

GLOBAL PROSPECTS

THE WORLD PEACE JOURNAL

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FOREWORD

This is our sixth edition of the Global Prospects.

Since our last edition we at Schengen Peace Foundation have had a webinar entitled Peace and Covid in 2020; an in-person 9th Luxembourg Peace Prize in 2021 at the University of Luxembourg, where we sat with five empty chairs between each guest; the 10th Luxembourg Peace Prize in 2022 at the historical plenary room where we honored our last President, Dominicus Rohde, who had passed away in February 2022; and the 11th Luxembourg Peace Prize in 2023 at the European Convention Center Luxembourg.

A proverb states, “If you are planning for a year, sow rice; if you are planning for a decade, plant trees; if you are planning for a lifetime, educate people.” This reminds me of the foundations of Schengen Peace Foundation and the mission it has.

Schengen Peace Foundation was initiated in 2005 as a not-for-profit charity approved by His Royal Highness Henri the Grand Duke of Luxembourg on Oct 19th, 2007. It was founded by Hubert Rohde of Germany and the artist Matt Lamb of the United States with the purpose to elevate peace as a goal and connect peace builders. Hubert Rohde’s son, Dominicus Rohde, was its President. The World Peace Forum initially took place each year in Schengen. Hubert Rohde noted with his French friend, Pierre Brunel, that they were the first generation not telling war stories to their children. “If we can do it, others can too,” they said.

Schengen Peace Foundation fosters the belief that a war-free world makes the most sense in terms of individual health, business, and the environment.

There are several pathways to peace that can stop and avert conflicts including:

1. Diplomatic negotiations: This involves using diplomatic channels to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the conflict. This could involve bringing together representatives from the relevant parties to negotiate a ceasefire and a path towards a peaceful resolution.
2. International mediation: International organizations such as the United Nations or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) play a role in mediating the conflict and facilitating negotiations between the parties involved.
3. Grassroots peacebuilding: This involves promoting dialogue and understanding between different groups in society to build trust and work towards a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

This last item, grassroots peacebuilding, is something we can all do. Peace begins in our conversation and how we express the love in our lives, professions, and

families. Courage, inclusivity and trust form the foundation of the peaceful future we are fighting for. We can encourage each other, individual to individual, nation to nation by our actions and our words. We do not need to agree on the past, to agree on the desired future. A desired future without the tragedies of war.

Let us remember, people no longer fight duels over honor. Let us remember businesses no longer support slavery as a commercial transaction. We are progressing as a people. Peace is possible.

At Schengen Peace Foundation we have two initiatives, the World Peace Forum and the Luxembourg Peace Prize. All the viewpoints of the following papers do not reflect those of all of the members of the Schengen Peace Foundation, the Luxembourg Peace Prize, or the World Peace Forum. We are open to all people of good will, and hope you, dear readers, will enjoy the various viewpoints shared in this sixth Global Prospects edition.

Vicki HANSEN

President of Schengen Peace Foundation

II. GLOBAL ESSAYS

ISRAEL PALESTINE FAILED PEACE PROCESS - LOOKING BEYOND FAILURE

GERSHON BASKIN

SUMMARY: I. SETTING THE SCENE; II. THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS; III. THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROCESS; IV. THE ISRAELI CONTEXT; V. THE PALESTINIAN CONTEXT; VI. OTHER CAUSES OF FAILURE; 6.1 Breached agreements; 6.2 Lack of monitors, verifiers and conflict resolvers; 6.3 No peace process, no negotiations, no hope; 6.4 Current Situation – A Snap Shot of Reality; VII. WHAT CAN/SHOULD BE DONE? VIII. RETHINKING DIPLOMACY IN FROZEN CONFLICTS: BUILDING ON THE PAST, TRACK 1.5 AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT; IX. MY WORK AS DIRECTOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST - INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES ORGANISATION.

I. SETTING THE SCENE

Israel-Palestine: Failed peace process, frozen in time, deteriorating relations, loss of trust and hope, both sides adoption of the belief that there is no partner for peace, both societies in conflict moving further apart, delegitimizing of actors in both societies who work for peace, possible criminalization of peace activists, incitement and more. What can be done? What should be done?

Many ethnic, religious, national-identity conflicts are seen as entrenched conflicts. Some of them end up in peace processes either as the result of external forces or sometimes as the result of changes in political leadership on one or both sides of the conflict. Sometimes it is the grass-roots movements in the conflicts that force their leaders to negotiate and find solutions. Moving a conflict from acute violence into a peace process usually requires a minimum amount of the recognition of the mutuality of rights and claims which eventually leads towards some confidence building measures which enables negotiations based on the beginning of trust being developed. In more successful peace processes, leaders not only negotiate, they are important actors in changing and shaping public opinion that make previous unthinkable compromises possible. If there is trust between the conflicting leaders and public support for change, the chances for success are greatly increased. This demonstrates the need for a relationship between top-down and bottom-up activities.

Sometimes peace processes are successful and lead to peace. Sometimes they lead towards a decrease in violence and animosity but still conflict exists.

Sometimes the peace process fails and leads to increased violence. In general, the intensity of the violence that erupts when the peace process fails is linked to the intensity of hope that existed while it was going on. That is the story of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

The Israeli Palestinian peace process began cautiously and slowly and reached a breakthrough as a result of a secret direct back channel (in Oslo). The breakthrough led to mutual recognition, the return of exiled leaders, defining the core issues in conflict, continued negotiations, and then disintegration into massive horrific acute violence. The official peace process began in 1991. The major breakthrough was in September 1993. In November 1995 the Israeli Prime Minister was assassinated by an Israeli citizen opposed to the peace process. The following year the right-wing Prime Minister Netanyahu won his first election and essentially froze the peace process. By the time that the Labour Party of Yitzhak Rabin came back to power in 1999, rather than a spiralling upward of trust building that might have enabled successful negotiations on the core issues of the conflict, the opposite happened. When the parties failed to reach agreement on a permanent status, violence erupted in September 2000 (called the second Intifada or the Al Aqsa Intifada) which brought out horrendous death and destruction on both sides. Other than all of the lives that were lost over the next years, the peace process and those who supported it on both sides (known as the peace camp) became victims as well. The peace process and the peace camp have not come back. Just a under of decade of an attempted peace process followed, but lacking the same sort of formality or breakthrough and its predecessor and leaving behind two decades devoid of even the hope of peace. This bleak introduction sets the scene the reality of a failed peace process and a continuously deteriorating reality on the ground. However, lessons have been learned among these failures, and achievements, albeit small, can still be built on.

This paper focuses on how to confront the reality, learning from the past and introducing new thinking for peace of a failed peace process and a continuously deteriorating reality on the ground.

II. THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS

The Israeli Palestinian peace process officially began with the launching of the international peace conference in Madrid in October 1991 co-sponsored by the Soviet Union and the United States. On March 6, 1991, President George H. W. Bush told Congress, "The time has come to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict." Bush's declaration was followed by eight months of intensive shuttle diplomacy by Secretary of State James Baker, culminating in the Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991. The Conference, co-chaired by President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, was attended by Israeli, Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese delegations, as well as a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. For the first time, all of the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict had gathered to hold direct negotiations - a historically unprecedented event. The substantive outcome of

the conference was to set two paths towards direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab neighboring states plus the Palestinians. The first path was direct bi-lateral negotiations between Israel and Lebanon, Israel and Syria, Israel and Jordan with the Palestinians represented by a delegation from the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 (West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem), and not from the exiled leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), based in Tunis at that time. Israel then considered the PLO a terrorist organization and refused to negotiate with the PLO. Israel also refused to negotiate with any Palestinian from East Jerusalem which was territory that Israel (illegally according to international law) annexed in 1967. Eventually the Jordanian-Palestinian team broke into separate tracks and Israel began negotiating with a Palestinian negotiating team selected by the PLO and taking directions from the PLO but without any direct PLO member sitting in the room. Following the election of Yitzhak Rabin as Prime Minister, Israel finally acquiesced to having Faisal el Hussein from East Jerusalem join the team. Al Hussein was also known to be a senior PLO leader.

The second track of negotiations set following the Madrid Conference was the multi-lateral track involving tens of countries, which were enlisted to provide support for the bi-lateral negotiations by dealing with broader regional issues. The multi-laterals included the following negotiating forums: ACRS - Arms control and Regional Security, refugees, environment, water, and economic development. Various countries were appointed to serve as "Gavel Holder" in each working group with the responsibility of coordinating the forum.

The Madrid Israeli-Palestinian bi-lateral track held in Washington did not make much progress. In October 1992 two secret meetings between Israelis and PLO officials took place. The first meeting was organized by IPCRI, the Israel Palestine Center for Research and Information (founded and co-directed by the author of this paper). The IPCRI meeting was the first in a series of meetings between former high level Israeli security, intelligence and army officers together with a Brigadier General appointed by President Arafat from the PLO headquarters in Tunis. The General, Nizar Ammar was accompanied by several security and strategy oriented Palestinian academics based in London as well as a senior academic from the occupied Palestinian territories. The first London meeting focused on all of the key security issues of concern to the Israeli side. During the four days of talks in London, the subjects dealt with concerned security coordination, the size of the force the Palestinians required to take control of the territories, combating terrorism, prisoner releases, and types of weapons required. These were discussions which were unimaginable at that time. Who believed that Israelis and Palestinians could discuss security coordination?

But they did, and what's more they found a large number of things they could agree on. The Palestinian team was reporting directly back to Arafat in Tunis on almost an hourly basis. Years later, the late Motta Gur, the former Chief of Staff of the IDF and then deputy defense minister said that what convinced Rabin to give the green light to the Oslo talks was the content of the agreements reached in the London talks. This project on internal security issues and security arrangements

was unique for a number of reasons. It was the first time that Israeli and Palestinian security experts met together in order to confront the issues of internal security during an interim period in a peace process. The project was also unique because the Palestinian side included all three elements of the Palestinian community: the territories, the diaspora, and the PLO leadership.

The basic concept of an Israeli-Palestinian peace process at that time was based on the idea of having an interim period of building trust before negotiating the core issues in conflict: Palestinian statehood, borders between the two states, refugees, settlements, security, and Jerusalem. As we saw it in 1992, the primary purpose of the interim period in an agreement between Israel and the Palestinians was to allow for both sides to disengage themselves from decades of conflict and to begin developing trust. The Israelis were saying that if the Palestinians would be successful in taking control of their own affairs, and if, as a result of this, the level of violence would decrease, then in a second stage of negotiations it would be possible to discuss further separation including the territorial issues of turning over territory to full Palestinian control. The Palestinians, from Israel's point of view, would be engaged in a form of a test of Palestinian's ability and willingness to engage in peaceful coexistence. The security experts we engaged stated that the only real test of relevance for Israel is within the realm of internal security. They did not care about the ability of the Palestinians to run their own civil affairs, or at least that was far less important. They said only once the Palestinians can control their own population, preventing hostile acts against Israel and against their own regime, then it will be clear that they are ready to make peace with Israel.

During this period when bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians were taking place in Washington the issue of security was not on the agenda. Israel's position in those talks was that during the entire interim period Israel would retain full responsibility for all aspects of security. The Palestinians could be charged with crowd control but they would not have any responsibility or ability to protect the Palestinian self-governing authority against enemies from within, or from the outside. It was understood by Israel that there might be many enemies and opposition parties that would try to sabotage the peace process and the Palestinian regime but those enemies of peace would be the sole responsibility of Israel. Israeli soldiers, border police and Shin Bet agents would continue to maintain the same high profile that they had prior to the creation of the Palestinian Authority.

The Israeli security experts in the London meeting said that Israel's problem included more than 110,000 settlers in some 150 settlements over which Israel must retain full security responsibility and authority (there are now more than 600,000 Israeli settlers in the Palestinian occupied territories). The Israeli experts explained to their counterparts that if there were no Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza they could more easily withdraw and say to the Palestinian "sink or swim", but that was not the case and even then, when there were considerably less settlers in the territories than today, their presence was a major obstacle to turning territory over to full Palestinian control. The Palestinian rightfully said that

if Israel maintains the same security profile in the territories during an interim period than essentially nothing changes.

Israel found itself in a Catch-22 situation. Israel wanted to disengage from the Palestinian population, increase its level of security, and test the Palestinian's ability to run their own affairs, but Israel could not decrease its security presence because of the need to protect the settlers. The Palestinians were also in a difficult position. They needed to show real changes on the ground. Autonomy without control over security issues, they said was a very half-empty glass. Continued Israeli retention of security affairs meant that very little would change on the ground. But they also pointed out the difficulties they would face if they took over internal security issues with the divisions within their own population which could threaten the existence of the Palestinian regime. They questioned if they would have the ability to create a Palestinian secret police dealing with intelligence gathering against their own population, could they interrogate political opponents? Could they institute administrative detention? Could they incarcerate political prisoners? Could they establish an effective and obedient chain of command?

The Palestinians claimed that there was a substantial gap in their approaches to the issue of security with the Israelis. The Palestinian experts expressed that security is a right which is theirs and cannot be denied by Israel. The Palestinians, they said aspire to achieve security for themselves. The primary lack of security is caused by the powers of the occupation. They said that there is a close linkage between an agreement on security and political agreements. They said that there is a kind of ultra-sensitivity on the Palestinian side regarding security cooperation with Israel but there is room for cooperation nonetheless. Security responsibilities taken by the Palestinians would legitimize any agreement in the eyes of the people which is necessary in order to maintain stability. Transferring security authority would help to create mutual trust and coexistence with Israel. Through the development of mutual security, the two sides would be able to allow for areas of cooperation and coordination which could be established through specific mechanisms for that purpose. The Palestinians said that if they were responsible for security affairs, they would also be responsible politically as well. The Palestinians accepted the idea of phasing as well as the idea of security coordination.

The second secret back channel emerged as the official Oslo Peace process and it is very well documented. It started as an academic exercise launched by then Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin with the assistance of a Norwegian NGO - FAFO. FAFO sponsored and provided logistics for direct meetings between two Israeli academics, Prof. Yair Hirschfeld and Dr. Ron Pundak, both affiliated to Deputy Minister Beilin and a Palestinian delegation from the PLO headed by Ahmad Qarie who headed the PLO's economic development branch Samad. Those talks eventually led to official talks supported first by the Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and eventually Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The Oslo secret direct back channel concluded with the signing of the Declaration of Principles on the lawn of the White House on September 13, 1993 under the

auspices of President Bill Clinton (even though the Americans had no input into the Oslo channel).

In the end of 2000, three months into the second intifada (the Palestinian Uprising) I wrote a long paper entitled “WWW - What Went Wrong”. The paper opens:

What went wrong with the Israeli-Palestinian peace process is a question that is troubling Israelis, Palestinians, Arabs and Jews in general and all other internationals that were hoping that the Middle East might finally reach peace. Most of the analyses written so far and those that will be written in the future have/will focus on the obvious:

- The agreements signed were not implemented in good faith*
- The territorial withdrawals were not implemented by Israel*
- The Palestinian Authority did not effectively disarm militias*
- The economic situation in the Palestinian territories deteriorated rather than bringing the fruits of peace to the people*
- Israel built and built and built more and more settlements and by-pass roads*
- The Palestinian Authority is/was corrupt and systematically abused Palestinian human rights*
- The Palestinians never ceased inciting the public through its media and school systems against Israel*
- Israeli closures in response to terrorism systematically turned the Palestinian people against peace*
- Harassment of Palestinians at check points*
- The establishment of a complex bureaucracy of permits, licenses, etc.*
- Israelis lost faith in peace due to Palestinian terrorism*
- The assassination of Yitzhak Rabin*
- The election of Binyamin Netanyahu*
- The arrogance of Prime Minister Ehud Barak*
- Clintons drastic errors at Camp David*

Where to start is a difficult question. One could say that the Oslo Agreements were flawed from the outset and there are many good reasons to point out the flaws... Despite the flaws, I for one supported the agreements and thought that people who truly want/ed peace in the region have an obligation to support whatever agreements are/were reached by the sides. From the outset I will also put on record that I have always been doubtful about the ability of Israel to reach a full peace agreement with Yasser Arafat. These doubts have significantly increased over the years. One of the

main reasons for this increase in doubts is based on the nature of the regime that Arafat has created in Palestine – which is of no great surprise, but also because of the refusal of Israel, the United States, and the Palestinian people themselves to demand from Arafat the kind of democratic regime that I believe is necessary to bring about real peace. Israel and the United States are/were afraid of too much Palestinian democracy out of fear that through this democracy anti-peace forces such as Hamas would increase their power. These fears might be well placed, however, in my view, the absence of democracy is one of the main underlying roots of the Palestinian intifada. It should also be noted that the various governments of Israel viewed Arafat's ability to take actions against anti-peace forces in Palestine as overriding any need for Palestinian democracy. This was summarized by Rabin's famous sentence – “bli bagatz u'bli btzelem” – without the Supreme Court and without Betzelem – meaning that Arafat could arrest, detain, and even execute anyone, without any real due process of law.

Israel was/is also afraid of the Palestinian Legislative Council being able to legislate Palestinian laws that are against Israel's interest or against agreements so that Israel never challenged Arafat when he declared in private meetings that he could not sign the “Palestinian Basic Law” – the Palestinian Constitution – into law because of Israeli objections. This Constitution would have given some real basis to the rule of law in Palestine and would have created some semblance of the separation of authorities and some measures of checks and balances. I myself appealed to Rabin, Peres and Netanyahu to issue public declarations that Israel viewed the “Palestinian Basic Law” favourably – something that never happened.

We must also take note of the wide ranging Israeli involvement in the development of the centrally controlled, monopolistic and corrupt Palestinian economic system. Despite constant warnings by this author and many others of the dangers of direct Israeli involvement in Palestinian corruption, Israeli officials facilitated and encouraged what must be called “the ripping off of the Palestinian people” through shady deals and schemes conducted in broad day light by tens of former Israeli security officials with agents of the Palestinian Authority including Palestinian intelligence officers, policemen and “advisors” working on behalf of themselves and on behalf of Arafat directly. Many of these deals, if conducted in Israel proper would have ended with indictments and jail penalties. But in this case, they were conducted in “the interest of peace”...

The paper went on in great detail and described the many steps that led to the failure of the peace process. In another piece of research that we conducted we attempted to understand why the grassroots activities also failed to produce a critical mass of public support for peace. The following are some of the findings.

III. THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROCESS

The Oslo Peace Process was largely framed as a “top-down” strategy for achieving peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The strategy was based on reaching political agreements between the Government of Israel and the PLO. The expectation was that political agreements between the leaders would significantly change the realities on the ground and the peoples of both sides would then support the process. Almost as an afterthought, the sides added to the Oslo II agreement an annex calling for the institution of People-to-People (P2P) projects as a means of strengthening peace between the two peoples. The international community embraced the agreements and the idea of People-to-People projects. From September 1993 until September 2000 an estimated \$20-\$25 million dollars was allocated for funding people-to-people projects mainly through NGO’s and Civil Society institutions in Israel and Palestine. There were also many international organizations, NGO’s and universities who joined the “parade” and profited from the funds available.

In September 2000 the Al Aqsa Intifada erupted virtually putting an end to the People-to-People projects. Many people, locally and internationally have asked why did this happen? Why did the people-to-people projects cease to work when they were critically needed most? Why did the people-to-people projects fail to produce the desired goals? Was there a strategy for funding these projects? How could people-to-people project have greater impact? Why are some activities continuing while others have ceased?

In the Oslo accords and subsequent agreements between the Israeli government and the PLO (later, the Palestinian Authority), a provision was made for the undertaking of P2P activity. By bringing together ordinary Israeli and Palestinians for dialogue and cooperative ventures, P2P would ideally create the relational infrastructure necessary to advance and increase support for the official peace process being negotiated at the political level. However, as agents of civil society, these peace building NGOs are indigenous to the societies in which they operate and as such, are not impervious to the influences of external events, particularly the adverse circumstances of violence, human suffering and the escalation of tensions. It should therefore come as no surprise that, during the Al-Aqsa Intifada, Israeli NGOs devoted to pursuing P2P activity with Palestinian partners experienced a dramatic and some might argue, traumatic change in the nature and frequency of the activity they undertake. The perception of many is that the events virtually demolished the extensive web of P2P activity that had gradually been formed during the years since the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. Hence, whereas only two years before, a dramatic proliferation and what one might coin a veritable “industry” of P2P projects was in evidence, following the outset of the Al Aqsa Intifada many of these same projects came to a halt.

IV. THE ISRAELI CONTEXT

The sober perception of many P2P leaders is that the Israeli public lost trust in the Israeli peace camp and its messages. The results of the events on the ground, the increased violence and mistrust, and the despair on both sides prompted a stock-taking on part of Israeli peace NGO's. Amongst the growing unpopularity of the peace camp positions in the public Israeli discourse and as a result of the national unity government that came to power, the hostile atmosphere brought about questions of the relevance of the message and of a retreat regarding strategies and tactics. People to People returned to be mainly the intellectual and ideological property of the peace camp and not the outreach tool to advance and increase support for the peace process amongst non-traditional constituencies e.g. observant Jews, Russian immigrants etc. Some activists questioned the relevance of P2P strategy in the turbulent and unpopular context. While the disappointment of not seeing an implementation of peace and despair at the level of violence caused some stakeholders to abandon their efforts, for others the reality simply caused them to be less ambitious in their desires. The stifling socio-political context in Israel brought about a subsequent decline of the legitimacy of P2P and all peace building efforts and a retreat of P2P back into its natural womb amongst the Israeli Peace NGO's. Consequently, P2P actors were relegated to the unavoidable role of advocating for the basic legitimacy and relevance of their positions, while continuing to forge all efforts to maintain the web of communication and cooperation with their Palestinian colleagues.

V. THE PALESTINIAN CONTEXT

While the situation on the Israeli end led to a political and organizational stock-taking, the profile of P2P on the Palestinian side was even more beleaguered given the rise of extremism and violence, and the frequent incursions of the IDF into Palestine. Parallel to this clear trend was a seemingly contradictory phenomenon amongst Palestinian NGO's, which cautiously and usually discreetly, choose to selectively reconsider the strong anti-normalization line which characterized growing numbers of players in Palestinian civil society. This 'reconsideration' was part and parcel of the 'solidarity' stream of P2P activities which incrementally enabled a growing re-engagement of Palestinian NGOs with their former or new Israeli partners from the peace movement. This was most visibly expressed by the shift taken by many Palestinian NGO'S which have members of the Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO), which in spring 2000, had set a strong anti-engagement line. Interestingly, the Palestinian Authority, aside from its Ministry of Education, never formally banned P2P activities pre or post-Al Aqsa Intifada, The Authority's "non-ban" serves to pronounce the original PNGO anti-normalization Declaration, which sent shock waves throughout Palestinian civil society and a loud and clear message to Israel P2P NGO's. In summary, what once could have been described as the fragile status of People to People in the Palestinian context pre-October 2000 can be more aptly understood as a phenomenon, that with rare exception has almost publicly fallen into seemingly complete disrepute, alongside ongoing mostly discreet efforts to maintain webs of cooperation and dialogue with Israeli colleagues and fellow activists.

VI. OTHER CAUSES OF FAILURE

6.1. Breached agreements

The Government of Israel and the PLO signed six official agreements in the Oslo process. Looking backwards it is clear that both sides failed to implement substantive elements of those agreements. Several of the agreements were reiterations of previous agreements that had been breached. The Oslo agreements themselves failed to elaborate an effective means for dealing with breaches or accusations of breaches. All of the agreements included the same non-implementable mechanism for dealing with breaches. They proposed a three-stage process in which once there were claims of breaches, phase one is that the parties should return to the negotiating table. If they failed to reach a satisfactory outcome renegotiating, they would enter into a process of mediation (then referred to as conciliation). If the mediation process did not succeed, they would submit the issue to arbitration. Perhaps while drafting the agreement the process looked rational, however in practice it was not at all practical. If there were accusations of breaches, they almost always came from both sides. If the agreements were breached the belief that the other side would fix the breaches reduced with each additional breach and the idea of renegotiating seemed fruitless and a waste of time. There was little confidence that the other side had any political will to implement the commitments that it had taken upon itself. Furthermore, if negotiations failed and the next step is mediation, there were never any terms of reference drawn up for mediation, no mediators proposed and very few professionals who could take on the job without being pre-considered as biased towards one of the sides. And if mediation failed, who would agree to submit themselves to an arbitrator who serves as a judge without any ability to appeal the decision of the arbitrator.

6.2. Lack of monitors, verifiers and conflict resolvers

When there were mutual accusations of breaches of the agreements, there was no trusted third party on the ground who could monitor the implementation of the agreements. There was no party with the ability or the accreditation to verify whether or not the agreements were implemented or breached. There was no party able or accredited to attempt to resolve disputes in real time at the lowest level possible. There were occasions when accusations of breaches ended up on the desk of the President of the United States. The United States was often viewed by the Palestinians as advocating for the Israelis and not serving as impartial mediators.

In July 2003, the United States published the Road Map for Peace in the Middle East (a document initially formulated by Denmark and the European Union) which attempted to address the issues of breaches and proposed a path for resuming the peace process. The following is part of the short text of the Road Map: (highlighted sentence done by the author of this paper)

The Roadmap for Peace, developed by the United States, in cooperation with Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations (the Quartet), was presented to Israel and the Palestinian Authority on April 30. The plan is a performance-based, goal-driven plan, with clear phases, timelines, and benchmarks. It involves reciprocal steps by the two parties in the political, security, economic, and humanitarian fields. The destination is a final and comprehensive settlement of the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Ongoing good-faith efforts by both Israelis and Palestinians are required to implement the Roadmap. The pace of progress will grow solely out of their performance. The United States, other members of the Quartet, and regional Arab leaders will work to support and facilitate the process. They also will meet regularly to evaluate the parties' performance in implementing the plan.

