies that "The state, then, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies that did without it, that had no idea of the state and state power. At certain stage of economic development, which was necessarily bound up with the split of the society into classes, the state became a necessity owing to this split. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes not only will have ceased to be necessity, but will become a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as they arose at an earlier stage. Along with them the state will inevitably fall."

Save for some parts of the country along the coast, Kenya was largely at the stage of mature communalism before colonialism interrupted the ensuing social development and imposed private property relations. The state and its instruments of terror and coercion (police, standing army, prison, courts) in most of the interior of Kenya came with British colonialism.

We again respond to the question that to maintain a system where a class of the super minority dictates the impoverished majority, the former needs a weapon; the STATE, at its disposal for upholding the system of oppression of one class by another by forcefully keeping the working class youth and their allies in the condition of oppression through its laws and chief instruments of terror; the latter needs the state power to restore the humanity of both the oppressed and the oppressor by establishing the dictatorship of the workers. That is not all; the youths must not expect much from these state governments as real power has historically been in the hands of the comprador bourgeois, a class which we must confront as our immediate enemy for revolution in Kenya. Comprador bourgeois encompasses Ruto, Raila, Kalonzo, Mudavadi among others in Kenya and serves as a conveyor belt for finance capital in furthering the policies of the imperialists countries. What is more, the Communist party of Kenya continues to organize all the oppressed strata to win the state power and impose itself as the true reflection of the interest of the workers and their allies under the dictatorship of the workers; any alliance of the party and the current ruling class can only reduce the party as an appendage of Kenya Kwanza.

POLICE BRUTALITY

The subject of police brutality and the misconstrued concept of law in Kenya cannot be clearly understood without beginning from the state, because the police is among the chief instruments of the state, the state cannot be understood without private property and so there is nexus between police force as an appendage of the state and private property; the police serves Private property! To that end, to oppose police brutality that is rampant among youths from working class origin and all oppressed youths is to oppose the brutal system of capitalism. A recent report showed that by February, cases filed against police officers increased to 3,583 in 2021. Of these cases, 36.1% had to do with allegations of police assault, 30.6% were about shootings that caused harm, while 22% involved the deaths of victims. While those refers to reported cases, there are a lot of silent cases of impunity from the police which are morally right under capitalism since police are not for the public good in a class society neither are they neutral. The police must serve the ruling class and the class that runs the state runs the police and the standing army to its advantage, to maintain law and order -bourgeois law and order.

Although you're forced to believe that the police are there to protect you and maintain order, we are first to

ask, whose order? In fact the police in Kenya are the thugs of the neocolonial state and are anti-poor people and attempts by organizations to mend the hostility between the armed forces and the masses is neither here nor there, oral bubbling! There can be no such unity outside the scope of annihilating the system of capitalism for the system they serve is built on terror and robbery against the disinherited class. The armed forces then in form stands between the two classes for reconciliation but in substance stands on the side of the rulling class as a trigger Happy force for sending terror among the masses into a culture of silence. There is no way a small minority (0.1%) can exploit a large majority (99.9%) without the armed bodies to enforce their rule.

Yet another propaganda is that the police exist to eradicate crime. The system of capitalism is in fact built on crime; on the exploitation of the working class and furthermore it's capitalism that breeds crime from it's inbuilt tendency of creating mass unemployment. If that was to be true, then the police should have not only arrested the capitalists class, but should have also sent them for guillotine in the interest of the masses. Its the poor youths in Kenya who are murdered, harassed at gun-point for donning dreadlocks with charges of appearing like criminals, it's the youths from poor neighborhood like Kibera, Kondele, Mathare, slums in Laikipia, Kasarani and not youths from the rich sub-urbs like Runda, Karen who bear the horrific experience of police brutality.

The Kenyan state cannot reform the police to your advantage you wretched of the earth. To change police uniform, to disband the DCI's Special Service Unit, to increase their funding, to introduce pocket-less uniform are theatrics which have nothing to do with you poor desperate youth! To dream of a society free from the fetters of police brutality is to identify with your class of the economically exploited in the struggle for socialism. Even the formation of IPOA does not in itself abolish police brutality; it's truly an admission that based on its inherent violence against the masses, the police must be tamed from without. Although progressive reforms in the forces are acceptable, such reforms must not be seen as an end in themselves. But again for the rulling class, reforms in the police force are informed not by the illusion of people's safety, but of private property!

What will be the nature of the state we desire to have? Engels clarifies at best that:

"The proletariat seizes from state power and turns the means of production into state property to begin with. But thereby it abolishes itself as the proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, and abolishes also the state as state. Society thus far, operating amid class antagonisms, needed the state, that is, an organization of the particular exploiting class, for the maintenance of its external conditions of production, and, therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited class in the conditions of oppression determined by the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom or bondage, wage off labor). The state was the official representative of society as a whole, its concentration in a visible corporation. But it was this only insofar as it was the state of that class which itself represented, for its own time, society as a whole: in ancient times, the state of slave owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, of the feudal nobility; in our own time, of the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection, as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon the present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from this struggle, are removed, nothing more remains to be held in subjection – nothing necessitating a special coercive force, a state. The first act by which the state really comes forward as the representative of the whole of society – the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society – is also it's last independent act as state. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies down of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The state is not 'abolished'. It withers away. This gives the measure of the value of the phrase 'a free people's state', both as to its justifiable use for a long time from an agitational point of view, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency; and also of the so called anarchists' demand that the state be abolished overnight".

The empowered, armed and organized working class will constitute a state in which the "special body of armed men" would not be used to repress the working class but used instead to repress the remnants of the bourgeois class. For the first time, the state will be used in the service of the people under the dictatorship of the workers for transition. To abolish the police force and their brutality is to join the workers' party (Communist party), struggle for worker's govern-

ment in establishing a classless society where the police force will eventually be rendered obsolete.

Law

Although it's wrongly put that constitution, law serves as a unifying factor and that way not only bind the citizens (also the governed and the governors) but also limits the excesses of the rulers; the constitution in general and laws in particular are products of the economic force and are part of the superstructure. The partial application of law in Kenya, the open disregard of court orders by the rulling class is a confirmation that laws in a class society are tools of a given class over another, and the class running the state interprets laws in it's favor however progressive those laws can appear to be or are intended to be in the minds of the masses. For instance, instead of abolishing this system of capitalism, the challenges of the youths are taken in cyclic debates on law, policies and constitution by the rulling class as if those laws have not proven impotent in the face of en masse unemployment. Were we to be equal before law as taught in schools, the government would implement article 55 to guarantee employment for all.

