WAGING PEACE SERIES

As far as is known, the term "Waging Peace" originated with Warren Wells, late husband of Ethel Wells of Santa Barbara, in a letter to President Eisenhower. It was a long-standing practice of Mr. Wells to keep in close touch with key national figures and give them his views on peace issues as well as other vital matters. This series is dedicated both as a memorial to him and in gratitude to Mrs. Wells for her continued efforts in this cause.

Just as peace is more than the absence of war, waging peace is more than supporting arms reductions. In addition, it embraces positive steps toward genuine harmony. In this series the Foundation publishes and distributes short booklets stressing ideas for attaining peace. Concepts expressed will include views of many authorities, and will not necessarily be those of the Foundation.

Suggestions for topics and your reactions to this issue are welcome. Booklets in this series are available from the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation.

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EARTH CITIZENSHIP

by

David Krieger

Booklet 21
WAGING PEACE SERIES

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

INTRODUCTION

In "Earth Citizenship," David Krieger urges all of us to "see the earth, as space explorers have, as a unique and wonderful life-supporting island in the vastness of space, worthy of being preserved." He declares that we must make a conscious commitment to "Earth Citizenship, if we are to save our endangered planet."

He asserts that such citizenship is "our birthright, but we are citizens without a government." The United Nations, valuable as it is, does not represent us as individuals: it is composed of ambassadors from many nations and an international secretariat whose staff members are citizens of nations. He writes: "Most nations still operate under the illusion or delusion of sovereignty. But sovereignty is now shifting to where it has always truly belonged — to the Earth as a whole. Global cooperation has become the prerequisite to survival in the nuclear age."

David Krieger is a poet as well as a lawyer and a foundation executive. Poets in the past have caught glimpses of an emerging global citizenship. In 1842, in a poem later quoted frequently by President Truman, Alfred Tennyson wrote:

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the World, and all the wonder that could be
....

"Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags
were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World...."

With the dissolving of walls between the East and the West, with the new spirit of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States, the idea of "Earth Citizenship" does not seem as remote as it did during the Cold War. Representatives of many nations are meeting to coordinate efforts to save the global environment. The possibilities of a global federation — created by necessity — increase month after month.

I believe that the awakening of the people of the Earth will lead to Earth Citizenship — and to Summit Meetings for Humanity, gatherings of Earth Citizens who will meet the needs of humanity through the cooperative efforts of all.

Frank K. Kelly
Senior Vice President
Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

EARTH CITIZENSHIP
by David Krieger

In an earlier age security required shifting from a feudal to a national identity. Today security requires a shift in identity from the nation to the Earth. The castle, once impregnable, became vulnerable to new technologies of attack. Security demanded not thicker castle walls, or a wider moat, but a new form of social and political organization — the nation. Today, the "castle walls" surrounding nations have become vulnerable, and nations have tried to shore up their sagging "defenses" with new and ever-more-powerful weapons of mass destruction with which they threaten retaliation. However, this approach to security simply increases the danger of global annihilation, and cannot preserve national security any more than thicker castle walls could preserve the feudal system.

The dangers which confront humanity have brought us to the point of requiring a conscious commitment to Earth Citizenship if we are to save our endangered planet. Regardless of one's background, of one's ideology, religion, race, nationality, or gender, we share a common heritage with each of the more than five billion humans who inhabit the planet. We are all citizens of Earth, whatever else we may be, and we are all capable of envisioning and creating a better future.

As we know, ours is the third planet rotating around a remote star in a remote galaxy in a vast universe which, we are told, is expanding. Of the billions of planets in our universe, we know of only one with that special combination of elements and conditions giving rise to life. We share the knowledge that on our unique planet life exists, and each of us in our own way can attest to that wonder. It is beyond our power to understand why life exists, how or when it came to be, or what its purpose may be. What is within our power is to decide whether or not we are willing to work to save and preserve our unique planet and its most valuable and precious resource, life.

The Earth is being threatened and despoiled as never before.[1] The litany of dangers and threats is well known. Powerful arsenals of nuclear weapons are poised to destroy civilization and perhaps all human life.[2] These weapons and the governmental programs which have supported their development and deployment, have undermined our societies, and subverted our militaries, our scientists, our educational institutions, our

values, our democracy, and our future. Nuclear weapons are unjustifiable, even as weapons of war, since they kill indiscriminately, drawing no distinction between combatants and civilians.

