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ERUDITIO

*“A multidisciplinary forum focused
on the social consequences and policy
implications of all forms of knowledge on
a global basis”*

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In This Issue

Yehezkel Dror is a world acclaimed social and political scientist. He is also an acute observer of the central issues of war and peace. In a sense, [“Saving Humanity from Itself”](#) is an admission of the limits of rational science on world politics and the author has decided to express himself as a world citizen with moral outrage. Specifically he is observing the slaughter in Syria and the role of the big powers including Western Europe. According to him, Western Europe has condemned itself to impotence by relying on the myth of soft-power. This myth is confronted by “a world still dominated by hard power.” In a sense, this proposes a profound challenge to the implications of the Draft Declaration on the Right to Peace.

[“Building up European Solidarity: A view from the East”](#) by **Emil Constantinescu** looks at the challenges that are emerging that may have the possibility of fracturing the unity of the European Union. Using the historical context the author traces the history and traditions of South Eastern Europe and the role this region has played in the advancement of civilization, cultural creativity and indeed, European identity. In the Fourth Millennium B.C., the region was transformed by the migration of Indo-European groups. In time, the groups were integrated in a way that constitutes the historical roots of Europe as a whole. It should be remembered that the region itself had many discrete pockets of cultural identity. On the other hand, creative communication as well as the influence of stoic philosophy and Christianity generated a multi-cultural world with degrees of autonomy and degrees of integration on interdependence. The author seems to imply that the cement which prevented these communities from fragmenting, was the fact that they all bought into the democratic spirit. The democratic spirit had a commitment to freedom of communication which led groups to understand their distinct cultural identity as well as their patterns of common interest and similarity in shared democratic values. Thus we see pluralism today co-existing with the continent-wide solidarity infused with respect for diversity. Europe’s oldest experiment has many lessons to teach the current generation.

[“The Deep Blue Sea: Challenges and Opportunities for Higher Education and the World”](#) by **Roseann O'Reilly Runte** is an interesting essay in which the author underscores the importance of being alert to the challenges posed by education and scientific progress and the vital importance of higher education for the public interest. To give you one illustration, the revolution in information technology and near instantaneous communication is accompanied by abuses of this information technology and the flooding of communication systems with misinformation and incorrect data. These advances challenge us to determine truth from untruth. We might add the advanced technologies have been the cause of unemployment because they replace human labor. The author reminds us that a great deal has been said about the cost of higher education. These same voices say nothing about the cost of limiting education. She reminds us “that societies with well-educated populations are rich not only in ideas, but in extraordinary cultures and strong economic development.” She makes an important pitch for the importance of interdisciplinary perspectives and a good deal more. This is an extremely insightful essay.

In [“Biopolicy—Creating Positive Momentum to Save Bios,”](#) **Agni Vlavianos-Arvanitis** underlines the problem of the greedy, arrogant society driven by conspicuous consumption. This society relishes short term profit, the destruction of irreplaceable natural capital and is

heedless of accelerated global warming. She provides the call to save the bios and suggests strategies and techniques to reach the few who exercise control over the world's wealth. She suggests that we need a new Parthenon with a global reach by inspirational leaders. This will require a form of public education of global importance and intensity. It requires as well the collaboration of media and modern communications. She calls for a bio assessment of technological capacity as well as a bank of accessible ideas to provide momentum and dynamism for new initiatives. Among the important ideas she puts forth are the creation of genetic banks for the conservation of genetic diversity; she calls for redefining the notions of profit and gain, and also calls for changing business education, mobilizing the arts, and a good deal more. The author is a leading force in global bio-politics and has generated powerful and important thoughts for improving the prospect of human survival.

[“In Search of Islands of Sanity,”](#) a short article by **Charles Smith**, is one of the most far reaching that I have read on the role of leadership, its mental prerequisites and moral components. Smith begins the article by suggesting that the conventional methods which conventional science has given us seem to make no difference on how the world is run. Central to this assumption is that the relationships in private or public sectors have broken down. This requires new innovative paradigm thinking. Central to the idea of paradigm thinking is the effort to locate one's self in spaces of sanity. In these spaces we begin to communicate in terms of the values of compassion, kindness and affection that provide for progressive human-centered mutuality. It is a short critique of leadership today. For example, according to Dutton, CEO is a profession of most psychopaths. He then takes us into fringes of new frontiers of physical thinking, Einstein and quantum physics. The quantum world is a world that is replete with amazing communications possibilities. Indeed, an essential element of the quantum world is the principle of non-locality. In short, in the quantum world communication over vast distances at the microscopic level is instantaneous. The implication of Smith is that the communication of empathy, solidarity, kindness and mutuality may have the possibility of generating constructive patterns of mutuality for the improvement of humanity. He gives several examples of mutuality emerging in odd places. He also insists that the development of human consciousness is a pathway to human mutuality and improved performance. He then provides nine steps to cultivate an improved level of consciousness and this includes such issues as relational identity, the Merlin factor, and a whole range of other challenging ideas that are rooted in the interconnectedness of all matter and the potentials of human consciousness in shaping humanity's future. This is a challenging essay and I am confident that the Fellows of the Academy will enjoy reading it.

The concern of the United Nations over the threat of climate change has raised an important question of how human society and in particular, its economics, can be reshaped to reduce the impact of climate change on the viability of the earth system. One of the important issues that has become obvious is that society's economic organization must be made sustainable and at the same time, be organized in a way so as to reduce the threat of climate change. From these discourses emerged the importance of the concept of the green economy as a method that improves human wellbeing, social justice, and at the same time reduces environmental risks and food scarcity. In [“Green Economy and Sustainable Development: The Latin American Scenario,”](#) **Ione do Santos Velame** and **Joanilio Teixeira** seek to clarify structure and the variables that may be put into a scientifically measurable form to determine quantitatively

what progress has been made with economies being oriented to the green imperative. To this end, they utilized and developed the Green Economy Index and then applied this model to the context of Latin America. The green economy context builds on a geometrically constructed magic triangle and this integrates ecology, society and economy. This approach requires the simultaneous development from a multitude of variables which in turn emerged in another geometrical expression, the magic square. The ordering of the magic square had to be further developed into a form called the magic hypercube. These geometric models permit more effective and integrated measurement of the impact of green factors on performance in terms of sustainability. What the research indicates is that the green economy has had a positive effect on sustainability but in the Latin American context, this has been extremely modest.

The Human Rights Council and its affiliates have been engaged in an effort to draft a Declaration on the right to peace. This sounds simple enough. Who can disagree with the right to peace? Yet placed in the broader context of international organizations, states and civil society groups, the idea of a right to peace is not without complexity. In a rational world every item implicating or detracting from the notion of the right to peace can only be adequately understood if we have a theory and method that fully contextualize those factors to determine how they augment or restrain the ultimate emergence of the Declaration. In this context even the form of expression is complex and usually fully understood. A Declaration coming from the General Assembly in most instances emerges in the form of a Resolution of the GA. A Resolution is not legally binding. But the question is if the Resolution simply extends pre-existing UN law that is binding, does it not in reality have the character of a binding obligation? So one issue that emerges is, when states vote for the Declaration are they or are they not bound? In general, a distinction is made between a Declaration and a Resolution that the Declaration is meant to be taken far more seriously. In this overview of the continuing work of the Human Rights Council regarding the Declaration on the Right to Peace, although much progress has been made in the formulation of the Declaration, the drafting process continues. There are enormous complexities embedded in the Declaration. For example, a strong Declaration may place greater responsibilities on the world's stronger powers. Does the right to peace require armed intervention by the powerful? Does this impose an obligation on them? Or more controversially, does the right to peace mean fewer restraints on the part of the states who wish to intervene in the internal affairs of other states? In ["The General Assembly adopts the Declaration on the right to peace: an opportunity to strengthen the linkage between peace, human rights and development in the New Millennium,"](#) **Christian Guillermet-Fernández** and **David Fernández Puyana** have given us an excellent overview of the debates and drafting issues and the difficulties of ultimately emerging with a needed right to peace Declaration.