In 2007, the Narc administration established two funds; Women Enterprise Fund and Youth Enterprise Development fund as part of the policies and programmes in addressing youth unemployment. In 2014, jubilee administration guided by article 55 of the constitution again created another fund, Uwezo fund for promotion of businesses and enterprises for the youth, in the same year National Youth service (NYS) was restructured. These came at the backdrop of the MSME's Act of 2012 under the ministry of industrialization, Trade and Enterprise. In 2016, the government in partnership with World Bank established Kenya Youth Employment Opportunities (KYEOP) and 6 years later, the new administration has added another fund, Hustler's fund (loan) (Youth Enterprise Development fund, women enterprise fund, Uwezo fund and now hustlers fund). Last year, The Building Bridges Initiative recommended that to deal with youth issues, we needed to entrench youth commission in the constitution (despite the existence of national youth council), 7 years tax break on youth enterprises, employment conferences, procurement opportunities (despite the existence of that clause), business advisors in all huduma centres, Employment bureau (despite the existence of National Employment Authority). It's as if each administration has mastered and clinged on one poor solution, affirmative action. Infact it's inherent in the system of capitalism to create and maintain a steady surplus population (pool

of unemployed) and no laws, policies, constitution however progressive can redeem capitalism as long as the state power is under the reactionary bourgeoisie or comprador bourgeois in Kenya. Moreover those funds have been mered with corruption, continues to trap youths in debts and lacks measurable impact in bridging unemployment gap. For how many youths are roaming all over the country looking for any type of job whatever the pay and they can't get any? How many poor young people are dying in Saudi Arabia desperately looking for indecent jobs while at home the rulling class has maintained that poverty is a mind set?

Those funds continues to exist side by side with neo-liberal economic policies which have led to collapsing industries, factories, agriculture sector, supermarket chains, massive retrenchments in public service and declining SMES which employs so many youths; infact those concealed efforts seems progressive in the eyes of the rulling class yet they are driven to find solution within the bounds of capitalism which for one, has deepened youth unemployment to 67% leaving the poor youths at the mercy of exploitative gambling industries and the flooded bodaboda sector for survival. Capitalism creates and needs unemployment!

Capitalist investment is founded on two parts; part that hires workers and that of ownership of the means of production. With systemic dynamics of boom and burst and insane thirst for profit, two processes reduce the part that hires workers where market competition leads to concentration (monopoly) establishing economic dictatorship of the big firms thus killing the small scale enterprises.

On the other hand, to increase productivity and profitability, the capitalist needs to cut on production cost with expected increase in value (output). This is possible through low wages among workers and employing laborers as so long as they can guarantee maximum profit; another way is incorporation of machinery where instead of using technology to make work easier for workers, it's used to cut the labor force to maximize profit by rendering workers redundant. In capitalist society, employment does not begin with the need for young workers to get decent wages and lead a prosperous life, employment begins from how efficient can they accept to be exploited (the number and ability of a young worker to guarantee profit for the capitalist), plunging it into it's irreconcilable crisis. While one would expect an increase in jobs due to increasing demand for labor, an increasing labor demand is dealt with

through technology and overworking a lean work force which aside from having to work for subsistence wages and under harsh conditions, become another hindrance in expansion of laborers. For capitalism, it's not abnormal to want expansion of capital without expansion of workers and wages. In that regard, it's impossible for the private sector to eradicate unemployment through government's consistent efforts to privatize industries and key commanding heights of the economy in Kenya by lying to the public that the government has no interest in doing business.

Marx in Capital volume one explains this in the following words:

"The production of a relative surplus population, or the setting free of labourers, goes on therefore yet more rapidly than the technical revolution of the process of production that accompanies, and is accelerated by, the advance of accumulation; and more rapidly than the corresponding diminution of the variable part of capital as compared with the constant. If the means of production, as they increase in extent and effective power, become to a less extent means of employment of labourers, this state of things is again modified by the fact that in proportion as the productiveness of labour increases, capital increases its supply of labour more quickly than its demand for labourers. The overwork of the employed part of the working class swells the ranks of the reserve, whilst conversely the greater pressure that the latter by its competition exerts on the former, forces these to submit to overwork and to subjugation under the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists, [19] and accelerates at the same time the production of the industrial reserve army on a scale corresponding with the advance of social accumulation".

The contradiction that counters industrialization and enterprises in Kenya is that of capitalism. That while employed and underemployed workers have to take the lowest wages with sometimes no workers-benefits, this makes profit possible for the capitalist, and at the same time makes profit impossible. How?

Because capitalism sorts production of commodities with a falsified impression of a thriving system without harmonizing the part on consumption. The working class and the unemployed who ought to buy commodities have so little to buy what they need in sorting their social needs, on the other hand the few,

capitalists who have accumulated so much, have a lot that they cannot spend it all. Profit made possible on one part, profit made impossible on the other part!. The consequence is destruction of goods by companies leading to losses, stranded products from farmers, financial insolvency for business people and in employment sector, the collapse of industries which have to produce what the workers and "the unemployed" need, but their need can only be met through money which they don't have. While low wages and unemployment makes profit possible, on the other hand it cuts on the purchasing power of the majority. For example KICOMI which was a mass employer produced local textile products which majority of Kenyans for their low wages and lack of it thereof could not purchase due to neo-liberal economic policies which institutionalized cheap mtumba business; in consequence, majority lost jobs within the industries and farmers lost ready market for their cotton (this also affects the majority employed in agricultural farms). This has been the case in formerly state owned sugar industries like Miwani, Muhoroni and Mumias which due to smuggling of illicit cheap sugar has led to huge glut in the local market. In part, the sugar industries have to endure systemic problems; financial insolvency, mismanagement to receivership, but in whole the neo-liberal economic policies kills industrial growth, job creation and development of agriculture in the developing countries. The revolutionary government will intervene in the economic progress of the country by developing home grown solutions and reviewing economic policies on trade in a bid to protect our industries and producers.

In fact, without Central planning of the economy, the subsequent administrations will fall to the erroneous thinking that just by granting and establishing more youth funds, the malady of employment will sort itself. The principal challenge in doing business and investing in Kenya must be called for what it is, not an unconducive business environment, but an unconducive economic system of Capitalism that everytime relegates human needs to the periphery.

The insanity of capitalism and its inability to address unemployment has shifted to gaslighting the poor people for their inability to create jobs for themselves, this is done through its arms of propaganda which includes education, NGOs and mainstream media. To struggle against crime among the youths is to struggle for jobs, to struggle against unemployment is to struggle against capitalism and to abolish capitalism is to establish socialism. Socialism seeks to solve this

anarchic distribution of investment with planned allocation of investments through central planning of the economy.

In place of private allocation of investments, a revolutionary government will establish state control of labor markets as well as the commanding heights of the economy which includes financial institutions, banks, transport and communication, infrastructure, major natural water towers and water works, power generation among others. This will facilitate the expropriation of the expropriators bringing the nationalized industries under the firm control of the state (expropriation without compensation). Although expropriation has been vulgarised, the revolutionary government will categorically wrest by decree private property and not personal property of the working class, peasants and their allies. Through Central planning of the economy, for the first time production will be about meeting social needs of the people and through state budget, there will be planned allocation of labor where employment for youths will be the responsibility of the government of the workers. To put the country on the path of industrialization, the Communist party of Kenya will combine agriculture with manufacturing industries by investing in the primary economy centered projects in agriculture and industry and also in the secondary economy centered projects in tourism, trade and the service sector.

The revolutionary government will abolish technology as a means of enslaving the worker to machinery and cutting on work force to maximize profit, instead, the government will employ technology in making work humane for the worker while employing more people to work.

