

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL ADVOCATE FOR PEACE AWARD, HONORING GLORIA STEINEM

On March 29, 2023, the *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution* presented the twenty-second annual International Advocate for Peace Award to Gloria Steinem. The following is a transcript of the event's speeches.

DEAN MELANIE LESLIE, OPENING REMARKS: Welcome everybody. Isn't this a great night? It's a fantastic night. So glad to have so many of you here, our wonderful students, our fantastic alumni, it's just fantastic.

So, as you can see, I'm a little star struck. It is really special for me to be able to welcome our distinguished guest, Ms. Gloria Steinem. As someone who grew up in the 1960s and 1970s in Las Vegas with a very conservative Catholic family, I received a lot of conflicting messages about what it was to be a woman. Because of the work of Gloria Steinem, and others, I was given yet another set of messages that ended up becoming the things over time that led me to where I am today. So, I think you can take credit for so many women leaders who may not have taken the path that they have but for the work that you've done. This is a really special evening for not just me, but so many of us here. I just want to extend my personal gratitude for your fearlessness and the legacy of your work. Thank you.

Every year since 2000, the student editors—the intrepid student editors—of the *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution* have awarded the International Advocate For Peace Award to an individual organization or group that the students believe have done something truly significant to advance the cause of peace and conflict resolution. The list of past recipients includes two former presidents of the United States who each negotiated international peace treaties, a former senator who was instrumental in negotiating peace in Ireland, and a Beatle. The award has also been given to a South African bishop who led the fight against apartheid, a documentary filmmaker, and the subject of her documentary, a woman whose life's work was championing reconciliation and restitution in civil war-torn Liberia. Other recipients include a prosecutor of the Nuremberg trials, for whom Cardozo's clinic in atrocity prevention is named, and a leading economist focused on developing economies in poverty-ridden countries. We are incredibly proud of the journal and the students who run it, and the program that nurtured it.

The *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution* is the country's preeminent legal journal of arbitration, negotiation, mediation, settlement, and restorative justice. It is one of the most frequently cited legal publications in the field of conflict resolution. We thank all of the students today who are here who are current editors and staff of that journal for the incredible and important work that you are doing. This award—and the Journal itself—stems from the work of one incredibly trailblazing woman. Professor Lela Love is here with us tonight. Professor Love started the Kukin Program for Conflict Resolution at Cardozo Law School. When attention to alternatives to litigation and war was not really a big topic, she saw it; she was a pioneer and a trailblazer, and she was here at Cardozo. Because of her, we are all here. Her legacy has grown and what we're doing here tonight is a direct result of your work, Lela. In 1985, Professor Love launched Cardozo's Mediation Clinic and that continues here at Cardozo. The Clinic fosters the development of the role of the lawyer as problem solver, counselor, and peacemaker in addition to the traditional lawyer role of client advocate. While in law school, Cardozo students have the opportunity to become experts in mediation and other forms of dispute resolution and while still students, they mediate live disputes between neighbors, business partners, and divorcing spouses. We are proud to instill in our students the values that are promoted by this program.

Now this year we, speaking of forces of nature, we've welcomed two more incredible women to lead our efforts in this in this regard. First, Robyn Weinstein is here. She now leads our Mediation Clinic. Before Robyn joined us, she was the Alternative Dispute Resolution Administrator for the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York. Second, Professor Andrea Schneider, a nationally known scholar and teacher. She is the newly appointed professor of law and director of the Kukin Center. Let's have a round of applause for her. All these powerful women have created something that is transforming the world, and I couldn't be prouder to be able to support it, even in some small way. I'm going to turn it over to Professor Schneider, who is the director of the Kukin Center and who will now take it from here. Please welcome Professor Schneider.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER, INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: It's wonderful to be here, as Dean Leslie has said to be taking over from one powerful woman, being led by another, our Provost is here who's also female. It really is just an incredible event that we are here at tonight.