In ["A Pragmatic view on the Evolution of Life: Trends, Paradigm Shifts or New Laws of Life?"](#), **Robert van Harten** has provided us with a powerful punch to enhance the current thinking in WAAS on the new paradigm. He has brought out the importance of the imaginative faculty together with a sense of evolutionary development to underscore some critical points that could give practical focus and dynamism to the promise of a new paradigm in the future. The author stresses the point that we should construe evolutionary development in the direction of harmony and unity. The dynamism of this movement he sees as having potentials of value for both macro and micro level inquiry. For example, he looks at the question of free

basic income for all. This is a revolutionary idea but he suggests that there are technical ways in which we can loosen the tyranny of money and the free money idea may be a vital social invention, a part of the movement to decentralize power and to underscore the evolution of equality. Another area that he looks at is the decentralization of power. He sees this trend as already on the way and I suspect an understanding of this trend requires a deeper understanding of a flexible notion of constitutive development at all levels. Such a development should ultimately allocate power to smaller groups and individuals. Van Harten also focuses on micro level institutions drawing attention to the evolution of sharing work skills in a new form of owning such as Uber. He also draws attention to a trend that empowers people and renders obsolete many traditional professions. He notes that “the growing robotization and development of robots for our daily life... is a movement toward more freedom and more enjoyable time.” The author draws attention to the idea that we universally think in terms of the shortage of goods and services. This is built on old energy and old ideas about money. Money is changing its nature. For example, crowd funding, micro loans, Bitcoin technology, etc. He sees a trend that makes this shortage of money a thing of the past. In short, there is a possibility of a future in which shortages are a thing of the past. He makes the important point that real or imagined personal shortages are the source and basis of conflict. He thinks that in a world without shortages, aggression and violence will be obsolete. The editor believes that we should consider some of these suggestions to work them out more carefully in terms of theory, practice and possible future scenarios. A very challenging paper.

Conservatives complain that the cost of higher education is too expensive. Consider what that cost would be if we radically diminish access to higher education. “[World Context and Implications for Higher Education Systems and Institutions](#),” a GUNI report by **Federico Mayor Zaragoza** republished here is extremely useful because it summarizes the documentary foundations of higher education, and education in general as a human right. It refers to the Preamble to the UN Charter, the Constitution at UNESCO, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The World Plan of Action for Human Rights and Democracy, as well as the world summit on social development and the commitments codified in those processes. These stress the vital importance of the culture of peace, respect for life, promotion of non-violence, promotion of human rights and basic freedoms, settling dispute by peaceful means, priority to environmental and development needs, importance to the right to development, equal rights for men and women, freedom of expression, promotion of democracy, corroboration and a good deal more. These basic values are given importance by the insights of scientists. For example, Einstein said, “imagination is more important than knowledge.” Another insight, for example, is to see what others can see and to think what no one has thought or the insight that the point of knowledge is to reduce suffering. The report also gives us insights into the current state of world politics and its deficits. The report concludes with a reference to the WAAS initiative, namely the World University Consortium. The report indicates that initiatives like this are timely, and deserving of global support.

Gerald Gutenschwager has provided us with another insightful and important paper this time touching on the theme of predation and gender, its endurance and the possibility of its losing strength in our time. Gutenschwager starts “[Predation, Gender and our Anthropological Oxyoron](#)” underlining the importance of understanding the predatory moment of choice and the issue of self-preservation. He traces this back to time immemorial and its complex

role in evolution, the scientific approach to predation, and most importantly, how predation constitutes a difference between men and women. Apart from the cultural support given to male predation over time, he also underscores the importance of human biology. In short, the male brain is fed with testosterone and bigger than the female brain which is fed with estrogen. This appears to have important consequences on the way we think. Male brains are hyper-specialized and compartmentalized. The male brain tends to focus on particularity and it speaks the context. On the other hand, the female brain has many more synapses or connectors. This gives the female brain a volume of connections that support multitasking, making wider connections relevant to the life of the woman and permits the female brain to more easily digest holistic constructs of the empirical world. This is a remarkable insight but it is also evident that some women are much more focused like men and some men are focused in the direction of female cognizance. One of the most important insights that Gutenschwager underscores is the connection between predation and capitalism. A very useful and insightful piece.

Momir Đurović is one of the intellectual aristocrats of Southeastern Europe. He has an extraordinary level of sophistication in the dynamics of social power and has sought to marshal intellectual and scientific talent to clarify and advance thinking on some of the most important issues of global importance. At the theoretical level the problem of power, science and responsibility appears to be straightforward. In practice, this is not the case. Scientists hold strongly to the value of freedom in inquiry—this is their strength. On the issue of the responsibility of inquiry, there is a complexity that responsibility is meant to serve as a prudential limit on inquiry. The case of Oppenheimer and the scientists who worked for him is pertinent. They took on the development of nuclear energy largely fueled by the idea of the freedom of inquiry. But when the project came toward the end, they found they had no control over how the results of their inquiry would be used. The Atom bomb was used twice and created a crisis for many who worked on this project. In part, the problem with responsibility is that it brings to the focus of attention issues of basic ethics, morality and values. These latter issues, when juxtaposed against traditional science, tend to be subversive of scientific objectivity. In our own time, some industrialized societies are experiencing an epidemic of unemployment. This is fueled by the development of technology and robotics. These technologies make conventional labor inefficient and obsolescent. How should robotic inventions be managed in the public interest and what should the role of science be in this regard? In [“Social Power, Social Responsibility and Science,”](#) Đurović grapples with several issues that touch on the question of responsibility in science and the need to clarify public expectations. He draws attention in particular to the important Uppsala Code of Ethics for Scientists. When the consequences of scientific innovation threaten real vested interests, scientists are often unprepared for the ferocity of the political fallout. For example, the Exxon Corporation spent multiple millions of dollars to deny climate change and to attack the scientists upon whose work climate change policy was being developed. Đurović is correct here that we need public expectations but we also need to cultivate and mobilize the public behind these expectations. Đurović also focuses on the issue of corporate social responsibility. This is another ferociously contested domain and without a doubt there is an important space here for some form of global accountability as well. Not a single corporation has been willing to adopt the UN Code of Ethics for multinationals. Đurović draws attention to several suggestions that might guide scientific responsibility. These are all useful

but the critical question still remains, how to mobilize appropriate constituencies globally to pressurize science into an awareness of the responsibility for the output of science on society. This is a really important paper and I hope that Đurović will follow this up with some extended analysis of the many different domains to which he draws attention.