At least at this stage, the state will have eliminated the capitalist class from production where surplus in production will be used in providing universal education, healthcare among other needs of the workers as they will arise. The government will not stop there, the workers' state will create corresponding labor policies in the interest of the workers based on unique conditions at that moment in time. The government of the workers will not copy paste its policies, but will apply the science of Marxism based on unique material circumstances in Kenya.

In conclusion, Marxism has therefore given all youths whose hearts are dancing with rage a scientific light for shaping the world; that instead of merely reacting to the failures of the government and letting it go, we must join the party of workers, learn and

struggle to win state power as only then can it be meaningful to establish another just world. The economic oppression of the youth is not a call for pity, but a challenge to consciously organize for an alternative order, socialist Revolution!

Long live the struggle!

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Nargis Jahan

Bangladesh Women Workers Welfare Union - BWWU

PRIVATIZATION BANGLADESH



Privatization refers to any means by which services, infrastructure and functions traditionally or ideally performed by government are wholly or partially owned, provided, managed or delivered by private actors / privately employed workers. It includes public-private partnerships, corporatization of public services, outsourcing of public service employment and euphemisms like “asset recycling”. This factsheet focuses on the privatization of services that are essential in the advancement of women’s human rights, primarily: healthcare, education, drinking water and sanitation, water, energy, emergency services, public administration, criminal justice, transportation, Telecommunication, Railway, municipality, bank etc.

The programme of state enterprise privatization pursued by the government of Bangladesh since 1975, largely under the influence and financial conditions of the aid agencies, has been subject to widespread debate. In 1991 at the suggestion of the world bank, the government of Bangladesh formed the Privatization Board to ensure better outcomes of privatization. This article investigates whether firms privatized under the auspices of the privatization Board up to 1996 were adding to the nation economic growth or --as critics claimed --to individuals families pockets. More specially, it examines whether enterprises privatized in 1991-1996 reversed previous losses and introduced better management controls, leading to increased investment, productivity and overall organizational effectiveness and efficiency. The major findings are not supportive on privatization policy, indicating that performance of privatized enterprises has not improved significantly. Without denying the economic problems of Bangladesh’s public enterprises, past and present, this article questions the performance of privatized companies in terms of their declining profitability and productivity; employment conditions and trade union and individual rights; altered distributions of value added

in absolute and relative terms and serious lack of financial transparency and accountability.

A study report on privatized industries in Bangladesh conducted by the Privatization Commission in 2010 found that only 59 percent of the privatized entities were in operation after their privatizations and 20 percent of them were permanently closed down – implying lack of planning or business motivation of their private owners (Islam, 2015).

Bangladesh has privatized more public enterprises than any other country, a total of 1,076, of which 609 were in the industrial sector. A big leap in the privatization program occurred in 1982, under another new government. As part of the New Industrial Policy (NIP) of June 1, the decision was made to return 33 jute mills and 27 textile mills to the former Bangladeshi owners. Jute and textiles are the two major industries in the country.

Key Points

- Privatization has a discriminatory effect because quality public services are essential in overcoming exclusion, systemic discrimination and because women’s reduced economic and political power means they are often less likely to afford privatized services.
- When public services are diminished and delivered at a profit, women are forced to fill in the gaps of delivering health and social care, acquiring water and energy and thereby provide an unpaid subsidy to the state and economy. Consequently, privatization increases the gendered burden of unpaid work.
- It is the responsibility of the state to ensure women enjoy their human rights. Outsourcing that obligation to corporations leads to rights violations and is fundamentally at odds with the principles that underpin human rights and democratic obligations. Now details:-

What is the role of the private sector in employment generation?

The private sector provides around 90% of employment in the developing world (including formal and informal jobs), delivers critical goods and services and contributes to tax revenues and the efficient flow of capital.

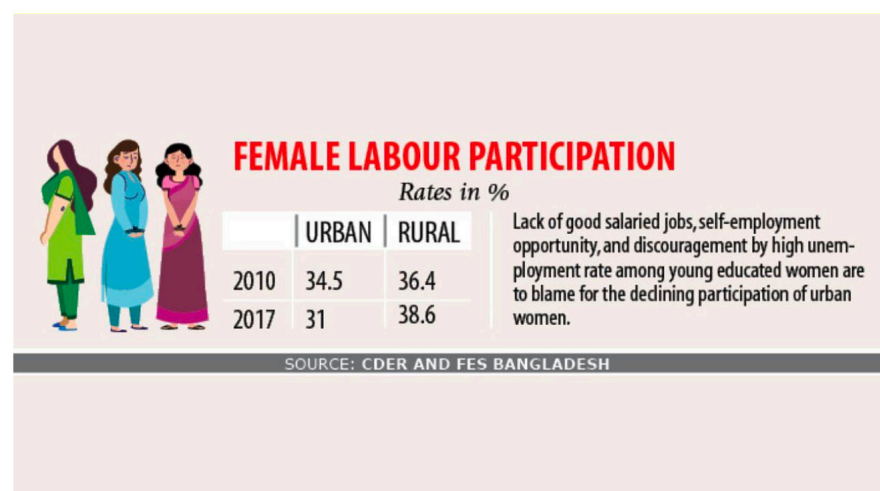
Privatization of public services routinely leads to lower wages, working conditions and security of employment but also often reduces the share of women employed in those industries. Public service employment is one of the few opportunities for women to enjoy their right to Decent Work and they are proportionally more impacted by public service employment cuts. The UN Independent Expert on Foreign Debt recognized that “downsizing and privatization of State-owned companies have often affected female employment disproportionately” and in a later report, that “cuts to public-sector jobs, and the privatization of services, tend to negatively affect women more than men”

Working women in Bangladesh

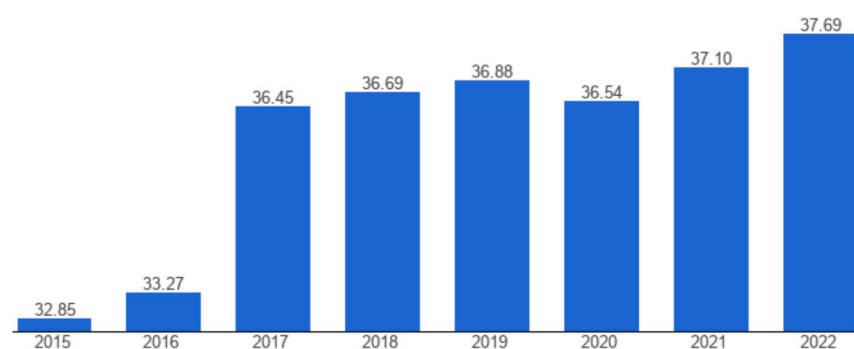
Women are mostly involved in post-harvesting work. Women’s participation in the labour force has increased manifold over time in Bangladesh. Compared to 4 percent in 1974, female participation in the labour force has increased to 35.6 percent in 2016. This change is much

faster than the growth of male labour force participation which increased to 81.9 percent in 2016 from 80.4 percent in 1974. Female participation in Bangladesh’s labour force has increased to 42.68% in 2022, up from 36.3% five years ago, according to a survey report conducted by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) released on Wednesday (29 March).