The authors of the Road Map for peace recognized the need to make the process performance-based meaning that progress from one stage to another would be based on the full implementation of what was expected and agreed. This was progress. In forming the international Quartet made up of the United States, Russia, the EU and the UN, a decision was made to appoint a Road Map Monitor whose task would be to monitor and verify the implementation of the Road Map. This was clearly an understanding of one of the key factors of the failure of previous agreements. However, the Israelis and the Palestinians refused to allow the reports of the Road Map Monitor to be made public. The US appointed a three-star general to the Road Map Monitor but because his reports on implementation were classified as secret, there was absolutely no sense of accountability of the parties to the process who continued to blame each other with breaching the agreement and understandings without any recourse.

6.3. No peace process, no negotiations, no hope

Fifteen years of Israeli governments under Prime Minister Netanyahu and 18 years of Palestinian leadership under President Mahmoud Abbas have resulted in a total freeze of the peace process, no negotiations and no intention of renewing the peace process. Netanyahu's strategy was to delegitimize the leadership of Mahmoud Abbas but ensure that he remains in power as long as the Palestinian Authority continued its security coordination with Israel. In parallel Netanyahu's strategy was to leave a weakened Hamas government in power in the Gaza Strip in order to ensure that with a divided Palestinian leadership the Israeli claim of not having a partner for peace was valid. Abbas desired to reunite the Palestinian Authority under his leadership but had to face three conditions set forth by the Quartet: Hamas must recognize Israel, must abide by the Oslo agreements, and must renounce violence. Hamas has consistently refused all three conditions. Abbas's policy dictate was that in the Palestinian Authority there would be one government and "one gun" meaning that the control of the use of state driven forces would solely be in the hands of the Palestinian Authority and not Hamas. Hamas has refused to give up its own independent military force.

In 2006 the international community refused to recognize the results of free, fair and democratic elections in the Palestinian Authority that resulted with the victory of Hamas. The international community demanded that Hamas accept the Quartet conditions and in failing to do so, many countries, including the European Union and the United States placed Hamas on the list of terrorist organizations. Hamas was placed on a no contact list by those countries significantly limiting their ability to mediate in any way. Over the years Egypt, Qatar and the United Nations have played various mediating roles between Israel and Hamas, including negotiating ceasefire agreements. Turkey, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Algeria have attempted to mediate and facilitate agreements between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas. Many of the countries which implement the no-contact policy with Hamas have expressed deep frustration with the policy that limits their ability to play constructive roles. When the Oslo agreements are not implemented by both Israel and the Palestinian Authority there is little reason to demand that Hamas recognized and abide by those agreements. Many countries believe that the recognition of Israel by Hamas could be the result of negotiations rather than a pre-condition. Many countries believe that if Hamas would agree to observe a ceasefire agreement for a number of years, the rules of no-contact should be amended.

Almost all of the international community continue to state officially that the best resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the solution of two-states for two peoples meaning partition of the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea into the State of Israel and the State of Palestine. The PLO under the leadership of President Yasser Arafat declared the independence of the State of Palestine in November 1988. Subsequently the State of Palestine was granted observer status in the United Nations General Assembly on November 29, 2012. "Voting by an overwhelming majority - 138 in favour to 9 against (Canada, Czech Republic, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Nauru, Panama, Palau, United States), with 41 abstentions - the General Assembly today accorded Palestine non-Member Observer State status in the United Nations." Only Nine out of twenty-seven EU member states recognize Palestine. In 2014, Sweden became the first country to recognise Palestine while being an EU member state. Malta and Cyprus had recognized Palestine prior to joining the EU, as did a number of Central European member states when they were allied with the Soviet Union. The United States, Canada, Australia, Japan and many other OECD countries do not recognize the State of Palestine.

There is significant questionable viability of the two states solution today as a result of continued Israeli settlement building and the deepening of Israeli control of land and infrastructure in the West Bank and the continued division between Gaza and the West Bank. Furthermore, there is no longer a majority of Israelis and Palestinians who today support this solution. Public opinion is perhaps easier to change and influence than the facts on the ground which include physical infrastructure. With the waning support for the two states solution there may be some viability for retaining its relevance of the majority of OECD nations would recognize the State of Palestine. The logic is that if they support the two states

solution then is it not time for them to recognize the second of the two states? They all have diplomatic relations and deep contacts with the State of Israel and in principle they all support eventual Palestine independence. So why not give a gentle push forward by forcing the issue of Palestinian statehood back to the table? They all have their reasons and excuses of why this does not happen. But this is one of the possible policies by the international community which could be useful and constructive.

6.4. Current Situation – A Snap Shot of Reality

- There have been no real Israeli-Palestinian negotiations since 2009 except for a brief three months during the Obama administration under Secretary of State John Kerry.
- Prime Minister Netanyahu has been ruling Israel for longer than any other Prime Minister before him and he is opposed to the two states solution.
- Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has been ruling the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian national movement since 2005. He is in the 18th year of a four-year term.
- The political division between the West Bank and Gaza has been firmly in place since 2007, with Hamas ruling Gaza and the PLO ruling the West Bank. All attempts to reconcile and reunite the Palestinian Authority have failed.
- The number of Israeli settlers has grown to more than 600,000.
- There is no longer a majority of public opinion in Israel and in Palestine for a two states solution.
- There is very questionable viability to a two states solution.
- No party in the international community has the Israeli-Palestinian conflict near the top of their agenda.
- Israeli society is very divided, probably more than ever, but the issue of the occupation and the end of the conflict is not significantly on the agenda of the mass protest movements that have emerged against the Netanyahu governments plans to subdue Israel's democracy.
- The over whelming majority of Palestinians want new elections to elect a new leadership. They believe that the only way to end Palestinian divisions is through elections in which all parties would agree to accept the outcome of those elections.
- While Hamas is one united block, the opposition to Hamas is very divided. Even within the leading Fatah movement, there are deep divisions and antagonism between various leaders and camps within the movement.
- Israel, the US and other parties are opposed to Palestinian elections out of fear of a victory by Hamas.

- Israel is most interested in keeping the current status quo of a weakened illegitimate Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and a weak Hamas government in Gaza. Israeli incursions into Palestinian Authority controlled areas in recent months has led to a high level of Palestinian deaths and many Palestinian arrests and have increased individual Palestinians will to use violence against Israeli army personnel, settlers and even Israeli citizens within Israel proper.
- Prime Minister Netanyahu and his government are very interested in expanding the circle of peace with additional Arab states following the Abraham Accords with the UAE, Bahrain and Morocco. The prime target for advancing peace for Israel is Saudi Arabia. But the Saudis have made it very clear that this will not happen without significant progress on the Palestinian track. This has not yet led to Israel changing its no negotiations policy with the Palestinians.
- With the hardline right-wing government in Israel, political changes within the Israeli government and impacting the reality which enabled Israel to continue to control the occupied territories with impunity from the international community. That might be changing as a result of Israel swerving from the basic contours of control guided by the Fourth Geneva Conventions. If Israel places the occupied territories under Israeli civil control, outside of the authority of the Israeli army, it could be considered by international law as annexation which would place Israeli leaders under the possible investigation of the International Criminal Court.

VII. WHAT CAN/SHOULD BE DONE?

The overview of the peace process up to this point is important for a number of reasons. First it helps to understand how we have arrived at the current situation. Second it enables us to consider strategies are productive and which strategies we should stay away from.

- The issue of Palestinian democracy and economic development remains in my opinion a priority. A democratic, safe and economically viable Palestine is a stronger negotiating starting point than the status quo.
- Secret direct back channels of communication and negotiations can still be successful, in the past, they have proven to be constructive especially in an environment when public engagement with leaders from the other can be near political suicide.
- Any future communication and negotiations (preferably secret) has to include different elements of the Israeli and Palestinian community. Dialogue which includes non-officials, academics, former politicians alongside of officials benefits from an understanding of bottom ideas, encourages innovative thinking which can be disseminated through official channels.
- People to people linkages are important, and should be strengthened so that exogenous events have less of destabilizing impact. These networks should be encouraged to think about practical and achievable steps.

The overview of the peace process up to this point allows us to do one more thing, consider strategies which have not been thoroughly explored. For me this is the regional component. The usual international players have made more significant errors. In age where regional relationships are become more important, including Israel's relationship with its Arab neighbours, more emphasis should be placed on leveraging regional relationships.

I am therefore advocating for the following: an approach which builds on the progress of the past, which challenges traditional diplomacy and which seeks to accompany peace with an economic package. This approach is the one I am now developing through my work as ICO Director.

VIII. RETHINKING DIPLOMACY IN FROZEN CONFLICTS: BUILDING ON THE PAST, TRACK 1.5 AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

I am an advocate of secret direct back channels of communication and negotiations, particularly in frozen conflicts and especially in conflicts with failed peace processes. In the case of Israel and Palestine, the leadership and most of the opposition personalities believe that public diplomacy vis-à-vis the enemy is next to treason. The public domain is used by these leaders to make fiery speeches and grandstand against the other side in the conflict and more specifically against the leaders of the other side. Often the claims are coupled with empty statements about their own desire for peace; however, we have no partner for peace on the other side is their primary message. It is easy to place blame on the doorstep of the enemy because both sides behave quite poorly towards the other on a daily basis. It is quite easy for the population on both sides to discern the clear intention of the other side not to live in peace. The failure of the peace process in which both sides breached their agreements is the obvious picture of reality which enables each side to blame the other side without taking any responsibility whatsoever for the failure. Each side claims that they did not implement their part of the agreement because the other side breached the agreement first and more substantively. There is little reason to return to negotiations if you believe that the other side has no intentions at all to implement what they may agree to. Secret direct back channels provide leaders from both sides to engage with a great deal of deniability which is essential in order for the back channel to even exist. Many will say that there is no chance of secrecy, but my own experience in the past 35 years of running secret direct back channels has proven otherwise.

Track II meetings are well known as back channels of non-officials, often involving academics or former politicians. These are the easiest form of back channels to convene. In Israel and Palestine, the best tested methodology for convening joint meetings is what we call joint stakeholder mediation/facilitation teams. This is the alternative to the idea of best offices by a third party. Our experience has taught us that even the best third-party mediator/facilitator cannot know the insides and sensitivities of any conflict more than the stakeholders themselves. The essence

of joint stakeholder mediation/facilitation teams is for the mediators/facilitators to be able to provide support for their own side's participants but also to be more able to legitimately openly criticise ideas raised by members of their own side's participants. The joint stakeholder mediation/facilitation teams must also have the ability to gain trust from the opposite team's participants, but also to be able to challenge them when it is appropriate to do so. Furthermore, the most important aspect of the joint stakeholder mediation/facilitation teams is for the two mediators/facilitators to be capable of working in full coordination with the same strategic goals in mind as the meetings progress. This is the challenge of getting focused on the goals of the meetings which are generally to generate new thinking that can be agreed across the conflict zone within the room. The key to reaching agreement is not reaching consensus, but rather finding ideas that a majority of people on both side "can live with". If reaching agreement is possible then the next phase is to have the means and the mechanism to present these ideas and proposals to the decision makers on both sides.

Now for the negatives, whilst there are various routes or methodologies of convening back channels, in the stage when it is necessary to develop and to test new ideas and strategies it would be more helpful to include non-officials such as civil society members, academics, etc. On the other side we found that Track II processes lack the means and mechanisms to get new thinking adopted by decision makers.

Years ago, before working with ICO, I started to notice these limitations to Track 1 and Track 1 dialogues which led to a change in our strategy after a series of breaches of agreements by both sides. At the time (1996) we were approached by the two governmental conveners of a joint scientific team from the Environment Authorities of both sides who were ordered to cancel a planned working meeting of the joint team. We proposed to these officials that we, as a joint Israeli-Palestinian non-government organization convene what we called "an unofficial meeting of officials". Both sides agreed to that formula which provided them with enough deniability and space to be able to carry out their original planned meeting. We added several academics to the teams who were not government officials. The success of that meeting led us to develop and to practice what we called Track 1.5 meeting which include non-officials, academics, former politicians alongside of officials who had the direct route to the decision makers at the highest levels possible. Sometimes the officials would participate as silent observers, but more often than not, they found it difficult to remain silent and usually became full participants, as all of the others. This methodology allowed for maintaining a channel of communication when officials are not speaking to each other. Our Track 1.5 forums were very useful for discussing tough policy issues as well, serving as an incubator for ideas and a laboratory for testing them and accessing official channels.

IX. MY WORK AS DIRECTOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST - INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES ORGANISATION

I stepped down in the end of 2011 from co-directing the joint Israeli Palestinian think and do-tank IPCRI (Israel Palestine Center for Research and Information) which I founded in 1988 and for the first time in 34 years I was not running an NGO working on resolving the Israeli Palestinian conflict. For the past two years I have been given a new opportunity to work behind the scenes of the frozen conflict thanks to Mr. James Holmes, the founder of the International Communities Organization based in the UK.

The value that ICO sees in track 1.5 approaches is one of the reasons which attracted me to the organization. ICO is a London-based international organisation working for peace in divided conflict affected areas with a specific focus on minority rights. ICO was established in 2016, and has held special consultative status with ECOSOC at the UN since 2021 following a two-year process to achieve the status.

ICO works to organise private and behind the scenes meetings which include non-officials, former politicians alongside officials who have direct route to the decision makers at the highest levels possible. This approach creates an enabling environment for constructive and open dialogue. With the stakes of formal and official negotiations removed, bridges are more easily built. ICO adds another layer of support by bringing in outside expertise from academia, international law, diplomacy and more. Those who have worked in other conflict contexts are able to offer not yet considered solutions from their extensive understanding of comparative cases. For those who have an acute understanding of the grassroots dynamics through their link to civil society, they can inject ideas generated at the local level. Finally, ICO seeks to ensure that minority groups in the conflict have a seat at the negotiation table on an equal footing. It therefore works to lend support to minorities to address asymmetries so that communities can work on a shared view for the future. Tying this process to decision makers at the highest levels offers the opportunity for potential solutions to permeate those in positions of power.

The strategy in each location where ICO operates is designed in collaboration with experts that have a long track record of working for peace in their countries. In-country teams are built from local stakeholders, with local knowledge. The remote team works to empower and facilitate the work on the ground. This is how ICO came to contact me to act as a director for their activities in the region.

ICO is able to provide expertise because it has built strategic partnerships with experts, peace-building organizations and academic institutions such as the Manchester University, where it is looking to launch the ICO peace and Reconciliation Centre, academic research focused on finding solutions to frozen conflict.

Moreover, ICO plays close attention to the legacy that previous peace processes have left behind. Stagnant and frozen conflicts suffer from a lack of momentum

and often, the stalemate that we observe is a result of entrenched approaches and positions. However, a lot can be learned from progress made, and convergences and compromises can be a starting point for future attempts. ICO therefore encourages key stakeholders to come back to the table, and finish the work that they started. The track 1.5 approach it employs still offers new thinking and perspectives, and drives the inclusion of marginalized actors so that previous progress can be reinvigorated through a fresh lens.

The road to peace in any context is a long one, and it requires the work of organizations like ICO who are in it for the long run. Dialogue at any level is also subject to political crises and changing trends. This is why ICO's model extends beyond diplomacy. By working at the grassroots level, building the capacity of local peace-builders and investing to address inequalities which exacerbate conflict dynamics, ICO seeks to gradually and incrementally contribute to creating the right incentives for peace, so that when the time is right, an official settlement could be achieved.

A second reason for accepting ICO's offer, was the organisations' focus on exploring the relationship between peace-building and economic development. ICO recognises the need to integrate peace-building and economic development interventions. It is clear that poverty plays a role in conflict, more accurately inequalities across lines of divisions pose as a significant barrier to building better relationships between divided peoples. Economic development which addresses power asymmetries between peoples, focuses on creating long term economic opportunities, and promotes economic cooperation and interference shows to have a positive impact on peace. Peace and reconciliation begin with building trust between equal partners. That means helping minorities and excluded groups to find their voice, working to address economic inequalities and supporting diplomacy at the highest level. What makes ICO unique is that they can do all three.

EDUCATION TO AWAKEN THE PEACEMAKER WITHIN

HIROO SAIONJI

PRESIDENT, THE GOI PEACE FOUNDATION

PRESIDENT, MAY PEACE PREVAIL ON EARTH INTERNATIONAL

SUMMARY: I. A NEED FOR A NEW EDUCATION; II. EDUCATION THAT DEALS WITH HUMANITY'S FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS; III. THE FUJI DECLARATION; 3.1. What is our true nature?; 3.2. What is the purpose of our existence on this planet?; 3.3. How do we wish to evolve as human species?; 3.4. Vision for a value-based universal education system; IV. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GOI PEACE FOUNDATION; V. PUTTING VALUES INTO ACTION.

I. A NEED FOR A NEW EDUCATION

In this troubling time, national, religious and racial issues we thought we had left behind us in the war-drenched 20th century are once again threatening our future.

What is most alarming is the growing egocentrism of nations and discriminatory sentiments that are spreading among people. I fear that this trend will eventually lead to more confusion and violence around the world. The experience of the two world wars taught us how exclusionist nationalism and isolationism can destabilize world peace. We definitely must not allow ourselves to repeat the horrible history.

In this respect, I believe we need to promote a value-based education to awaken the peacemaker within every person to overcome divisions and conflicts still prevailing in the world, and to create a sustainable and harmonious new civilization.

II. EDUCATION THAT DEALS WITH HUMANITY'S FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

For education to have any substantial effect on the course of humanity's future, I believe knowledge, skills and even teaching ethics are not enough. It needs to inspire fundamental change in our consciousness and value system.

We need to promote education that delves deeply into our worldview and understanding of life. We must squarely deal with essential questions such as:

- *What is our true nature?*
- *What is the purpose of our existence on this planet?*
- *How do we wish to evolve as human species?*

In order to make more enlightened choices and change the course of our history, each and every one of us must return to these basic questions concerning human life, and seek meaningful and responsible answers to them.

Unless our education and our outlook on life are based on serious inquiry into these fundamental questions, I believe that human beings on Earth will eventually stop evolving and will inevitably be driven to the brink of destruction.

In spite of our intentions to provide a good education and create peace among humanity, our endeavors will be in vain if we ignore these vital issues. This is because we will have no firm ideological foundation to guide our life.

There are many sages and scientists who are sincerely probing these three questions regarding the nature of human life. However, this kind of subject is often not included in public education policies and as such, most educational institutions do not take up these vital questions in any way.

Religious groups do touch upon these questions to some extent in an attempt to guide people on their spiritual path. However, such approaches are usually not at all scientific and rely mostly on intuitive thinking. Consequently, people who do not subscribe to any religion see these questions as having no relevance in their lives.

I believe it is important for us to provide an education based on scientific knowledge as well as ancient and indigenous wisdom where, through the very exploration of life itself, learners naturally develop a reverence for life. If we devote time in our school curriculums to these essential questions and encourage these subjects to be contemplated from early age, I am sure we will begin to see fewer people wasting their lives in meaningless pursuits or causing mischief or harm to human beings and other living things.

III. THE FUJI DECLARATION

What then is our true nature and our purpose on Earth? In an effort to articulate a meaningful response to this question and provide inspiration and hope to accelerate humanity's conscious evolution, my wife and I, along with systems philosopher Dr. Ervin Laszlo, co-authored and launched the Fuji Declaration in 2015.

Over 60 partner organizations and 200 founding signatories, including heads-of-state, Nobel laureates, scientists, artists, authors, teachers and world peace advocates the world over have joined this initiative, contributing their words of wisdom, and tens of thousands of people around the world have endorsed and embraced the Declaration.

3.1. What is our true nature?

As we have stated in the Fuji Declaration, the great spiritual traditions of the world have always been telling us that, at its root, human life is inextricably linked to its universal source. Today, the latest advances in the physical and life sciences reaffirm this perennial insight. When we rediscover our connections to nature and the cosmos, we can re-align our life with the universal movement toward oneness and harmony in and through diversity. We can restore the divine spark in the human spirit and bring forth our innate love, compassion, wisdom, and joy to live a flourishing life. The time has come for every one of us to awaken the divine spark that resides in our heart.

3.2. What is the purpose of our existence on this planet?

We have been born at a critical juncture in history, in a world in transition, where it is possible to guide the advancement of humankind toward peace on Earth. Living peace and enabling peace to prevail on Earth is the ultimate purpose for all of us. We can and must embrace it in every sphere of our existence.

By living consciously and responsibly, we can draw upon our inherent freedom and power to shape our destiny and the destiny of humankind. Our task is to collaboratively create a world of dignity and compassion that unfolds the full potential of the human spirit - a world in which every individual gives expression to his or her highest self, in service to the human family and the whole web of life on the planet.

3.3. How do we wish to evolve as a human species?

It is imperative to bring together individuals from diverse fields - scientists, artists, politicians, business leaders, and others - to create a solid multidimensional foundation for catalyzing a timely shift in the course of history. The time has come for all people to become courageous pioneers - to venture beyond their personal, cultural, and national interests and beyond the boundaries of their discipline, and to come together in wisdom, spirit and intention for the benefit of all people in the human family. By so doing, we can overcome the hold of obsolete ideas and outdated behaviors in today's unsustainable world and design a more harmonious and flourishing civilization for the coming generations.

The paradigm of the new civilization is a culture of oneness with respect for diversity. Just as the myriad cells and diverse organs of our body are interconnected by their oneness and work together in harmony for the purpose of sustaining our life, so each and every living thing is an intrinsic part of the larger symphony of life on this planet. With the conscious recognition that we are all a part of a living universe consisting of great diversity yet embracing unity, we will co-evolve with one another and with nature through a network of constructive and coherent relationships.

3.4. Vision for a value-based universal education system

In order to advance toward a new civilization as described above, our education system also needs to evolve. What we need is an education that nurtures true global citizens - individuals giving expression to his or her highest self in service to humanity and all life on Earth.

I propose a universal education which upholds the following core values to be instilled in every individual:

- To affirm the divine spark in the heart and mind of every human being and live by its light in every sphere of our existence.
- To commit to creating lasting peace on Earth through our ways of living and acting.
- To live and act for the benefit of all life, recognizing that all living things in all their diversity are interconnected and are one.
- To free the human spirit of deep creativity, and to nurture the necessary transformation in all spheres of human activity.
- To aspire to advance a more spiritual and harmonious civilization as the next stage of human evolution.

If our education system, from early childhood to higher and lifelong education, focused on awakening these inherent qualities and sense of purpose in every woman and man, we will no doubt breakthrough to a world of dignity and wellbeing for all.

IV. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GOI PEACE FOUNDATION

As an educational peace building organization based in Japan, the Goi Peace Foundation is dedicated to fostering a sustainable and harmonious global society by promoting consciousness, values and wisdom for creating peace, and by building cooperation among individuals and organizations across diverse fields, including education, science, culture and the arts.

Our educational programs for young people in particular are designed to nurture inner peace, respect for life and global awareness, emphasizing the leading role they can play in fostering world peace.

Earth Kids Space Program provides unique learning experiences for children in afterschool and weekend settings. It offers a safe space where children can fully express their potential and qualities. At Earth Kids Space, children learn about peace and harmony, and respect for all life and the environment through cooperative games, stories, interactive workshops and outdoor activities. The program has made an enormous impact not only on the minds of children but also on their families and communities at large, contributing to revitalizing

community collaboration and promoting local culture and inter-generational solidarity.

Our Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) Program empowers learners to make informed decisions and take responsible actions for environmental integrity, economic viability and a just society, for present and future generations. It is holistic and transformational education to learn the values, behavior and lifestyles required for a sustainable future and for positive societal transformation. We have been training and mobilizing young leaders by organizing ESD Youth Conferences in cooperation with UNESCO and the Japanese Ministry of Education.

As a program for *Global Citizenship Education*, the Goi Peace Foundation also coordinates lectures by diplomats in schools and universities. We believe that learning to respect different ethnicities, faiths, traditions and customs is an essential part of creating unity in diversity.

Additionally, our annual *International Essay Contest for Young People* harness the energy, creativity and initiative of the world's youth in promoting a culture of peace, and the *Youth Citizen Entrepreneurship Competition* offers entrepreneurship education and an online platform to mobilize youth-led innovations to achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

V. PUTTING VALUES INTO ACTION

Now more than ever before, we are called upon to uphold universal values and harness the power of our shared intention for a thriving world.

It is time to transform and forge a new paradigm not only in our education system, but also in the spheres of economics, science, medicine, politics, and business.

We sincerely look forward to working with the distinguished partners of the World Peace Forum for our shared future. Together, we can ensure a more peaceful and harmonious civilization for the coming generation - a world that reflects the highest potential of the human spirit.

May Peace Prevail on Earth!!!

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF A NATIONAL EMERGENCY

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Just three years ago we witnessed the wholesale abrogation of basic human rights as governments around the world attempted to address a perceived international health threat called COVID-19. Nation after nation declared a “public emergency” and promptly shut down businesses, schools, churches, and government offices, and imposed restrictions on personal freedoms that were unheard of before - all in the name of protecting us from some unseen virus. So, how do we secure the preservation of our basic human rights in the context of a “national emergency?”

Let us begin with a definition of terms: What are “human rights” - how do we define them?

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 75th anniversary of which we celebrate this year, defines the origin and nature of human rights as follows: “All human beings are *born free and equal* in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and [have] *the right* to life, liberty and security of person.” (Emphasis added)

The Preamble to the United States Declaration of Independence puts it this way: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are *created equal*, that they are endowed *by their Creator* with certain *inalienable rights*, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” (Emphasis added)

Thus, simply by virtue of their birth as human beings, all people have an inherent and equal right to live, freely move about, and enjoy peace and safety in their pursuits. These rights and freedoms exist independent of government authority, i.e. government cannot abridge these rights *except pursuant to democratically established rules of law*.