“[The Memory of Suffering and the Pedagogy of Freedom](#)” by **Emil Constantinescu** is an essay replete with profound insights that are drawn from the personal experience of living under a totalitarian dictatorship, participation in the removal of totalitarian governance, the exhilaration of democracy, and the fear of what democratic freedom may mean for a new generation. The author is one of the leading intellectuals of Romania. He grew up with vivid memories of not only with dictatorship within the state but also the possibility of being abused by the Red Army of the USSR. He carries with him the memory of the death of 25 million soldiers and 73 million civilians lost in the tragedy of WWII. With this background having shaped his political perspective he has come to one powerful conclusion that the idea of freedom is not trivial. Indeed, it is a fundamental human right. He witnessed the emergence of a commitment to freedom in the people as they challenged the coercive might of the dictatorship. It is chilling to recall his own memory that when he crossed the European continent from the Far East to the West, he was able to see only a few states committed to democracy. States were overwhelmingly totalitarian. The fundamental issue that he raises is the vital importance of the democratic principle in establishing the principle of shared power. The problem that this represents is the problem posed by Benjamin Franklin when the United States became an independent democratic republic. Franklin is reported to have said, “We now have a democratic republic if we can keep it.” The importance of democracy as a power sharing tool is that it is also a foundation of peace and fairer form of the distribution of values. As we now examine the rise of intolerant nationalism in the West, the question posed by Constantinescu is how firmly grounded is the democratic principle in the perspective of the people. The challenge here, and it is a difficult one, is to reinforce a political sociological perspective of the democratic consciousness: The democratic man or woman. This is a profoundly good essay and is an important contribution to the idea of freedom.

Michael Marien has consistently done extremely useful work for the journal in providing us with outlines of the most recent books dealing with climate change. In his “[Book Review](#),” he provides us with a clear insight into *New Earth Politics: Essays from the Anthropocene*. This work complements the work of WAAS Fellow Paul Crutzen who coined the term Anthropocene. This book touches on some of the most important themes relating to the question of climate change and governance. There are many important ideas in this work and I draw attention to one of the most important. What is emerging is a center of gravity of new earth scholarship. This scholarship raises the question of whether scholars have any influence on governments. Falk, for example, does not see this as useful. He sees a greater possibility in reaching out to global civil society and holding out the promise of transformational post-Marxist mobilization initiated from the bottom and directed to a new earth synthesis. I suspect this is an important component of a new paradigm.

Winston P. Nagan

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Saving Humanity from Itself

Yehezkel Dror

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Abstract

Western Europe is condemned for relying on talk and cheap soft power, instead of acting effectively. It deliberately leaves itself unable to act against evil and does not even seriously try to prevent atrocities, as in the case of Syria. At a later stage, diagnosis is enlarged and the article identifies a surge in tribalism and populism in Europe and America alike. Given this situation, together with the leap in human power leading the species into an epoch of Anthroporegenesis, catastrophe is nearly certain. Saving humanity from itself requires transformative “taboo” emergency measures, such as moving towards quality democracy, developing a novel genre of political leaders, engaging in transvaluation, and assertive “soulcraft” advancing deep enlightenment of growing parts of humanity. These should be the priority concern of all who wish to mend the world, rather than the Millennium Goals, “prosperity” etc., which, however important, come second and third.

After plenty of UN “declarations” on the duty to prevent and protect and all events that have happened in Europe, the world stands aside from atrocities in Syria. This is a cardinal sin for which a Cosmic Court would condemn all of humanity, but first of all Western Europe, at least to many years in Purgatory.

With all its problems, including what is not more than minimal terrorism, Western Europe is a high-living society. But it lives on the edge of a deep moral abyss. Thus, nothing can excuse the screaming muteness of Western Europe in the face of happenings in Syria.

The moral culpability of Western Europe does not excuse the United States, China, Russia and other big powers. They are partners and accessories in tremendous crimes against humanity, by their action and non-action in Syria. But this does not relieve Western Europe from its special guilt.

It is Western Europe which procreated the period of Enlightenment and then the Holocaust. It is Western Europe which voices moral concerns loudly and preaches to others. But it is Western Europe which does nothing real when the bells ring in earnest. And it is Western Europe which condemned itself to impotence by relying on the fable of “soft power” in a world still dominated by “hard power.” Western Europe did so by an act of free will for which it is morally accountable. It has the resources to build up hard power for backing moral duties, but chose not to do so.

Now is the appropriate time for soul-searching on having a good time while Hell on Earth is burning with hot flames.

Since sending the Epistle, symptoms of human regression get even worse. Worldwide, leaders and populations relapse into tribalism. Heads of what were the most liberal European countries forget all talk on “multiculturalism,” forcing Moslem women to wear bikinis, as if these are morally superior to burkinis. “I want my country back” was the slogan of atavistic British voters who decided to leave the European Union, retreating into a past which has no future. And “America First,” without a word on humanity, was the totemic triumph slogan of a democratically elected leader of the prime global superpower.

“Equity, elimination of hunger, eradication of epidemics and other Millennium Goals are important. But “saving humanity from itself” comes first.”

The peaking powers supplied to the human species by science and technology lead humanity from Anthropocene into what I propose to call Anthroporegenesis—an epoch in which humanity recreates the world and itself. But the powers of genesis in the hands of immature tribal leaders and unenlightened publics cannot but result in catastrophe.

Equity, elimination of hunger, eradication of epidemics and other Millennium Goals are important. But “saving humanity from itself” comes first.

Those who feel called upon to help doing so, including select members of the World Academy of Art & Science, should boldly break through taboos and work on what is imperative: moving from populist to quality democracy, displacing most of tribalism by globalism, bringing to the fore a new genre of political leaders, radical transvaluation adding duties to human rights and devaluating state sovereignty in favor of decisive global governance, effective soulcraft deeply enlightening increasing parts of humanity, and accelerating evolution of humanity into a cooperative-collective deliberative-moral agency.

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Building up European Solidarity, a view from the East*

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Abstract

The cultural dimension or, multicultural models to be more precise, will represent the real foundation capable of ensuring Europe's leadership in facing future challenges. Actually, the success of the European Union in the political competition of the third century will largely depend on its ability to restructure and to extend by including cultures and experiences of Central and South-Eastern Europe. Multiculturalism can and must be lived as a sign of respect for diversity, as an acceptance of pluralism in traditions, as solidarity governed by permanent observation of national and European laws on human rights and individual freedom. Modernity, consecrating individual triumph, was too often understood as dissolution of organic ties within the community. Yet, considering the indisputable positive aspects of the modernization process, we will have to and we will know better than to ignore the natural desire of the human being to live and grow surrounded by people with common beliefs and values. We will be able to overcome the effects of a society increasingly based on excessive consumption and harsh competition in order to understand that we will not move into post-modernity with what we have, but with what we are. Ultimately, the real subject that should benefit from this multiculturalism is neither groups nor the minority, rather the individual, the citizen able to worthily articulate the identity of the community to which he belongs, with the national values and universal values that unite us all.

1. The Oldest European Experiment

When we talk about the history and traditions of Southeast Europe, what is to be stressed the most is the uniqueness of it as a site of the oldest European experiment from the continent's history. Since the beginning of the fifth millennium B.C., the Balkans region has created a special status through its autonomous start in the neolithic civilization, a status of cultural creativity, that never ceased to illustrate and to develop, eventually becoming the core of the European identity.

This concentric movement, reverberated from Southern Greece towards the North and farther through the Balkans towards the center of the continent, the innovations brought by this young civilization, as well as the commercial and cultural exchanges that began from North towards South in the fourth millennium B.C., have transformed the peninsula into a center of influence of a much broader area. The vast migration of Indo-European tribes, which eventually modified the entire ethno-linguistic map of the continent, did not alter the

* Paper based on the presentation delivered by the author at the "Sarajevo High-Level Meeting" arranged by the Nizami Ganjavi International Center (NGIC) at Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 22-23, 2016.

Balkan influence. On the contrary, this *two waves* movement gave birth to a specific cultural context and also formed the historical roots of Europe as a whole.