Interestingly, labour force participation among rural women is much higher (37.6 percent) than urban women (30.8 percent). Not only in the export oriented readymade garments sector but in many non-traditional and emerging sectors, such as hotels and restaurants, transportation, real estate services, telecommunications, banking and insurance sectors, women’s participation is increasing. This is due to the fact that with increased access to higher education, the prospect for getting into high valued job market has expanded for women in Bangladesh. However, as a late comer to such services, the number of female participants is still low in these sectors. Moreover, the progress has not been uniform in all sectors. There is also discordance within the sector. Not many women are seen at the managerial and senior positions of organizations. Under-representation of women in decision making jobs is due to a mix of economic, social and cultural situations.



Female employment falling urban area.



Female labour participation in Bangladesh

Challenges

Working women in Bangladesh face different kinds of challenges from different grounds irrespective of their socioeconomic backgrounds. The extent to which each of the challenges is responsible for disturbance in women's careers has been measured in this study. Five challenges namely-family issues, discrimination in terms of facilities, working conditions at the office, social challenges, and sexual harassment, have been considered. sexual harassment as the most significant among the aforementioned challenges to have an impact on women's careers finds that sexual harassment, discrimination in terms of facilities, and family challenges are mostly responsible for creating an adverse impact on women's careers which may aid in creating a better workplace for working women in Bangladesh.

To elevate the status and well being of women in Asian society, their substantive representation in government and political organizations is imperative. Their relative absence and even alienation from these sources of power inevitably relegate them to disadvantaged positions with few legal rights. The political exclusion of women in Asia is directly related to the expansion of their economic marginalization and impoverishment. If the political exclusion and declining economic status of women remain unchallenged, there is little hope for improvement of women's position in the society. women will not have a greater claim on the society as a gender group unless specific women's issues are included in the political and social agenda of globalization. To ensure that women's economic and legal rights are championed, women's labor-oriented movements now must be something more than traditional male-oriented labor movements. Because the cultural norms and values determining women's adverse social position are tied to the dominant patriarchal relations within a society, any meaningful changes that would raise women's social status will not come about without some form of organized resistance to gender inequality.

Therefore, rejection of unequal gender relations can be effectively pursued

only via organized political-social action. Organizing and soliciting broad-based social and political responses appealing for social justice based on greater inclusion of the most vulnerable segments of the labor force in general and women in particular are mandatory. As a case in point, the privatization of social security and the negative impact on women are explored in the following section.

Women's labor plays a crucial role in the contemporary restructuring of Asia's industrializing economies. Women are becoming increasingly active in both the rural and the urban economy. It is their labor that provides the ultimate basis of international competitiveness of most Asian countries.

Women are a direct source of cheap labor, especially in export manufacturing industries, whether as formal, informal, or casual labor. Among the workers of the world, women are all too often the most vulnerable and the most exploited during the adjustment and/or processes dominated by privatization.

The harsh conditions set by the global commodity chain make Bangladesh one of the worst countries in the world to be a worker. A study published in January 2023 shows that during the pandemic, multinational garment companies squeezed subcontractors to cut costs, which resulted in harsher conditions for workers.

Role of Trade union and Privatization

A trade union is an organization of worker who have come together to achieve common goals such as protecting the integrity of its trade, improving safety standards, achieving higher pay and benefits such as health care and retirement, increasing the number of employees an employer assigns to complete the work, and better working condition. Trade unions are the controller of the labor force of an industry which works for the betterment of the country's trade by ensuring the right of the labor force. The trade union, through its leadership, bargains with the employer on behalf of union members and negotiates labour contact with employers. Trade

union can helping social adjustment .Workers have to adjust themselves to the new working conditions, the new rules and policies . workers come from different backgrounds may become disorganized , unsatisfied and frustrated. Union help them such adjustment.

Problem is these are lack of consciousness, lack of utility, lack of knowledge, political influence division of trade union. The rate of unionization has increased in the RMG sector, trade union affiliation is low in Bangladesh compared to many other developing countries. Trade unions in Bangladesh deplore the fact that, when consulting the social partners on the implementation of the SDGs as part of the tripartite dialogue, the government prioritises the input of employers, while trade unions are not visibly and effectively involved in the overall implementation process.

global economy has failed to cope up and is struggling to rebound. The pandemic has had a profound impact on the world of work in the first half of 2020, but in Bangladesh the recovery could be further delayed by a more threatening second wave. The most vulnerable among the workers were both regular and casual workers self-employed and small entrepreneurs of different sectors including MSMEs, construction, road, commerce, tourism and other informal sectors. Public policies and action taken by employers to tackle the challenges in the world of work have been largely influenced by the active participation for the trade unions across countries. Out of 133 countries ,108 have used "social dialogues" as a key instrument to address the concerns of the workers. Trade unions in Bangladesh have also played an active role in humanitarian issues. But their role was underwhelming in

Active participation against Privatization.



What is the role of the private sector in employment generation?

Contribution of private sector in the economy of Bangladesh. Of the country's investment at 31.56 per cent of the GDP (gross domestic product), the private sector's share is 23.40 percentage points, that is 74.15 per cent of the overall investment. Bangladeshi private companies are meeting more than 95 per cent of local demand and exporting goods to more than 100 countries. The private sector provides around 90% of employment in the developing world (including formal and informal jobs), delivers critical goods and services and contributes to tax revenues and the efficient flow of capital.

Contribution of private sector in the economy of Bangladesh.

Of the country's investment at 31.56 per cent of the GDP (gross domestic product), the private sector's share is 23.40 percentage points, that is 74.15 per cent of the overall investment. Bangladeshi private companies are meeting more than 95 per cent of local demand and exporting goods to more than 100 countries. Since the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic, the

case of workers rights and concerns during this crisis period.

Present Challenges

The negative effects of privatization are: One significant inconvenience to perceive is the chances for bribery and corruption that accompany privatization. Expanding the bridge between the rich and poor people. Business models are imposed by private organizations. Disadvantages on prices as the firms are price takers.

Disadvantages of privatization

Natural monopoly. A natural monopoly occurs when the most efficient number of firms in an industry is one. Public interest. Government loses out on potential dividends. Problem of regulating private monopolies. Fragmentation of industries. Short-termism of firms. A more important chance for misrepresentation and debasement to happen. Greater expenses for customers. Firmness because of long-haul contracts. Profit is an essential inspiration.

Why is Bangladesh at risk?

Bangladesh is prone to flooding and waterlogging because of its location as a river delta. In 2012, it was labeled a Least Developed Country by the United Nations, with high rates of poverty and weak government, meaning it is especially vulnerable to natural disasters. Denationalization and disinvestment can be the methods of privatization. Selling off or liquidating Public Sector Unit's shares to private enterprises.

In Bangladesh, we need to focus more attention on the post-privatization problems faced by enterprises. Indeed, as many problems are common to all privatized or non-privatized enterprises, it is important that we examine the issue to improve performances of the entire private sector. As a result, they are often saddled with

130,000 CHWs, most of them women, deliver health education, preventive, promotive, and limited curative care across Bangladesh's rural areas. About 50,000 of these CHWs work for the government, and the rest work for NGOs and the private sector.