Welcome to Cardozo, it's great to see everybody here. As the Dean has outlined, our mission here at the Kukin program is to develop modern day problem solvers who can skillfully use dispute resolution processes for the benefits of their clients and for society

at large. Through our classes, our clinics, our competition teams, and the amazing *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution*, we provide opportunities every day for our students to build these skills. We are so very happy to see all of you here for the twenty-second annual International Advocate for Peace Award.

This was started by my fabulous predecessor about whom you have heard, Lela Love, and the award honors those who have been exemplary in the field of conflict resolution. The Journal's past recipients have included presidents, ambassadors, activists, and artists. We are very excited to add Gloria Steinem to this incredible list. As Bell Hooks once noted about Ms. Steinem, "everywhere she goes she carries with her the vitality of democracy, a freedom for women and men, and her profound love of justice." I know that our Journal and our Journal students were thrilled when she agreed to come and accept this award and in her birthday week no less. Ms. Steinem just turned to eighty-nine, and I did clear that I was allowed to say that in advance. We are very grateful you are here for your birthday week and with no further ado, I'm going to turn this over to Nick Beudert, our amazing, fabulous, Symposium Editor to formally introduce Ms. Steinem.

NICHOLAS BEUDERT, INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: Good evening, everyone. Thank you, Professor Schneider and Dean Leslie, for the wonderful introductions and thank you all for attending tonight's ceremony. My name is Nicholas Beudert, and I am the Symposium Editor for the *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Selecting the recipient of the International Advocate for Peace Award is a wonderful and refreshing process to be a part of. Instead of wading into the despair of current conflicts, you get to celebrate achievements that have been made in resolving those conflicts. You get to look at the bodies of work of amazing individuals, and marvel at the ways that they have advocated for peace. Now this is not to say that all the hard work is finished, but sometimes it is nice to consider some of the good that has been done in the face of all the bad that's out there.

Tonight's recipient has no shortage of such achievements and needs no introduction, but we're not going to let that stop us. Ms. Steinem is a journalist and author. She co-founded *Ms. Magazine* and has written ten books and countless hard-hitting exposés. She is also an activist; she campaigned for the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, protested the South African apartheid system, led a women's march across the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea, and helped found the International Foundation's Equality Now Donor Direct Action and Direct Impact Africa. She's also worked alongside Cardozo students at the Lenape Center to address the missing and murdered Indigenous persons crisis.

Please everyone join me in giving a warm welcome to the woman considered by many, including *National Geographic*, to be the world's most famous feminist: Ms. Gloria Steinem.

GLORIA STEINEM: Now I have to live up to that introduction, excellent.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: Well, let's start at the very beginning, you have been known your whole life as a feminist, the world's most famous feminist. How would you link that to the commitment that you have also shown—and what we are all celebrating tonight—to non-violent conflict resolution?

GLORIA STEINEM: I think, in general, the values of women have often been more peaceful, if only because they did not have armies. They had to use the family as a model for conflict resolution. That is quite different as a model. And it is not that it is always right, but it is helpful. Because if it is a family model, it has to be a model in which no one loses and in which there is a continuing possibility of working together. That is pretty good to add to armies.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: Terrific. Our format tonight is that I am going to ask some questions and we are going to alternate with some of our pre-selected students. Our first student question is from Penina Gershbaum.

PENINA GERSHBAUM: You are a role model and inspire many women. I wanted to know who your role model is and who inspired you?

GLORIA STEINEM: There are so many. Wilma Mankiller, who was the chief of the Cherokee Nation. In a just country, she would have been president of this country. Bella Abzug, who was a great lawyer. There are so many, and many men, too. I could certainly make a list with Cesar Chavez, Gandhi, so many.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: Much of your work has been around storytelling. In *Ms. Magazine*, you quote Margaret Mead, saying, “[T]ell me a fact and I’ll forget it. Tell me a story and I’ll always remember.” Your quote, which I love particularly for academics and for the lawyers in the audience, is to remember “people before paper; stories before statistics.” How have you used stories to promote change and to be persuasive?