By this profound process of intercultural exchanges, a model of creativity and communication, Southeast Europe became the most important area of cultural innovations in the Mediterranean world. Here were invented tools and concepts, myths and principles, and also methods to circulate them as far as possible, within the ends of the continent for which she also invented a name: *Europa*. The core values of Greek civilization have formed the core of the European culture from the archaic era, until the Roman Empire managed to also build a political-state unity of broad inclusion.

“Are we capable of learning something from the lessons of the past?”

2. The Rift of the West- and East-European Civilizations can be mended

The experience of the vivid and creative solidarity of our common history must bear its fruits now, when we are offered the chance to redefine European space. The rupture between Western civilization and the civilization in the Eastern half of our continent can be solved through communication, and the Mediterranean and Balkan experience can contribute to this process.

Are we capable of learning something from the lessons of the past? If so, we should make use of the chance to gain advantage from the Southeastern European experience and all that is the best and more favorable about it, to establish the European identity of our continent.

The “citizen of the world” notion, *kosmopolites*, has two converging roots, that of the ancient Greco-Roman Stoic philosophy, and that of the universal religions, starting with the Christian one. This notion had a formative influence on the great European thinkers, as well as on the American Founding Fathers. In today’s multicultural and multinational world, many of our most pressing problems require a dialogue. Its basic precondition is that we should be able to recognize the worth of human life wherever it occurs, without denying our national, ethnic, religious and professional faiths.

Not only ancient democracies, but also modern ones, have been or are prone to hasty decisions, and to substituting a deeper judgment for invectives. That is why democracy needs citizens who can think for themselves rather than simply obeying authority. Scientific education produces sophisticated scientists and technicians, but only humanities, which may seem non-productive, can create people capable of keeping the democratic spirit alive. Citizens who cultivate their knowledge will consider themselves not only citizens of some local regions or communities, but also human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern.

3. Towards a Europe Free of Centers and Margins

A new approach of the European heritage tries to build a knowledge and defense system that would no longer take into account power hierarchies and traditional preferences. We not only discover the heritage of smaller countries, what we could call now, from a cultural point of view, a *second Europe*, but also great local cultural values, some even little known in their own countries, which can therefore be called a *third Europe*.

“The cultural dimension or, multicultural models to be more precise, will represent the real foundation capable of ensuring Europe’s leadership in facing future challenges.”

I firmly believe that the cultural dimension or, multicultural models to be more precise, will represent the real foundation capable of ensuring Europe’s leadership in facing future challenges. Actually, the success of the European Union in the political competition of the third century will largely depend on its ability to restructure and to extend by including cultures and experiences whose historical subject is the people of Central and South-East Europe. I am thinking both of the great cultural traditions in this region, Central-European or Slavo-Byzantine tradition, and of the recent experiences of resistance against totalitarianism, of the spiritual aspirations of the people forced to live in closed societies, alienated from the rest of the world and almost forgotten by the other world.

Modernity, consecrating individual triumph, was too often understood as a dissolution of organic ties within the community. Yet, I am convinced that taking the indisputable positive aspects of the modernization process, we will have to and we will know better than to ignore the natural desire of the human being to live and grow amidst the community to which he belongs. I also believe that we will be able to overcome the effects of a society increasingly based on excessive consumption and harsh competition in order to understand that we will not move into post-modernity with what we have, but with what we are.

4. Challenges of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism can represent a last shield against the drift of globalization to standardization and cultural assimilation. Especially through mass-media, audio-visual productions, and also through more insidious means, of electronic information networks, a system of inducing preferences and conducts was created and is currently developing, leading towards a standardization of behaviours to the most intimate level of private life.

Today, the world seems to be dominated by a mass culture of planetary dimensions that tends to strengthen the supremacy of audio-visual communication until it sees the elimination of the written word. And exactly this type of globalization is the reason that must determine a different type of engagement. Or, there is the risk that we will eventually believe that we must all speak the same language, wear the same clothes, say that the cultural heritage of mankind is no longer useful, that all that matters is action and money. And that, in no circumstances should we waste our time thinking or meditating. The tendency to ignore values, both traditional and modern, as well as promoting counter-models will form people of the same image, but with the risk of devaluating man himself.

The return to tradition, the continuous rediscovery of the profound essence of ancient peoples, as the European peoples, and, on the other hand, the recognition and affirmation of individual autonomy are essential points of our evolution to the future. As a matter of fact, the issue of this double condition is the key to success for multiculturalism. Europe’s realignment

to cultural traditions will thereby prove that the past can be successfully capitalized, that tradition and modernity can cooperate in a positive relationship.

5. Pluralism and Solidarity

The most remarkable evidence of the strengths of a politically well-managed multiculturalism is offered by the European construction process that sought to harness history's good lessons and to learn from Europe's drama and suffering from the Second World War, a drama that was largely caused by violent assertion of a superiority of race and ethnicity. Since then, Europeans have understood that they must offer to nations another unifying landmark and another dimension that would allow people to act as true citizens that have faith in single political religion, in human rights and democratic freedoms guaranteed by law.

"Multiculturalism can and must be lived as a sign of respect for diversity"

And yet, multiculturalism is not without dangers, dangers that actually fall in a similar logic, even if it is in contrary terms, with the one generating the deviations of globalization. The first and most serious danger is to be anchored solely in the life and values of a single community, apart from other communities and ignoring the role of the rule of law meant to ensure coherence and unity of society. From this self-isolation, arrogant and defiant, to brutal and aggressive assertion of autonomous rights of minority groups there is only one step. Extremely dangerous, including the risk of perpetuating conflicts from one generation to another.

Multiculturalism can and must be lived as a sign of respect for diversity, as an acceptance of pluralism in identity traditions, as solidarity governed by permanent observation of national and European laws on human rights and individual freedom.

I firmly believe that, ultimately, the real subject that should benefit from multiculturalism is neither groups nor the minority, but rather the individual, the citizen able to worthily articulate the identity of the community to which he belongs, with the national values and universal values that unite us all.

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The Deep Blue Sea: Challenges and Opportunities for Higher Education and the World

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Abstract

The problems which beset higher education today reflect change and uncertainty, inequities, demographic imbalances, generational, economic and ideological conflicts in a world where communication is at once immediate and unreliable. The solutions lie in the pursuit of cutting-edge science and new technologies, moving the frontiers of theory and solving social, economic and moral issues through curricular redesign that embraces the global and the interdisciplinary.

Universities must be recognized not simply as producers of qualified employees but as the creators of the world's leaders who will contribute new concepts and positive solutions to the many problems we face today and those graduates will encounter in the future.

When sailors hung from the mast to repair the devil, the longest seam of the boat, they might easily have fallen into the sea. They had to caulk the vessel which would otherwise sink, but they risked drowning while making the repair. Today, when we look at the problems facing education, we have the luxury of choice. Universities are, however, like large ships and turning them about is not an easy task. Change usually requires a special context which can either be a significant infusion of capital (a rare occurrence in my experience) or a paucity of resources (a periodic reality). At all times, change requires strong leadership and a commonly shared vision.

Higher education faces a number of problems today. Funding, or lack thereof, is a major concern but is not the fundamental issue. Indeed, it is an impetus for change. Universities require funding to operate. Costs increase and the willingness of the public to pay generally decreases. This is, however, only the symptom of the real issue. In fact, lack of funding can be a motivating factor driving the resolution of underlying issues. The basic problems are societal and international: the clash of generations, the widening gap between the rich and the poor, growing environmental concerns, the lack of balance between ethical and financial stability and short-term gains and long-term sustainability, the conflict between liberal and conservative cultures, the inability to ascertain facts and truths buried in masses of unorganized data, information and the nearly universal ability to broadcast large amounts of information or misinformation at an extraordinary speed.