Bangladesh has a pluralistic health system where both public and private sector providers play important roles. According to a study in 2021, the country has about 148,000 community health workers of which about 60,000 are supported by the Government; the rest being in BRAC and other non-government organizations.

District hospitals, maternal and child welfare centers are considered to be on the secondary level. Upazila health complexes, union health & family welfare centers, and community clinics (lowest-level healthcare facilities) are the primary level healthcare providers.

Labor force, total in Bangladesh was reported at 74459362 in 2022, according to the World Bank collection of development indicators, compiled from officially recognized sources. There are some reasons

to be optimistic the developments have put in place facilities of broadly the planned specification in broadly the right locations. Causes for concern are the poor quality of some of the construction, some deficiencies in the facilities, furnishing and equipment and poor maintenance. However, in terms of operation and service development the picture is less encouraging. Many of the problems found in other government health services have appeared here – shortages of drugs and consumables, insufficient skills in some staff, staff not available when needed, and generally services considered to be of a poor standard by users. There are also risks in that some previously successful outreach services are to be replaced, and there is a need to ensure that the benefits of these are retained. It is clear that at present the community clinics are playing at most a limited

role in the development of ESP services for those most in need.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN BANGLADESH

The present study is encompassing mainly domestic violence, dowry-related violence, rape, acid attack, and eve-teasing. Nowadays violence against women has become one of the severest problems of Bangladesh. "Bangladesh stands second in the world in terms of violence against women in different forms like women battering, wife-beating, domestic and dowry-related violence, acid attack, rape, physical and verbal harassment, fatwa, sexual harassment in the workplace, trafficking and prostitution, polygamy and child abuse". Violence severely infringes the freedom and right of mobility of a woman. It has reached to such an alarming situation that many women committed suicide in the recent years due to violence against women. Lastly, it also emphasized on the moral response for ensuring women honor, dignity and rescuing the women from ill-conduct. This article focuses on the issue of violence against women in :-

A movement to combat sexual discrimination and to gain full legal, economic, vocational, educational, and social rights and opportunities for women, equal to those of men.

A movement or campaign to achieve women's rights, remove inequality and all sorts of discrimination and dominations.

The Women's Liberation Movement is the social struggle which aims to eliminate forms of oppression based on gender and to gain for women equal economic and social status and rights to determine their own lives as are enjoyed by men.

Evaluation

Privatization activities are expanding relatively unchecked into traditionally public sector domains on national and international levels. There is concern that privatization negatively impacts the most vulnerable segments of the workforce, especially women workers. The economic

plight of female workers is but one of a number of increasingly disturbing effects of privatization as it continues to grow globally in scope and role. More than ever, the caution to consider the social consequences of privatization that threaten basic social justice and human rights, particularly in the transition economies of Europe and the emerging economies of Asia, must be taken seriously if there is to be any hope for an equitable and peaceful global community.

The Way forward :-

A high-level taskforce, chaired by a respected person from the private sector. This task force should be asked to submit a report with tow month providing a detailed strategy on privatization, including of the privatization commission. Ensuring an effective legal and regularity framework.

The state acting as an owner establishing a clear and consistent ownership policy. Relationship with stakeholders and equitable treatment on shareholders. Responsibilities of the Trade Union of the entitles before and after privatization. A monitoring and Evaluation of cell manned by International and country experts should be established to review the work on a sustain basis. The trade union should set their strategies on three areas: Social dialogue addressing short term challenges. Social dialogue addressing medium /long term challenges.

Strengthening the social dialogues mechanism across different sectors. They should also work with the ministry of labour and Employment as well as the international labour Organization to make their operations more functional and effective.

9. Trade Union should work with the government to priorities the interest and needs of workers. it is essential to develop and innovative, effective and transport mechanism for the distribution of cash support to the affected workers. Union should also lead negotiations regarding issue support by lobbying for bilateral agreements with host countries.

Thanks.



Public sector health care.

many problems mentioned above, such as excess workers, absolute products, improper financial structures and lethargic marketing departments. For such enterprises, mere ownership changes may not mean much if it doesn't lead to the required restructuring and overhauling. Enterprises facing competition may survive without improving efficiency if someone is bailing them out. Sometimes the problems are cultural, arising from deeply ingrained attitudes and practices. This has been a pervasive problem in the ex-socialist economies.

Private health care services :-

Private enterprises cover roughly 60 percent of the health sector in Bangladesh, employing approximately 70,000 doctors with roughly 100,000 hospital beds, providing employment to around 12 lakh people about

Chandani De Silva
SRI LANKA

ENVIRONMENTAL CRISES AND EDUCATION

AGRICULTURE AND URBAN



There are schools both urban and rural as well in Sri Lanka. It's a difference between these two categories. Schools are the main source to give education to everyone in every country in the world. We can categorize students as slow learners and gifted ones. So also... slow learners and gifted learners both are in urban and rural areas. But the way of learning is somewhat different in these two areas. Regarding facilities in schools urban schools have more facilities than the rural schools.

In this way I would explain the learning facilities in their own environment. If we talk about urban educational environment, they have rich facilities in schools like kinds of sports, laboratories with high equipment, media, communication, photography, English Speaking Club and they have so many modern facilities like computers, internet and smart classroom as well other internet connections. And also the students have good family background. Their parents have high professional and live in high society in our country and in the world. They are doctors, engineers, lawyers, architectures, lecturers/professors in universities likewise they also have connection with other countries. Some parents do their professions in abroad. Although some students are slow learners. Among these facilities and background they do not learn well and do not use these facilities in proper way. They waste the time and the money. They don't want to do higher educations. If the rural area students have this chance, they get real opportunity to do their higher education and join to do good profession in the society.

In the other hand when we talk about agricultural field in schools in urban the students haven't real life situation experience about agriculture. Some students do agriculture as a subject and they see and work in exemplary agricultural field. They learn only the subject and do not see real paddy-fields, chenas and cultivated land in villages. Urban area hasn't this type of agricultural field. If the urban students want to know more and do higher studies in agriculture. They haven't such an experience in towns. If they want to get real situation, students have to go to rural areas and live therefore some period to get real experience and gain more knowledge about agriculture field. There are some barriers which have when the urban students face for such agricultural environment education. It is not a successful way and government has to solve these problems or take a decision to make other way to fulfil their needs.

Further more I have to say more about my real life situation experience in the era of getting my first appointment in Monaragala District. It's a rural area and I had to get my first appointment in remote area. I was also 25years old and got real life experience as I also from as urban area in my childhood. Those innocent students like to come to school and the most of them clever to do their studies. The villagers in area haven't do good professions. The most of them are farmers and some do minor jobs. Some villagers want to give education to their kids and some people don't want to do as they do. Although, the students in remote areas have to work in their cultivated land with their family members after school. In the morn-

ing, students went to school and in the afternoon, they had to cultivate their lands. They plant green gram and the other kinds of grains, vegetables, fruits and green leaves. Rural children face to this type of life situations and spent more time to do household work than the school work. Students of rural areas can take real experience of agricultural education of agricultural education. Even urban students haven't such experience rural students have such a real experience spending really in their home garden and cultivated lands. Poor innocent children have such type of lot of memories in their lives. So also they have to face some accidents like snake bites and make wounds by cutting trees in ground. In the period of time, I taught in my first school, I had to face very sorrowful incident. When I spent time in my boarding place there were two sons in that home. Young boy is very active, talkative and cute. He always wanted me to play with him. I was not playing but also I had to look at their playing. While the days went fast and I came for my training in weekends. I just told my boarding sister to look after two sons carefully. When I came back there on Monday, I heard that younger son had fallen asleep forever because of the cobra bite I couldn't believe my ears and I was shocked. A very large female cobra bite the boy when he was on the small range of rock. That innocent child had taken to the hospital and gave antivenom injections but doctors couldn't serve him. His name was Chamila and he faced for the grade 5scholarship examination at that period. I couldn't bear it because he was my little friend. That was one incident happened in this area and it was my real very sorrowful incident I met in my real life.