Next, what is a “national emergency” and how does it alter the relationship between the government and its citizens? To use the U.S. as an example, “a national emergency is any extraordinary situation deemed by the President of the United States to threaten the health or safety of the citizens and which cannot be adequately addressed by application of other laws or executive actions.”

Thus, a national emergency is basically whatever the chief executive says it is, which then gives him or her the authority to suspend the application of other laws, rights, and freedoms as he or she may deem necessary. Can we afford to entrust a single individual with that kind of power?

A “public health emergency” is apparently no different and permits the executive branch of government to unilaterally declare that “a disease or disorder presents a public health emergency . . . including significant outbreaks of infectious disease or bioterrorist attacks” which then triggers the same authority to suspend the application of other laws and attendant rights.

Fortunately, these executive powers are not entirely autonomous, i.e. they are *hopefully* subject to limits codified in the law, as in the case of the U.S. National Emergencies Act (50 USC sec. 1601 et seq.) which places restrictions on the use of emergency powers. But are these restrictions sufficient to preserve basic human rights in the midst of a declared emergency? What we saw during the COVID-19 pandemic was a general abrogation of many human rights in the name of protecting the health and safety of the citizenry.

So by way of illustration, let’s look at COVID-19 to see if it qualified as an emergency.

The following were the U.S. figures as of mid-2021:

- Total population of the U.S. - 331 million
- Total COVID cases - 32.2 million = 9.7% of the population (less than 10% contracted COVID)
- Total reported fatalities - 572,000 = 17.8% of those who contracted COVID or .17% of the total population (less than two-tenths of one percent).

Yet the government swept away numerous fundamental human rights and shut down whole communities over a “pandemic” that produced a mortality rate of less than two-tenths of one percent of the population! The repercussions from this government over-reaction were staggering. Not only did we see dramatic intrusions into our private lives and wholesale infringement of our basic rights as human beings, but the economic reverses around the world were enormous. For example, the European Union estimates there was nearly a 7% drop in economic “growth” in 2020, which will take at least two years or more to recoup. Some businesses of course are gone forever and those people, owners and employees alike, have had to find other sources of income.

The U.S. government’s solution to this economic reversal? “PPP loans” or Paycheck Protection Program loans which businesses may or may not have had to pay back depending upon certain government criteria. In other words, welfare checks to keep businesses afloat that the government itself had shut down! What does that sound like? - destroy private enterprise and convert businesses into government-controlled subsidies - it was socialism at its worst and the near-death of free enterprise.

But the real danger, because the “pandemic” dragged on for some two years, is at least two-fold:

- First, people are becoming accustomed to government restrictions on their freedoms as “the new normal.”
- Second, government is unlikely to return to pre-pandemic levels of control but will advocate “continued caution” as justification for on-going “emergency powers.” (See “National Emergency and the Erosion of Private Property Rights” written well before COVID-19)

So, what can be done? How do we prevent the loss of our basic human rights, even in the context of a “national emergency”? - because IT WILL HAPPEN AGAIN!

- First, resistance/peaceful protest - on both the individual and the community level.
- Second, elected government officials - people who will champion human rights/fundamental freedoms.
- Third, litigation - confront government in the courts.

Who will lead the charge? The role of legal professionals in protecting human rights cannot be overstated - “Judges, prosecutors and lawyers perhaps have the single most important role to play in applying national and international human rights law. Their work constitutes the chief pillar of the effective protection of human rights.” But those involved in the legal profession cannot carry the burden themselves. Community insistence upon preserving our fundamental rights must accompany any official action on the part of professionals. In America, the Founding Fathers of the Republic were mostly “professionals” but it was community activists and militias that carried the day and won the human rights we treasure now. May we as members of the world-wide human family remain ever vigilant and stand up for the freedoms that are ours simply by virtue of our existence as human beings! “All that need happen for evil to prevail is for good people to do nothing.”

DELIVERING A JUST AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION

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SUMMARY: I. NAVIGATING A JUST TRANSITION; II. THE BIOFUELS BACKLASH; III. THE DOWNSIDES OF NEGATIVE EMISSIONS; IV. CONFLICTS OVER HYDROPOWER; V. POWERING THE TRANSITION; VI. MEETING ADAPTATION NEEDS; VII. LEAVING THE FOSSIL AGE; VIII. DELIVERING A JUST AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) established the Environment of Peace (EP) initiative to advance knowledge about how climate change and environmental degradation impact international peace and security, and to broaden and deepen policymakers' understanding of these interconnections. 'Environment of Peace: Security in a New Era of Risk', the flagship report for policymakers, was launched at the Stockholm Forum on Peace and Development in May 2022.¹

Responding to climate change and environmental degradation will entail changes at an unprecedented scale and speed, given the size and urgency of the problems. The increasingly visible climate change impacts mean the need for climate adaptation will continue to expand in coming years². The required transitions to a more sustainable future are essential to address the increased risk of insecurity and conflict that will come from the growing impacts of environmental degradation and climate change. However, these transitions have to be done with care.

This paper explores how mitigation and adaptation policies, if not well planned, can have negative unintended consequences on peace and security. It shows how these transitions offer opportunities to contribute to peace, but only if the conflict risks of transition policies are understood and managed. It suggests common principles based on the assembled evidence, which should be applied to limit these risks and deliver a just and peaceful transition.

¹ The present article is an updated and abridged version of Chapter 3 of this report.

² 'AR6 Synthesis Report: Climate Change 2023 – IPCC', accessed 12 October 2023, <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/sixth-assessment-report-cycle/>.

I. NAVIGATING A JUST TRANSITION

Rapid changes envisioned for transitions in climate and the environment carry the potential for generating injustice and conflict, in many ways and at various scales³. Individual workers can lose their jobs, with no chance to re-skill. Communities can shed crucial industries or have ‘solutions’ imposed on them. Countries can quickly lose a substantial proportion of their national income.

Transitions at all of these levels could lead to insecurity and an increasing risk of conflict⁴. There is a clear need, therefore, for transitions to be fair and to take account of the needs of those who will lose out, especially if they are already marginalized⁵. Given that some transitions will take place in situations of pre-existing insecurity and conflict, peace needs to be integral to conceiving and implementing transitions. These principles are not only about ensuring justice and promoting peace, they are essential for delivering the transitions successfully and with the urgency that environmental crises demand.

Many public and private organizations have begun to map out what a just transition should achieve and the principles under which it should take place⁶. Most focus on the energy system within a given country; aims typically include the provision of re-skilling and new job opportunities, and participatory decision making with communities and workers involved⁷. Some also call for the redistribution of wealth and power, redress for past wrongs (e.g. linked to colonialism) and the enhancement of ecological integrity⁹. The concept is beginning to find traction at a government level, with the Scottish Government in the UK, for example, committing to justice and fairness in its energy transition and assigning a ministerial post to this agenda¹⁰. However, sectors other than energy face potentially disruptive transitions as well. Land use change is likely to be particularly challenging, given that countries and corporations in the Global North are looking to forests and other natural resources in the Global South for ways to compensate for their emissions¹¹.

3 Geoffrey D. LABELKO and Meaghan PARKER, ‘Afterword: From Backdraft to Boomerang’, in *Water, Climate Change and the Boomerang Effect* (Routledge, 2018), <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315149806-11/afterword-geoffrey-dabelko-meaghan-parker>.

4 Geoffrey D LABELKO et al., ‘Backdraft: The Conflict Potential of Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation’, Backdraft (Washington DC: Wilson Center, 2013), https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/ECSF_REPORT_14_2_BACKDRAFT.pdf.

5 Karen L O'BRIEN, Asuncion LERA St. Clair, and Berit KRISTOFFERSEN, eds., *Climate Change, Ethics and Human Security* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511762475>

6 Samantha SMITH, ‘Just Transition: A Report for the OECD’ (Brussels: Just Transition Centre, May 2017), <https://www.oecd.org/environment/cc/g20-climate/collapsecontents/Just-Transition-Centre-report-just-transition.pdf>.

7 ‘Financing Fair, Inclusive and Just Transitions to a Sustainable Future | UNFCCC’, accessed 5 October 2023, <https://unfccc.int/news/financing-fair-inclusive-and-just-transitions-to-a-sustainable-future>.

8 Philipp FINK, ‘The Road Towards a Carbon Free Society: A Nordic-German Trade Union Cooperation on Just Transition’ (Stockholm: Nordic Trade Unions (NFS); German Trade Union Confederation (DGB), 2021), <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/stockholm/17520.pdf>.

9 Climate Justice Alliance, ‘Just Transition Principles’ (Climate Justice Alliance, August 2016), https://climatejusticealliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/CJA_JustTransition_Principles_final_hi-rez.pdf.

10 Scottish Government, ‘Making Just Transition a Defining Mission’, Environment and Climate Change (blog), 15 September 2021, <http://www.gov.scot/news/making-just-transition-a-defining-mission/>.

11 K LOFTS, J.P. SARMIENTO-BARLETTI, and A.M. LARSON, ‘Lessons towards Rights-Responsive REDD+ Safeguards from a Literature Review’, Working Paper (Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), 2021), <https://doi.org/10.17528/cifor/008376>.

In order to understand how to make transitions just, peaceful and successful, it is instructive to draw on experiences from recent mitigation and adaptation policies. Many come with a history of creating negative social or environmental consequences: for example, depleting water resources, contributing to hunger or opening a door to human rights abuse. Unsurprisingly, people then oppose the intervention. Sometimes force is used to support the intervention. If the opposition is successful, the project in question is scrapped, leaving the environmental issue unaddressed; if the opposition fails, the community is left with a legacy of at least resentment and at worst a heightened risk of conflict. Understanding the multiple issues arising in such situations can point to the future and illustrate what is needed to deliver the profound transformations required.

II. THE BIOFUELS BACKLASH

The ‘rush to biofuels’ provides evidence that attempts to tackle an environmental ill in the Global North can prove highly damaging in the Global South given interconnected economies and environments. In the 2000s, the EU and the USA sought to reduce their transport emissions through introducing plant-based alternatives to petrol and diesel. The EU’s 2003 Biofuels Directive, for example, set progressively increasing targets for biofuel content in vehicle fuels¹². Producers then turned to the developing world, where they could obtain land and labor more cheaply.

This contributed to insecurity and conflict in a number of countries. The UN Food and Agriculture Organization noted that between one and two thirds of landgrabs were being made to claim land for biofuel crops¹³. In Zimbabwe, growing biofuels created water shortages for communities¹⁴. In South Asia, jatropha and other monoculture crops caused land degradation and food scarcity. Kenya and Brazil are among other countries to have seen similar problems. In 2008, the president of the World Bank, Robert Zoellick, described the rush to biofuels as a ‘significant contributor’ to the soaring food prices that led to unrest in countries such as Haiti, Egypt and Burkina Faso¹⁶.

¹² European Parliament and Council of the European Union, ‘Directive 2003/30/EC - on the Promotion of the Use of Biofuels or Other Renewable Fuels for Transport’, L 123/42 Official Journal of the European Union § (2003), <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32003L0030&from=EN>.

¹³ Prosper Bvumiranayi MATONDI, Kjell J. HAVNEVIK, and Atakilte BEYENE, eds., *Biofuels, Land Grabbing and Food Security in Africa*, Africa Now (London; New York: Zed Books, 2011), <https://www.sei.org/publications/biofuels-land-grabbing-and-food-security-in-africa/>.

¹⁴ Patience MUTOPO and Manase KUDZAI CHIWESHE, ‘Water Resources and Biofuel Production after the Fast-Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe’, *African Identities* 12, no. 1 (22 January 2014): 124–38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2013.868673>.

¹⁵ Tobias IDE and Kirsten SELBMANN, ‘Climate Change, Biofuels, and Conflict’, in *Biofuels* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781315370743>.

¹⁶ R. ZOELLIICK, ‘World Bank Chief: Biofuels Boosting Food Prices’, NPR Radio Broadcast, 11 April 2008, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=89545855&t=1643790563262&t=1643790801947>.

In addition to stoking opposition, biofuels do not always result in significant carbon savings compared with the fossil fuels they are replacing. If land is cleared of native cover, particularly old-growth forest, the carbon-absorbing impact of that is lost, potentially along with carbon stored in soil. Most of the carbon savings claimed by the EU's initial biofuels programme disappeared once these indirect effects were taken into account¹⁷, while the overall effect of the US Renewable Fuel Standard has probably been to raise rather than lower emissions¹⁸.

Despite these long-standing concerns, biofuel production is increasing. Global demand reached 170 000 million Liters in 2022¹⁹ and is set to rise by 11% by 2024²⁰. More than half of this expansion is likely to take place in Africa and Latin America.

Biofuels look to have a limited future in road transport, with electric cars set to be the dominant zero-carbon technology. However, the pressing need for low-carbon aviation is opening up a new market. More than 30 airlines are now trialling and deploying biofuels²¹. The EU has mandated that 'sustainable aviation fuels' should be available at every major airport as part of its 'Fit for 55' package and that there should be a gradual increase in the share of sustainable fuels share towards 70% in 2050²². The International Civil Aviation Organization is promoting biofuels as part of its CORSIA programme to reduce emissions from international aviation²³. With relatively few low-carbon propulsion options available, aviation may end up driving the biofuels market in years to come. This high level of demand could potentially increase challenges to land rights, food production and nature, all of which could contribute to conflict risk.

III. THE DOWNSIDES OF NEGATIVE EMISSIONS

Technologies can bring greenhouse gas emissions to zero in many sectors of the economy. However, in sectors such as aviation and agriculture as well as in some industries, there are currently few options. Therefore, in order to reach net zero carbon emissions globally to fundamentally address global warming, there is a need for 'negative emissions': ways of pulling carbon dioxide from the atmosphere.

17 David LABORDE, 'Assessing the Land Use Change Consequences of European Biofuel Policies' (Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), October 2011), <http://ebrary.ifpri.org/utils/getfile/collection/p15738coll5/id/197/filename/198.pdf>.

18 Tyler J. LARK et al., 'Environmental Outcomes of the US Renewable Fuel Standard', Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 119, no. 9 (March 2022): e2101084119, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2101084119>.

19 'Biofuels – Energy System', IEA, accessed 6 October 2023, <https://www.iea.org/energy-system/low-emission-fuels/biofuels>.

20 'Will Energy Security Concerns Drive Biofuel Growth in 2023 and 2024? – Renewable Energy Market Update – June 2023 – Analysis', IEA, accessed 6 October 2023, <https://www.iea.org/reports/renewable-energy-market-update-june-2023/will-energy-security-concerns-drive-biofuel-growth-in-2023-and-2024>.

21 Intelligent Partnership, 'Aviation Biofuels: Which Airlines Are Doing What, with Whom?', 6 June 2021, <https://intelligent-partnership.com/aviation-biofuels-which-airlines-are-doing-what-with-whom/>.

22 'Fit for 55: Increasing the Uptake of Greener Fuels in the Aviation and Maritime Sectors', 4 October 2023, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/fit-for-55-refueled-and-fueled/>.

23 International Council on Civil Aviation, 'CORSIA Eligible Fuels' (Montreal: ICAO, March 2019), <https://www.icao.int/environmental-protection/CORSIA/Documents/CORSIA%20Leaflets/CorsiaLeaflet-EN-9-WEB.pdf>.

Many countries, subnational governments, and corporations have set their own net zero emissions targets, and some are implementing programmes to achieve them²⁴. A rapidly growing concern among scientists and environmental campaigners is the extent to which corporations are planning to continue emitting greenhouse gases, and instead meet their net zero targets via copious quantities of forest-based international offsetting. This entails funding reforestation or afforestation programmes, often in the Global South where it is cheaper²⁵. Some national net zero targets also explicitly or implicitly involve substantial amounts of international offsetting²⁶.

Offsetting is being envisaged at a scale that is clearly infeasible, with Shell's plans alone requiring the planting an area approaching the size of Brazil²⁷. With corporations wanting to purchase offsets at the lowest price possible, the potential for projects to neglect the true needs of people and nature is a grave concern.

These concerns are largely based on nearly two decades of experience with an existing international mechanism aimed at conserving tropical forests, namely REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries)²⁸. REDD+ projects have a documented history of exacerbating and sparking conflict, usually through disputes over land tenure²⁹. For example, in Indonesia's Kalimantan province, the enclosure of a forest area in 2008-13 displaced Indigenous people without land title, further marginalizing the already marginalized, exacerbating food insecurity and fomenting conflict³⁰. A particular issue is that often the culture of Indigenous groups does not include a Western or legalistic definition of 'land tenure'; but without formal land title they can be excluded from contracts related to REDD+.

Similar concerns surround an engineering approach to negative emissions, namely Bioenergy with Carbon Capture and Storage (BECCS). In IPCC scenarios compatible with the 1.5 °C global warming target, growing the energy crops necessary to deliver the level of needed negative emissions could take up more than one quarter of the world's cropland³¹. While BECCS is not yet a reality and

24 Richard BLACK et al., 'Taking Stock: A Global Assessment of Net Zero Targets' (ECIU and Oxford Net Zero, March 2021), https://ca1-eci.edcdn.com/reports/ECIU-Oxford_Taking_Stock.pdf?v=1616461369.

25 Doreen STABINSKY, 'Chasing Carbon Unicorns: The Deception of Carbon Markets and "Net Zero"' (Amsterdam: Friends of the Earth International and partners, February 2021), <https://www.foei.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Friends-of-the-earth-international-carbon-unicorns-english.pdf>.

26 BLACK et al., 'Taking Stock: A Global Assessment of Net Zero Targets'.

27 Josh GABBATISS, 'Analysis: Shell Says New "Brazil-Sized" Forest Would Be Needed to Meet 1.5C Climate Goal', Carbon Brief (blog), 12 February 2021, <https://www.carbonbrief.org/analysis-shell-says-new-brazil-sized-forest-would-be-needed-to-meet-1-5c-climate-goal>.

28 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, 'Warsaw Framework for REDD+', UNFCCC REDD+ (blog), 2013, <https://redd.unfccc.int/fact-sheets/warsaw-framework-for-redd.html>.

29 Rowan ALUMASA ALUSIOLA, Janpeter SCHILLING, and Paul KLÄR, 'REDD+ Conflict: Understanding the Pathways between Forest Projects and Social Conflict', *Forests* 12, no. 6 (June 2021): 748, <https://doi.org/10.3390/f12060748>.

30 Peter HOWSON, 'Slippery Violence in the REDD+ Forests of Central Kalimantan, Indonesia', *Conservation and Society* 16, no. 2 (2018): 136, https://doi.org/10.4103/cs.cs_16_150.

31 Keywan RIAHI et al., 'Chapter 3- Mitigation Pathways Compatible with Long-Term Goals', in *Climate Change 2022: Mitigation of Climate Change. Contribution of Working Group III to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, ed. P.R. Shukla et al. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 04/22), https://report.ipcc.ch/ar6wg3/pdf/IPCC_AR6_WGIII_FinalDraft_Chapter03.pdf.

there are several major challenges that need to be addressed before it can be deployed at a larger scale, including economic feasibility and effects on food production, water availability and biodiversity³².

IV. CONFLICTS OVER HYDROPOWER

The world's biggest source of renewable electricity is currently hydropower³³, which has a documented history of generating conflict and wider insecurity. The displacement of villages by dam lakes has caused unrest and conflict on every continent (bar Antarctica)³⁴. Altogether hydropower dams have displaced an estimated 80 million people, sometimes into areas populated by other ethnic groups, leading to clashes³⁵. Other negative impacts include:

- restricted and/or unpredictable water availability for downstream users, as a result of dam operators regulating the downstream flow to optimize electricity production
- disruption to fish stocks, including their seasonal migration routes
- biodiversity loss
- disruption to navigation
- loss of farmland
- loss of access to firewood, hunting and foraging ground, neighboring communities and infrastructure
- local communities living with the risk of catastrophic flooding, if the dam is poorly built.

Many communities displaced by dams have either been undercompensated for their land and livelihoods, or not compensated at all. The Tucuruí Dam in Brazil affected almost 100 000 people living downstream, including cutting the fish catch by about 60%³⁶. The Kariba Dam, built in 1959, displaced Indigenous people from the Zambezi Valley, who did not subsequently receive the electricity they had been promised³⁷.

32 Mathilde FAJARDY et al., 'BECCS Deployment: A Reality Check', Briefing Paper (London: Grantham Institute, Imperial College London, January 2019), https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Andrea-Fantuzzi/publication/330774659_BECCS-deployment_a-reality-check/links/5c539d81a6fdccd6b5d87347/BECCS-deployment-a-reality-check.pdf.

33 International Energy Agency, 'Net Zero by 2050 - A Roadmap for the Global Energy Sector' (Paris: International Energy Agency (IEA), 18 May 2021), <https://www.iea.org/reports/net-zero-by-2050>.

34 Ashok SWAIN, 'Water Wars', in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, ed. James D. Wright, 2nd ed. (Elsevier, 2015), 443–47, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.91087-0>.

35 Nadine WALICKI, Michael J. IOANNIDES, and Bryan TILT, 'Case Study Series - Dam Displacement' (Geneva: IDMC, 4 November 2017), <https://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/case-study-series-dam-displacement>.

36 Emilio F. MORAN et al., 'Sustainable Hydropower in the 21st Century', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115, no. 47 (20 November 2018): 11891–98, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1809426115>.

37 Baboki KAYAWE, 'Electricity for All but Those the Kariba Dam Displaced', *Inter Press Service (blog)*, 26 March 2013, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/03/electricity-for-all-but-those-the-kariba-dam-displaced/>.

Despite the influential report from the World Commission on Dams in 2000³⁸, and despite transboundary river basin cooperation agreements, some dams continue to generate opposition and conflict, including lethal action against community activists. In 2016, environmental defender Berta Cáceres was killed in Honduras for leading protests against the Agua Zarca Dam³⁹, whose developers had seized land illegally from the Lenca Indigenous group. Meanwhile, land for dams in Myanmar has been cleared at gunpoint. It is worth noting that most hydropower is funded by international donors, with China financing more than 50% of projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America⁴⁰.

As part of the shift to renewables, the International Energy Agency (IEA) foresees global hydropower capacity doubling in coming decades⁴¹. The majority of the additional dams would be located in the Global South, with a 10-fold expansion possible in Africa⁴². The potential for further forced displacement, loss of livelihood, loss of food, and conflict is clear unless the governments, agencies and companies involved commit to, and follow, best practice.

V. POWERING THE TRANSITION

The pathway to 1.5°C is getting narrower, but the continued growth in renewable energy is contributing to keeping it open. Tripling the capacity of renewable energy sources stands as the most significant driver for reducing emissions by 2030 in the IEA Net Zero Emissions by 2050 Scenario. This growth would include a 16-fold increase in wind power and solar PV generation by 2050. Battery storage will be an essential way to balance supply and demand, while batteries also sit at the heart of electric transportation⁴³.

Wind, solar and battery storage are already expanding quickly, driven by their rapidly falling costs, growing public subsidies, as well as concern over climate change⁴⁴. Solar and wind provided a record 12% of global electricity in 2022⁴⁵.

38 World Commission on Dams, *Dams and Development*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2000), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315541518>.

39 Suyapa PORTILLO VILLEDA, 'Glimmer of Hope in Honduras: Ex-Dam Ceo & West Point Grad Convicted in Murder of Berta Cáceres', *Democracy Now!* (blog), 7 June 2021, https://www.democracynow.org/2021/7/6/bertha_caceres_assassination_david_castillo.

40 Matthew A. COLE, Robert J. R. ELLIOTT, and Eric STROBL, 'Climate Change, Hydro-Dependency, and the African Dam Boom', *World Development* 60 (1 August 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.03.016>.

41 International Energy Agency, 'Net Zero by 2050 - A Roadmap for the Global Energy Sector'.

42 International Hydropower Association, '2021 Hydropower Status Report: Sector Trends and Insights' (London: IHA, June 2021), <https://www.hydropower.org/publications/2021-hydropower-status-report>.

43 International Energy Agency, 'Net Zero Roadmap: A Global Pathway to Keep the 1.5°C Goal in Reach - 2023 Update', n.d.

44 Kingsmill BOND et al., 'Reach for the Sun: The Emerging Market Electricity Leapfrog' (London: Carbon Tracker; Council on Energy, Environment and Water (CEEV), July 2021), <https://www.ceew.in/sites/default/files/ceew-study-on-energy-leapfrogging-in-developing-countries.pdf>.

45 'Global Electricity Review 2023', Ember, 11 April 2023, <https://ember-climate.org/insights/research/global-electricity-review-2023/>.

Wind and solar power are already the cheapest ways of adding new generating capacity in most⁴⁶ and are often met with high levels of public support⁴⁷.

However, there are documented cases of windfarms generating opposition serious enough to pose a conflict risk. A decade ago, protests against the Bi Hioxo wind park in Mexico centered on two main factors: some protestors wanted the farm to provide benefits to the community, while others opposed it on principle, particularly Indigenous groups that claim customary rights over the land. Protestors complained of a range of repressive responses including police harassment, death threats and attempted kidnappings⁴⁸. Ceará state in Brazil, the traditional ranges of the Sami people in northern Sweden, and the pastoral lands of Lake Turkana in Kenya are other areas that have seen protests over wind power developments which threatened to hinder traditional livelihoods⁴⁹.

Even with increasing efficiency in manufacturing, the vast acceleration needed in clean technologies to meet the Paris Agreement commitments implies a substantial rise in demand for raw materials such as copper, lithium and cobalt, as well as rare earth metals found only in a few locations on Earth⁵⁰. About half of the existing cobalt supply is mined in the Democratic Republic of the Congo⁵¹. There, the industry's documented history of human rights violations and abuse, including child labour, has even led to the term 'the blood diamond of batteries'⁵². The much larger volumes of critical minerals needed suggest that the scale of these violations might increase without substantial reforms to the largely artisanal mining operations.