However, in the West and East alike, nuclear weapons are widely believed by political and military elites to be necessary to provide security. Those who oppose nuclear weapons are often viewed as impractical, idealistic, and unpatriotic. Somehow the high ground of the debate over nuclear arsenals and strategies has been seized by political and military leaders, bureaucrats, academics and scientists who are willing to risk the future of the planet to maintain their concept of national security and/or national interest.

George Kennan, who in his elder years has become a statesman for peace and an advocate of substantial nuclear disarmament, was the author of a 1947 State Department report which set the tone for U.S. foreign policy following World War II. Kennan wrote:

> "We have about 50% of the world's wealth but only 6.3% of its population...In this situation we cannot fail to be the object of envy and resentment. **Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity**... We should dispense with the aspiration 'to be liked' or regarded as the repository of high-minded international altruism...We should cease talk about vague and unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts...."[3] (Emphasis added.)

The U.S. has not been alone in the development of planet threatening nuclear arsenals. The Soviets have, of course, also participated in the nuclear arms race and to a lesser, but still significant, extent, so have the British, French, Chinese and Israelis. And so, we strongly suspect, have the South Africans. And so will others, including those we fear most — irrational national leaders and fanatical terrorists — if the insanity of the nuclear arms race is not stopped by the citizens of Earth.

Other threats to the Earth, in addition to nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation, include overpopulation; pollution of the atmosphere, oceans, rivers and lakes by acid rain and other forms of industrial and agricultural contaminants; destruction of the ozone layer; altering the Earth's climate through our energy policies and deforestation; desertification; erosion of topsoil; etc.[4]

For many years we have lived with the nuclear arms race, a race far from ended despite the INF Agreement. Now, however, the more salient

race may be between armaments and environmental destruction. It may be that we irreparably destroy our environment before we destroy ourselves with our weapons of mass destruction. Naturally, neither outcome would be a happy one for humanity.

BETTER OPTIONS

There are better options for us than nuclear devastation or environmental destruction. But these better, happier options will not come about by themselves. They will require leadership and the participation of Earth citizens around the globe. The problems are not someone else's; they are ours. But before the problems can be solved, we must understand some basic truths of our time:

- We have only one Earth;
- National borders are manmade and permeable to missiles and pollution as well as to persons and ideas;
- In the nuclear age, defense is no longer possible;
- Instead of defense we have substituted deterrence (which is simply a fancy name for the threat of retaliation);
- Sovereignty has become limited by the power and scope of our industrial and military technologies;
- Security in the nuclear age can only be common security (which means that national security can only be achieved in the context of global security);
- Global security requires appropriate global institutions and global perspective.

The astronauts and cosmonauts saw the Earth as a single, unitary whole. They recognized the uniqueness, fragility and incredible beauty of our planet. They understood emotionally in ways that few people on Earth have grasped that our unique repository of life must be preserved against all threats.

From outer space it is clear that national borders are artificial constructs. The lines which we see on maps delineating boundaries between nations do not really exist on the Earth. These lines may seem real when we look at a map, but they are not. Borders cannot prevent the spread of pollution, the transmittal of ideas, nor missile or terrorist attacks.

Since borders are permeable, defense is not possible. However, most national leaders still talk and act as if defense were possible. In truth, however, nations cannot defend their borders against attacks by determined opponents. Instead, governments have developed a strategy known as "deterrence." Governments can no longer defend their citizens; rather they threaten retaliation against any opponent that attacks them.

There are at least three major problems with relying upon retaliation: first, it cannot prevent an attack which is launched accidentally or inadvertently; second, there are terrorists who will not be deterred by threats of retaliation; and third, retaliation by means of today's nuclear weapons of mass destruction could result in the indiscriminate killing of hundreds of millions of innocent persons.

Today's technologies transcend national control. Just as nations cannot defend against modern weapons technologies, they also cannot protect their citizens against the environmental effects of energy, transportation and industrial technologies. No single nation can solve the problems connected with ozone depletion, climate change, acid rain, deforestation, desertification, etc.