Not only one incident but also there were many incidents happened like that in this area.

In my case, I helped some students to learn, and go educational trip trip and other purposes at their homes (like arms giving, pirith chanting and others). I do it with money and other things. They were very happy when I helped them. Because of their poverty, the most of the students' way of doing higher education doesn't complete. Even with the other reasons they haven't chance to fulfil their dreams. They also have to do usually their daily routine. It's a very bad situation as the clever students can't give a good service to their motherland if they haven't a chance to do their education as far as they can and enough situations to do good profession.

There are some barriers which urban students have to face regarding agriculture education. Both urban and rural students have such situations when they do their studies. We can't look at that and we must have a successful solution to solve this event. It can't be let move forever to depend on this type of occasions and it is a disaster to the country as we can't get profit and develop the country without using these resources in correct way.

As an English Teacher as well as a Sri Lankan teacher I also hope and want to make a remedy to solve these problems in education field in Sri Lanka. I try my best to do the best as I can to serve my motherland using new methods to fulfil and develop the educational environment

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Chapter I: Purposes and Principles

Article 1
The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2
1. The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.
The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace

and security.
7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Chapter II: Membership

Article 3
The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article 4
1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.
2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5
A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6
A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter III: Organs

Article 7
1. There are established as principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice and a Secretariat.
2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 8
The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

Chapter IV: The General Assembly

COMPOSITION
Article 9
1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.
2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS
Article 10
The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article 11
1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.
2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.
3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.
4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12
1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not

make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.
2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13
1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:
a. promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;
b. promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.
2. The further responsibilities, functions and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14
Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15
1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.
2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article 16
The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article 17
1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

VOTING

Article 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Article 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

PROCEDURE

Article 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter V: The Security Council

COMPOSITION

Article 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.

3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

VOTING

Article 27

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

Chapter VI: Pacific Settlement of Disputes

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution

by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.
2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and

assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements

Article 52

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional ar-

rangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

Article 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

Article 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX: International Economic and Social Cooperation

Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

- a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and
- c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Article 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

Article 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

Article 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

*Chapter X:
The Economic and
Social Council*

COMPOSITION

Article 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of fifty-four Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from twenty-seven to fifty-four members, in addition to the members elected in place of the nine members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, twenty-seven additional members shall be elected. Of these twenty-seven additional members, the term of office of nine members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of nine other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

Article 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

Article 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

Article 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

VOTING

Article 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

Article 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

Article 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

Article 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

Article 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

*Chapter XI:
Declaration Regarding
Non-Self-Governing
Territories*

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the

well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

- to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- to further international peace and security;
- to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and
- to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

*Chapter XII:
International Trusteeship
System*

Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- to further international peace and security;

b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;

c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

- territories now held under mandate;
- territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
- territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which

Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions..

Chapter XIII: The Trusteeship Council

COMPOSITION**Article 86**

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

- those Members administering trust territories;
 - such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and
 - as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.
2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS**Article 87**

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;
- provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

VOTING**Article 89**

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE**Article 90**

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

Chapter XIII: The Trusteeship Council

Article 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

Article 93

1. All Members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 94

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

Article 95

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

Article 96

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

Chapter XV: The Secretariat

Article 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-Gener-

al shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

Article 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

Article 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

Chapter XVI: Miscellaneous Provisions

Article 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

Article 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its purposes.

Article 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

Chapter XVII: Transitional Security Arrangements

Article 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, 30 October 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Article 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

Chapter XVII: T ransitional Security Arrangements

Article 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members

of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Article 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

Chapter XIX: Ratification and Signature

Article 110

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

Article 111

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and

Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

In Faith Whereof the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter. DONE at the city of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.

Note on Amendments to Articles 23, 27, 61, 109

Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter were adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1963 and came into force on 31 August 1965. A further amendment to Article 61 was adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1971, and came into force on 24 September 1973. An amendment to Article 109, adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1965, came into force on 12 June 1968.

The amendment to Article 23 enlarges the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen. The amended Article 27 provides that decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven) and on all other matters by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven), including the concurring votes of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The amendment to Article 61, which entered into force on 31 August 1965, enlarged the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven. The subsequent amendment to that Article, which entered into force on 24 September 1973, further increased the membership of the Council from twenty-seven to fifty-four.

The amendment to Article 109, which relates to the first paragraph of that Article, provides that a General Conference of Member States for the purpose of reviewing the Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members (formerly seven) of the Security Council. Paragraph 3 of Article 109, which deals with the consideration of a possible review conference during the tenth regular session of the General Assembly, has been retained in its original form in its reference to a "vote, of any seven members of the Security Council", the paragraph having been acted upon in 1955 by the General Assembly, at its tenth regular session, and by the Security Council.

¹ <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>

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Neoliberal pirates assaulting the right to education: capitalist EdTech seizes an essential public commodity; our digital sovereignty

"Only one month left and we already have more than 15,000 attendees! We are breaking registration records". This was the announcement of the call for the "Virtual Educa Connect" meeting denominated "Educational Reset: Digital Ecosystems for Human Development". Virtual meeting with sessions on Edtech focusing on "innovation in education", "new contexts and educational demands", "impact initiatives", etc. and aimed at the "educators of the 21st century" after the coronavirus, in order to "revolutionize" education.

Conference titles were significant: "The Flipped Learning model as a foundation for the post-pandemic mixed education system" by the Minister of Education of the Misiones Province, Argentina; "Be TalentSTEAM" by the General Director of the Altran Foundation for Innovation; "Soft Skills, skills and competencies to face the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4RI)" by the Vice Rector of the National Academic Areandina; "O-City. org: Boosting the Orange Economy through Education" by the UPV's Director of the Innovation Chair or "The role of accelerators in digital innovation in education: how to support and boost startups" by the Director of SEK Lab Edtech Accelerator.

During this meeting, they explain, they will address how to apply artificial intelligence [AI] and Big Data, the Internet of Things [IoT], Block Chain or Cloud Computing to the educational field. The program is sponsored by Microsoft, Pearson, Intel, IE Business School, the World Bank, the OECD and many of the big players in corporate partnerships in the educational field.