The reliance on China for sourcing rare earth metals also opens up the potential for geopolitical tension⁵³. In June 2023, China announced export restrictions on gallium and germanium products, essential components in computer chips and other electronic devices, in order to safeguard national security interests. This decision was by many interpreted as a response to the US decision on restricting the sale of certain technologies to China. There is growing concern that China may extend export limitations to other critical materials⁵⁴.

46 International Renewable Energy Agency, 'Renewable Power Generation Costs in 2020' (Abu Dhabi: IRENA, June 2021), <https://www.irena.org/publications/2021/Jun/Renewable-Power-Costs-in-2020>.

47 Cassie FLYNN et al., 'The Peoples' Climate Vote: Results' (Oxford: UNDP; University of Oxford, 26 January 2021), <https://www.undp.org/publications/peoples-climate-vote>.

48 Alexander DUNLAP, 'Counterinsurgency for Wind Energy: The Bi Hioxo Wind Park in Juchitán, Mexico', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 45, no. 3 (19 March 2018): 630–52, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2016.1259221>.

49 Christian BRANNSTROM et al., 'Is Brazilian Wind Power Development Sustainable? Insights from a Review of Conflicts in Ceará State', *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 67 (January 2017): 62–71, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2016.08.047>.

50 Kirsten HUND et al., *Minerals for Climate Action: The Mineral Intensity of the Clean Energy Transition* (Washington DC: World Bank, 2020), <https://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/961711588875536384/Minerals-for-Climate-Action-The-Mineral-Intensity-of-the-Clean-Energy-Transition.pdf>.

51 Sophia KALANTZAKOS, 'The Race for Critical Minerals in an Era of Geopolitical Realignments', *The International Spectator* 55, no. 3 (2 July 2020): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2020.1786926>.

52 Dionne SEARCEY, Eric LIPTON, and Ashley GILBERTSON, 'Hunt for the "Blood Diamond of Batteries" Impedes Green Energy Push', *The New York Times*, 29 November 2021, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/world/congo-cobalt-albert-yuma-mulimbi.html>.

53 Julie Michelle KLINGER, *Rare Earth Frontiers: From Terrestrial Subsoils to Lunar Landscapes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), <https://www.cornellpress.cornell.edu/book/9781501714597/rare-earth-frontiers/>.

54 Mai NGUYEN and Mai NGUYEN, 'China's Rare Earths Dominance in Focus after It Limits Germanium and Gallium Exports', *Reuters*, 5 July 2023, sec. Commodities, <https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/chinas-rare-earths-dominance-focus-after-mineral-export-curbs-2023-07-05/>.

Governments and companies from countries including China, India, Russia, Saudi Arabia and the USA are showing keen interest in securing critical minerals from Africa, leading to warnings of a new ‘Scramble for Africa’ with colonialist overtones⁵⁵. Allowing the industry to develop along these lines would risk missing out on the development benefits that well-governed mining can bring, including contributing to delivering the SDGs⁵⁶.

Disposal of decommissioned wind turbines, solar panels and batteries could become a contentious issue. However, the industry and its regulators are increasingly paying attention to end-of-life issues. Recycling and recovery of components would ease pressure on critical minerals by putting rare earths and other metals back into circulation⁵⁷, as would designs that avoid the need for these elements⁵⁸. Yet those options may be some years away from commercial reality⁵⁹.

Nuclear power is likely to remain limited to relatively few countries, where existing concerns over weapons proliferation, terrorist use of nuclear materials and long-term waste disposal will remain⁶⁰. In recent years, another risk has crept into the nuclear power arena, namely cyberattack. The Russian Government has attacked reactors in Europe and the USA⁶¹, while a North Korean backed hack targeted an Indian reactor⁶². Whether cyber penetration could be used to produce a meltdown or other serious incident is not clear; but the very lack of clarity could generate opposition to a proposed plant. The Russian takeover of nuclear power stations during its invasion of Ukraine, and use of artillery on site, has also drawn attention to the hazards that would be created by intentional or accidental strikes on operating reactors or nuclear waste stores—again, potentially generating opposition to expansion of the technology⁶³.

55 Mai NGUYEN and Mai NGUYEN, ‘China’s Rare Earths Dominance in Focus after It Limits Germanium and Gallium Exports’, Reuters, 5 July 2023, sec. Commodities, <https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/chinas-rare-earths-dominance-focus-after-mineral-export-curbs-2023-07-05/>.

56 Sara GHEBREMUSSE, ‘New Directions in Mining Governance and the Sustainable Development Goals in Africa’, Policy Brief, New Thinking on SDGs and International Law (Waterloo, Ontario: Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2020), <https://www.cigionline.org/publications/new-directions-mining-governance-and-sustainable-development-goals-africa/>.

57 Elsa DOMINISH, Nick FLORIN, and Sven TESKE, ‘Responsible Minerals Sourcing for Renewable Energy’ (Sydney, Australia: Institute for Sustainable Futures, University of Technology Sydney, 2019), https://www.earthworks.org/cms/assets/uploads/2019/04/MCEC_UTS_Report_lowres-1.pdf.

58 Claudiu C. PAVEL et al., ‘Substitution Strategies for Reducing the Use of Rare Earths in Wind Turbines’, Resources Policy 52 (1 June 2017): 349–57, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2017.04.010>.

59 Clare CHURCH and Alec CRAWFORD, ‘Green Conflict Minerals: The Fuels of Conflict in the Transition to a Low-Carbon Economy’ (Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development, August 2018), <https://www.iisd.org/system/files/publications/green-conflict-minerals.pdf>.

60 Hans-Holger ROGNER, ‘World Outlook for Nuclear Power’, Energy Strategy Reviews, Nuclear Energy Today & Strategies for Tomorrow, 1, no. 4 (1 May 2013): 291–95, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esr.2012.12.001>.

61 Nicole PERLROTH and David E. SANGER, ‘Cyberattacks Put Russian Fingers on the Switch at Power Plants, U.S. Says’, The New York Times, 15 March 2018, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/15/us/politics/russia-cyberattacks.html>.

62 Stephanie FINDLAY and Edward WHITE, ‘India Confirms Cyber Attack on Nuclear Power Plant’, Financial Times, 31 October 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/e43a5084-fbbb-11e9-a354-36acbbb0d9b6>.

63 ‘Ukraine: What’s the Worst-Case Scenario for Zaporizhzhia?’ – DW – 07/05/2023’, dw.com, accessed 11 October 2023, <https://www.dw.com/en/ukraine-whats-the-worst-case-scenario-for-zaporizhzhia/a-66129374>.

VI. MEETING ADAPTATION NEEDS

From the inception of the UN climate convention, states and stakeholders have been clear that adaptation to climate change is necessary alongside action to reduce emissions (mitigation). As mitigation efforts have so far been insufficient to reduce emissions and the impacts of past emissions are already present⁶⁴, adaptation is increasingly becoming an urgent priority. In practice, projects often combine elements of both mitigation and adaptation, such as restoring mangrove forests or planting trees to protect against flooding⁶⁵.

Poor design and implementation can lead to a range of negative outcomes -or 'maladaptation'- including a greater risk of insecurity and conflict⁶⁶. A decade ago, a Swedish-funded project in Cambodia aimed to increase food security, boost livelihoods and promote biodiversity in areas already being affected by increasing drought. An evaluation several years later found that the project had exacerbated hierarchical and oppressive power relationships and land tenure arrangements, increasing communities' dependence on government rather than making them more resilient and stimulating migration out of the area⁶⁷. In Ethiopia's Gambella region, projects aiming to increase water security through development of new villages and new sources of livelihood have exacerbated insecurity by requiring people to leave their existing fields and food production. This change has reduced communities' capacity to adapt to extreme weather events⁶⁸. In Bangladesh, adaptation projects including coastal afforestation, water management and disaster preparedness have resulted in land-grabbing by the elite, community disempowerment and reinforcement of chronic poverty⁶⁹.

Projects can fall short through a mixture of factors, including a shallow understanding of why communities are vulnerable and failure to engage equitably with affected populations⁷⁰. The IPCC concludes that maladaptation is more likely if measures 'focus on sectors and risks in isolation and on short-term gains', rather than addressing vulnerabilities with an inclusive and flexible approach⁷¹. There are also examples where adaptation actions and funding have been captured by

64 U. N. Environment, 'Emissions Gap Report 2022', UNEP - UN Environment Programme, 21 October 2022, <http://www.unep.org/resources/emissions-gap-report-2022>.

65 'Glasgow Climate Pact - Decision -/CMA.3' (2021), https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/cma3_auv_2_cover%20decision.pdf.

66 E. Lisa F. SCHIPPER, 'Maladaptation: When Adaptation to Climate Change Goes Very Wrong', *One Earth* 3, no. 4 (October 2020): 409–14, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.oneear.2020.09.014>.

67 Mehjabeen ABIDI HABIB, 'Evaluation of Swedish Climate Change Initiative 2009 – 2012: Adaptation Fund Cambodia Case Study', Evaluation of Swedish Climate Change Initiative 2009 – 2012 (Stockholm: Expertgruppen för biståndsanalys (EBA), 2020), <https://eba.se/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Substudy6-Adaptation-Fund-Cambodia-Case-mallad-NY.pdf>.

68 Anita MILLMAN and Yacob ARSANO, 'Climate Adaptation and Development: Contradictions for Human Security in Gambella, Ethiopia', *Global Environmental Change* 29 (November 2014): 349–59, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2013.11.017>.

69 Benjamin K. SOVACOOOL, 'Bamboo Beating Bandits: Conflict, Inequality, and Vulnerability in the Political Ecology of Climate Change Adaptation in Bangladesh', *World Development* 102 (February 2018): 183–94, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.10.014>.

70 Siri ERIKSEN et al., 'Adaptation Interventions and Their Effect on Vulnerability in Developing Countries: Help, Hindrance or Irrelevance?', *World Development* 141 (1 May 2021): 105383, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2020.105383>.

71 Hans-Otto PÖRTNER et al., 'Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Summary for Policymakers. Working Group II Contribution to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change' (Geneva: IPCC; WMO; UNEP, 28 February 2022), https://report.ipcc.ch/ar6wg2/pdf/IPCC_AR6_WGII_SummaryForPolicymakers.pdf.

the elite, leading to outcomes in which they deliberately reinforce their power under the guise of climate adaptation⁷². A particularly high potential for conflict risk lies in measures dealing with land use, infrastructure projects such as dams and irrigation, and those that force people to relocate. This is even more pertinent in situations of pre-existing tensions, inequality and conflict⁷³.

It is worth noting that adaptation is almost exclusively discussed in relation to climate change, but communities also have to adapt to other environmental threats. Loss of biodiversity, soil degradation, overfishing and pollution often decrease food security. Deforestation and pollution can compromise access to freshwater. Urban air pollution can affect health and livelihoods. Although the adjustments needed to live with these issues are hardly ever discussed with the label 'adaptation' attached, they are conceptually identical⁷⁴. This commonality means that while the challenge of adaptation is much greater, so is the opportunity: building community resilience can bring benefits that extend far beyond climate adaptation.

VII. LEAVING THE FOSSIL AGE

In 2022, global carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions from the energy sector hit a new record high at 37 billion tones (Gt), but it is predicted that the peak will be reached during this decade⁷⁵. As use of zero-carbon energy ramps up, demand for fossil fuels is likely to fall, driven by economics as well as a desire to tackle climate change. How far and how fast it falls depends on many factors, including how seriously governments implement decarbonization policies. Coal use, in particular, is considered likely to be much lower in 2050 than currently, while oil and gas demand would also fall considerably under strong climate policy⁷⁶. Such trends suggest that extraction and processing industries will downsize considerably in many countries, potentially disappearing completely in some.

The growing membership of the Beyond Oil and Gas Alliance, launched at COP26 shows that some governments are already planning proactively for this transition⁷⁷. An increasing number of countries are now mentioning fossil fuel production in their nationally determined contributions (NDCs) submitted in accordance with the Paris Agreement, even though it is not a requirement. In many cases, however, their plans involve continued or even higher levels of production⁷⁸.

72 ERIKSEN et al., 'Adaptation Interventions and Their Effect on Vulnerability in Developing Countries'.

73 Elisabeth A. GILMORE and Halvard BUHAUG, 'Climate Mitigation Policies and the Potential Pathways to Conflict: Outlining a Research Agenda', *WIREs Climate Change* 12, no. 5 (September 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.722>.

74 Dilys ROE, 'Is Adaptation the Missing Ingredient from the New UN Biodiversity Action Plan?', International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) (blog), 24 February 2020, <https://www.iied.org/adaptation-missing-ingredient-new-un-biodiversity-action-plan>.

75 International Energy Agency, 'Net Zero Roadmap: A Global Pathway to Keep the 1.5 °C Goal in Reach - 2023 Update', n.d.

76 International Energy Agency, 'World Energy Outlook 2021' (Paris: IEA, October 2021), <https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-outlook-2021>.

77 'Beyond Oil & Gas Alliance', Beyond Oil & Gas Alliance, 2021, <https://beyondoilandgasalliance.com/>.

78 International Institute for Sustainable Development et al., 'Connecting the Dots: Mapping References to Fossil Fuel Production in National Plans under the UNFCCC for the 2023 Global Stocktake' (Stockholm Environment Institute, 13 June 2023), <https://doi.org/10.51414/sei2023.040>.

The benchmark Net Zero by 2050 Roadmap published by International Energy Agency (IEA) in 2021 already made it clear that to limit global warming to 1.5°C, development of new oil and gas fields or coal mines cannot be allowed⁷⁹, but several countries continue granting new approvals and fossil fuel investment has increased⁸⁰.

If countries or major fossil fuel corporations do not plan an orderly exit as demand falls, their exits will carry the potential for insecurity and conflict risk as people lose jobs and local economies contract⁸¹. The demise of the British coal-mining industry in the early 1980s provides a striking lesson in how not to enact a transition out of an extractive industry, with social and cultural impacts that still reverberate 40 years later⁸². Many of the most heavily oil-dependent countries are among the most affected, now and in the recent past, by conflict and instability. Angola, the Republic of the Congo, Timor-Leste, Kuwait and Oman derive a quarter or more of their income from oil and gas rents; for Iraq and Libya the figure is above 40%⁸³.

In the case of low income petrostates, the international community could offer assistance to enable them to transition away from fossil fuel dependence. But in the case of larger petrostates, such support would be infeasible even were there a desire among those supporting efforts to ease transitions.

VIII. DELIVERING A JUST AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION

Across the world, initiatives in biofuels, hydropower, nature conservation and climate adaptation -often conceived with good intentions- have stoked insecurity and conflict. Many times, these responses impede adoption of technologies and approaches to address climate change and environmental pollution. The implications of environmental and climate crises are now too big to permit failure; the myriad transitions in energy, transportation, industry and land use are needed to avoid a range of catastrophic outcomes. That means actively involving communities in their design and implementation in order to achieve just and peaceful transitions, which are then more likely to be successful ones. It requires integrating the necessary considerations at the outset of responses to climate change and environmental decline rather than waiting until efforts have already contributed to injustice and conflict. Through such up-front anticipatory action, the conditions for more just and peaceful transitions can be created.

Some of the transitions needed to meaningfully tackle climate change and the wider environmental crisis are transitions not of technology but of effectiveness.

⁷⁹ International Energy Agency, 'Net Zero by 2050 - A Roadmap for the Global Energy Sector'.

⁸⁰ 'Overview and Key Findings – World Energy Investment 2023 – Analysis', IEA, accessed 12 October 2023, <https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-investment-2023/overview-and-key-findings>.

⁸¹ David J. ROTHKOPF, 'Is a Green World a Safer World? Not Necessarily', Foreign Policy (Washington, United States: Foreign Policy, 22 August 2009).

⁸² Steve FOTHERGILL, 'Coal Transition in the United Kingdom', Coal Transitions (Paris: Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI), 2017), <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/report/coal-transition-uk>.

⁸³ 'DataBank | The World Bank', accessed 6 October 2023, <https://databank.worldbank.org/home>.

Rather than doing something new, governments, regulators, companies and sometimes non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have to do more of the same, but to much higher social and ecological standards. On a global scale, the combined demand for land is perhaps beyond what is feasible given people's need for living space and food production. All these changes carry the potential for displacement, human rights abuses, land grabs, increasing inequality, and damage to food and water security. The imperative is clear for undertaking them sensitively, judiciously and, above all, with the needs and rights of people (especially marginalized communities) front of mind.

Delivering a just and peaceful transition through assessing and addressing possible negative outcomes of pro-environment measures before implementation was one of the key recommendations of the Environment of Peace report. Exactly what is needed to make it just, peaceful and successful—will be both country- and sector-specific and will also evolve over time. However, from the evidence assembled, it seems clear that certain common principles will apply: understanding of local realities, genuinely participative decision making with the communities involved, mechanisms and funding to protect livelihoods and international support where appropriate.

PEACE JOURNALISM AND REMEMBERING THE PAST

STEVEN YOUNGBLOOD¹

SUMMARY: I. INTRODUCTION; II. REMEMBERING THE PAST AND MEMORIALIZATION; 2.1. Journalists role, challenges; 2.2. Need for peace journalism approach; III. PEACE JOURNALISM OVERVIEW; 3.1 Introduction and Definitions; 3.2 Key principles; 3.3. Peace Journalism Elements; IV. PROJECT: RESPONSIBLY REPORTING ON DEALING WITH THE PAST AND MEMORIALIZATION; V. HANDBOOK: RESPONSIBLE REPORTING ON DEALING WITH THE PAST; VI. CONCLUSION.

I. INTRODUCTION

Between the challenges of wars, climate change, human migration, and many other issues, no one could argue that journalists don't have their hands full - and then some. As challenged as they are by the present, they face equal, and perhaps greater, hurdles when they report about events and monuments that seek to acknowledge and recognized events and people from troubled, often violent pasts.

Examples of reporting about troubled pasts abound. For example, media (and educational institutions) in the U.S. are increasingly challenged when they report about the country's troubled legacy regarding race and racism - a legacy some conservatives are seeking to ignore, or whitewash. In Northern Ireland, where the "troubles" plagued the region for decades, how do reporters cover marching season (sectarian parades) without further inflaming passions, and dividing communities? The same applies to Kosovo, where I recently completed a project, conducted in conjunction with forumZFD, a German NGO and the Association of Journalists of Kosovo, dedicated to improving reporting about their troubled past, as well as reporting about efforts to memorialize those events from the 90's.

While there are certainly differences between the "troubles" and the violent conflict in the Balkans in the 90's and early 2000's, I was stuck by the similar obstacles faced by journalists in both places. In Kosovo and Northern Ireland, for example, the societies are struggling as they come to grips with the past and deal with thorny, highly contested issues like atrocities, crimes against humanity, collective and individual guilt and blame, forgiveness, trauma, healing, and reconciliation, which seems far off in both places.

All of these issues were discussed honestly at a workshop I taught with journalists in Pristina in 2022, just as they were in 2019-2020 in seminars I conducted in Belfast and Derry. This paper will be centered on the Kosovo project.

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In this essay, we will examine the challenges involved in reporting troubled pasts, analyze the efficacy of peace journalism approaches in addressing these challenges, and offer advice from Kosovar journalists, and from a new handbook, on how to improve reporting in these sensitive areas.

II. REMEMBERING THE PAST AND MEMORIALIZATION

What do we mean by remembering a troubled past and memorialization?

A troubled past is simply past events that are seen by at least a segment of the population as painful, trauma inducing, and guilt inducing. These events are often still controversial and divisive, with the facts contested or in doubt. In the Balkans, to this day, there are contested narratives about incidents wherein multiple people were killed (battles, or massacres?) and about the roles of NATO and local insurgent groups (freedom fighters or terrorists?).

Memorialization is about preserving memories, about commemoration, by creating public memorials, “physical representations or commemorative activities that concern events in the past and are located in public spaces. They are designed to evoke a specific reaction or set of reactions, including public acknowledgment of the event or people represented; personal reflection or mourning; pride, anger, or sadness about something that has happened; or learning or curiosity about periods in the past².” Memorialization entails the creation of an object (statue, monument), event, ceremony, etc. that seeks to honor events and the people involved in these events. In other words, memorialization is remembrance activities designed to preserve the historical memory of events related to a collective trauma (e.g. conflicts, famine, disease, pandemics, disasters, humanitarian crises, etc.)

It’s vital that journalists remember that these memories are subject to interpretation. “Memories are the ways in which people build a sense of the past, and how we relate the past to the present is through memories. People who have lived through certain periods or events build a collective memory. Memories are transmitted from ancestors or witnesses to the event to those who were not present at the event or during the period in which it occurred.

These events are interpreted and placed within a cultural framework, which is a conceptualization, using symbols, signs, monuments/statues, speeches, events, and memorials, meant to preserve common experiences. For example, in Northern Ireland, memorialization is ubiquitous, ranging from annual marches by both sides; numerous enormous murals painted on buildings honoring ‘our martyrs,’ and regimental flags flying from homes³.”

2 BRETT, Sebastian; BICKFORD, Louis; ŠEVČENKO, Liz; RIOS, Marcela, *Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action, 2007*, International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ). https://www.ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-Global-Memorialization-Democracy-2007-English_0.pdf

3 YOUNGBLOOD, Steven (ed.). *Responsible Reporting on Dealing with The Past*. Association of Journalists of Kosovo and forumZFD, 2023 September.

So often, these issues are reported in a sectarian, “us vs. them” fashion that reopens old wounds, incites anger, and assigns blame. Who deserves a bust or statue in the park? And who decides, and how, who and what get memorialized? And for our purposes, how can journalists report about past events and memorialization without fueling sectarian fires?

2.1. Journalists role, challenges

The cliché about journalism being the first draft of history is certainly applicable as we launch a discussion about the journalist’s role in responsibly reporting troubled pasts. Certainly, reporting about these issues is problematic in both Kosovo and North Macedonia.

According to the Association of Journalists of Kosovo, “Despite their differences, both Kosovo and North Macedonia have shared challenges with regards to reporting about the past. Problems with violence and trust building in the communities is a field of reporting that does not often go beyond borders of ethnicity and political landscape. Reaching across the ethnic lines and political division, puts journalists in a dichotomous role between reporting on own community and revealing the truth which jeopardizes the true nature of journalism and the use of objective methodology in choosing sources⁴.”

Further, the Association of Journalists of Kosovo goes on to describe the multifaceted, often contradictory roles journalists play in the region. “Journalists stand in the center of journalistic concepts of professional ideology of independence, neutral reporting, and eye-witness accounting in one hand and their duty to accompany nation building processes, deal with crimes, scrutinize former officials of prior political structure and keep current political leaders accountable. This puts journalists in a particular position of being public defenders of the state, nation, and society building but also of development in post-conflict which is part of a wider political agenda.”⁵

In Kosovo, this political landscape, combined with incessant noise from social media, further complicates the job of journalists who are reporting about efforts to memorialize and commemorate the past. According to the guidebook “Responsible Reporting on Dealing with The Past,” produced by forumZFD and the Association of Journalists in Kosovo, to which I contributed to and edited, “The political landscape plays a role in the occasional use of inflammatory language and sectarian framing in media and on social networks. The political parties in Kosovo have evolved to become more aggressive and proactive on social networks while they simultaneously interact less with traditional journalists...As a result, Kosovo is now characterized by a higher level of polarization and a view of politics that is obsessed with the past.”⁶

⁴ Media Mapping and Dealing with the Past. Association of Journalists of Kosovo. Website accessed 27 September 2023. <https://agk-ks.org/en/publications/media-mapping-and-dealing-with-the-past/>

⁵ Media Mapping and Dealing with the Past.

⁶ Responsible Reporting on Dealing with The Past.

2.2. Need for peace journalism approach

Given this backdrop, it's clear that a peace journalism-tailored approach is needed when reporting about the past and memorialization - an approach that eschews sensationalism, "us vs. them" narratives, false equivalencies, and propaganda. According to the Association of Journalists in Kosovo and forumZFD, "In research published in 2020, journalists report that they know very little about the initiatives on dealing with the past by any institutions, including international institutions, Kosovar institutions, or regional initiatives. In the same study, all journalists confirmed the need for peace and conflict sensitive journalism (Sweeney et al., 2020) by saying that there should be some kind of guidelines on how to do real peace and conflict sensitive journalism in the field⁷."

This guidance comes in the form of a just-released handbook that is grounded in peace journalism. Before we explain the recommendations in this handbook, let's briefly summarize the principles of peace journalism.

III. PEACE JOURNALISM OVERVIEW

Peace journalism is an essential tool that journalists can use when reporting about the past, and reporting about current efforts to memorialize the past. Properly done, peace journalism acknowledges the past without dwelling on it while planting the seeds for dialogue and eventual reconciliation.

3.1. Introduction and Definitions

The Center for Global Peace Journalism (USA) says that peace journalism is a practice in which "editors and reporters make choices that improve the prospects for peace. These choices, including how to frame stories and carefully choosing which words are used, create an atmosphere conducive to peace and supportive of peace initiatives and peacemakers, without compromising the basic principles of good journalism. Peace Journalism gives peacemakers a voice while making peace initiatives and non-violent solutions more visible and viable⁸."

Just as important is a consideration of what peace journalism is not. None of PJ's foundational literature states that peace journalism means open advocacy for peace, or that peace journalism ignores unpleasant, potentially inflammatory stories. News is news, and it must be reported. Thus, peace journalism asks how the news should be reported, how it should be framed, what words should be used, and how the event can be reported in a way that doesn't exacerbate already dire situations, fuel violence, and make angry people angrier.