Nations have traditionally claimed that they are sovereign, meaning that they exercise complete control over their territories. However, if borders are permeable and technology has created global problems which no single nation can solve, then we must conclude that sovereignty is now limited. This means that certain decisions affecting the welfare of our planet, and consequently the welfare of the citizens of every nation, must be made at an international or global level.

In the nuclear age, the only effective security for the citizens of any nation is common security. We currently have an organization that is committed to achieving common security — the United Nations. The preamble to the United Nations Charter affirms a commitment "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...." However, at the present time the United Nations lacks the power to provide for common security. Thus, a revitalization and restructuring of the United Nations is needed which will give it increased legislative, judicial and enforcement powers.[5]

Nations do not make wars or commit crimes against peace or humanity — humans do. This understanding was taken into account when the war criminals were punished in International Military Tribunals after the Second World War and the Principles of Nuremberg were established. These principles state that no one can violate international law, not even Heads of State, without being subject to criminal punishment. These principles should be a required element of education in the nuclear age.

Without a global perspective we will continue to try to solve the new and threatening problems which confront us with old solutions based on national sovereignty and military might. These solutions are doomed to failure because no one nation can protect itself or its citizens from these global threats.

THE NUREMBERG PRINCIPLES

Principle I. Any person who commits an act which constitutes a crime under international law is responsible therefor and liable to punishment.

Principle II. The fact that internal law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed the act from responsibility under international law.

Principle III. The fact that a person who committed an act which constitutes a crime under international law acted as Head of State or responsible government official does not relieve him from responsibility under international law.

Principle IV. The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior does not relieve him from responsibility under international law, provided a moral choice was in fact possible to him.

Principle V. Any person charged with a crime under international law has the right to a fair trial on the facts and law.

Principle VI. The crimes hereinafter set out are punishable as crimes under international law:

(a) Crimes against peace:
(i) Planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances;
(ii) Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the acts mentioned under (i).

(b) War crimes:
Violations of the laws or customs of war which include, but are not limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave-labour or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.

(c) Crimes against humanity:
Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other in human acts done against any civilian population, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, when such acts are done or such persecutions are carried on in execution of or in connection with any crime against peace or any war crime.

Principle VII. Complicity in the commission of a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity as set forth in Principle VI is a crime under international law.

Most citizens of Earth have set their sights too low in terms of recognizing global problems and seeking solutions. We need to lift our vision and see the Earth, as space explorers have, as a unique and wonderful life-supporting island in the vastness of space, worthy of being preserved.

We are all citizens of Earth because that is our birthright, but we are citizens without a government. The United Nations, as important and valuable as it is, represents only nations. The U.N. is a confederation of nations, and nations rather than individuals are its members. Most nations still operate under the illusion or delusion of sovereignty. But sovereignty is now shifting to where it has always truly belonged — to the Earth as a whole. Global cooperation has become the prerequisite to survival in the nuclear age.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

As Earth citizens, we have both rights and responsibilities. Our rights exist under international law and include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted by the United Nations more than 40 years ago on December 10, 1948. These rights shown in Appendix A, were prepared in response to the gross violations of fundamental human rights during World War II. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration states, "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person." This right is clearly jeopardized by the continuing nuclear arms race with its hovering threat of omnicide.

Article 28 of the Universal Declaration provides that "Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realized." An international order in which some nations threaten nuclear holocaust in the name of their own "security" clearly has not met the required standards of this article. As Earth citizens, we must work to change offending national policies in order to claim the rights guaranteed to us in the Universal Declaration.

Human rights violations are reported on annually by Amnesty International. In their 1988 report they wrote:

> The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations, from which it flowed, represented a revolutionary development in international law. They established the principle that individuals have the right to be protected by the international community. On the day the Universal Declaration was passed, the President of the United Nations General Assembly predicted that "millions of men, women and children from all over the world, many miles from Paris and New York, will turn for help, guidance and inspiration to this document." And so they have.
>
> Yet the pages of this report show that many of those people have not received the protection that is their right. In at least half the countries of the world, people are locked away for speaking their minds, often after trials that are no more than a sham. In at least a third of the world's nations, men, women and even children are tortured. In scores of countries, governments pursue their goals by kidnapping and murdering their own citizens. More than 120 states have written into their laws the right to execute people convicted of certain crimes, and more than a third carry out such premeditated killings every year. [6]