This might be one of the numerous examples that bloom like fields in spring, in these times of pandemic and confinement. In the aftermath of COVID-19, the digital education is being sold as the "new salvation" by EdTech¹ gurus. Big Data, Artificial Intelligence (AI), digital platforms and the cloud will bring us the modernization of an education stuck in the last century, they proclaim in a re-edited "savior story" of technological solutionism as a miracle cure for education. In this way, the big sponsors of EdTech² are promoting their definitive assault on education, pushing for hybrid governance which proclaims the imperative need for public-private collaboration to manage the education of the future.

In this way, we witness how digital data, code and software algorithms are

blended with certain political agendas related to educational governance, commercial interests of large corporations, business ambitions of venture capital funds and business objectives with philanthropic marketing, which allocate enormous amounts of economic investment to create new ways of under-



standing and imagining education and intervene in it, as if it were a new market and capitalist expansion niche (Fleming, 2016; Haddad & Reckhow, 2018). The informal means of collective thought construction (Netflix, Walt Disney, Fox, MTV, etc.) are already in their hands, but they also control the formal means of socialization of future generations and exploit a big business that moves many billions of dollars annually.³

The new neoliberal slogan in educational management goes like this: "the new policy pursues private innovation in the management of the public". Privatization disguised as innovation. It is a repetition of the classic public-private partnership or joint management, where the public sector becomes a niche for the private sector to extract and obtain profits. However, now, in this re-edited post-modern story, it is being polished up and given a coat of paint, stating that the idea is to make decisions "jointly", to guide public policies and decisions from the "innovative principles of the private sector", with the direct participation of the "qualified" leaders of civil society, the new capitalist philanthropists (patrons, banks, foundations, venture capital funds...) who already proved their worth by succeeding in the capitalist management and now want and demand to apply their recipes in the public sector and to guide its management adequately.

We have seen this even in the new Spanish education law, the LOMLOE. Article 122 stipulates that public centers may "obtain supplementary resources". This means the potential for raising "complementary" private funds for public education, taking into account the public underfunding of educational

centers. Therefore, the door is open to sponsorship, partnerships, patronage, "public-private collaboration", to convert education into a business environment of a new hybrid public-private management under the control of a supposedly "innovative" digital educational technology controlled by Big Tech.

Indeed, this new Law establishes what is already taking place in practice, through collaboration agreements, with La Caixa, the Bofill Foundation and, recently, Amazon. In addition, no mechanism is contemplated to restrain Big Tech or GAFAM, the North American technological giants, such as Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple and Microsoft, which have invaded the entire public educational space with their platforms. The information of students, the massive extraction of their data (the white gold of the 21st century), is being left in the hands of these hegemonic platforms. Leaving the open source platforms and public platforms constructed by teachers and educational communities such as Guadalinux or the Extremadura community to perish.

Digital capitalism desires control and domination over the last remaining boundaries of the public sector to be conquered: our information in the form of data in order to predict behaviors, which is a common and essential good. Data extracted and sold by Big Tech, neo-feudal

landlords of the new digital economy that continue with the centuries-old extractivist, capitalist and colonial logic of extracting and accumulating the gold of the 21st century (our information) and are taking control of our digital sovereignty.

The business consists of us: extracting information from the students, in order to turn schools into a factory of data and marketable information about present and future customers with whom they wish to build loyalty. Digital age has become yet another chapter in the capitalist history of commoditizing the human experience for profit by translating behaviors into data to make predictions that can be bought and sold.

That is why, in order to "seize the skies", we should start by socializing the cloud and developing public digital infrastructures, in other words, putting the new means of digital production in the hands of the common people, as the old Marx would say, to move towards the "socialization of data" as a public asset and towards digital democracy. If the Internet is critical for so many things in our lives, as it clearly is, shouldn't it be treated as a non-profit public utility? This means that we must move towards the post-capitalism or digital socialism proposed by Mason or Morozov. And education has a crucial role to play in this.

Further reading on this topic can be found in the following article, published in the Revista Foro de Educación magazine, which can be freely accessed at this link: Gobernanza híbrida digital y Capitalismo EdTech: la crisis del COVID-19 como amenaza (2021).

¹ English abbreviation for "Educational Technology".

² EdTech UK was promoted by Boris Johnson, then Mayor of London and current British Prime Minister, with the support of the Department of Finance and a private coalition of technology companies, to "help accelerate the growth of the UK's education technology sector" and to ensure extraordinary benefits in a "large and profitable market". It was established by the Education Foundation, a think-tank which collaborates with the Department for Education and the Secretary of State for Education, and develops a network of corporate partnerships with Facebook, IBM, Pearson, HP, Randstad Education, Cambridge University Press, McKinsey, Skype, Sony, Google and Samsung.

³ The "edTech" sector will reach 10 trillion euros by 2030. In 2018, it has already set a record: 8.2 billion, compared to 1.4 billion invested in 2014, according to a Barclays report on EdTech (García, 2019).

TEXTILE UNIONS and the RIGHT to EDUCATION



Project Article 26
Extension of Human
Rights to Education

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Invitation to trade unions in the textile and related industries

Dear colleagues,

As part of the Project Extension of Human Rights to Education Project, we are organising a ZOOM conference entitled TEXTILE UNIONS and the RIGHT to EDUCATION.

We as members of textile unions from Uganda and Bangladesh will discuss the following issues of concern to workers in this sector:

- *The Reality of Textile Industry in Developing Countries - The cases of Bangladesh and Uganda from the perspective of trade unions*
- *Participation of textile workers and their families in education - Textile unions' demands for the democratisation of education*

All participants will have the opportunity to comment or ask questions after the presentations.

We welcome everyone who is interested to this conference.

Date: 1st September 2023
Start: 11:00 AM (GMT)

Sincerely,

Irene Lanyero

Uganda Textile, Garment,
Leather and Allied Workers' Union - UTGLAWU

Nahidul Hasan Nayan

General Secretary of the
Sommilito Sramik Federation-SSF - BANGLADESH

Towhidur Rahman

President of the Bangladesh Apparels Workers
Federation-BAWF - BANGLADESH

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TEXTILE UNIONS CONFERENCE

PROGRAMME

1st SEPTEMBER
FRIDAY, 11:00 AM . GMT

Opening Session (5 Minutes)

Irene Lanyero

Uganda Textile, Garment, Leather and Allied Workers' Union (UTGLAWU)

1st Session (30-40 Minutes)

The Reality of Textile Industry in Developing Countries
The cases of Bangladesh and Uganda from the perspective of trade unions

Nahidul Hasan Nayan (Bangladesh)

Sommilito Sramik Federation - SSF

Irene Lanyero (Uganda)

Uganda Textile, Garment, Leather and Allied Workers' Union - UTGLAWU

2nd Session (30-45 Minutes)

Participation of textile workers and their families in education
Trade unions' demands for the democratisation of education

Towhidur Rahman (Bangladesh)

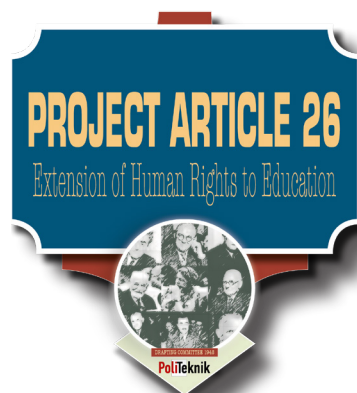
Bangladesh Apparels Workers Federation - BAWF