GLORIA STEINEM: I really think that our brains are organized on narrative. If we hear a fact, we want to know why and then what happened next. We learn by narrative. The more ancient the culture, the more likely it has been to teach in the story mode, as Gandhi did and as the Cherokee culture here in our country did. But that is not necessarily the way academia is organized. So sometimes we have to do it ourselves. Stories are the best memory aid. Anything to help our memories. But most important is that we listen to each other's stories. Even the person who seems to us the least likely, the most

difficult, the most irrational, has a story. Once we hear the story, we may not agree, but we understand that person. We have a bridge to that person.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: Thank you. Terrific. Our next question is from student Olivia Huey.

OLIVIA HUEY: Good evening. Thank you so much for being here tonight. If you could go back in time and improve any of your approaches or actions in your activist journey, which one would you choose and why?

GLORIA STEINEM: In my age group, I felt that I had to get married. I did not have a choice, and that raising children would be my contribution to the future. I did not question that, but I fled and went to live in India for two years. I thought, “I’ll do that, but not right now.” “Not right now” is a form of rebellion; you are going to do it, but not right now. “Not right now” just got longer and longer, and not in a negative way because obviously there are great partnerships and marriages, but just in a way of discovering that the way I had been raised in Toledo, Ohio, did not necessarily mean that I should not live in India. That I lived in a majority white culture did not mean that I did not learn from being the only white person in summer jobs. I have learned much more than I learned at college from living in India. We were teaching swimming and I was the only white person in this group of college students who worked in the summer. Not only did I learn how to play bid whist and lots of dances I would not have known otherwise, but I learned what it is like to be the only, and how precious it is to be accepted when you are the only.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: A lot of your famous quotes have to do with taking action: “Feel the fear and do it anyway.” Also, your own story about being afraid of public speaking.

GLORIA STEINEM: No, I became a writer so I didn’t have to talk; that was the whole idea.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: How did you overcome your fears? For so many students, it conveys the message: “It is okay to be scared. Do it.”

GLORIA STEINEM: In my understanding, it does not happen all at once. It happens in steps and stages. Because I, as a writer, was writing a column for *New York Magazine*, I began to get invitations to speak. That was terrifying. I asked a friend of mine [to come to speaking engagements with me], Dorothy Pitman-Hughes—she ran a pioneer childcare center, the West 80th Street Childcare Center—an African-American woman. We did not do it because we were contrasting, we did it because we were friends. And I was thinking, “she is married and has children. I am not. Together, more people will be able to relate to us.” In that way, I discovered that together we attracted audiences that we never would have had on our own. We both began to see how relieved the audiences were. I hope it is

better now, but it was just to see that the two of us had arrived together, that we were friends. It was an achievement in itself.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: The next question is from student Jessica Lalehzar.

JESSICA LALEHZAR: Could you speak on how you have approached intersectional feminism in your work over the course of your career as racial, gender, and socioeconomic divides among us have become more and more prevalent?

GLORIA STEINEM: The word “intersectional” is new; it did not exist. I am not sure it is the best word because you have to explain it. I find it easier just to say, “feminism means all women or nothing,” because it does. And in my case, individuals we would now refer to as “women of color” happened to have been my teachers. Also, I had the experience of being the only white person in situations when I was living in India. That was helpful since it was another learning situation. I remember writing a paper for my fellowship about Gandhi. He had more female followers than male followers and his methods were, you might say, “culturally female” methods. I was writing this paper, and I went to interview someone who was clearly part of that movement, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, a great woman. She rocked on her veranda and listened to me and said, “well, my dear, we taught him everything he knows.” It turns out that the Salt March to the sea and rebellion against paying tax on salt, and all of it, was mostly women driven. That was the basis of Gandhi’s philosophy.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: We are going to turn more to current events. One of my other favorite quotes and the title of one of your books is “The truth will set you free, but first it will piss you off.” So, I am wondering, what is pissing you off today?