Two key elements of peace journalism are framing and word choice.

⁷ Responsible Reporting on Dealing with The Past.

⁸ What is Peace Journalism. Center for Global Peace Journalism. Accessed 25 September 2023
<https://peacejournalcenter.blogspot.com/>

The simplest definition of framing in journalism is the way journalists organize and present news. This includes which aspects of stories to emphasize, which to minimize, and which to ignore. In producing frames, media establish the meaning of an event, and help the public understand and categorize its importance. In *Peace Journalism Principles and Practices* (2016), it notes that, “Framing theory is significant for all journalists, but especially so for peace journalists, who often speak of narratives, which can be defined as the interpretation and presentation of a story. This (demonstrates) the power of media to create meaning and, thus, structure societal discourses.”⁹

Another key to peace journalism is the importance of words and word choices. Peace journalists must be careful to avoid demonizing, victimizing, and inflammatory language because carelessly selected words can be anger-inducing, misleading, or divisive.

There are many words that journalists regularly and carelessly use that add only negative emotion, but no substance, to a story. For example, how many people have to die for an event to become a massacre? Or how about the words “brutal,” “callous,” “slaughter,” “grim,” “monstrous”? What exactly constitutes a tragedy? And who is a martyr? This list includes demonizing language like “criminal,” “thug,” “liar,” and “evil.” “Terrorist” is also frequently tossed around carelessly. After all, what’s the difference between a terrorist and a freedom fighter? The fact is that all of these words and their synonyms are subjective and imprecise. If a journalist (or peace journalist) is to adhere to the principles of objectivity and impartiality, and if these emotive words are inherently subjective, this alone should be sufficient reason to omit such language. Peace journalism teaches that if 100 people were killed, that we simply write that 100 people were killed. Peace journalists report the facts, and let the reader or listener make their own subjective decisions as to whether the event is a tragedy or a massacre.

What words would a peace journalist use instead? A peace journalist can report in a matter-of-fact manner. For example, write “John was arrested for stealing \$100” or “John has been arrested 16 times” instead of “John, a known thief, liar, and thug, was caught red-handed ripping off \$100.” A peace journalist, when writing about victims, could state matter-of-factly what happened without sensational labels designed to make the victims look even more helpless or tragic. For example, “Sara was unarmed and holding her baby when attacked” instead of, “Sara, who was holding her defenseless, ill baby, was helpless when heartless thugs jumped her.” Peace journalists can avoid sensationalism by sticking to the facts. For example, write “23 people were killed” instead of “23 people were slaughtered in a bloody massacre,” or “200 rebels were ambushed by the government” instead of “200 heroes were martyred by brutal enemy soldiers.”

⁹ YOUNGBLOOD, Steven. *Peace Journalism Principles and Practices*, 2016. Routledge/Taylor and Francis Books, page 9.

3.2. Key principles

In their groundbreaking book *Peace Journalism*, Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick (2005) lay out a number of principles of peace journalism. This includes a 17-point checklist comparing peace journalism to war/violence journalism, or what can more broadly be termed traditional journalism.¹⁰

In the checklist, war/violence journalism is reporting characterized by “us vs. them” narratives that demonize “them,” the spreading of propaganda, reporting that is victory-oriented, reactive, elite-oriented, and only focuses on the visible effects of violence. Peace journalism is the opposite. It is reporting that is proactive, humanizes “them,” gives voice to everyday people, and discusses solutions.

Other key points in the checklist include avoiding reporting about conflict as if it is a zero-sum game (one winner, one loser); reporting about common ground shared by parties involved in the conflict; avoiding reporting only the violent acts and “the horror”; and not reporting claims as facts.¹¹

The Center for Global Peace Journalism, using the Lynch and McGoldrick 17 points as a foundation, devised a 10-point list outlining the elements of peace journalism.

3.3. Peace Journalism Elements

- Peace Journalism is proactive, examining the causes of conflict and looking for ways to encourage dialogue before violence occurs. PJ leads dialogue about solutions.
- Peace Journalism acknowledges a common ground between parties, and rejects divisive, polarizing “us vs. them” reporting. PJ builds bridges.
- Peace reporters reject propaganda from any source. Instead, they seek balanced, factual information from multiple sources (since there are almost always more than just two sides).
- Peace Journalism rejects overly simple portrayals of issues and people (groups as monoliths, stereotypes), and instead seeks to illuminate complexity, nuance, and gray areas.
- Peace Journalism gives voice to the voiceless, instead of just reporting for and about elites and those in power.
- Peace journalists provide depth and context, rather than just superficial and sensational “blow by blow” accounts of violence and conflict.
- Peace journalists consider the consequences of their reporting.
- Peace journalists carefully choose and analyze the words they use, understanding

¹⁰ LYNCH, Jake and MCGOLDRICK, Annabel, *Peace Journalism*, 2005. Stroud publishing, page 5.

¹¹ *Peace Journalism*, page 6.

that carelessly selected words are often inflammatory.

- Peace journalists thoughtfully select the images they use, understanding that they can misrepresent an event, exacerbate an already dire situation, and revictimize those who have suffered.
- Peace Journalists offer counternarratives that debunk media created or perpetuated stereotypes, myths, and misperceptions¹².

IV. PROJECT: RESPONSIBLY REPORTING THE PAST AND MEMORIALIZATION

Against this backdrop, forumZFD, in conjunction with the Association of Journalists of Kosovo and the Center for Global Peace Journalism, conducted a series of online workshops for journalists from Kosovo and North Macedonia followed by several face-to-face events from 2020-2022 centered on the theme, Responsible Reporting of a Troubled Past.

Following both online and face to face seminars for about 20 journalists, a three day peace journalism and reporting troubled pasts seminar was held in October, 2022 in Pristina, Kosovo. Specifically, the event considered how peace journalists should carefully report about issues related to troubled pasts (and memorialization of this history) when these pasts are still contested, and the wounds still open and raw.

As described on my Peace Journalism Insights blog, “The seminar began with an overview of media in the region from Xhemajl Rexha, president of the Association of Journalists of Kosovo. In his opinion, journalists in the region don’t practice peace journalism since they often use inflammatory language, engage in racial slurs, and offer competing narratives to incidents in the region. In an article Rexha co-wrote for the forumZFD website, he concluded, ‘Over the years little has been done to bring together Kosovo and Serbia journalists to talk to one another. Moreover, what is needed is an internal dialogue between local journalists from both communities in Kosovo. Facing each other and talking about the hurtful language to the other community would be a good start.’ The seminar...included instruction in basic peace journalism. I led a discussion with the journalists about how media in the region can build bridges between “us and them” and contribute to reconciliation.”¹³

The attending journalists from Kosovo and North Macedonia came up with some excellent ideas about how they could improve their reporting about the past, while encouraging their societies to look forward rather than just dwelling on the past. These suggestions included:

¹² Center for Global Peace Journalism.

¹³ YOUNGBLOOD, Steven. Balkan Journalists Hear Passion from Ukrainian Colleague, October 11, 2022. Peace Journalism Insights blog. <https://stevenyoungblood.blogspot.com/2022/10/balkan-journalists-hear-passion-from.html>

- Report on things in common.
- The impact of conflict on women.
- The importance of media literacy training.
- Report counternarratives.
- Report about civil society, and how they bring groups together.
- Reach for the voice of the voiceless and tell their stories.
- Establish new media outlets that are not ethnically based.¹⁴

The participants, 20 journalists from Kosovo and North Macedonia, also discussed their ideas for peace journalism-style stories they planned to produce related to dealing with the past. Their topics included stories about former combatants; how different generations deal with memories; about women and their role during the conflict; the role of media on all sides in the conflict then and now; the state of minorities during and after violent conflict; and the interconnected lives of youths on all sides of the conflict.

At the Pristina workshops, the journalists and I also discussed ideas on how to more responsibly report on memorialization without stoking anger or inflaming sectarianism. These ideas include:

- Examine role of memorialization event in terms of reconciliation, reconstruction, transitional justice.
- Report on memorialization event through inclusivity lens - are minority, marginalized groups involved, interviewed?
- Report on the artistic and cultural aspects of memorialization.
- Challenge majority narratives and include minority and female perspectives.
- Report using competing and contested narratives - more than just balance.
- Use expert sources like historians, academics, museums.
- Treat all sides and sources equally.
- Recognize your own biases.
- Expose and report about decisions about and motivations for memorialization activities and events.¹⁵

V. HANDBOOK: RESPONSIBLE REPORTING ON DEALING WITH THE PAST

The ideas generated by the Kosovar and North Macedonian journalists, combined with previously published papers about reporting the past from forumZFD, were

^{14&15} Balkan Journalists Hear Passion from Ukrainian Colleague.

combined into a handbook for journalists called “Responsible Reporting on Dealing with The Past.” This handbook was released in a launch event in Pristina in September 2023.

The first question tackled by the handbook is, how do journalists strike a balance between objectively informing and chasing sensationalism on topics related to dealing with the past? Here are some ideas:

- Explain the context and present many sides.
- Do not speculate.
- Work only with facts, with what is known and what can be verified.
- Be familiar with the protocols and laws governing these sensitive issues, including national security.
- Use multiple sources from all sides.
- If you can, use direct participant sources, not retold situations.
- Carefully choose the words you will use.
- Do not generalize (all Kosovars believe...).
- Do not use sensational headlines.
- Avoid hate speech, discriminatory and derogatory expressions, offensive stereotypes, insults, or threats.
- Do not give voice to open or subtle calls for violence.
- Base reporting on ethics and peace and conflict sensitive journalism.
- Monitor comments sections online and block inflammatory and hate speech.
- Strengthen and expand professional solidarity and cooperation, including the exchange of content between media outlets.
- Promote the public accountability of the media and journalists.
- Collect and consider opinions, suggestions, and criticisms from citizens.
- Media houses must adopt internal codes that will protect the freedom, rights and integrity of journalists and editors, while the corrosive effects of politics.
- Train journalists and editors on media literacy and overcoming ethnocentrism in producing media content.
- Seek passage of better laws against hate speech and spreading intolerance on ethnic, religious, national, gender, sexual, cultural, or linguistic grounds.
- Advocate for the adoption of legislation for greater transparency regarding the ownership and financing of the media and the awarding of donations and grants.
- Work only in the interest of the public and the citizens, regardless of the

circumstances, individual requests or the requests of parties, communities, ethnic groups, business circles, etc.

- Respect fundamental freedoms, diversity of views and opinions, as well as the individual human rights of all participants in society and online.
- Strengthen the principles of professional dialogue among journalists by promoting universal values of peace and non-violent conflict resolution, emphasizing the importance of positive social values such as inclusion, tolerance, respect and acceptance of cultural and religious diversity, trust and solidarity.¹⁶

The handbook also offers advice on what it called “other important considerations” when reporting about difficult issues from the past. These include being especially careful when choosing sources; avoiding “fake balance” or false equivalency; verifying information; adhering to the principle of “do no harm,” avoiding speculation; respecting privacy; letting readers draw conclusions (objectivity); avoiding historical revisionism; collecting background information and providing context; inclusivity; avoiding “us vs. them”; avoiding inflammatory and demonizing labels; staying politically neutral; including competing and contested narratives; avoiding polarizing language and story framing; and focusing on solutions.¹⁷ Each of these recommendations is grounded in, or directly reflects, the principles of peace journalism.

In reporting about memorialization, the handbook suggests that reporters should begin by asking (and answering) a number of key questions:

- What role does the monument play in the current debates in our society?
- Is the monument necessary?
- What is the role of monuments in social reconstruction or transitional justice?
- How can these monuments foster reconciliation and social reconstruction among former enemies?
- How can we be sure that the monuments do not preserve or even strengthen societal divisions that previously led to conflict?
- What memories do we want to preserve and how? In whose name?
- How can the manipulation of public monuments and memorials by political actors and their minions be prevented?¹⁸

Based on these questions, peace journalists can develop approaches to more responsibly report about memorialization in a way that, at minimum, doesn’t make angry people angrier or further polarize divided societies. Other approaches on reporting about memorialization that journalists can employ, according to the handbook, include suggesting inclusive approaches to memorialization; reporting more about memorialization in arts and culture; challenging male

¹⁶, ¹⁷, ¹⁸ Responsible Reporting on Dealing with The Past.

dominated narratives; adding and explaining more contested views; working with experts (including museums) on collective memory; sticking to the facts; treating all sides equally; examine educational curricula; and examining decision making memorialization¹⁹. Again, each of these items reflects the characteristics and principles of peace journalism and acknowledges the journalists' vital role in leading societies forward as a catalyst against sectarianism and polarization.

VI. CONCLUSION

Reporting about troubled pasts, ultimately, addresses the journalist's role in a free, democratic society, which is to present verified information in a way that helps to educate the public about the past without pouring fuel on the fire. In the Balkans, "Kosovar citizens need accurate, unbiased information on the troubled past. The media are not immune to political and other influences. It is natural for journalists to have ethnic, social, cultural and other identity biases. Peace journalism asks reporters to be aware of these biases, and to work as much as possible to overcome them."²⁰

Indeed, reporters can take the handbook's advice and employ the tools of peace journalism to analyze all historical sides, angles, narratives, and contexts in a non-sensational, less emotional manner that avoids fueling hate, polarization, and sectarianism.

Violent conflicts in the past, and the ongoing tensions created by unresolved current conflicts, plague many societies. This plague is both reflected and fueled by media. If societies are to begin healing and reconciliation processes, it is vital that journalists do their part by eschewing traditional inflammatory and divisive reporting and instead embrace peace journalism approaches to reporting about their troubled pasts and memorialization.

^{19,20} Responsible Reporting on Dealing with The Past.

PEACE: THE IMPERATIVE OF GLOBAL HUMANITY

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SUMMARY: I. A WORLD AT A CROSSROADS; II. DOMINANT CONCEPTIONS OF PEACE; III. A NORMATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF PEACE; IV. PEACE: THE IMPERATIVE OF GLOBAL HUMANITY; V. IN CONCLUSION.

I. A WORLD AT A CROSSROADS

Our world is at a crossroads - a turbulent time, felt like, in Charles Dickens well-quoted phrases: “the worst of times”. There are so many reasons for so many people to feel despair, not least those living in the shadows of wars and other forms of violence, economic turmoil, political upheaval, poverty, and the continued catastrophe as the result of climate change. At the same time, these are also the very reasons why the global communities are craving for peacefulness, shared humanity, and a fulfilling and flourishing life for all.

Indeed, peace matters to everyone, not just for humans, but also for other beings in nature. As a concept, peace is ubiquitous in our personal and political life, social media, academia, and everyday conversations. Yet, we seldom ask such questions as:

- “Do we know what we mean by ‘peace’ when we talk about it?”
- “How do we define it when we investigate peace or work for peace?”
- “What characterise the ‘peace’ that we work for? Will we know it when we come across it? How do we know it is our kind of peace?”
- “What values, norms and priorities are included in our idea of peace?”
- “Who take the greatest delight in the kind of peace we advocate and How?”

For the most part, we assume that everyone knows and agrees upon the meanings of peace, and we use the word abundantly and freely. When we do so, we tend to accept dominant conceptions of peace, which I shall review.

II. DOMINANT CONCEPTIONS OF PEACE

Typically, the word peace carries with it two kinds of connotation:

One describes the external condition where there is an absence of violence and

conflict. (Some may add that it is the absence of organised physical, structural, or cultural violence and conflict.) Examples of this conception are found, for instance, in the UN's mission in "the maintenance of international peace and security"; NATO's purpose of "ensuring freedom and security ... through political and military means."; the OECD's Humanitarian-Development-Peace nexus, and IMF's commitment to peace through facilitating international trade, promoting employment and sustainable economic growth, and reducing global poverty. Together, these might be regarded as the dominant conceptions of peace, also termed as secure peace, liberal peace and economic peace.

The other describes the inner state of peacefulness where there is an absence of psychological conflict and violence, and where people can experience a sense of calm and tranquillity, free from fears, wants, doubts, and feeling of insecurity.

Both conceptions are now highly influential in humanity's endeavours to build peace, create peace and make peace. As both conceptions assume that peace is the opposite of conflict, chaos, violence, and poverty, therefore, to prevent non-peace, governments will need to apply military force, establish centralised state institutions, and introduce liberal politics, and wealth-accumulating economy. Similarly, to avoid inner turbulence, contemplative practices are introduced, including prayers, mindfulness, meditation, and deep relaxation, which will be treated as means to defend people against the conflictual feelings inside oneself. In this contexts, military force, liberal politics, growth-economy and inner or spiritual practices are aimed at the same end: to prevent the emergence of conflict, chaos, violence and poverty, including turmoil and disquiet inside our mind.

Yet when peace is conceived as an absence of non-peace, or purely negatively as the opposite to violence or war (material or psychological), we are not content with it. Why is it the case that we are not satisfied with negative conceptions of peace? Here I offer a few possible reasons.

First, secure peace condones violence. This is because it contains within the definition assumptions of human's nature as aggressive and violent, reflecting a Hobbesian argument about human nature and society. Briefly, Thomas Hobbes portrays humans as naturally aggressive and violent. To compete for limited material resources, and to fight for precious social positional goods, such as honour or glory, he proposes that human's default position is one of perpetual potential war with each other. When "peace" is built upon the notion of security and defence, it is fear-based, and antagonistic. According to this view, to avoid violence, an absolute power and centralised institutions are required to control humans' aggressive tendencies. This Hobbesian view of human nature has influenced most of the principles that are guiding our international and transnational relations.

We can almost immediately see the consequences of this conception of human nature as violence. For instance, national security demands us to accept a necessary role for armed forces, the permission to and employment of these in the name of peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention. Equally, the need for professionalisation of the military, for robust policing, and so forth.

To sustain militarisation and police forces, supporting institutions and services must be in place, including arms factories, and military suppliers. These require governments to divert national budget and public resources from housing, health, education, and people's livelihood to weapons production, surveillance, supporting the armed forces and so forth. Similarly, human beings are trained to put their lives and their own well-being, and their family's well-being at risk, and then learn to live with the harms and traumas caused and experienced by being subject to and exercising violence. These aside, we also need museums and memorials for the lives sacrificed to appease the hearts tormented by the losses.

In sum, by conceiving human nature as violent, a negative conception of peace can legitimise violence, invest in violence, and celebrate violence.

Second, liberal peace reproduces structural violence. Structural violence is built in the relationships amongst our socio-economic and political institutions to ensure unfair distribution of power. Liberal peace is situated within a historical view that regards the emergence of economic prosperity in the West as the only expression of progress in history. In this view, non-Western societies are under-developed and therefore will continue to be plagued by violence.

A major critique about liberal peace concerns its practices of intervention in the so-called 'global South'. This assumed binary between the 'progressive and well-developed North' and the 'backward and under-developed South' reflects a nostalgia for the liberal subject which gives rise to the social contract as a basis for democratic politics. It points out that such interventions' emphasis on the same intellectual Eurocentrism that has originally resulted in the creation of the vulnerability in the very regions, countries and communities. Examples of eurocentrism include Enlightenment philosophy and racist ideology. Such criticism highlights the illusion that development in the West was self-generated through strong political will, supported by the Enlightenment philosophy (despite claiming that all persons are equal) and scientific and technological advances. Such an illusion also turns a blind eye to the bloody paths leading to the West's ascension to power, through war, genocide, slavery, colonisation and imperialism. The very idea and practice of liberal peace, through structural hierarchies have continued to produce, reproduce and reinforce the same violence, dispossession and alienation of the peoples, communities and societies that had paved the way to the West's domination.

Third, economic peace normalises violence. Economic peace tends to regard wealth accumulation and materialistic growth as an important condition for reducing violence and poverty. In practice, this priority of capital accumulation has become an end for its own sake. The need for growth determines the nature of the operation to be minimising costs and maximising profit. This instrumental tendency of economic peace means that there must be structural features in place to ensure such minimisation and maximisation. It further requires that the relationships between economic, social and political institutions and corporations to be mutually beneficial. These institutions would converge and contrive in pursuit of materialistic gains. Within such a structure, human beings

are only valued in accordance with their work and production in the economy rather than appreciated as beings of intrinsic non-instrumental value whose worthwhileness is realised in and through the relational webs and processes that give rise to such intrinsic value. The result is not only the fact that people are alienated from the meaningfulness of their work, but also the impersonal and alienating relationships within institutions, and political communities.

Furthermore, the goal of minimising cost and maximising profit has already prefigured that some people must be exploited, their needs and well-being kept at the minimum, and their productivity at maximum possible. To do so, it requires the ideology of human hierarchy, fabricated using excuses, such as skin colour, ability, religion, ethnicity, gender, geographical location, cultural history, and more. Hence this economic system has a built-in mechanism to polarise, permitting those in the position of power to instrumentalise and abuse those who are vulnerable. Many communities in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been made vulnerable through historical dehumanisation and continued legacies of structural violence and economic instrumentalisation, such as transatlantic slavery, and colonial invasion and occupation. It is hardly surprising that the most economically developed countries in the West are those who have profited most during early modernity from economic manipulation, albeit in different ways. The countries and lands from which the enslaved were drawn, the regions from which the natural resources were looted are the same countries that are economically under-developed, the same lands that are riddled with poverty, and deprivation, and the same places dominated by violent conflicts, and other development challenges, such as corruption.

Problematising liberal and economic peace is to problematise the Humanitarian-Development-Peace nexus, and the economic activities that have caused immeasurable harm to and even incite violence amongst peoples and communities, not to mention the damaging almost irreversible effects on our planet and its eco-systems. Harms and dehumanisation become part of the societal processes and practices. These include the ways that goods and services are distributed; markets controlled, and trades carried out, but also the ways our work is categorised, remunerated, and valued. The more we focus on humanitarian intervention to support the victims of violence and climate-related emergencies, or development aids to communities who lost their livelihoods owing to structural dehumanisation, the more we are all made to participate in violent activities, such as treating other people as the cause of our own misery, and worse, regarding ourselves solely as means to the end of economic growth.

Furthermore, dominant conceptions of peace encourage binary thinking and are divisive. What is a binary logic? Peace-War, stability-chaos, victims-perpetrators, us-them, good-bad, global North-global South, inner-outer, human-non-human. Binary logic dominates our way of perceiving each other. Geographically, we divide the world into zones of peace and stability; and zone of violence and disorder. When supported by GDP-based indices and global rankings, these divides give rise to political status of countries and regions - as either providers or

receivers of humanitarian and development aid and peacekeeping intervention. The underlying assumption is that only “peaceful” West can help non-peaceful non-west to build peace, obscuring the fact just illustrated that these dominant approaches to human well-being, politics and economy have been major sources of non-peacefulness in these regions and countries. This is because humanity has been subject to normalised violence and systemic dehumanisation at a global scale. Under such normalcy, we can unconsciously participate in the violence of racism, sexism, ableism, ageism, and a multitude of other forms of contemporary discrimination. We thus lose our capacity to step outside of such a system to interrogate structural violence and analyse the processes of violence creation.

So far, I have critiqued the dominant conceptions of peace, and concluded that peace cannot be an absence of violence, or war. A negative understanding of peace would condone limited violence in order to prevent greater violence. As Johan Galtung, the Norwegian peace thinker and scholar, once says, negative conception of peace implies that the focus of any peace-related endeavours will be on removing or suppressing violence and any other processes that are enemy-producing with violent means. It can perpetuate cycles of violence.

Clearly, an absence cannot add to a conceptual definition, so, what is the substance of peace? Galtung himself argues for “nonviolent and creative conflict transformation” which is intended for the emergence of something peaceful. Similarly feminist approach to a conception of peace also seeks to identify the content of peace, instead of the absence of it.

III. A NORMATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF PEACE

As already seen, peace isn’t merely the absence of war and violent conflict. Peace must have positive attributes. When peace is not the absence of something, it involves the presence of something. To define peace, we need to specify what constitutes peace.

Following Galtung, to understand peace’s attributes, we need to look at conflict. What is conflict in human life? Is Conflict avoidable? Is conflict equivalent to violence? History of the English word ‘conflict’ demonstrates that its meaning has shifted from referring to a fight, struggle, quarrel, to a sense of “discord of action, feeling, or effect, clashing of opposed principles” as well as “incompatible urges in one person” or “internal mental or spiritual struggle” (against temptation, etc.). So one way to understand conflict is to recognise that conflict is always already present in the ebbs and flows of life. As long as there is human diversity and difference, there will always be conflict. Peacefulness recognises the inevitability of difference and hence conflict, and transforms conflicts by enabling them to become the drivers for positive change.

This suggests that peace is present in all aspects of human life that involve conflict - peace constitutes the qualities that can calm the antagonistic tendencies in the conflictual dimensions of human experience, such as self-identifications, affiliations, attachments, beliefs, cultural practices, worldviews, value schemes, perspectives, and so forth. In this sense, the notion of peace we are exploring here must be a human concept. We are not talking about peacefulness of a field of dandelions, nor peace in the pod of belugas. Peace is a human value, and assumes that persons are bearers of values. As bearers of values, persons have intrinsic value, and worthwhileness. Owing to this, humans should have a non-instrumental view of ourselves: I am an 'I' and not an 'it'. This awareness is fundamental form of self-dignity, self-respect, or self-love. Violence of any kind violates this dignity - by treating the 'I' as an 'it'. This self-dignity also applies to our refusal and resistance to act callously towards others. For those who have brutalised others, their own dignity is equally violated. This dignity is the basis of the UN Charter of Human Rights, and determines our responsibilities for relating to ourselves, other people, and other beings on the planet peacefully, with respect. I will return to this peaceful 'I'-ness in the second part of this paper.