What are our responsibilities? Our most basic responsibility is to do our part to assure the survival of life on our planet, and to be a positive link between the past and the future. To achieve this it will be necessary to:

1. Adopt a global perspective.
2. Become educated about the dangers and threats to the Earth and its varied life forms.
3. Become an advocate of the Earth's well-being for all of its inhabitants.
4. Make a personal commitment to Earth stewardship, to preserving and protecting the planet for future generations.
5. Insist upon the global implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
6. Insist upon a reallocation of national resources from destructive to constructive technologies and programs.
7. Hold national officials accountable under the Principles of Nuremberg.
8. Support cooperative international programs aimed at reducing inequities among Earth citizens, regardless of nationality.
9. Speak out and educate others on issues of global survival and well-being.
10. Celebrate each day the wonder of life and the remarkable planet which supports it.

A "Declaration of Human Responsibilities for Peace and Sustainable Development" has been proposed by the Government of Costa Rica for universal adoption . It is a document which deserves study, reflection, and public discussion, and will be the subject of a future **Waging Peace** booklet.

We are all, for better or for worse, citizens of planet Earth. I contend that we must begin to take seriously our rights and responsibilities as citizens of Earth. We must begin to think and act as Earth citizens and

RESPONSIBILITY TO FUTURE GENERATIONS

Each generation has a responsibility to future generations. The future cannot speak for itself. Therefore, it is up to our generation to speak and act to preserve the Earth for the next generation. This is our responsibility and duty as citizens of Earth. The Cousteau Society, headed by Jacques-Yves Cousteau, has proposed the following **Bill of Rights for Future Generations.**

Article 1

Future generations have a right to an uncontaminated and undamaged Earth and to its enjoyment as the ground of human history, of culture, and of the social bonds that make each generation and individual a member of one human family.

Article 2

Each generation, sharing in the estate and heritage of the Earth, has a duty as trustee for future generations to prevent irreversible and irreparable harm to life on Earth and to human freedom and dignity.

Article 3

It is, therefore, the paramount responsibility of each generation to maintain a constantly vigilant and prudential assessment of technological disturbances and modification adversely affecting life on Earth, the balance of nature, and the evolution of mankind in order to protect the rights of future generations.

Article 4

All appropriate measures, including education, research, and legislation, shall be taken to guarantee these rights and to ensure that they not be sacrificed for present expediencies and conveniences.

Article 5

Governments, non-governmental organizations, and individuals are urged, therefore, imaginatively to implement these principles, as if in the very presence of those future generations whose rights we seek to establish and perpetuate.

teach our children to do so. We must also demand that each nation do so. Imagine a world in which children began each school day with the following variation of the U. S. pledge of allegiance: "I pledge allegiance to the Earth, and to its varied life forms; one world, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."[7] It would be a start in creating the "new way of thinking" that Einstein warned us was necessary to avoid "unparalleled catastrophe."

For adults, I encourage adopting the following pledge as a guideline for living responsibly as Earth Citizens.

Earth Citizen Pledge

Aware of the vastness of the universe and the uniqueness of life, I accept and affirm my responsibility as an Earth Citizen to nurture and care for our planet as a peaceful, harmonious home where life may flourish.

Believing that each of us can make a difference, I pledge to persevere in Waging Peace. With my spirit, intellect and energy I shall strive to:

- *Reverse the nuclear arms race, and end this omnicidal threat to the continuation of life;*
- *Redirect scientific and economic resources from the destructive pursuit of weapons technologies to the beneficial tasks of ending hunger, disease and poverty;*
- *Break down barriers between people and nations, and by acts of friendship reduce tensions and suspicions;*
- *Live gently on the Earth, reclaiming and preserving the natural beauty and profound elegance of our land, mountains, oceans and sky; and*
- *Teach others, by my words and deeds, to accept all members of the human family, and to love the Earth and live with dignity and justice upon it.*

INDIVIDUAL COMMITMENT

Earth citizenship exists in the realm of individual loyalty and commitment. There is no government of Earth to authorize or legitimate Earth citizenship. Such legitimation of embracing Earth citizenship must come from within the individual, and can arise only as a matter of conviction that such commitment is necessary to preserve the Earth and assure the survival of humanity in the nuclear age.