GLORIA STEINEM: How long do we have?

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: We’re happy to listen as long as you’ll stay!

GLORIA STEINEM: Well, at least Trump is out of the White House. Also, the news and the way it focuses on—as it should—conflict whether here or abroad and murders. There’s also news of new coalitions new things going forward; new books, narratives, everything that you all are doing. You should be on the news. So, I just think we need to redefine the news. It doesn’t have to be violent, or bad, or difficult, or restricted to one group in the country.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: Okay our next question is from student Remy Leelike.

REMY LEELIKE: You’ve mentioned several times that society’s acceptance of violence in the home is a predictor of violence outside the home. Yet, it seems like women’s issues are often siloed and treated as separate from issues about violence. Can you speak

a little bit more about this and the work that you've done to raise awareness about the link?

GLORIA STEINEM: There is an excellent book called *Sex and World Peace* which demonstrates in a much more copious, factual way than we could do today. Why it is that violence in the home normalizes violence as a way of dealing with conflict or difference. In a deep sense that is more predictive of national violence than conflict over borders or water or all kinds of national conflicts.

So, because the home is seen as a female sphere—which of course, it shouldn't be—it's not taken seriously in terms of its importance in an origin of normalizing behavior. But I do think it helps to take it to heart in in our own households and with our own friends and see a resolution of a particular conflict as something that is not only limited to that conflict but is teaching us how to proceed in a humane, peaceful way.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: You told a story in your book *My Life on the Road* about a class trip. As any professor who has led class trips, I love the vision of all of us on a class trip with Gloria Steinem! This class trip you saw a giant turtle on the side of the road and, for fear it would be run over, you moved it back to the side of the river at which point the professor told you that the turtle had probably spent the entire morning crawling from the river to the side of the road. You noted in the book that it took you many more years to realize that this parable had taught [you] the first rule of organizing: always ask the turtle. For all of us who are out here trying to resolve conflict and mediate disputes, how do you ask the turtle? How have you used this lesson to really think about your organizing, mediating, and facilitating work?

GLORIA STEINEM: It may be different in each case, but it means asking the people who are most involved and have the most at stake. Our rules of mediation are very important, but they may not apply completely to the situation we're in if the difficulty doesn't—in its origin—come from the two particular combatants, for instance, but it comes from family or employer or ethnicity or whatever it is. So, it's just always “ask the turtle makes sense to you” as a motto.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: I think that if we asked everybody for a takeaway, “ask the turtle” is a good takeaway. Our next question is from student Se Won Park.

SE WON PARK: You crossed the Korean Demilitarized Zone (“DMZ”) in a symbolic effort to draw attention to the family separation issues caused by the Korean conflict. What role do you believe symbolic efforts like that play in conflict resolution?

GLORIA STEINEM: Crossing the DMZ was led by women whose families had been divided by the Korean War. Lots of us were invited to come along just to make it a big enough event so that it

might get covered by the press. It's sort of putting your body where your belief is. If we want the North and South Korean families who have been so tragically divided to be able to come together, then just walking across the demilitarized zone and going to North Korea and coming back is a visual example that it is possible. Obviously, it has not brought families back together, but there are a lot of instances in which people are coming together, despite the DMZ.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: So, you've taken on the role of facilitator, and some might even say mediator. I'm thinking of the example you've talked about at the Women's Conference in Houston in 1977. You noted at the time that you were as proud of your facilitating role as anything you had ever done in your life. We are, as you've heard, training our conflict resolvers and our facilitators right here at Cardozo. Can you tell us a little bit more about that role and what made you so proud of it?