Fluctuations in the birth rate around the world result in nations with massive youth unemployment or the inability of a small generation of youth to cover pension costs for

seniors. Generational goals and cultures differ as do priorities. This tension underlies the other issues and can only be resolved through education and dialogue. Solutions, like problems, will necessarily be international. Migration is currently viewed in some countries as a problem but it has been and continues to be, a means to resolve unemployment, poverty, unhealthy living conditions and clashes due to cultural misunderstandings. Tragic tales of boat people risking all for a better life abound, along with stories of successful immigrants enriching their adoptive countries.

"We ourselves become anachronisms as we sift through masses of data with the knowledge we earned in classrooms of the past, books of history and our own experience which is, in a world of rapid change, out-of-date as soon as lived."

The problem of (mis) information is not new. Take for example the "country," Poyais. In 1820, MacGregor, a Scottish adventurer, sold land, titles and licenses for exclusive rights in this non-existent country to his fellow citizens who gave him all their possessions and embarked on an adventure that turned out to be certain death on the coast of Central America where, unlike the "information" in the advertisements and self-interviews MacGregor published, the water was **not** pure; streams did **not** have chunks of gold and diamonds for the gathering; the absent native population did **not** speak English and adore the Scottish; and, most significantly, there was **no** settlement. Similar scams exist today and are not limited to major corporations or financial high rollers. The internet democratically offers anyone with a real or fake persona and an address, the opportunity to publish a scam. One individual can generate solo enormous quantities of opinions and (mis) information. The more frequently incorrect data or information is repeated, the more it takes on the air of truth. Only a well-trained mind will question the veracity of reports spread in social media and in printed documents. A person schooled in ethics will discern the moral issues behind the stories.

Montesquieu said that successful democracies depend on an educated population and a free flow of information. He little imagined that the free flow of information might be submerged by the flow of misinformation. Democracy fails and the tyranny of the propagandist prevails, setting the stage for social unrest and even violence. When Orson Welles' work was read on America's radios on the eve of Halloween, in 1938, it included false news reports that Martians had landed. Across the country, people panicked, hid in their basements, and armed themselves, taking the "news" very seriously indeed. Today it seems quite humorous. Yet even now hoaxes and jokes are played out on the internet. Every day some people believe false proposals sufficiently to offer their bank account numbers or to send money. The schemes are numerous and clever, albeit lacking the literary merit of Orson Welles (or his inspiration, H. G. Wells).

Those concerned with the environment call into question short-term gains when their effect on the future is negative. People need employment and want to enjoy the fruits of their labors. On the other hand, if the result is desertification and the depletion of non-

renewable resources, then a conscious and well-researched examination of the situation is required. Research would ideally lead to a compromise which would preserve employment while reducing negative effects on the environment. In addition, the general public must have access to research in a comprehensible format. When there are passionately articulated opposing views on a matter, each referring to various studies, the public needs to have the ability to interpret the data. Once more, the value of education is apparent.

Conflict among different philosophical tendencies affects every corner of the world. What occurs in the furthest reaches of the globe is universally accessible within hours. Not so long ago, people emigrated and never returned to their homes. Today people travel easily and rapidly. When we travel, we know what to expect as we have read or seen images of the destination. We see images of natural disasters and crimes as they take place. While the element of surprise has been reduced, the question of responsibility has expanded. How can we turn our backs on suffering elsewhere? How can we judge and condemn others when we have lost the security of a simple, black and white moral lens? The proliferation of details renders simple judgments complex. And we ourselves become anachronisms as we sift through masses of data with the knowledge we earned in classrooms of the past, books of history and our own experience which is, in a world of rapid change, out-of-date as soon as lived. We are, in a sense, the past living in the present veering inexorably toward the future. Just as one masters a difficult computer program, it will be replaced by another. Just as one begins to understand the reasons for civil wars and uprisings around the globe, they shift locus and focus. When we map out major cultural, linguistic and religious groupings, we discover that all are composed of a multitude of regional, generational or socio-economic subsets, dialects, sects. By the time we capture the variations, new groupings will evolve or spontaneously generate themselves in a kaleidoscopic array of ingenious patterns heretofore uncharted.

The twenty-first century generational divide is not solely based on the normal power struggle of youth and the less-young, or technological proclivities and training but on economic issues. Access to lucrative employment, the ability to dream and to hope that some of these dreams might actually be realized, the freedom to explore the globe which lies open before us in the pages of our daily newspaper, the liberty to develop self without overwhelming responsibilities are all unattainable for vast numbers of youth today. A student from a refugee camp reported that he was one of 4 people in a camp of 400,000 who was allowed to leave. His siblings have no way out and expect him to support them for the rest of their lives and his. If we cannot offer people a way to solve their problems, through education and hard work, they lose all hope and it is from such despair that acts of terror are born. When we limit access to education we limit access to hope. The number of brilliant deductions and imaginative solutions to problems the world has lost is tragic. It is as if we had the key to happiness but left it out to rust and then were amazed when it would not unlock the door! For centuries philosophers have written about universal education. For decades the United Nations and UNESCO have published literacy goals. Much progress has been made but much remains to be done. We have not satisfied basic human needs or achieved primary levels of education for the majority of the world's citizens. We despair of the task which is indeed formidable. In the meantime, higher levels of education are not universally possible even in the developed world. Much is said about the cost of higher education. Less is said about the cost of limiting education. Yet we know that societies with well-educated populations are rich not only in ideas but in extraordinary cultures and strong economic development.

Universities serve the world's population and do so in the face of major challenges. They must adopt an agenda which will support the students enrolled today, equip them to find their places in the world of work while making them good citizens who understand social issues, good governance, and who will make positive contributions to their communities. They must think globally, support thought and research which will develop new technologies and push forward the frontiers of theory. They must give the lessons of the past to the students, equip them for a changing present and contribute to the sustainability of higher education and the world through advanced research. They must do this with a relatively small budget, one which is ever stretched as the balance between access and quality, pure and applied research, and the creation of new fields of research which must exist along the traditional and extremely valuable core of knowledge all vie for funding.

“Big data should not be relegated to mathematicians and actuarial scientists. They must be joined by philosophers, experts in management, artists, scientists and policy experts.”

We must thus choose wisely how we invest our funds and our time. Universities are regionally located and structured in departments and institutes, centers and Faculties. At the same time, we want them to be globally oriented and to function across disciplines. Universities are funded with a view to support the existing, local economy. Yet we need new enterprises that employ innovative technologies to grow wealth. Above all, universities must be seen as problem solvers, as agents of the change that they will make with great difficulty themselves.

Interdisciplinary institutes can be created to respond to current social needs and to educate graduates capable of working in fields which may not even exist today. Resources and their management are a major issue: energy, fuels, food, water, land, natural resources like forests and population could all become the fields of international and interdisciplinary study. Take water for example: the history and politics of water as a means of life, livelihood, transportation, security, the biological and chemical science of water as a part of every organism, the physics of flow, the engineering of dams and dykes, national and international law and policy, the influence of water on population size and cultures, the role of water in religions, in legends, symbols, art, music and literature. Students could obtain a well-balanced, general education while developing a specialization that would enable them to work in a variety of fields, to pursue specialized studies and to make a significant contribution to society. Since all the issues named are global, the curriculum would necessarily be so as well. By bringing people from different cultural backgrounds together to look at an issue of this nature, we can be sure that new ideas will arise. The energy of the oceans' waves might be harnessed. Nanoscience of the oceans may permit the mining of minerals from the sea waters and life might be as possible under the seas as on other planets. If we can make the deserts flower, then we can manage to turn tides to advantage without nonetheless causing environmental havoc.