Peace qualifies primarily the non-instrumental way we live our lives. Hence the descriptive word 'peaceful' indicates the features of a good life or a life of well-being. Well-being is constituted in our activities, experiences, processes, and relationships. From this perspective, the good life is necessarily dynamic rather than static, involving our being well, living well, and becoming well. It requires our conscious appreciation of life's intrinsic meaningfulness. Peacefulness hence expresses a quality of our awareness - an awareness of the way we live our lives as non-instrumentally valuable. In other words, Peace denotes living for living's sake - the more peace there is on Earth, the more fully alive people should experience.

Well-being permits us to comprehend more deeply what peacefulness entails in the context of being human. Through this perspective we can see that the ways in which a person appreciates non-instrumentally the contents of their life matters hugely for peacefulness. In this regard, peace as an awareness, or an inner/spiritual quality has worldly expressions and applications. It is more than an inner state of peacefulness free from fears, disturbance and wants. Rather it is the presence and emergence of human qualities that in themselves are peaceful which in turn, can calm the violent and antagonistic tendencies in life itself.

In other words, whilst opposite to peace is an absence of something, positive peace thus conceived is the emergence of something affirmative, our well-being or the good life. It is part of the bridge that connects the inner/spiritual to the relational, the collective to the systemic, without abandoning the core idea that peacefulness is a value, primarily a non-instrumental value, i.e. peace is good and desirable in its own right, such as a person's peaceful state of consciousness. In this way, peace has an ethical core despite applicable to a wide range of situations, such as peacefulness within oneself, or inner peacefulness, peace in a family, in our local neighbourhoods, peace in countries, peace in international relations, peace in the global system, and peace on the planet.

Our understanding of peace connects peacefulness as an inner, psychological state, as a relationship between persons, as a feature of a community, as a culture of an institution, as a characteristic of political economic structures, and as a way of being on the planet as humans. Thus on the one hand, peace can be conceived coherently in all these situations, without denying their variations. On the other hand, these different contexts of peace do not negate peace's common core. Furthermore, through this conception, we can distinguish peace itself from the preconditions for peace's emergence, such as just system, or caring structure, and processes leading to peace, for example, deep dialogue, mutual listening, and collective healing; and the expressions and measures of peace, such as a loving community or a society where people from all backgrounds can experience co-belonging.

Conceptualising peace in this way can unify diverse layers and multiple dimensions of peacefulness from an undivided vantage point. It is consistent in all contexts as it suggests that 'peace' has an integrated meaning: from one's inner state of being, to the ways one perceives and relates to oneself, other persons, and nature; from community relationships, to international and transnational relations; from socio-economic and political systems, to institutional cultures and practices. By situating peace in our well-being, it not only stresses the importance of humanity's conscious and enduring striving towards peacefulness, it also highlights the value of social structures or systems to be in the way they support people's living a good life together in harmony with the flourishing of nature.

More importantly, peace invites our active living out the qualities of our inner/spiritual humanness. This conception of peace can engage with all people working towards building peace and making peace despite the fact they are distinguished by time, place, culture, tradition, and value. Although understanding peace in this way is unifying, it, however, can engage with plural values and socio-economic and political contexts.

This conception that rests upon well-being can allow us to focus on peace itself, instead of dealing with the aftermath of non-peace, making what Johann Gautung's phrase "Peace by peaceful means" possible. For instance, we can focus on well-being economy that respects human dignity in our work and creativity, and ensures our livelihood and the flourishing of our communities. Similarly, as right relationships and congenial relational processes are already constituted in our well-being, peace by peaceful means will involve constructing participatory and respectful political spaces, caring relationships within institutions, love between neighbours and strangers, and other beings on the planet, and fair and just structural conditions where conflict can be transformed and differences transcended into continuous relating. Where there are potentials for antagonism, dialogue will be facilitated to identify common pathways to peace. In this sense, peace is a multi-dimensional aspect of humanity's journey towards greater collective flourishing.

IV. PEACE: THE IMPERATIVE OF GLOBAL HUMANITY

Like peace, humanity is another word that everyone assumes to know its meanings, but a concept that is vague and at times divisive. However, by global humanity, we might be able to highlight not only its ethical core, but also point to the ways that global humanity can contribute to holistic and positive peace just conceptualised.

Humanity tends to refer to human beings collectively, carrying with it values such as philanthropy, compassion, and altruism. Hence there are laws to defend humanity in international treaties, in the example of crimes against humanity, a category of crime, first recognised in the historical contexts such as the mass atrocities of slavery and the trade of enslaved people, European colonialism in Africa and elsewhere; mass killing of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. There are also international charters that cite humanity as a moral force. Contemporary concepts such as human development, humanitarian intervention, and human security are extension of the idea of humanity. Other attempts to define humanity tend focus on human evolution process, our nature, and what distinguish humans from other beings. The risk here is to place human beings at the top of species hierarchy due to our intellect, language, capacities for creativity and innovation, such as establishing infrastructure and institutions to support our socio-economic and political lives in different locations.

These distinctions are now being challenged, as existing analyses along these lines also point to the shadowy tendencies in human activities and processes. These do not prove Hobbesian conception of human nature, but they do demonstrate human's imperfection and vulnerability when placed within structural violence. Our current ecological crisis and climate emergencies are just such formidable reminders that it is time for us to do some deep soul searching, and to appeal to the better angels, in the words of Abraham Lincoln in his 1861 inaugural speech, that can guide us towards peace, and co-flourishing with all that is. However, when we appeal to the better angels, it can bring out an anxiety about our identities and the myriad ways we self-identify. In other words, it is an anxiety about who we are, what we are to become, and how we might live together in peace.

Much scholarly endeavour has gone into exploring human identity and identities which have become increasingly significant to individuals, groups, communities and societies. It can sometimes be a life-and-death struggle in the name of identity. Why is identity so crucial for human being? A simple answer is that the way we self-identify can determine our relationships with ourselves, with other people, and with the greater other. For instance, insofar as one identifies oneself with a particular identity, one's relationship with oneself and one's inner psychological state can revolve around this identity, including one's coming to terms with it, performing actions pertaining to it, relating to the world in the light of it, and forming relations with others and society through it. How one self-identifies will colour one's thoughts, feelings and perceptions in relevant contexts. Likewise, insofar as a person self-identifies with a bundle of identify labels, personality

traits or with a set of personal and political narratives, then one's relationship with oneself and with others will revolve around the content of these themes.

Take Abdula as an example. Abdula is a football coach, a Muslim, a proud father, a husband, a keen fisherman, a Syrian refugee whose village was bombed that killed his parents and sisters. Describing oneself as being born in Syria is one thing; identifying oneself as a Syrian refugee is another. Referring to one's profession as a coach is one thing; identifying oneself with the vocation of coaching or teaching is another. A self-description does not mean that one identifies oneself only with it. Often, we self-identify under many descriptions, which usually vary from context to context. For example, Abdula might identify with his profession as a coach in some situations and not in others. He might identify with his nationality, in some circumstances, but not others; with his religion, skin colour, ethnicity, gender, football team, etc. in some, and not in others. In this sense, one can have multiple identities. In fact, most people do.

Sometimes descriptive self-identification is not self-conscious. For example, when Abdula first arrived in the UK after hiding under a train by holding onto its mental rod for hours, he was overtaken with grief and grievance. Implicitly, he self-identified with grief, which seemingly became his essence, albeit only for a period of time. He was not aware but his 'identity' for that period was his grief in the sense that he was completely absorbed by it, so much so he could not separate himself from the feelings of anguish and pain.

Descriptive self-identifications or the forming of one's identity can be a complex psychological, cultural, social, and political process that changes over a person's life. In all cases, it is a process that a person can only indirectly influence and shape. Likewise, one can also learn to change our self-identifications, for instance, through education, we can learn to identify with our nationality, with a certain gender role, with a set of grievances.

Without an overarching self-identification that stresses our identity as belonging to us in an especially valuable way, that is to say, we self-identify with a certain aspect of ourselves more closely than others, identities can become divisive. For example, race, beliefs, affiliation, loyalty, practices, priorities, past wounds, and present grievances, can only serve to separate. So it is not surprising that societies can be struggling with nationalism, tribalism, victimhood, marginalisation ... in other words, the rise of identity politics. Hence Francis Fukuyama, in an article entitled *Against Identity Politics*, suggests that identity politics is fundamentally a struggle for recognition of our intrinsic equal value as persons and our human dignity - our humanity.

Democratic societies are fracturing into segments based on ever-narrower identities, threatening the possibility of deliberation and collective action by society as a whole. This is a road that leads only to state breakdown and, ultimately, failure.

Indeed, everyone can have many descriptions about themselves, but we can also self-identify with an essential aspect without which a person cannot be themselves. Machiavelli has a famous phrase: "All men will see what you seem

to be; only a few will know what you are.” Alternatively, a Buddhist perspective would be: although these descriptions seem to be about me, I am none of these.

The question is: how might we self-identify so that identity would help us work our way to peace. This is what Fukuyama terms as the third part of the soul - a yearning for human dignity which determines the equal worthwhileness of all persons. Identity can divide, but how we self-identify can help bring peace. This is Fukuyama’s recipe for taking us out of the current impasse. So how do we achieve this? To a certain extent, ‘to self-identify’, which is the verb form of the word, is clearer than ‘identity’ which is the noun form of the word. Identity is not that which defines who we are and without which we cease to be, but rather identities are our self-descriptions that specify the social, cultural, economic and political spaces within which we relate and contexts within which we act.

If borrowing our conception of peace discussed earlier, which consists in qualities that can quieten and calm the antagonistic potential of conflict, we can see that how we self-identify can enable us to mute the conflictual tendencies of self-descriptions or identities. I would suggest that being more peaceful require that a person self-identifies in ways that transcend the conflictual tendencies in these different identities. In other words, ‘What am I?’ must be beyond our emotional states, social categories, political loyalties and so forth.

Within Christian theology, there is a phrase: “I am that I am!”, which Thomas Aquinas claims to be indicating that God’s essence is identical to His existence. Aquinas then suggests that this beingness can be enabled or added in ‘created’ entities, such as humans, which becomes their essence. Similarly, from mystics perspective, this transcendent beingness can be achieved through a meditative praxis by emptying ourselves of all determinations or attachments to reach an infinite beingness beyond the finite contingencies.

From a philosophical perspective, we can say, an inescapable and fundamental aspect of our being is being an ‘I’, which involves a self-awareness, what French thinker Gabriel Marcel calls an incarnate awareness, an awareness without which we can lay claim to our existence in the world. This awareness is taking delight in our self-consciousness of being an I. We see this in a child sometimes - being a child who is experiencing great delight in being a child. This is different from taking pleasure in seeing oneself under various descriptions, such as being a football coach, being father, being clever, being successful. The joy of being an ‘I’ is the kind of delight that doesn’t depend on having our desires, needs and ego satisfied. Hence being an ‘I’ can consist in a state of serenity or tranquillity. It is an essential and most fundamental delight - being self-reflexively aware of our awareness. I am! In Heideggerian terms, it is our beingness that transcends all entities.

For our discussion here, this is self-conscious awareness of our ‘I’ is that which is truly peaceful, without which we can engage in self-inflicted psychological violence, sometimes without even knowing it. Self-identifying in ways that do not hinge on this ‘I’ can become an insidious source of self-violence and self-

belittlement. For instance, a person who self-identifies with how others perceive him will tend to be plagued by insecurity, and may feel that he needs to be extra self-assertive to compensate. This feeling of insecurity will diminish their ability to feel the joy of the present moment.

Hence what is peaceful is this self-appreciative consciousness of our first person beingness - a truly tranquil and joyfully serene self-presence in the moment. Our beingness is both transcendent and immanent and the transcendence is achieved through the immanence and vice versa. Our beingness or self-presence is the very quality that can mute any self-directed violent tendencies resulting from our inner conflicts due to our different descriptive self-identifications, especially in our wants, desires, emotional states.

Already touched upon early, this special kind of tranquillity or calmness arises from our self-conscious awareness of ourselves being the 'I', 'the subject' or the 'soul'. Hence in some faith or religion, there is the saying that 'I am a Soul'. This 'I'-ness or beingness which is over and above all of our other identities is our humanity. It is what determines our intrinsic non-instrumental values. According to Indian mystic, Iqbal, humanity as beingness is active, rather than latent - the path to humanity is to awaken in us the higher consciousness of ourselves through our manifold relations with God, or the divine, or the Universe. Similarly, the African philosophy of Ubuntu also conceives humanity as active - doing humanity together.

With humanity as our overarching identity, our other identities can no longer serve to separate us, instead, these identifies become contexts and spaces for our acts of loving and generative relating ... Less politically charged, they illustrate the relational webs around us which we are a part. They enlarge our circles of belonging and circle of loving.

For Gabriel Marcel, the only way to engage in our beingness or our humanity is to act upon our beingness through embodied activities, which is to say YES to life, to enable the thriving of the dignified potency in our beingness. This involves both self-presence, through which we can be a true presence to others - through love. It is our gift to others and to the world, which seeks no reciprocity. It is radical love, which is not only in the quality of the unconditional bestowal, in our embodied self-presence. Embodied acts of love are not empty or vague, but are always located in the concrete daily struggles and strivings in the communities, societies, and globally.

V. IN CONCLUSION

This article begins by evaluating the dominant conceptions of peace as the absence of violence and conflict and suggests a negative conception of peace as such can condone violence, resulting in our current dehumanising systems characterised by brutality and destruction. It understands that peace itself is a human value, a state of being, a quality of our awareness. Our well-being is comprised in peaceful

state of being which includes the quality of our awareness that can calm the conflictual tendencies in our life. In other words, human well-being, and our awareness are not just conducive to or expressions of peace. Instead, they are peace. Such peace is active, as if peace is a verb, and requires global humanity whereby we collectively live out our peacefulness, or human beingness which is already constituted in our well-being or our common purpose of life. By engaging in our beingness, we mute the antagonistic tendencies in conflict arisen from our difference. These better angels that Abraham Lincoln invited are already in part characteristics of the liveliness and energetic life forces of being human. Here lies peace through peacefulness, well-being through being, living and becoming well in harmony with all that is in the cosmos.

This is an open-ended aspiration towards more harmonious ways of 'doing humanity together', an active integration of our 'beingness' with our 'becomingness'. Global humanity is the key to peace because it is the collective WE who will take the responsibility of creating our shared future. Our responsibility also reminds us that humans are part of a very long, deep history that is not simply ours, but which we share with other beings on this planet. Such a deep cosmic history cannot merely be experienced or explained as linear, nor from meaning schemes that are constructed from a purely rational perspective. In other words, like all beings on this planet, humans are born within its eco-system, and we participate in its processes and we co-flourish with all that is.

Human is only part of this deep history, and cannot regard ourselves to be occupying a special status in this deep history. Other beings exist alongside human beings, rather opposed to humans. That is to say, we are a being amongst beings who populate the planet, each with their own specific capacities, gifts and potentials. Our conception of peace suggests that other beings should not be instrumentalised or exploited purely for serving human's self-interests. Humans should not assume power over other beings to privilege our needs, and make our striving at the centre of all concerns. The world does not exist only in reference to the human. The world and all its beings, including humans, are to be valued in their own right. This allows us to extend global humanity to include all other beings through an act of radical love and radical hospitality. It is therefore towards the communities - human communities, cosmic communities, and the communities of the spirits that we now must turn - building on our knowledge, and our strengths in our memories, narratives and collective wisdoms.

In Dickens' words, this could also be: "the best of times ... the age of wisdom ... the epoch of belief ... the season of light ... and the spring of hope.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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The prospects for peace in the 21st century are complex and multifaceted, with many different factors influencing the potential for conflict or cooperation between nations, groups, and individuals. Some of the negative dynamics are as follows.

In the first place, the so-called liberal world order (based on market economies and democratic institutions) has begun to unravel over the past 20 years¹. Democratic backsliding and the subversion of established democracies has become more prevalent over the last decade. Similarly, deregulated capitalist market economies have generated deep national, regional and global inequalities and the growth models that market capitalism are based on are proving ecologically unsustainable over time. A wide variety of groups have become marginalised in the growth process and have neither benefitted from economic growth nor felt included in democratic decision making. As in 2008, the global financial system also seems to be under stress again. In response to systematic marginalisation and autocratic power Human Rights are frequently violated and the violators not held to account for their behaviour.

Secondly, while environmental issues have been generating concern for the last 40 years, they have assumed a salience in the last ten as the world has become painfully aware of the negative consequences of rising Co2 emissions and its adverse effects on global climate.² Climate change has generated a large number of unusual weather events, such as cyclones, floods, droughts, unusually high or low temperatures, fires and agricultural challenge all around the world. Global climate change is generating considerable national and regional insecurity and will continue to do so until Co2 emissions are brought under control.

Third, the world has just emerged from a global pandemic which killed millions and disrupted economic, social and political behaviour everywhere for a 2-to-3-year period. We are only just moving away from its clutches now. Like climate change, the pandemic is another example of a non-traditional security threat that challenges all global citizens. It required co-ordinated national and multilateral action on the part of both the public and private sectors to bring it under control. In the process, people became aware of how fragile democratic accountability was as the Executive Branches of most countries assumed far reaching powers for the duration of the pandemic. Most experts on contagious diseases do not think

¹ RICHMOND, Oliver. 2011, *A Post Liberal Peace*, Routledge Oxon and New York.

² BRAUCH, Hans Guenter 2008, *Globalisation and Environmental Challenge: Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century*. Springer, Berlin and New York.

that Covid 19 will be the last pandemic to challenge human survival. This means that all states need to spend more time working out how to respond without appropriating extreme executive powers. Most importantly the world needs to focus more attention on enhancing multilateral health capacity, legitimacy and effectiveness in preparation for the next pandemic which most experts consider to be an inevitability rather than a remote probability.

Fourth, we are living in an era of big power transition. This is a new dynamic that most people and states have not experienced since 1945 when the United States became the unquestioned leader/hegemon of the West at the end of the Second World War. Most of the former Imperial Powers, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal, for example, competed for power between themselves. The classical era of colonialism, upon which their power depended, came to an end by the early 1970s. Since then, non-western countries such as China and India, not to mention other Asian Tigers in Northeast and East Asia, have been developing at speeds that have started to challenge the unquestioned economic and political dominance of the US and the EU. This is generating both an identity crisis and lot of angst in the West because of the realisation that political dominance and the future might belong to non-western nations that do not necessarily share the enlightenment values and institutional arrangements that buttressed the post war international order.

The Russian war against Ukraine, for example, has forced many nations in the West to declare their solidarity with the United States. China is trying to position itself as a friendly neutral so it can provide mediation if necessary. But the reality is that the world is beginning to divide itself into two again. Western democracies and their Asian and Latin American friends/allies (apart from India) are standing with the United States, while many countries in Eurasia, the Middle East and Africa are moving closer to Russia and China. This means that much of the developing world is aligning itself with two of the world's most powerful autocracies. The strongest predictors of how societies align in relation to Russia and China, or the United States is their commitment to democracy³. Those that have robust democratic institutions and western values are in alignment with the US (despite some manifest democratic backsliding in that country) while those that have shaky democracies, or are en-route to autocracy, are aligning themselves with Russia and China. This re-arrangement of the global system needs to be watched very carefully so that the current division doesn't become antagonistic polarisation or old cold war military confrontation. Unfortunately, the US containment of China and the different alliances that are being formed to promote it, e.g. AUKUS and the QUAD in the Asia Pacific Region are stimulating a range of negative dynamics and higher rates of military expenditure throughout the region. The Ukrainian war, in turn is driving higher levels of military expenditure in North America and the US as well.

³ FOA, R.S., MOLLAT, M., ISHA, H., ROMERO-VIDAL, X., EVANS, D., & KLASSEN, A.J. 2022. *A World Divided: Russia, China and the West*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Centre for the Future of Democracy.
<https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.90281>.

Fifth, as if all the issues cited above weren't enough of an existential threat, the invasion of Ukraine and Russia's nuclear threats against that country has elevated the dangers of nuclear weapons and challenged the nuclear taboo upon which nuclear deterrence depended. Arms Control agreements such as the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty have been negated. The Open Skies Treaty and New START Treaty have also been undermined. The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty was undermined by American withdrawal and the central Treaty prohibiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons (The NPT) is holding on by a thread because the nuclear powers are showing little interest in pursuing nuclear disarmament⁴. On the contrary all nuclear powers are modernising and expanding their arsenals. The only positive Treaty in this regard is the TPNW, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. The major challenge for this Treaty is that none of the nuclear powers or their allies wish to join it!

What is interesting about all of these threats is that no single nation is capable of providing an effective response alone. There are no unilateral answers to intractable global problems. All of these threats require analytical and collaborative problem solving. The major challenge in the 21st century, however, is that most western education is focused on enhancing individual knowledge and capacity. This means that 21st century pedagogy should address as much attention to collaborative resolution of disputes as they do to self-actualisation. Extensive peace education, at all levels of the education system, is an important prerequisite for effective conflict prevention, preventive diplomacy and a heightened disposition to seek negotiated solutions to problems. Without individuals habituated to higher levels of empathetic awareness, consultation, collective understanding and collaborative problem solving the prospects for peace are very dim. Individuals who have these qualities will be well placed to argue for more compassionate politics at the national level and a heightened commitment to multilateral solutions at the regional and global levels.

Peaceful processes are only likely to be successful if regional and global multilateral systems are themselves committed to the non-violent resolution of conflict and have effective institutional capacity. The EU continues to be an excellent example of regional collaboration. The UK's withdrawal diminished UK political capacity and dented regional EU credibility but it did not challenge the imperative for all countries to start ceding some sovereignty in return for the benefits of collective action. Perhaps the most pressing challenge, however, is how to restore the credibility, effectiveness and legitimacy of the United Nations which, despite its problems remains the one organisation capable of bringing state systems together.

In the first place, all nations need to re-assert their commitment to the United Nations and provide it with the resources necessary to do its work. This needs to be accompanied by much needed reform, such as expanding the UN Security Council to make it more globally representative and amending or more

⁴ DAVIS, Ian (ed), *The SIPRI Yearbook, Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*. 2022, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

strengthen the role and authority of the General Assembly in relation to peace and security decisions. Third, it would be useful to improve internal accountability and transparency to improve the effectiveness of UN officials with some agreed monitoring and oversight mechanisms. This would boost its legitimacy and effectiveness. But most of all its critical to generate more political will and resources in support of the United Nations from all state parties . For the UN to achieve its goals there is a need for more active participation and co-operation of all member states; higher levels of commitment to collaborative problem solving and the principles of transparency, accountability, and inclusivity.

For any of this to happen, the peoples of the world, need to acknowledge the national, regional and global threats that we are all facing and be willing to do something about them. Far too many national/global citizens are passive observers of threats-they prefer being audience than on the political stage. For change to occur it's important that many more individuals choose to be active change agents, willing to combat disinformation, hate speech and most importantly untruth.

Activists are critical to developing and expanding active civil society organisations and movements in response to the threats cited above. Without an active civil society, democratic accountability and responsibility becomes problematic. This is why so many democracies are threatened or backsliding at the present time. Peaceably inclined individuals and groups , therefore, need to become more socially and politically active if multilateral concerns are to be communicated to national governments and regional and multilateral organisations charged and capacitated to deal with them. The 21st century is revealing the limitations of national power and narrow national self-interests. The world will only be at peace when states focus more on their international responsibilities rather than national interests. So, while there are many reasons to feel despondent or depressed I remain committed to radical social change for a rapidly shrinking international world.

III. ONGOING PROJECTS

TOWARDS A MORE DIVERSE AND INCLUSIVE MODEL OF EDUCATION COMMITTED TO PEACEBUILDING: THE WORDS HEAL THE WORLD CASE

BEATRIZ L. BUARQUE

SUMMARY: I. INTRODUCTION; II. WORDS HEAL THE WORLD AND THE EDUC-(AC)TION MODEL; III. FINDINGS; IV. CONCLUSION.

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the terrorist group ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) started claiming responsibility for attacks in different parts of the world, there has been a growing interest in understanding the ways in which the internet has facilitated the circulation of hate speech and extremist ideologies. According to the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), until July 2018, the terrorist group recruited 41,490 foreigners from 80 countries. 13% of them were women and 12% were minors¹. This scale of recruitment would not have been possible without the internet. To Gerstenfeld et al., the internet has been instrumental to terrorists and extremists for at least four reasons. It has allowed them to reach an international audience, recruit new individuals, network with likeminded groups, and manage their own image². Weimann goes in a similar direction, highlighting that the internet has allowed these actors to engage in psychological warfare, mine sensitive data, mobilize supporters, plan and coordinate attacks among other things³.

Despite the growing interest around issues involving extremism and radicalisation, existing scholarship stills lacks an agreement in terms of what each term entails. Whereas some authors tend to emphasize that extremism is context-specific in the sense that it can only be established in comparison to a set of ideas and beliefs that is perceived to be ‘normal’ and ‘mainstream,’ others

1 ICSR (2019). From Daesh to ‘Diaspora’ II: The Challenges Posed by Women and Minors After the Fall of the Caliphate. <https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/ICSR-Feature-From-Daesh-to-%E2%80%98Diaspora%E2%80%99-II-The-Challenges-Posed-by-Women-and-Minors-After-the-Fall-of-the-Caliphate.pdf>

2 GERSTENFELD, P. B., GRANT, D. R., and CHIANG, C. (2003). Hate Online: A Content Analysis of Extremist Internet Sites. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 3(1): 29–44.