GLORIA STEINEM: Well, I hope you read about the National Conference in Houston because it was and still is the most representative national group this country has ever seen. Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, and Patsy Mink made a set of rules that meant that there was a national conference in each state and the state created a delegation that reflected that state. And then, we got to Houston. I was very proud of it, and I'm sorry that it's not as much of a part of history these days. Does anybody read about the National Conference?

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: All the students in the room, consider it your next assignment! We can make that happen.

GLORIA STEINEM: It's just interesting in terms of what is possible. What I incidentally learned from that experience was that the only groups that were already doing it were Native American groups. The different tribes and nations, and the women had been meeting anyway and were and a model for what we were trying to do nationally. I still have the gifts of the shawl; when I think I'm in deep, I go and look at the shawl and I think "well, if they could do it, maybe I could do it."

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: So, what I hear you saying is that we need to learn a little bit more from native cultures?

GLORIA STEINEM: It's because our history and my experience starts with Columbus, usually. We are here, on Manhattan Island, and to look at history or to study history vertically has a kind of intimacy. Here we are, and who was here before us.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: We appreciate the work that you've been doing with our Cardozo students, the Lenape Center, and obviously grounding some of these Native American practices and restorative justice as well. On the flip side, I think sometimes in law we get stuck in this adversarial system.

You've also written about how adversaries can become co-conspirators. I'd love for you to talk a little bit more about how these labels—adversaries and co-conspirators—can change over time and how we as conflict resolvers can help shift that a little bit.

GLORIA STEINEM: Well, it's so different in each situation, isn't it? It's hard to find generalities except obvious ones like, "everybody needs to be heard." The first step is that everybody who's involved in this conflict needs to be able to tell their story because—as we've already said—our brains work on narrative not, on isolated facts. We begin to understand each other with those stories and to try to put one person in the opposite story and see if that changes consciousness and allows us to see from the other point of view. I don't know how if much of this is used in legal situations, is it?

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: We would call it role reversal and training how you would sit in their shoes, to switch seats, and to try to understand it from their perspective. So, there is a theory.

GLORIA STEINEM: Okay, I'm calling you up. When there's the next conflict, I'm definitely calling you up and asking for help!

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: We're just down the block, that would be great! I'd love to turn to advice for our students in the audience. You've written about the whole idea of "you work because you have to" that it's a good rationalization but the goal is really to find productive, honorable work, things that you really value, and that this is one of life's basic pleasures, to have work that you value. We have a lot of graduating third-year students in the audience as well, so, I'd love to hear some advice that you have for them as they look for productive work that matters.

GLORIA STEINEM: I just hope that, or think that, in my experience that I kind of know what I should be doing because I love it so much, I forget what time it is when I'm doing it. I don't get up in the morning thinking "oh God, you know . . ." or, "I think maybe if we tried this or tried that a little bit." It's infinitely interesting to let your interest, your enthusiasm, and your eagerness be your guide.

Yes, we end up having to do certain things. But, I think we suppress the joy of our work if we don't honor it, look for it, and get up in the morning and just try. I remember getting up in my house and deciding that because I had to go out, I would just try to talk to the first person I met whether standing on the curb or in my neighborhood or whatever. The first person I met was the postman. I talked to him, and he turned out to be the political organizer of Queens. I learned a lot from him. We were friends for years.

Just try it, even in an elevator. I know it's risky, but it's kind of fun. I got that from my father who was quite a character. Whenever we got into an elevator together—of course I was a child—he would

turn to me with everybody listening and say, “so I told the man to keep his \$50,000.”

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: So tomorrow when you are waiting for the elevator, just continue a conversation. That’s pretty funny. We also had students who wrote and wanted to talk about how you decide when there are so many crises. You’ve written how the future depends on what each of us do every day. But, on any given day we look at the news, which has not yet adopted your advice, and it looks pretty awful sometimes. How do you decide which crisis to focus your energy on?