The issues of technology and human life and the question of big data analytics and application to the development of sound policy and good governance, offer further examples

of worthwhile academic pursuit. Once we map issues, sort and attach significance to information, and establish hierarchies of knowledge based on sound values and good judgement, we can make sense of the human condition and find a logical way out of the maze in which we currently find ourselves. It is ironic that the abilities we have acquired through technology and the possibilities we have created, by amassing information, cause anxiety, fear and inequity. Big data should not be relegated to mathematicians and actuarial scientists. They must be joined by philosophers, experts in management, artists, scientists and policy experts. If we do not figure out how to organize big data usefully and responsibly, it will simply submerge us in a mass of meaningless detail.

“To educate students to see what has not yet been seen and to seek to understand that which appears without reason, is our task today. We can only achieve this when we break down the silos and barriers to thought within disciplines and institutions.”

The incredibly massive and the infinitesimally small will be the fields of opportunity for science and philosophy. We will find solutions where we have not sought them before and we will learn to recognize opportunities which were staring us in the face. To educate students to see what has not yet been seen and to seek to understand that which appears without reason, is our task today. We can only achieve this when we break down the silos and barriers to thought within disciplines and institutions. We cannot succeed alone. The world must be our classroom and we the eternal scholars, learning from each other and our students.

If education and hope are the keys, perhaps the only ones we have, to making the future better, then we need to believe in their power. We must never stop believing in education and in educating ourselves. We must drink daily draughts from the springs of knowledge. By so doing, we will find meaning and hope for others and ourselves.

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Biopolicy—Creating Positive Momentum to Save Bios

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Abstract

Biopolicy is the core philosophy of the Biopolitics International Organisation (B.I.O.), and provides tools and guidelines for the promotion of dynamic relations between the environment, society and policy. Since 1985, it has been the vehicle through which B.I.O. informs and inspires people everywhere to take urgent and concerted action to save the environment and all life on our planet. Biopolicy imparts a message of hope and provides strategies for protecting the environment, saving resources, working together, understanding our interdependence. A deeper awareness of biopolicy may open the pathway for new leadership, which will avoid the mistakes of the past, decrease human arrogance and conceit, and lead to humility and to a joint, unifying vision for the future.

1. Inspiring Change in a Greedy Society

In an era of **over-consumerism**, the **insatiable exploitation of the Earth's resources** is having **devastating consequences** not just for the environment but for the very **continuation of bios—all life—on our planet**. Human **arrogance has led to excessive greed**. For **short-term profit**, we are willing to **destroy irreplaceable natural capital** and **accelerate global warming** beyond any capacity for mitigation. Resources are plundered every day to support gross overconsumption, while poverty, hunger and malnutrition are spreading. Status and power are seen as the **ultimate pursuit of gain**, turning the planet's remaining reserves into "product" and destroying fragile global balances representing **millions of years of evolution**.

This voracious consumption is the result of a serious **global crisis in values, in vision, in leadership**. Does humanity stand a chance of **overcoming this crisis and building a better future**? A **millennium** is only a **fraction of a second** in the history of the evolution of life on our planet. Can we believe that **human life** will still be possible **at the present rate of destruction**?

The evidence of global warming is clear and affects everyone. But we need to consider that **bios is the strongest link that unites all peoples** of the world and all living beings. **Climate change** mitigation policies **will succeed or fail** by the **everyday actions** of empowered and capable individuals, communities and countries.

Has it become our primary aim to **destroy life within a few seconds**, or is there still hope that things will change? We have been **wasting precious time and desperately need to mobilize all the inspirational forces** to help us acknowledge the value of bios, the **true profit and gain for humanity**. Preserving the **wealth and beauty of our natural**

resources, removing sources of pollution, **securing the health** of the Earth's population, providing **fair rules of trade**, and guaranteeing **educational opportunities** for every citizen in the world **can only be a win-win** scenario, encouraging hope and positive change.

Our **planet is just a speck of dust in the universe** and yet we keep dividing it into even smaller increments, **spreading enmity, greed and segregation** and leading to hatred on the basis of religion, ethnicity or social status. **Are we being blind?** We have been endowed with the gift of thought and reflection. Our **thoughts can be free** no matter how many crises seem to tie us down. But we need **concrete plans of action and new paradigms to move ahead and make a difference.**

"We need concrete plans of action and new paradigms to move ahead and make a difference."

2. Motivation to Save Bios

To successfully tackle the pivotal challenge of climate change mitigation, we need to **actively engage a whole range of sectors**, including business, science and technology, journalism, law, diplomacy and politics, and this requires concerted **action and an enlightened vision.**

We need to **inspire the very few who control more than 50% of the world's wealth** and power to actively and voluntarily contribute to the protection of bios on our planet. The greatest feat for them in the 21st century should be not to merely multiply their billions or trillions in financial investments, but to **invest in prompt and efficient action** to protect the oceans, clean contaminated water resources, guarantee safe and sufficient food for everyone, and **secure the co-existence and co-dependence of all peoples on our planet.** It might sound like a poor investment strategy, but it is the only way to look destruction in the eye and provide a solution with **staying power for hundreds of generations to come.**

The Parthenon temple in Athens was built **in the wake of a huge catastrophe**, the Persian wars. **A new Parthenon with global reach can be built by inspirational leaders** who acknowledge the urgency of deploying their financial and human resources to save bios. A beacon of light and hope for the survival of the planet, for now and for the future.

3. e-Learning: Education with Global Reach

It is time for **leaders in every sector to capitalize on the choices available for saving bios** and building a society of hope. **e-Learning courses on climate change mitigation**, combined with new information continuously provided by the media, can create amazing educational opportunities for **people of all ages and all walks of life.** An essential component of this scheme is the combination of all means presently available to make learning happen, including taking advantage of open and distance **education technologies, and promoting opportunities for climate action.**

The news **media and modern communications can spearhead this effort** by helping to address the specific needs of communities, groups and individuals. Communication needs to be seen as a **long-term interactive process**, focusing on the positive aspects of progress and on societal contributions that make a difference for the future. This motivation can

provide clear follow-up on actions and a strong sense of a collective responsibility, so that the urgency of **mitigating climate change becomes not only convincing and compelling, but also educational and inspiring.**

4. The “Bio-assessment” of Technological Progress

Information about the **possibilities of technology with specific examples** of how environmental problems have been tackled in different parts of the world can help **everyone to participate and contribute to a global campaign to save bios.** This information—collected and managed as a **Bank of Ideas** with contributions from every citizen on the planet—can also lead to many new professions and provide the needed **momentum for the development of new, dynamic and creative endeavors.**

The “**bio-assessment of technology,**” which the Biopolitics International Organisation (B.I.O.) has been proposing since 1985, can help society to benefit from **the positive aspects of progress.** Through constructive **dialogue,** with a **thesis, antithesis and synthesis of new values,** the bio-assessment of technology secures the life-supporting dimensions of technology that can mitigate climate change and ensure a brighter future.

Local Genetic Banks

With climate change, the **conservation of genetic diversity has become more critical** than ever before. Habitat loss, intensive agriculture and GMOs threaten animal and plant varieties and **place future biodiversity at great risk.** As the majority of the world’s poor rely directly on biodiversity for food production, lives and livelihoods are severely affected. **Local genetic banks that protect endemic biodiversity and heirloom varieties** are vital in the conservation of genetic diversity and can prove invaluable in the fight against hunger, poverty and disease.