The world is in a process of transformation made necessary by the development and implementation of technologies too powerful to be controlled by any nation. Nuclear, chemical, biological and communication technologies have rendered borders obsolete and thus nations incapable of solving serious global problems. These dying giants are struggling, however, to maintain their status, power and political legitimacy in a world in which the impact of technology cannot be territorially confined. Thus, national leaders attempt to project the illusion of control within their territories while technological threats to the Earth and its inhabitants continue to become more pressing. Nuclear weapons threaten immediate catastrophe, and ecological mismanagement (or lack of management) threatens the slower and more painful destruction of the Earth and dislocation of its inhabitants. National borders and governmental machinery provide diminishing protection against foreseeable technologically induced disasters. Even the most powerful nations are helpless to effectively combat the destruction of the ozone layer, the alteration of the Earth's climate, or the initiation of nuclear war.

This analysis of increasing national impotence to deal with global threats suggests a paradox. If powerful nations are helpless before these threats, then must not relatively weak individuals be even more helpless? The answer is no. Individuals of all nations have become potential victims of decentralized territorially-defined power in the global system. But individuals have greater potential than state actors (that is, other individuals who occupy and are constrained in their vision by roles of national leadership) to identify the threats to themselves inherent in the present system and take actions to reorient the global system to be responsive to these threats.

A recognition of the incapacity of nations to protect and preserve the Earth, and thus assure the survival of humanity, is inherent in an individual commitment to Earth citizenship. By giving allegiance to a new world order, even before there exists the political and social structure to support it, the individual becomes a personal force for global change. When enough individuals have redefined their loyalties from the part to the whole, from the past to the future, the imperative for global problem-solving and management of technological threats will become unassailable. Toward that end, each of us who adopts the perspective of Earth citizenship, and speaks and acts from this perspective will play a pioneering role in creating a world of peace, justice and ecological well-being that is waiting to be born.

Enormous creativity and effort will be required to change the course of history toward a sane, safe and sustainable future. It has always been my conviction that such a future is possible and achievable within the

span of our lives. As threatening as the nuclear era is, it has provided us with the opportunity to work together to preserve our most important common heritage, the Earth.

NOTES

1. See State of the World, Lester R. Brown, et. al. (editors), New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1988. This report is issued annually.
2. See Missile Envy, Helen Caldicott, New York: Bantam Books, 1984.
3. State Department Report PPS/23 as quoted in "The Quest for Disarmament in a Changing World," by Joseph Gerson, Non-Violent Activist, January/February 1989, p. 3.
4. See "No Time to Waste, A Global Agenda for the Bush Administration," by Lester R. Brown, et al, World-Watch, January/February 1989, pp 10-19.
5. See "Revitalizing the United Nations System" by Jan Tinbergen in Waging Peace in the Nuclear Age,Ideas for Action, David Krieger and Frank Kelly (editors), Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1988.
6. See Amnesty International Report 1988, London: Amnesty International Publications (1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ), 1988, pp. 1-2.
7. The Women's Foreign Policy Council has developed a Pledge of Allegiance to the Family of Earth: "I pledge allegiance to the Earth, and to the flora, fauna and human life that it supports, one planet, indivisible, with safe air, water and soil, economic justice, equal rights and peace for all."

THE AUTHOR

David Krieger is a founder and president of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. He is an attorney, political scientist and author. He recently represented the Foundation at the first Congress of the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms.

APPENDIX A

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Proclaimed by General Assembly Resolution 217 (III) of Dec. 10, 1948.

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and

effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1

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.

ARTICLE 2

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.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

ARTICLE 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all guarantees necessary for his defence.
2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

ARTICLE 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from nonpolitical crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

ARTICLE 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

ARTICLE 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18

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.

ARTICLE 19

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.

ARTICLE 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

ARTICLE 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same socialprotection.

ACTICLE 26

1. 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 and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. 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.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realized.

ARTICLE 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30

Nothing in this declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

I pledge allegiance to the Earth and to its varied life forms; one world, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

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