GLORIA STEINEM: We have the most power where we have the most access or the most credibility with a particular group of people. I think it’s helpful to remember that revolution is like a tree; it does not grow from the top down, it grows from the bottom up. So, choosing to do what otherwise might seem hopeless because the problem is in Washington may turn out to be quite hopeful. You form a group in your neighborhood, you put signs in your windows, you call your political representatives, and you have power now because you’re a whole group. It helps to think of revolution or change as a tree.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: And on the flip side, you have an entire chapter in one of your books called *Fantasies For Temporary Relief of Injustice* where you talk about the idea of, “okay I can’t fix it tomorrow. I’m going to think about something that will make me potentially a little happier.” I’m wondering what your current fantasy might be these days to help us through.

GLORIA STEINEM: Oh gosh I don’t know. When you say that it makes me think of Florence Kennedy, a great lawyer because her fantasy was that she was going to name herself “Florence of Arabia,” put together an army of women, take over all the oil producing territories, turn to the world and say, “okay now deal. You want oil? Here’s what you do for it.” It’s kind of satisfying, isn’t it?

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: But I like that. So, as you’re waiting for the elevator again tomorrow, now you can enter the elevator with your fantasy of injustice. A couple popcorn questions just as we are closing here. What book are you reading right now?

GLORIA STEINEM: Well, the honest truth is I’m reading my email.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: It sounds like many of us are just managing to keep up on the email! Okay, so what brings you joy?

GLORIA STEINEM: Being here with you. No, really. Because I think there’s a feeling of understanding, energy, hope, laughter, and all the good stuff is here. Other than that, I like to tap dance.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: We had heard at one point that one of your favorite songs is “Isn’t She Lovely” because you like to dance to that.

GLORIA STEINEM: Well, they’re all the old tap dances, such as “Me and My Shadow” and all these tap dance songs because, living in

Toledo, I thought the only way that as a female human being that I was going to get out into a different life was through show business. So, I did try to tap dance my way out of Toledo into the hearts of Americans.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: And if you occasionally take vacation, what is your favorite thing to do on vacation?

GLORIA STEINEM: My favorite thing to do is to go to any ocean and just sit on the shore and look at the ocean. The ocean is mysterious and wonderful, and it connects us to all the other countries and continents in the world. It makes you forget about borders, which really are made up anyway.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: Wonderful. We actually have a few minutes so I'm going to let the audience if there are any other questions. We could take one or two.

GLORIA STEINEM: Or answers, give me answers!

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: Or answers, also answers.

ILONA EHRLICH: As a U.S history scholar, in classes when learning about second wave feminism, we hear a lot about the Equal Rights Amendment, and that there were some groups who were opposed to it. I'm curious about how you responded to the backlash, how you reacted to it, and how you deal with criticism.

GLORIA STEINEM: Well, I don't know. I really want to raise enough money to put big, huge roadside billboards in every airport where people arrive from other countries that say, "welcome to the only democracy in the world that excludes women from the Constitution." I mean, it is ridiculous, you know.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: I think we're done; I don't have anything to top that. There's one question in the back.

GLORIA STEINEM: Or answer?

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: Okay, also answer, yes.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER, REPEATING STUDENT QUESTION: Are you seeing any young women today who you've interacted with, or met, who you look at as change makers and are particularly impressed with?

GLORIA STEINEM: Oh, yes absolutely. I mean they say to me things like, "you know, I'm becoming in many ways a woman who takes no shit." How great is that? It's happening in the deli in my neighborhood, on campuses, and of course in this room. I'm probably going to live an extra ten years just because of the energy.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: And then you'll come back for your ninety-ninth birthday!

GLORIA STEINEM: Okay that would be good.

ANDREA SCHNEIDER: All right, please join me in thanking Ms. Steinem. I am going to turn this over to our Editor-in-Chief, John Dellamore, to officially present you with the award.

JOHN DELLAMORE: On behalf of the *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution*, I am deeply honored to present Ms. Gloria Steinem with the International Advocate for Peace Award.

GLORIA STEINEM: Thank you.