3 WEIMANN, G. (2004). *www.terror.net: How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

4 SCHMID, A. (2014). *Violent and Non-Violent Extremism: Two Sides of the Same Coin? The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism*. <https://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Schmid-Violent-Non-Violent-Extremism-May-2014.pdf>; BERGER, J.M. (2018). *Extremism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.

have underscored that extremist ideologies are manifested in identitarian terms, establishing an in-group and an out-group based on the racial, ethnical, gender, sexual, religious, classist traits⁴. From this perspective, racism, homophobia, xenophobia, antisemitism, Islamophobia, and misogyny can be interpreted as extremist doctrines insofar as they project a segment of the population as an out-group. Together, these doctrines give shape to extremist ideologies such as white and/or western supremacy.

Hate speech is often one of the tools used by extremist actors to attack those who are perceived to represent an out-group. The relationship between hate speech and extremism becomes more evident if we use the definition proposed by the United Nations, which states that ‘hate speech’ refers to offensive discourse targeting a group or an individual based on inherent characteristics (such as race, religion or gender) and that may threaten social peace’⁵.

As far as radicalisation is concerned, it is important to avoid equating it with recruitment insofar as the process of engaging in ‘doctrinal extremism’ does not necessarily result in formal affiliation to a certain group⁶. It neither necessarily results in violent action. In a nutshell, the term radicalisation refers to the process in which an individual engages with extreme ideas in such a way that they have their behaviour and beliefs altered. On a process of radicalisation, individuals may engage in violent extremist actions, but it is not always the case. Some of them may prefer to use hate speech to attack other individuals and digital platforms have offered plenty of opportunities for that.

With the internet facilitating the circulation of extremist ideologies and hate speech, several organisations have suddenly expressed a commitment to prevent radicalisation and mitigate the impacts of extremism⁷. Some governments have also created specific programmes such as PREVENT in the United Kingdom to equip teachers with knowledge and skills to identify young people vulnerable to radicalisation⁸. Nevertheless, many strategies adopted by both independent organisations and governments have tended to focus on Islamist radicalisation, casting a shadow on the extreme ideas promoted by white and/or western supremacists. Furthermore, they have mainly engaged with young people in a passive way, facilitating workshops in schools, producing educational content, and even training educators to identify students who are on the process of radicalisation. As observed by Reeves and Crowther, practically all the educational resources available to prevent radicalisation ‘can be described as “passive” for the learner,’ having limited effects on the development of the critical thinking necessary to enable young people to identify actors and messages that may induce them to embrace extreme ideas⁹.

5 <https://www.un.org/en/hate-speech/understanding-hate-speech/what-is-hate-speech>

6 WINTER, C.; NEUMANN, P.; MELEAGROU-HITCHENS, A.; RANSTORP, M.; VIDINO, L.; FÜRST, J. (2020). Online Extremism: Research Trends in Internet Activism, Radicalization, and Counter-Strategies. *IJCV*: 14(2). <https://www.ijcv.org/index.php/ijcv/article/view/3809/3868>

7 BERGER, J.M. (2018). *Extremism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.

8 Department of Education. (2017). *Protecting children from radicalisation: The Prevent Duty*.

9 REEVES, J. and CROWTHER, T. (2019). Teacher feedback on the use of innovative social media simulations to enhance critical thinking in young people on radicalisation, extremism, sexual exploitation and grooming. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 37(4), 280-296.

Overall, existing efforts to tackle extremism still demand more holistic and innovative approaches that expand the scope of extremism and place young people at the forefront. If young people are often targeted by extremist actors due to their lack of critical thinking and if existing grievances make them especially vulnerable to extreme ideas, strategies to prevent engagement with extremist ideologies must involve approaches that provide young people with purpose and critical thinking¹⁰. Aiming at filling this gap in countering extremism practices, I founded the non-profit organisation Words Heal the World and created an educational framework that can be used as a model to engage undergraduate (as well as high school and Master) students with peacebuilding.

II. WORDS HEAL THE WORLD AND THE EDUC-(AC)TION MODEL

Words Heal the World is a British NGO that was founded in 2018 with the mission to equip young people with knowledge and skills to challenge online hate speech and tackle different types of extremism. Instead of focusing on Islamist extremism, it also acknowledges the plethora of racist, antisemitic, Islamophobic, xenophobic, homophobic, and misogynist ideas embraced and perpetuated by white/western supremacy. Instead of undermining the participation of young people in peacebuilding efforts, it places students at the centre of strategic actions with an intent to shape a virtuous circle of peace.

Drawing upon the work of the American philosopher John Dewey, who claims that students communicate what they experience, and acknowledging the transformative power of education underscored by Paulo Freire, I designed an educational model that stimulates critical thinking, equip students with digital skills and simultaneously offers them some sense of purpose and belonging¹¹. The Educ-(ac)tion model has set the basis of the work I have developed with students from Latin America and the United Kingdom through the NGO Words Heal the World, highlighting the active component embedded in education: education is about knowledge and action taken from both students and teachers¹². By students' action I am not meaning only reading and assessment, but mainly the development of strategies resulted from their critical thinking. Besides teaching about digital media, hate speech, and extremism from an interdisciplinary perspective, I started encouraging students to express their ideas about what could have been done to prevent radicalisation and the circulation of hate speech and extremist ideas. Moreover, I have given them the opportunity to implement their ideas and monitor the results of their actions. The peacebuilding process enacted by Educ-(ac)tion uses the development of critical thinking as a starting point to shape a virtuous circle of peace, giving students the opportunity to drive change while working in collaboration with individuals from different ethnicities and coordinating their activities across different digital platforms.

10 Ibid; REYNOLDS, L., and PARKER, L. (2018). *Digital Resilience: Stronger Citizens Online*

11 FREIRE, P. (2022[1984]). *Pedagogia do Oprimido*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra; DEWEY, J. (2015[1938]). *Experience & Education*. NY: First Free Press Edition.

12 <https://www.wordshealtheworld.com>

The Educ-(ac)tion model has been implemented in two ways. In Brazil it was incorporated by an extension course that was embedded in the curriculum of the Communication course at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). In the United Kingdom and in other Latin American countries, undergraduate and Master students from different universities have been given the opportunity to work as volunteers at the NGO Words Heal the World. Both students enrolled in the extension course in Brazil and students working as volunteers had access to the same knowledge, skills, and experiences. They have also received a certificate of participation. The main difference is that those enrolled in the extension course also received credits that would count towards their degree. A partnership made between the university and the NGO Words Heal the World enabled these students to showcase their work on the NGO's website and social media handles.

Through the Educ-(ac)tion model, students had the opportunity to: (1) learn about digital media, hate speech, and extremism from an interdisciplinary perspective; (2) share their ideas about strategies to challenge online hate speech and tackle extremism; (3) implement these strategies and monitor the results; (4) work in collaboration with young people from different countries; and (5) improve their leadership and networking skills. From 2018 until January 2022, Words Heal the World had over 60 undergraduate students in Brazil and over 45 volunteers spread across the United Kingdom, Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico as illustrated in the chart below. 75% of them were women.

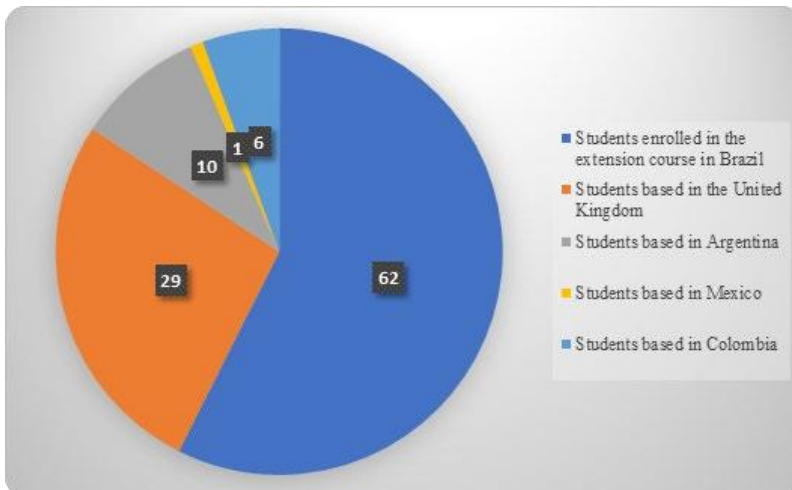


Figure 1: Young volunteers who worked for Words Heal the World between 2018 and 2022.

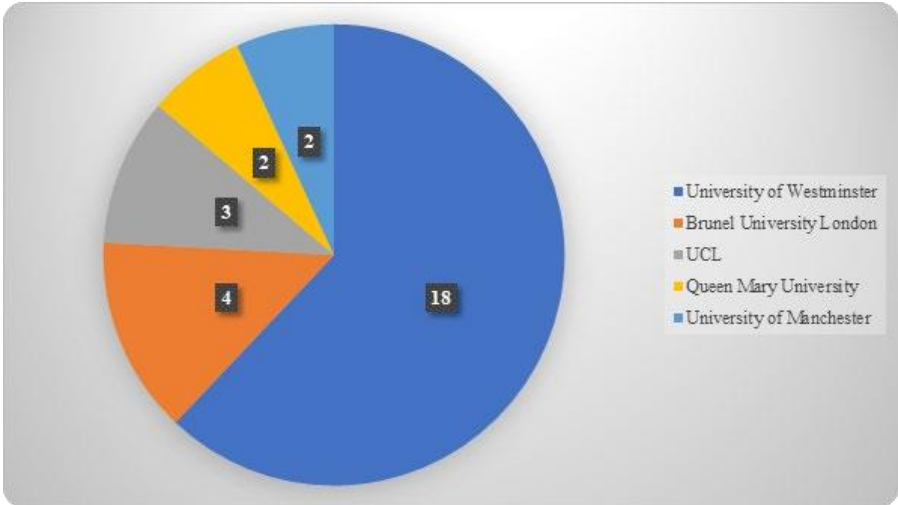


Figure 2: British universities from which students worked as volunteers at Words Heal the World.

Students from different nationalities and universities worked in collaboration to implement some strategies to challenge online hate speech and extremism. Some of them managed the social media accounts of the global campaign Mandela Mile founded by the daughter-in-law of the former secretary-general of the United Nations Kofi Annan, Shanthi Annn, to raise awareness on racism. Some coordinated a global campaign against femicide. It is worth mentioning a project suggested by a Brazilian student to promote hope during the Covid-19 Pandemic as a means to challenge the wave of fear that dominated many environments between 2020 and 2021. The project entitled Hope News involved the production of news articles highlighting positive stories and it was developed jointly by students based in Brazil, Mexico, and in the United Kingdom. After doing some readings about radicalisation, the student quickly understood that fear is one of the factors that make individuals vulnerable to extreme ideologies. Therefore, she suggested highlighting positive stories as a means of preventing individuals from succumbing to the fear and anxiety unleashed by a global pandemic. Besides publishing articles and conducting interviews, students involved in the Hope News project carefully tailored the material to be accessed by audiences active on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram.

In addition to fostering collaboration among students from different universities, the Educ-(ac)tion model has also allowed students enrolled in different courses to contribute towards a common goal, providing a sense of purpose and belonging. In Brazil, undergraduate students enrolled in Journalism, Publicity, Radio, and Nursing studies organised a day of events to raise awareness on racism that involved a panel on the topic and a photographic exhibition, in the United Kingdom, students from Politics, International Relations, Journalism, and

Design produced two documentaries: one challenging Islamophobia and one challenging xenophobia. The idea behind the documentary about xenophobia is very interesting. According to the students involved in this project, we fear what we do not know. As a result, they tried to encourage the spectator to reflect on how their sight has already been influenced by cultural bias, often leading individuals to perceive some ethnicities with suspicion. Without knowing, students used the concept of ideological fantasy postulated by Žižek¹³ to challenge stigmatised constructions of black people and non-western immigrants. If extreme ideologies exploit fantasies deeply entrenched in the collective unconscious, then, making an attempt to bring these fantasies to the conscious mind may be an important strategy to challenge racism and xenophobia.



Figure 3. Cover of the movie produced by students from the University of Westminster and Brunel University of London.

In 2019 and 2020, the Brazilian cohort and some volunteers based in the United Kingdom produced two editions of the Hate Map of Brazil - a document containing detailed information about hate crimes in Brazil. This project provided students with a unique opportunity to collect official data and collaboratively coordinate the launch of the document online and offline. Besides attracting the attention of the academic community, the report was covered by some Brazilian media outlets, demonstrating undergraduate students' ability to disseminate the findings of their research across different digital platforms whilst engaging with prominent newsrooms.

While expressing their ideas and developing projects with an intent to challenge online hate speech and tackle extremism, students have not only developed skills that contributed to their professional development, but they have also created a

13 ŽIŽEK, S. (1989). *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London: Verso.

sense of community and challenged their own bias. Some of them shared that the experience at Words Heal the World prevented them from succumbing to depression because it gave them purpose. They have witnessed the impact of their actions through commentary made on digital platforms and at university. Others have started looking at the world from a more compassionate perspective as the students from the University of Westminster who shared her impressions of participating in the production of a short movie to tackle racism and xenophobia: 'Being part of the short documentary was a pleasant experience as I got to hear what different students from diverse nationalities had to say. When I first saw them blindfolded and how easily they would talk to each other I started to think more about how people judge each other based solely on the appearance, gestures and how they react when someone is talking.' The impact this model of education had on the lives of students was captured in more general terms by three surveys I conducted with students.

III. FINDINGS

I conducted two surveys with Brazilian students enrolled in the extension course embedded in the Communication curriculum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) in Brazil and one survey with volunteers working for Words Heal the World based in the United Kingdom and other Latin American countries. In total, 35 students answered the surveys in Portuguese language (n=15 in 08/2020; n=20 in 12/2021) and 12 answered the survey in English language in 09/2021.

The questionnaire had ten questions - eight closed and two open-ended - and it received anonymous answers. When asked if they liked the course/volunteering programme, 34 (72.34%) students said they liked it a lot, 12 (25.53%) said they liked it, and only 1 (2.13%) expressed no opinion. When asked if their actions were effective in the struggle against online hate speech and extremism, all students answered yes (100%). A similar pattern was observed in the question about the effectiveness of programmes like the one based on the Educ-(ac)tion model, suggesting that all students (100%) who had access to it recognized that their lived experience can effectively help shaping a virtuous circle of peace.

When asked about what they learned while enrolled in the extension course and working as volunteers for the NGO Words Heal the World, 41 (87.23%) students said that they learned how the internet has facilitated the spread of hate speech and extremist ideologies, 39 (82.98%) said that they learned what hate speech and extremism are, 37 (78.72%) said they learned how to use social media for peace, and 29 (61.70%) said that they learned that their skills can make a positive impact on the world. It was noticeable some differences between Brazilian and international students. Whereas the majority of Brazilian students claimed that they learned about how the internet has contributed to the spread of hate speech and extremism and learned about these two concepts, international students highlighted that they became aware of their skills and how they can use social media for peace. Detailed information about how students answered to this question can be found in the chart below.

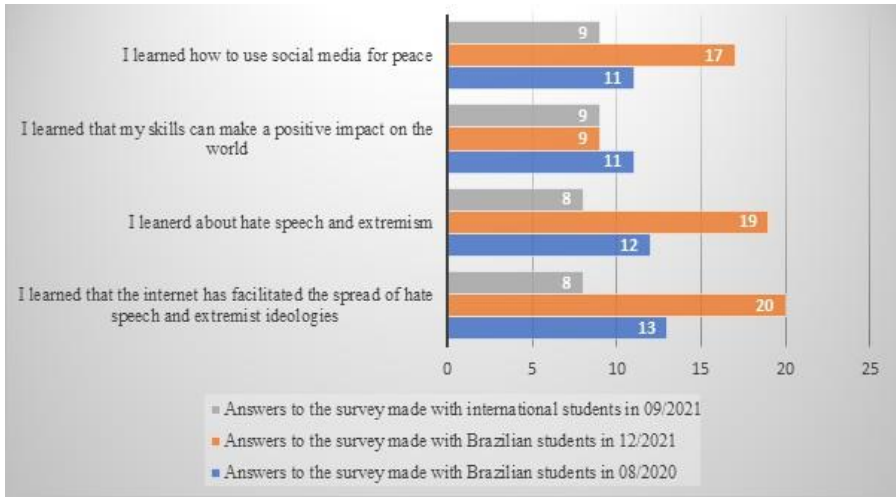


Figure 4. Responses to the question ‘what did you learn while enrolled at the extension course and/or volunteering at Words Heal the World?’

When asked about what they liked the most while developing strategies to challenge online hate speech and extremism, Brazilian and international students were mostly aligned as described in the chart below. 39 (82.98%) said they liked the fact that they felt part of a community of individuals who are working to build a peaceful society, 36 (76.59%) liked that they realised that they can make a positive impact on the world, 22 (46.80%) said that they liked that they became aware of their own skills, and 19 (40.42%) liked that they felt better prepared for the job market.

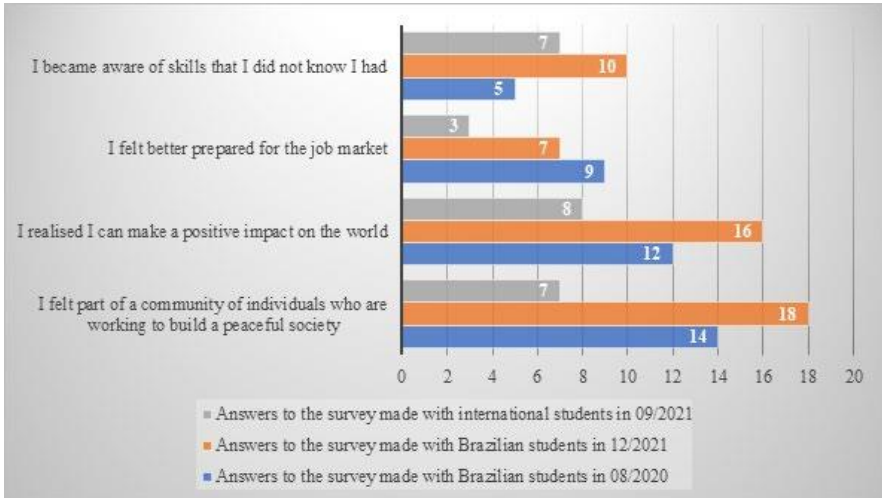


Figure 5. Responses to the question ‘what did you like the most while developing strategies to challenge online hate speech and tackle extremism?’

A large proportion of students recognised that they challenged their own prejudices while enrolled at the extension course and/or volunteering at Words Heal the World: 41 (87.23%) said yes and only 6 (12.77%) answered no. When asked about which types of extreme ideas they have encountered on the internet, the majority of students selected racism (45; 95.74%), messages attacking women (42; 89.36%), and targeting the LGBTQIA+ community (41; 87.23%). In both the Brazilian and the international surveys, anti-Semitic and Islamophobic ideas received lower scores than racist, misogynist, homophobic, and xenophobic ideas.

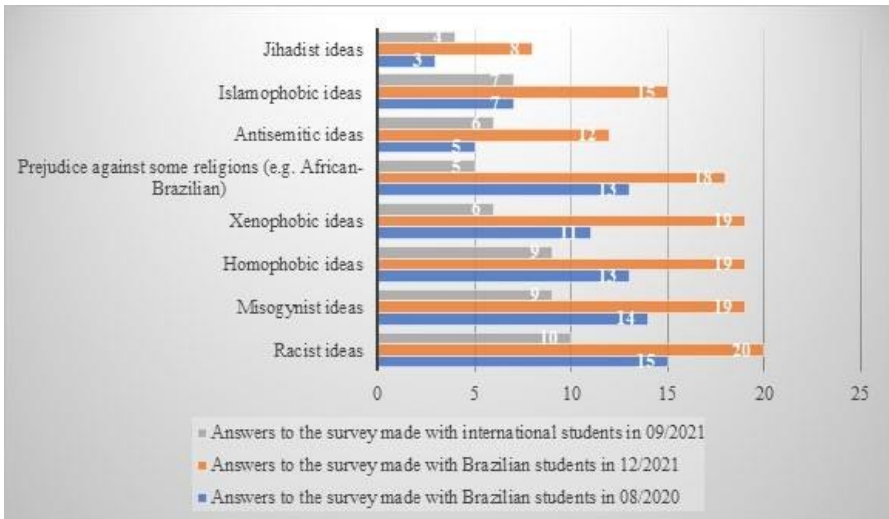


Figure 6. Extreme ideas encountered on the internet by both Brazilian and international students.

When asked about what could be improved in both the extension course and the volunteering programme, the majority of students said that they would like to have more practical activities (24; 51.06%) and more in-person meetings (20; 42.55%).

The two open-ended questions gave students the opportunity to make suggestions to improve the extension course and the volunteering programme and to reflect on what has changed in their lives after their experience. In all the surveys, students highlighted that they realised that they can effectively lead change as illustrated by the quotes: 'I realised how

much of a difference we can actually make with team effort,' 'I realised change is possible if we work together towards a common goal,' 'I became more confident on my action power. Now I know that I don't need to wait for the government or for institutions to drive change. I can take action,' 'I believe I can change the world and create peace.' Some students emphasized the importance of meeting other young people who are equally committed to peacebuilding: 'I have realised that although there is so much hate in the world, there are way more people willing to impact society positively and, if given the tools, these latter can overcome the hate,' 'I met many people (and some very close to us) who work to build a better world and this changed my way of seeing the world. I feel I have recovered my faith in love and life.' It was also worth noticing that some Brazilian students expressed a positive impact on both professional and personal development as illustrated by the quotes: 'I learned a lot and I am sure that I am a much better person today. More than an NGO or an extension course, this programme made me feel part of a family that contributed to my professional and personal development,' 'I enrolled in the course during the pandemic and it helped me coping with the anxiety and stress unleashed by lockdown measures,' 'this experience played a crucial role in my personal and professional development. It helped me understand how I would like to build my career and it showed me that each of us can play their part in the construction of a better world.' As far as suggestions are concerned, Brazilian students expressed the desire for more activities and some of them emphasized the need of diversifying the portfolio of Brazilian institutions contemplated by the Educ-(ac)tion model and the partnership with the NGO Words Heal the World.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I provided a brief description of the model of education I designed to equip students with knowledge and skills to challenge online hate speech and tackle different types of extremism. Furthermore, I presented empirical evidence of the impact it had on the lives of Brazilian and international students, contributing to their professional and even their personal development. Besides educating students about hate speech and extremism, the Educ-(ac)tion model has provided students with some sense of belonging and purpose, making them aware of the role they can play in contemporary society. While expressing their ideas and implementing them, the majority of students enrolled in the extension course and working as volunteers for the NGO Words Heal the World realised that they can effectively give shape to a virtuous circle of peace. Besides monitoring the outreach of their actions online, they have shared their knowledge with their friends and local communities, educating others to use social media for peace.

Overall, the findings of the surveys demonstrate the transformative power of this model of education. While conscious of their role as citizens and aware of how the internet has facilitated the spread of hate speech and extremist ideologies, students from different nationalities, universities, and courses have used their skills and knowledge to drive change. They have found in peacebuilding efforts a purpose and in this community of young people a family. Moreover, they have driven this change in different societal aspects, touching upon issues concerning

race, ethnicity, religion, gender and sexuality. While addressing extremism from a holistic perspective, they have observed how deeply intertwined different social aspects are. While working with students from different courses, they have observed how different disciplines can be combined to maximise the impact of some actions. While working with students from different ethnicities, they have noticed how enriching cultural exchanges can be, enabling them to challenge their own prejudices. The benefits of the Educ-(ac)tion model are numerous. The main constraint is the scalability of this model insofar as while implemented in few places, it can only have a limited impact.

Recently, there has been a growing interest in the internationalisation of higher education. While encouraging collaboration among scholars based in different institutions, universities could embed the Educ-(ac)tion model in their curriculum and develop a unit that would foster collaboration committed to peacebuilding. In light of the empirical evidence, the Educ-(ac)tion model could serve as an inspiration for more profound changes in the educational system. Changes that would be in tune with recent technological advances and existing concerns about the spread of hate speech and extreme ideologies. If there is no exit from the business model that has allowed digital platforms to exploit the time we spend on our phones and computer, then we should equip those who spend more time on these devices with skills and knowledge to lead change. If universities have struggled to compete with the compelling way in which information is provided on the internet, they could reinvent their model of education, embracing and celebrating the power of students while endowed with critical thinking. While committed to peacebuilding, both universities and students may be able to build a society in which differences are not solely respected but celebrated. One might argue that universities should refrain from getting involved in peacebuilding efforts. However, the model presented in this paper indicates that it is through lived experiences that students realise that peace is not an abstract concept. Peace is made day by day by each one of us. If peace is a decision that would primarily benefit society as a whole, universities could play a pivotal role in peacebuilding efforts. Moreover, the skills acquired by students through model like the Educ- (ac)tion can make a difference in the job market, contributing to employability rankings held by universities. Both students and universities can benefit from models of education committed to peacebuilding. Besides demonstrating that young people can play a crucial role in existing efforts to challenge hate speech and extremism, this paper may serve as a starting point to discussions about how the internationalisation of higher education can accommodate peacebuilding concerns, effectively leading society towards a peaceful future.

THE EVOLUTION OF GAIA EDUCATION

ROSS JACKSON
CHAIRMAN, GAIA EDUCATION

SUMMARY: I. THE SOCIAL DIMENSION; II. THE ECOLOGICAL DIMENSION; III. THE FOUNDING OF THE GLOBAL ECOVILLAGE NETWORK (GEN); IV. GAIA EDUCATION IS BORN; V. THE WORLDVIEW DIMENSION; VI. THE ECONOMICS DIMENSION; VII. LOOKING FORWARD.

Gaia Education is an international NGO providing cutting-edge Education for Sustainable and Regenerative Development. In essence, we promote thriving communities within planetary boundaries.