5. Redefining Profit and Gain—Thinking Ethically about the Environment

Tackling the challenge of **climate-smart and sustainable growth** will require strong institutional capacity and radical shifts in investments and resource use. **GDP, which mainly measures market transactions, served as a reliable signpost of progress** for decades, but present social and environmental needs make it imperative to instate new primary policy goals and **new ways of evaluating profit** so as to build climate resilience and ensure development with a vision. A re-evaluation of the concept of profit is vital, in order to include parameters such as health, education, culture, international cooperation and guidelines for climate change mitigation, elements which constitute a **genuine “profit” and “gain” for society.**

Changing Business Education

For this effort to succeed, **business schools will have to start building climate-focused fundamental capabilities** and promote structural change. The over-consumerism mentality which has led humanity to a dead-end needs to be replaced by an educational perspective that prepares current and **future business leaders and professionals** to embrace climate change not as a mere question of responsibility but as pivotal to almost every aspect of a business operation. In this context, business schools need to embed climate-related courses into their curricula and **build lasting relationships with thought leaders and decision makers** for

effective climate change adaptation strategies. The goals of business school education should shift from a focus on conventional **business functions to a broader vision of skills and competencies**, including the integration of the social dimensions of climate change, as well as a complete **cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural approach**.

6. Mobilizing the Arts

If we **ignore the arts sector in our efforts to limit further damage to bios**, we **leave out a substantial percentage of human capital and creativity**, so crucial to the building of a new society of hope. It we wish to see the ballet of the unfolding of the DNA's double helix or listen to the beating motion of microscopic cilia, the time is ripe to recognize the beauty and wonders of the microcosmos, **the world of cells and molecules**. We can appreciate the cell as a perfect model for clean energy production, waste removal, and synthesis of complex proteins, which can make a difference between health and disease.

"The relentless focus on greed and negative paradigms must be replaced by a message of optimism and hope."

The **microcosmos is a source of joy for the informed biomedical scientist** working at the forefront of research, but the **artist can also be inspired by this amazing unseen world**. New designs in textiles and jewelry, new musical compositions, theatre, photography, poetry and literature, **every form of artistic expression** can draw new motivation from the intricate functions of the **billions of life processes taking place in a single cell in a 24-hour period**.

A trip to the most beautiful state

*I started off on a lengthy journey
and found myself in the cell's state
I was afraid lest I feel desperate
but instead I was startled with joy*

*What an incredible world is working
day and night with so many machines
in such harmony
that cannot even be found
in the most lavishly decorated churches*

*To pass through the gate
I had to go through a terrible control
guards, lipids, proteins, receptors
all of them check
whether you will pass the entrance*

*As soon as you enter
the State of the select
you will face thousands of machines
each one working separately
but in a magic way*

*all of them contribute to the effort
which coordinates this world*

*Even if the code is hidden
in the dark abyss of the nucleus
again wisely the secrets pass
to the cytoplasm by a mysterious trail*

*They carry a code
secretly copied in letters
reaching
the endoplasmic reticulum network
and follow the pathway to the home
dressed in red colours
and magically we call it ribosomes*

*Quickly the code's tangled words
are assembled in order
with secrets they untangle
they synthesise the proteins for life*

*Workers come and go the hormones
in the nucleus, the cytoplasm,
the golgi, and everywhere
as though they are asking
from all the other parts
to obey only them*

*But here there is harmony
and very deep mystery
nature decorated with a magic crown
knits happily a web
which knows billions of aims every minute
and to compose the cell's
most melodic tune*

– A. Vlavianos-Arvanitis

Roots, A collection of Poems, 1982

The **cooperation of *techne* and technology** in the appreciation of the microcosmos can position the **arts as a driver in climate change mitigation** and the race for a brighter future.

7. Interdependence and Biodiplomacy for an Era of Inspiration

We are surrounded by negative messages but **do we need to despair?** Knowing that we **possess the gift of bios should constantly fill us with joy.** The relentless focus on **greed and negative paradigms** must be replaced by a message of optimism and hope. The **problems** that have led to the **destruction of life** can be **converted to solutions.** This has to become the prevailing paradigm for the millennium, because it is only through a **positive, dynamic and lucid** approach that we can achieve **meaningful action to safeguard all life on our planet.**

Responding to the climate change challenge will also force us to consider **escaping from current patterns of consumption and production** that are exhausting natural resources, causing global warming, and transforming the social conditions of human life. However, the most **essential part of this urgent responsibility remains the parameter of time**. If we do not hear the **ticking clock**, then we are morally accountable for the damages and problems we delegate to future generations. Our **lack of vision has resulted in unprecedented disasters** and catastrophes, but maybe the common threat of climate change can provide the opportunity for joint action, allowing **biodiplomacy—international cooperation in environmental protection—to flourish**.

“Modern society desperately needs a common vision to secure a harmonious and peaceful future.”

Biodiplomacy mobilizes all nations to commit themselves to mitigating climate change and, through media and education channels, seeks to involve every individual on the planet in the fulfillment of this global campaign. **Biodiplomacy promotes interdependence and collaboration and focuses on the value of differentiation**. Differences in religion, culture, language and biodiversity are the wealth of humanity. Just as all the **parts of the human body need to function together in harmonious coordination** to maintain a healthy individual, modern society desperately needs a **common vision to secure a harmonious and peaceful future**.

Placing the appreciation of bios at the heart of decision-making can shape the next generations of world changing leaders by building a vision of hope. The goal is to **motivate every citizen to confirm the positive link between climate resilient development** and our survival on this planet. To be successful in this effort, we must **draw inspiration from the miracle of life**, as it is our ability to be inspired that will **turn the tides and make a difference**.

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In Search of Islands of Sanity:^{*} “To the Barricades”

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Abstract

The need for paradigm shifts in business, politics, and economics is discussed in many places in the world with little apparent impact on what actually happens. The article posits that the changes called for are fully a matter of the mental and moral qualities that distinguish a leader of character. The author observes that good ideas and new methods alone are not enough. Albert Einstein's formulation of E equals MC^2 is taken as a metaphor for revealing new insights and engaging with concepts that are beyond our intellectual grasp in the 21st century. In this regard, “human mutuality,” the speed with which people feel connected in an immediate and positive way, is taken as the equivalent of the speed of light in Einstein's equation. Just as enormous nuclear energy is released by accelerating the speed of light, we predict that enormous energy expansion in human affairs will come from deliberate efforts and projects to accelerate the speed of human mutuality. From this insight, pragmatic pathways are introduced to create character based, paradigm shifting leadership in business, government and community.

*The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.*

– Robert Frost

1. The Capacity to lead depends on Mental and Moral Qualities

“All prevailing forms of governance in democracies and non-democracies are increasingly ‘dead ends’..., radical [re]design of governance is required, otherwise increasing social costs, ever threatening failures, even to existence are unavoidable... At best, markets are well-suited for delivery service functions. They are not suited for being in charge of and shaping critical future choices.”

– Yehezkel Dror¹

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Avishay Braverman, former President of Ben Gurion University and former member of the Knesset in Israel for introducing him to the possibility of “Islands of Sanity”.

Tony Turnbull, his colleague and friend, who was of immense and important help in making this paper more simple and clear.

Kathy Smith who showed her ability to turn almost anything he created into a work of art.

[†] Charles E Smith, PhD, *The Merlin Factor: Leadership and Strategic Intent*, reprinted from *Business Strategy Review*, Oxford University Press, 1994 and in *The Library of Professional Coaching*.