3rd Session (30-45 Minutes)

Open Discussion

(All Unions Can Submit Their Opinions, Comments or Questions)

TEXTILE UNIONS and the RIGHT to EDUCATION



Commission for the development of relations with trade unions, federations, universities, NGOs, student and pupil unions, parent and expert organisationsMembers

Members

IVORY COAST - SYNAFETP-CI - Syndicat National des Formateurs de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle en Côte d'Ivoire - Raphaël Kouame Zouzou & Nando Yavo Jonas • CAMEROON - SYNAEEPCAM - National Union of Public Agreement Contractual Teachers of Cameroon - Etchu Daniel Ojong - Ngong Emmanuel Bang • SOUTH AFRICA - SADTU - South African Democratic Teacher' Union - Mugwena Maluleke, Renny Somnat, Mabutho Cele, Faseega Solomon & Cindy De Lange, • UGANDA - ULITU - Uganda Liberal Teachers' Union - Evans Kaganizo Mutesasira & Tindyebwa Justus • RWANDA - SYPERWA - Syndicat du Personnel de l'éducation Au Rwanda - Philippe Mubanyi, Mwumvaneza Joseph & Vuguziga Sylvestre • NAMIBIA - Teachers Union of Namibia - Mahongora Kavihuha & Shikongo Aus • NIGER - SYNTEN - Syndicat National des Travailleurs de l'Education du Niger - Alio Farya & Daraye Omar Adama • TOGO - SEET - Synergie des Élèves et Étudiants du Togo - Basile Amenuveve, Péter Fongbedji, Bandiangoiu Bertin • GUINEA - FSPE - Fédération Syndicale Professionnelle de l'Education - Hadja Saran Fofana & Sekou Odia Cisse • ZIMBABWE - GAPWUZ - General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe - Austin Muswere & Kathline Muroiwa • UGANDA - UPTU - Uganda Private Teachers' Union (UPTU) - Juma Mwamula (one representative must be nominated) • EGYPT - ECER - Egyptian Center for Education Rights - AbdulHafeez Tayel (one representative must be nominated) • BENIN - OBSPE - Organisation Béninoise des Spécialistes de la Petite Enfance - Hector Fanou (one representative must be nominated) • GABON - SENA - Syndicat des enseignants de l'éducation nationale - Messa Mve Fridolin (one representative must be nominated) • TUNISIA - SGIEP - Syndicat Général des Inspecteurs de l'Enseignement Primaire - Nouredine Chemingui (one representative must be nominated) • BANGLADESH - BWWWU - Bangladesh Women Workers Welfare Union - Nargis Jahan (one representative must be nominated) • NIGER - SYNAFEN - Syndicat National des Agents de la Formation et de l'Education du Niger - Almoustapha Moussa (one representative must be nominated) • BENIN - ASEPHEDO - Association pour la Survie en l'Entraide des Personnes Handicapées, les Enfants Démunis et les Orphelins Elija Igue (one representative must be nominated) • BENIN - SYNIADEQ - Syndicat National des Instituteurs Acteurs du Développement pour une Education de Qualité au Bénin - Arnaud Agbohounka (one representative must be nominated) • BENIN - SNEP - Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Primaire Public du Bénin - Appolina Fagla (one representative must be nominated) • CAMEROON - FECASE - Cameroon Federation of Education Unions - Thobie Emanuel Mbassi Odoia (one representative must be nominated) • MAURITIUS - MTUC - Mauritius Trade Union Congress - Dewan Quedou, Parsooram Atchanah Ramasawmy, Priyadarshini Gupta Quedou-Ramjeeawon, Ajay Lachhman • UGANDA - UTGLAWU - Uganda Textile, Garment, Leather and Allied Workers' Union - Rebecca Namusabi & Irene Lanyero • KENYA - KUDHEIHA - Kenya Union of Domestic, Hotels, Educational Institutions, Hospitals and Allied Workers - Albert Njeru, Caroline Nyaiko & Bernadette Mumbua



The Central Council of the Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Niger - USTN - Press Statement



An extraordinary session of the Central Council was convened to examine the events of July 26, 2023 and the sanctions imposed on our country by ECOWAS, UEMOA and their accomplices against our country, the Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Niger (USTN) issues the following declaration:

- Considering the ILO conventions ratified by Niger;
- Considering the communiqués of the Conseil National pour la Sauvegarde de la Patrie (CNSP);
- Considering the unjust, illegal, inhuman and cynical sanctions imposed on our country by ECOWAS and UEMOA;
- Considering the sustenance of a military intervention by ECOWAS and its allies to liberate and restore the deposed President;
- Considering the prevailing insecurity in our country;
- Considering the electricity supply contract between Nigeria and Niger;
- Considering the vertiginous rise in the prices of basic necessities;
- Considering the statutes of the USTN;

The Central Council of the Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Niger (USTN) :

1. Condemns in the strongest terms all sanctions taken by ECOWAS and UEMOA against Niger.

Reminds these sub-regional organizations that their mission is to promote Pan-Africanism and the social and economic integration of member states, and not to the club of Heads of State just for their own self-interest in order to maintain/remain in power;

2. Denounces the interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign and independent state by by certain ECOWAS heads of state and government and their internal and external accomplices;

Reminds ECOWAS that the sanctions imposed on Niger will contribute to deterioration of the already fragile economic, social and security climate on the one hand by the economic sanctions imposed on Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea Conakry, and on the other by the rise of terrorism and other armed bandits particularly the narco-traffickers operating in the Sahel region;

3. Congratulates and offers its unfailing support to the Conseil National pour la Sauvegarde de la Patrie (CNSP) for its denunciation of military defense agreements with the French state;

4. Encourages the CNSP to persevere in its patriotic fight to combat insecurity and safeguard territorial integrity;

5. Denounces the illegal and unilateral decision of the Nigerian authorities to suspend the supply of electricity to Niger, in violation of the contract between them.

Consequently
the Nigerian authorities to return to better relationship in the supreme interest of our two of our two States, united by history, geography and economic and social development;

6. Calls on the new authorities to do their utmost to guarantee our country's energy independence;

7. Calls on rogue traders to halt the unjustified exponential price increases in the price of basic necessities, the first victims of which are the workers in particular with limited purchasing power;

8. Calls on Niger's economic operators to show greater solidarity and patriotism in order to defeat obscurantist forces in their bid to obstruct the country's and the sub-region's path to development;

9. Calls on the Conseil National pour la Sauvegarde de la Patrie (CNSP) to take all necessary measures to facilitate the population's access to basic necessities;

10. Appeals to the workers' organizations of the ECOWAS region, Africa and the whole world for their support and solidarity in defeating these Machiavellian maneuvers that are plunging workers into a situation of impasse;

11. Calls on the people of Niger, and workers in particular, to rise up in patriotism and solidarity for a sacred union to defend the homeland.

***Long live a united and prosperous Niger
Long live the Niger trade union movement
Long live the USTN***

***United we stand
The struggle continues***

***May God bless Niger and its people
Thank you very much***