We offer courses, both short and long (a few hours to 8 months), in the holistic design of liveable, sustainable communities, both face-to-face in over 55 countries and online in three languages. In addition, some in-depth specialized courses have

been developed together with partners on specific topics. Teaching projects, normally in developing countries, are also carried out regularly in cooperation with aid agencies and local partners. We call this “Project Based Learning”. In recent years, we carried out such projects in India, Bangladesh, Senegal, Zambia and Italy (with refugees and climate immigrants from abroad).



I. THE SOCIAL DIMENSION

The basic content of the teaching is organized around the four dimensions of human living: social, ecological, economic and worldview- the latter including cultural and spiritual perspectives dependent on context. Each dimension consists of 5 modules as described in Gaia Education’s originally designed “sustainability mandala”, which is widely used around the world.

Fig. 1 Gaia Education Sustainability Mandala

The educational program evolved out of the ecovillage movement in the early 00s. The ecovillage movement in turn can trace its roots back to the emergence of the co-housing movement in Denmark in the early 1970s.

My wife, Hildur, and I co-founded one of the very first co-housings in Denmark, and lived there for almost twenty years while we brought up our children. The co-housing movement arose as a response to the dilemma of young women who began entering the workplace in great numbers and faced two equally unattractive choices: focus on their careers with the children in a nursery while missing near contact in the first years; or stay home and bond with the children with the risk of delaying or ruining their careers. Co-housing was seen as a third option.

The basic idea was for each family to have its own private quarters, ideally a stand-alone house, as part of a circle or semi-circle with no fences or hedges between homes, and with a common house for sharing tools, eating together once or twice a week, holding meetings and parties, etc. In the middle was an open space for children to play out of the danger of traffic, as the cars were parked around the periphery. A second motive for the early co-housing projects was the feeling that a sense of community had been lost in the individualistic modern state. We saw co-housing as a step in the right direction to rectify that.

Interestingly, many of these ideas were later adopted by many mainstream architects, who immediately saw the attractiveness of the concept for a certain segment of the population. Many mainstream suburbs in Denmark and elsewhere today illustrate these principles. Actually, most of the co-housings built in Denmark since then- over 200 of them- are for senior citizens. Now, in the 2020s, there is an upsurge of interest from young couples looking for an alternative to city life, both as regards cost and quality of life. The motivations of the people who built the first co-housings were purely social, the first dimension of the Sustainability Mandala.

II. THE ECOLOGICAL DIMENSION

There was only sparse interest in ecology and sustainability throughout most of the 1970s and 1980s, but that all changed with the UN-initiated “Brundtland Report” in 1987. Suddenly the word “sustainability” was on everyone’s lips.

It was also something that Hildur and I talked a lot about, having animals and growing more food. That same year we co-founded Gaia Trust, a Danish charity, with the purpose of supporting the transition to a more sustainable and spiritual world. We felt we should walk our talk, so we left our co-housing near Copenhagen and bought a farm in Western Denmark near the North Sea, where we planned to grow food, build windmills, construct a biological wastewater system, and invite others to join us in an extended version of co-housing with a teaching centre and an ecological dimension.

In September of 1991, we invited a dozen or so like-minded friends from our international network to Denmark to brainstorm with us for several days with the purpose of helping us decide how best to use the Gaia Trust funds. After many long and inspiring discussions, we came to an unexpected conclusion: (1) We know what the problems are. (2) In fact, we know what the solutions are. We do not need more white papers or conferences or think tanks. (3) What we need is implementation.

So, we asked ourselves: who is actually doing something on the ground and not just talking? Our attention was then drawn to several small intentional communities that were doing just that: the Findhorn Foundation community in Scotland, Auroville in India, Damanhur in Italy, Solheimer in Iceland, Lebengarten in Germany, The Farm in Tennessee, USA, Crystal Waters in Australia. We were told there were many others.

So, we began to develop a vision. What if we were able to map these projects and link them together in a global network, where they could exchange best practices and experiences. We coined the word “ecovillage”, which did not exist at the time, to describe these projects. We could promote lifestyle change in sustainable, intentional communities as a strategy for combating climate change. If we were successful, they would inspire replication and possibly grow into a global ecovillage movement that could be a game-changer. We imagined what might happen after a collapse, as foreseen in the Limits to Growth model. Perhaps ecovillages could form the foundation for rebuilding something new.

Thus was born the ecovillage movement and the ecological dimension of the Gaia Education Sustainability Mandala.

III. THE ECOLOGICAL DIMENSION

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IV. THE FOUNDING OF THE GLOBAL ECOVILLAGE NETWORK (GEN)

Over the next four years, the concept was refined. A core group met in several different ecovillages to plan next steps. We decided that the first step should be linking existing ecovillages into regional networks. We would set up one in the

USA with headquarters at The Farm in Tennessee for the Americas with Albert Bates; one in Lebensgarten, Germany for Europe and Africa with Declan Kennedy; one for Asia and Oceania at Crystal Waters in Australia with Max Lindegger; and an international coordinating office in Denmark with Hamish Stewart. We presented the strategy and our intention to immediately found the Global Ecovillage Network to an enthusiastic audience at the Findhorn Foundation conference on Sustainable Communities in October 1995. Gaia Trust agreed to fund the project for the first five years.

The first public event with GEN was at the UN Habitat 2 conference in Istanbul in June of 1996. Twenty GEN folks from around the world offered over 40 workshops and had the biggest NGO exhibition with a straw bale wall full of ecovillage photos, a windmill, a dart game, a big map where visitors could put a pin on their home location, music, snacks, a water mill with running water circulating, and the biggest attraction of all: circle dancing every day at 3 p.m. with Declan Kennedy, the first GEN chairman, who was a professional dancer in his youth. Folks from the official conference came by every day and were so impressed that they invited GEN to address the main conference with its vision. The message included a proposal for the UN to allocate \$100 million to build 50 ecovillages across the planet in different habitats. They responded that they had no money. Big letdown, but that did not stop GEN from growing.

V. GAIA EDUCATION IS BORN

Part of the original vision was to develop cross-regional activities once the networks were established. By 1998, the networks were developing nicely, and we were ready to do just that with an obvious choice - education. Hildur and I invited a select group of 50 educators from the GEN network to come to Denmark and brainstorm around the topic: education for sustainability. By the end of the week, we had developed the Sustainability Mandala and assigned tasks to the thirty or so persons, who wished to carry on and develop the 20 modules. Over the next 6 years, the group met in a number of different places, listening to each other teach, and critiquing the presentations. Our final meeting was in Hungary, where we expressed satisfaction with the result and elected a board with May East as CEO. Gaia Education was launched formally at the "GEN plus 10" Findhorn conference in October 2005. "Next GEN" for GEN youth was launched at the same time. One of the issues was whether Gaia Education should be the educational division of GEN or an independent sister organization. We chose the latter for various reasons. Gaia Education Limited was founded as a Scottish Charity with trustees as shareholders and board members. GEN was different - a network organization.

VI. THE WORLDVIEW DIMENSION

I visited a lot of ecovillages around the world in the 1990s and 00s, both with

GEN and with Gaia Education. The thing that made the greatest impression on me was the sense of belonging to one big, international family. No matter where we went, we had the same values, in spite of differences in race, religion, culture or language. The common mantra seemed to be “Care of the Earth, Care of Each Other”, the diametrical opposite of the dominant worldview of the mainstream. It was a profound realization for all of us that, deep down, we are all the same. For me, this experience emphasized the importance of teaching our course participants to understand other cultures, customs and religions and appreciate them as reflections of the same impulse, just in different packaging. This was the background for us introducing Worldview as an important dimension in holistic thinking. A number of people have remarked since that this was a valuable extension of the traditional UN assignment of just three divisions: social, ecological and economic. Worldview was Gaia Education’s signature dimension.

The UN itself has been remarkably enthusiastic about Gaia Education’s approach, with UNESCO including us as partners in their Global Action Programme for Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and UNITAR increasingly partnering with us and endorsing our online courses and Sustainable Development Goals training programmes.

Through this, Gaia Education is evolving as a bridging institution between global SDG and ESD policy and grassroots action by communities on the ground.

As a vital step in converting rhetoric into action, we have been increasingly partnering with leaders in the field of Worldview transformation, such as Jeremy Lent and Fritjof Capra, to run courses which challenge people’s current paradigm and bring them into greater connection with themselves, each other and the natural world.

VII. THE ECONOMICS DIMENSION

Our teaching of economics has two very different perspectives - micro and macro. The micro perspective is about all the nitty gritty you have to know to start up an ecovillage project - making a budget, using a spreadsheet, negotiating with farmers and municipalities about purchasing land, building techniques, how houses are financed, and an insight into banking and the way they evaluate risk. This part would also include concepts like local currencies as a way to kickstart activity without borrowing from the bank. The macro side was about how the global economy and national economies work, including their sometimes-weird assumptions, and about explaining why we were in such a dysfunctional world with life-threatening climate change hanging over us, while eight individuals have more wealth than half the world population combined. But it was also about local economies, what I would today call regional development, namely, looking at ways to invigorate regions in the coming age of decentralization. We can expect to see solar panels on every roof and preferences for local food that will together drive a rural renaissance.

Increasingly, our partners in Global South countries working tirelessly, using Ecovillage Design principles, to support communities facing climate change crises so that they can salvage their settlements and livelihoods, have asked for Gaia Education's support. In response, we launched our project-based learning programmes (PBLs), funded largely by DFID and the Scottish Government, in order to extend our EDE training into long-term support for these communities. As examples:

In Bangladesh, with Bangladesh Association for Sustainable Development, we supported 2000 villagers (75% female) in coastal communities facing floods, typhoons and soil salination to adapt their homesteads, adopt regenerative agriculture techniques, transform salinized soil into rich, productive land and, increase household income by 23%.

In Senegal, with REDES, in a project given an 'A' grade by DFID, we supported 1866 farmers (80% female) in the Podor region, facing desertification due to agro-industrial farming techniques and climate change, to restore their land into flourishing, abundant fields using agro-ecological techniques. Their food production increased by 93%.

In Zambia in 2018-22, working with WWF Zambia and the Young Emerging Farmers Initiative, we supported 500 young farmers to lead multimedia conservation campaigns reaching 500,000 youth, and leading 2100 households to adopt more sustainable agricultural, livelihood and natural resource management practices. They increased participating households' income by 40% as well as their food and nutrition security, principally via beekeeping. They also saved 3500 hectares from being deforested by charcoal production and produced high-quality honey which they are now attempting to export.

Our PBLs have proven that our trainings work in climate crisis situations. In fact, they are transformational, and we would love to do many more. However, funding for such project is hard to come by, even though we believe it to be the most vital work in the world at this stage of climate change.

VIII. LOOKING FORWARD

In the 2020's we can expect to see Gaia Education increase its bridging role between international SDG policy work and cutting-edge, localized, community-led action on the ground.

We are developing a larger range of short, intermediate and in-depth online courses covering all four dimensions of our mandala. For many of these, we will partner with individuals and organisations leading in the field of regeneration across the globe, as well as UNITAR and other academic institutions. In the context of global weather changes, floods and fires we see across the world, we are, in particular, planning courses to support communities to "design for resilience" in times of emergency.

We will be working more closely with our sister organization, GEN, in building our networks, in fundraising, in developing PBLs and in coordinating our respective educational activities, in particular our face-to-face Ecovillage Design Education and Training of Trainers courses.

And we will continue working with UNESCO, promoting SDG awareness via our SDG Multiplier workshops and cards and lobbying for the implementation of policies under SDG 4.7.

We will strengthen and support all of our international networks as they spread the word on Ecovillage Design Education. We will create a digital platform to support the cross-pollination of our growing Community of Practice, with a strong focus on supporting our youth networks to build towards a resilient future. We will continue to work, in particular, with our European partners to develop new ESD teacher guides, formal and informal ESD curricula, tools for transitioning to regenerative lifestyles and platforms for accessing all of our products for free. With the creation of our partner organization, Gaia Education Europe, based in Brussels, we hope that Erasmus+ will continue to support these endeavours.

We expect to see an increased presence in Africa, where we are building partnerships with key educational pan-African institutes such as the SDG Center for Africa. Together, we have developed a proposal with the Association of African Universities and the All Africa Students' Union to provide all African university students with short courses to increase their understanding of the African perspective on the SDG and Climate Change crises, as well as signposting them to localized action on the ground. And we will promote holistic principles and design as an integral part of Education for Sustainability in formal and informal settings across the continent.

We believe that Gaia Education will go from strength to strength, as the World awakens to the huge dangers of climate change and our unsustainable human presence. We are ready, with tried and tested, cutting-edge, holistic approaches to creating community changemakers who can overcome the vast social, economic, ecological and cultural challenges we face.

We live in daunting times, but we feel up to the task, and the receipt of awards such as the Luxembourg Peace Prize for Outstanding Peace Education galvanize us on our journey. Thank you.

THE ÌNIN EDU PROJECT AND PEACE

ANNA BACCHIA¹ AND ROMAN CALZAFERRI²

SUMMARY: I. PRELUDE; II. CONTEXT; III. MISSION; IV. UNIQUENESS OF THE ÌNIN PROJECT; 4. I. ÌNIN; 4.2. A Humanistic Evolution; V. ABILITIES; VI. OUTCOME; VII. RESEARCH; VIII. INSTITUTE AND ASSOCIATION; IX. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES; X. ÌNIN EDU, AN EXISTING REALITY; XI. SUMMING UP & CONCLUSIONS.

I. PRELUDE

The Essence of Life is embodied within Man.

And our breathing is not 'other' from the breathing of Life.

Life and its vital Intelligence, its symphony of Information - which generates life wherever - is the beating of our heart.

And aware of our essence, our interrelations can express life, can create an extraordinary vital understanding, can create Peace.

II. CONTEXT

In the current era of digitalization, of artificial intelligence A.I. and its widespread impacts, of complexity theories and quantum physics, emerges the necessity of a substantial innovation of thinking, of awareness, of understanding, and of the dynamics of personal and social interrelations, with the need for a fundamental expression of the full human *creative-evolutive potential*.

In such context, within the challenges and the opportunities of our era, we recognize that the vital evolution which everyone is yearning for, cannot but start anew from consciousness, from the awareness of the Living Intelligence L.I. which constantly creates Life, our Life, and which regenerates the whole Web of Life, and all living beings.

¹ Founder and Director of the Anna Bacchia Consciousness Institute, Lugano Switzerland.
² Co-Founder and Managing Partner of the Anna Bacchia Consciousness Institute

The Living Intelligence L.I. incessantly dialogues with the human beings, while it nurtures, informs and orients the human innate qualities of INTuitive INTelligence and INTuitive INSight: which we have called ÌNIN.

In such vision, we have created the Living Intelligence L.I. Project, and the ÌNIN EDU Project, which recognize the Living Intelligence L.I. as the source both of the breathing and of the evolution of Life, and of the information which orients the human INTuitive INTelligence and INSights ÌNIN.

The Living Intelligence L.I. expresses the Essence of Life itself, and the Nature of all that exists.

According to Quantum Physics, the Nature of Reality manifests itself in the space-time dimensions in which we live, as waves, frequencies and information, metaphorically an 'ocean' of information in which we are immersed and of which we are made.

Furthermore, we constantly can receive information as intuitions. We can be *informed* by it → and we can *give it a form*: the form of new vital answers, solutions, discoveries, creations.

We have dedicated the ÌNIN EDU Project to such *unexplored* intuitive process: a compass which can orient man's creativity and evolution.

III. MISSION

The ÌNIN EDU Project catalyzes an upshift from the current logic mind frame and dual thinking → into a new awareness: *holistic, systemic, intuitive and anà-logic* (beyond the linear, causal, objectifying logic). And in such sense the ÌNIN EDU Project develops *unexplored* processes of *INTuitive INSight*, understanding and learning, as instruments of human *integrity, evolutive vital coherence* and *responsibility* within complexity.

IV. UNIQUENESS OF THE ÌNIN PROJECT

4.1. ÌNIN

In the context of the most advanced scientific perspectives, the ÌNIN EDU Project recognizes the innate human *INTuitive INSight and INTelligence* (hereafter ÌNIN),

- as *essential* dynamic of a holistic awareness,
- as infinite potential of creative energy,
- as essential expression of the human nature, and
- as *excellent* evolutive *resource*.

The ÌNIN EDU Project acknowledges that “intuitive certainty constitutes the most fundamental form of knowledge, which engenders the whole subsequent rational investigation”³, as the most eminent Scientists and Artists from Galileo to Gell-Mann recognize.

The ÌNIN intuitive processes:

- induce *anà-logic intuitive experiences and competences*, and create an innovative systemic-holistic approach and understanding, within personal, professional and social interrelations,
- draw on the innate human vital sense, and on the essential sensitive perception which can orient untapped intuitive insights, as well as coherent choices and co-creations,
- support ethical and aesthetical dynamics and comprehending within interrelations,
- expand a visionary intuitive awareness, renew thinking and learning with the development of an essential sensibility and self-insight, while they engender *creative actions which do not request energy, but which offer energy*.

4.2. A humanistic evolution

Such ÌNIN intuitive processes reveal themselves as effective *catalyzers* of a vital global cultural evolution.

Furthermore, based on the development of such modalities, the ÌNIN EDU Project integrates the logic *systematic* mind frame with an *anà-logic systemic* holistic awareness, which orients vital interrelations and dialogues towards an enlightening coherent co-operating and co-creating.

V. ABILITIES

The trainees → acquire *intuitive anà-logic* abilities, which are developed in syntony with the Living Intelligence L.I. and its field of information, and → they attain a *natural response-ability*: the ability to be oriented and informed by the eloquent intuitive information emerging from any interrelation, while *giving form* to answers, discoveries, creations, designs, coherent with Life, in the context of the arising vital needs, questions, challenges and unpredictabilities.

In such sense, such response-ability supports the development of an enlightened leadership on all levels: personal, professional, social. A leadership intended also as expression of sensibility, intuitive insights, coherence and intuitive understanding as syntony.

³ TORRANCE Thomas, as cited in: BERSANELLI Marco, GARGANTINI Mario: From Galileo to Gell-Mann. Templeton Press 2009

VI. OUTCOME

Such educational pathway renews thinking, engenders innovative intuitive abilities and competences, and develops generative insights, which induce clarity, essentiality, integrity within interrelations.

It fosters the awareness on the distinction between logic description of our experiences: the MAP (to which the scientific method and social mind frame are still confined), and the unrepeatable uniqueness of the human sensitive experience of Life: the TERRITORY. Such distinction focalizes on the currently prevailing substitution of the Territory (logic models) with the Map (sensitive experience of Life). A substitution which risks to produce even diagnoses, analysis and technological developments which perfectly reflect a logic mind frame, but which are dangerously detached from the essential vital inputs: perceptive, sensitive, sources of syntony and coherence.

In such approach the opportunities of *ethical co-creation*, of shared wellbeing, of sustainability, of peace, emerge as relational qualities and modalities generated by sensitive perception and intuitive processes of learning, by visionary insights, by evolution of consciousness.

VII. RESEARCH

The ÌNIN EDU Project is based on forty years of Research in Human and Cognitive Sciences, which Anna Bacchia has developed on the nature of the creative, intuitive and evolutive processes, in syntony with the most recent perspectives of contemporary quantum physics and of complexity theory.

VIII. INSTITUTE AND ASSOCIATION

The ÌNIN EDU Project is organized by the ‘Anna Bacchia Consciousness Institute’, and supported by the ‘Vocal Sound - Bacchia Studio’ Cultural Association of public benefit, both based in Lugano, Switzerland, with the aim to develop:

- an upshift in human consciousness,
- a sensitive intuitive culture in the relationships among persons and within organizations,
- a relational and creative ethic nourished by the awareness of the Living Intelligence L.I. in syntony with INTuitive INTelligence, within personal, social, ecological contexts.

IX. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

- The ÌNIN EDU Project offers experiential trainings of exploration, research and study to individuals, groups and organizations, for the acquisition of intuitive anà-logic competences and skills, within a process of intuitive learning, and of ‘knowledge as co-participation and syntony’: an innovative itinerary in which science, art and daily creation converge.
- The ÌNIN EDU Project proposes unexplored experiences of insight, self-insight and intuitive knowledge, as well as a systemic and holistic awareness of complexity, where co-creating, transforming, evolving are generated from an excellent intuitive empathic understanding, and from the experience of being re-created, enlightened, oriented by the intuitive information emerging from our interrelations.
- The development of creative anà-logic intuitive competences, and of a daily ‘leadership’ - (the response-ability to be oriented and informed by the information of the vital field, and to give form to vital solutions and creations coherent with the emerging challenges recognized as opportunities) - induce contexts of openness, of natural coherence, in the processes of exploring, designing, rethinking limits, making possible, co-creating. Such intuitive competences engender cultural contexts of clarity and of unity within diversity.
- The ÌNIN EDU processes activate an immense unexplored collective potential of human upshift and enlighten man to be a coherent conductor of an ecological and regenerating vital evolution, inspired by the profound sacredness of Life.
- The experience of a renewed *sensibility towards life’s* nature, as well as an *aware* expanded self-insight and Intuitive Intelligence, in syntony with the Living Intelligence L.I. → bring trainees to develop an intuitive aesthetic and ethic of interrelation, a creative taking care and generative evolving, a new *intuitive grammar* where “we have many native languages, but *one single unique human language*”.

For a new narration, towards a civilization of syntony, of symphony, for a new co-habiting the Earth.

X. ÌNIN EDU, AN EXISTING REALITY

10.1 The ÌNIN PROJECTS

The ÌNIN EDU Project is part of the ‘Anna Bacchia ÌNIN PROJECTS’:

- *Living Intelligence Project.*
- *ÌNIN EDU School of Being.*
- *ÌNIN Individual Trainings.*
- *CONSCIOUSNESS: the Theatre of Being.*
- *ÌNIN One Earth Choir.*

- *ÌNIN Meetings, Speeches, Conferences, Forums, Concerts.*
- *Books, Essays, Papers, Publications.*
- *The Holographic Computer: a Form of Art.*
- *IHE Architecture.*
- *ÌNIN multimedia productions.*

10.2 Partnerships

The ‘Anna Bacchia ÌNIN Projects’ are promoted in partnership with a series of international cultural organizations, such as:

- *Living Peace International,*
- *Leonardo/ISAST, International Society for the Arts, Sciences and Technology - San Francisco USA,*
- *the Goi Peace Foundation, Tokyo Japan,*
- *the Club of Budapest International Network,*
- *the World Water Community,*
- *the Laszlo Institute of New Paradigm Research,*
- *the Center for Ecoliteracy, Berkeley, California USA,*
- *the Schengen Peace Foundation, Luxembourg,*
- *the World Peace Forum,*
- *the Fondation de la Paix Mondiale, D.R. of Congo.*

10.3 Network and Scientific - Artistic Committee

The ‘Anna Bacchia ÌNIN Projects’:

- are interrelated with an intercultural Network currently spread in 75 Countries and developed as a work in progress,
- are supported by a Scientific-Artistic Committee of world renowned Scientists and Artists, among which: Prof. Dr. Ervin Laszlo, Prof. Dr. Fritjof Capra, Dr. Hiroo Saionji, Mrs. Masami Saionji, Prof. Dr. Leon Lederman, Dr. Paolo Renati, Dr. Everine van de Kraats, Dr. Alessandro Pasquali, M° Mario Brunello, M° Vladimir Ashkenazy, M° Franco Ambrosetti, M° Enrica Bacchia, Prof. Dr. Marco Bersanelli, M° Rachele Ferrell, Dr. Davide Fiscaletti, M° Stephen Kovacevic, M° Alberto Longhi.

10.4 Lifelong Learning

İNIN EDU is a program of professional development and of lifelong learning, in which the participants choose their modules and itinerary. İNIN EDU is developed through experiential laboratories, weekly retreats, individual training sessions, integrative meetings, online courses and lessons. Currently, İNIN EDU offers interventions and programs within the İNIN Project's intercultural network involving Participants from 75 Countries.

XI.SUMMING UP & CONCLUSIONS

In the perspective of an essential personal, social, cultural upshift, towards a new vital and human co-creating, co-evolving, co-habiting the Earth, and towards a new leadership intended as response-ability to provide answers and solutions coherent with Life, today it is fundamental to start from the human being: from its awareness, its sensitive perception of life, and its innate unexplored intuitive qualities, as immense collective potential of human evolution.

The İNIN EDU Project integrates the professional education with a systemic-holistic and intuitive-analogic awareness within relationships. And it facilitates a personal, social, professional leadership, intended as an expression of vital sensibility, coherence, intuitive understanding as syntony.

In the perspective of catalyzing and activating the full human evolutionary potential within society, the İNIN EDU experiences engender generative clarity, essentiality, integrity in interrelations, and facilitate opportunities of ethical co-creation, of shared wellbeing, of sustainability, of peace.

From the premises of Anna Bacchia's research in human and cognitive sciences and on the nature of the intuitive, cognitive and creative processes, the İNIN EDU Project evokes the innate profound human sense of Life, as a fertile soil for wonder, beauty, vital eloquence, awe, which ignite an enlightened comprehending, as well as knowledge as resonance, syntony, co-participation. Where trust, understanding and peace manifest themselves as natural qualities emerging from our intuitive qualities and interrelations.

- While recognizing reality as oneness, undivided and non-fragmented, within a holistic consciousness,
- where the Essence of Life is embodied within man,
- where the İNtelligence of Life is constantly flowing in syntony with the human İNtuitive İNtelligence, and orienting us to express and to affirm life within our interrelations,
- today Peace can exist as natural emerging modality, created by every human being, by each one of us: from any coherent responsible interrelation of ours.

The evolution of consciousness today brings us to recognize that Peace is not created 'there' outside, but it can be created only within us, by every human being, in every instant, whenever, wherever: a New Narration for a Civilization of Syntony, of Symphony.

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