The conclusion, stated unequivocally, is that good ideas and new methods will make no difference. ***"The changes called for are fully a matter of the mental and moral qualities that distinguish a leader of character."***

Consider that whatever the structure, whether government or corporate, fixing the system doesn't reliably help relationships that are broken down. What helps is *"a matter of the mental and moral qualities distinctive to a leader."*

2. From a friend at the recent women's march in Washington:

"Susan and I just got back from the Women's March in Washington. We were right in the middle of it all day and couldn't move. We had the sense that we were in a crowd that was way over the 200,000 expected and coming home found out that it was half a million women and men and kids and everybody! It's so great to get home and find out that it's been a global event.

It's one thing to be there in the middle of it. It's a whole other thing to get the overview of how huge and amazing it is! It's restoring my faith in just about everything, but mostly the possibility of values-driven relationships in business and society."

The long-term goal is an economic system based on Human Mutuality. Existing and historical economic systems have always ended up in oligarchy, injustice, inequity, excessive regulation, and the treatment of human beings primarily as consumers, producers, or objects to be used. Free market entrepreneurship is most desirable and legitimate inside a context of Mutuality.

3. What's the problem?

"Our modern educational systems fail to provide sufficient education about compassion. The time has come to transform this whole system. Society is formed through its educational system, but the educational system does not transmit the deeper human values of compassion and kindness. Then all of society lives with this false view that leads to a superficial life, in which we live like machines that don't need affection.

We become part of that. We become like machines. That is because today's society is based on money. A society that is based on money is aggressive, and those with power can bully and behave cruelly to others. This situation produces growing social unrest. A society that depends on money has problems that reflect its beliefs."

– The Dalai Lama*

After 50 years of Organization Development coaching, consulting and training of high level leaders in companies and government agencies, it is my opinion that the quality, mental and moral character of leadership is normally distributed, with 20% at the bottom, 20% at the top, and the rest somewhere in the middle. Sometimes, I think this comes from the fact that the professional and financial success of senior leaders comes from paying attention to

*Adapted from Noriyuki Ueda, [The Dalai Lama on What Matters Most: Conversations on Anger, Compassion, and Action](#) Reprinted with permission from Hampton Roads Publishing, 2013.

strategy, growth, structure, cost, quality, schedule, and profit. Attention to the humanity of human beings is subsumed within that primary role.

Some of the finest people and talents I have known are CEOs, Presidents, VPs and Managing Directors of corporations, and heads of government agencies. I am also aware that Oxford researcher and psychologist Dr. Kevin Dutton found that, “*CEO is the profession with the most psychopaths.*”² Early in my career, a wise consultant in a global consumer goods company told me, “*The only way to explain what really goes on here is that it’s all designed to keep the people in power.*”

At this point, I do not think so much about why things are the way they are, but focus on what it is going to take to have business and government operate successfully, consistent with the ways human beings really are.

“Just as $E=mc^2$ brought a revolutionary shift to physics, we need a shift of similar power with respect to economic systems that favor elites and few others.”

4. Einstein and $E=mc^2$ as a Metaphor

“We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them.”

– Albert Einstein

Fr. Richard Rohr* distinguishes “metaphor” as a way of revealing new insights and engaging with concepts that are beyond our intellectual grasp. He goes further in saying that many of the Christian “mysteries” such as the Trinity are designed as metaphors to encourage us to engage with them by exploring possible meanings and intentions, rather than attempting to work out the actual substance of the idea or even believe in something we don’t understand.

Einstein’s $E=mc^2$ (which mathematically defines the relationship between energy, mass and the speed of light), as such a metaphor, can give a perspective into how the rapid connectivity of masses of like-minded people towards a particular aspect of society or organization can release enormous energy for changing or even transforming the current state of affairs, or society’s relationship with a specific commonly accepted practice.

Just as $E=mc^2$ brought a revolutionary shift to physics, we need a shift of similar power with respect to economic systems that favor elites and few others. Some see $E=mc^2$ as, “a metaphor for creating *Islands of Sanity* in the way economics, individuals and leaders in business, government and community operate and manage conflict in today’s world.”

If Einstein’s $E=mc^2$ represents a sophisticated product of collective endeavor over time..., *why should its potential as a pattern of connectivity not be otherwise explored? If*

*See Fr. Richard Rohr, [Center for Action & Contemplation](#), [The Art of Letting Go](#).

$E=mc^2$ is to be considered a fundamental pattern of great generality, is there then not a case for exploring the extent to which it implies a pattern of even greater generality?" A new way of operating in economics and business could come about, with the same predictability and impact that follows Einstein's formula.

5. What If?

If, in an economic, business, or any relational system, energy expansion is to be considered a new bottom line, following the $E=mc^2$ metaphor, the available Energy in the system would equal Mass (the number of people involved), times "Human Mutuality" (the equivalent of the speed of light squared).

(In the moment of contact, this experience of mutuality happens instantly, much as Richard Bach said in Jonathan Livingston Seagull; "*Perfect Speed is Being There.*")

This is testable if you believe that policy is best set based on what is good for the system *and its people, as a whole*. It is also mortally threatening if you believe the system is *primarily* intended to serve those who control its most valued resources and structures (e.g. money, power, rewards, promotions, security, etc.).

Just as the "Manhattan Project" used Einstein's formula to invent the atomic bomb, we need to invent ways of accelerating Human Mutuality before transactional, hierarchical, oligarchic or bureaucratic forces suppress or eliminate the human species, environmentally, socially, spiritually, and economically.

6. Islands of Sanity: Acceleration of Human Mutuality

THE LONDON BLITZ. In 1940, Adolf Hitler ordered the German Air Force, the Luftwaffe, to bomb London and other British cities into submission. For fifty-seven nights, the city was bombarded; buildings were shattered, homes destroyed, men, women and children killed. Civilian morale: With the inspiration of Sir Winston Churchill, the people of London refused to crack, refused to give in. His June 4th, 1940 speech was a rallying cry and clarion call for heroic, noble action and a proud acknowledgement of what had been achieved in the aerial Battle of Britain. It also transformed the city and country from a defensive mode to one of commitment to a great future:

*"We shall go on to the end.
we shall fight in France,
we shall fight on the seas and oceans,
we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air;
we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be,
we shall fight on the beaches,
we shall fight on the landing grounds,
we shall fight in the fields and in the streets,
we shall fight in the hills.
We shall never surrender."*

This was Britain's finest hour.

* See Anthony Judge, [Union of International Associations](http://UnionofInternationalAssociations.com), [Kairos @ Laetus-in-Praesens.org](mailto:Kairos@Laetus-in-Praesens.org).

LANDING ON THE MOON. When Astronauts landed on the moon in 1969, peoples' spirits everywhere uplifted as if we were of one heart. In that moment, celebration, wonder and mutuality happened at once, across the planet. The accomplishment belonged to everyone. The "Cold War" context of competition in a "Space Race" between East and West briefly became a global project for Mankind and the Human Race as a whole, to pioneer into the Universe. Astronaut Neil Armstrong's quote, "*One small step for man, one giant leap for mankind,*" captured this beautifully—he didn't say "*America First.*"

"How can Conscious Leadership enable Human Mutuality and high performance without threat, personal, or hierarchical force?"

NELSON MANDELA. On February 11, 1990, South African President Frederik Willem de Klerk freed anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela, who had spent 27 years in prison. In one step of forgiveness towards those who had brutally oppressed blacks and coloreds, including himself and his wife, Mandela created, with an authority way stronger than the political change that had occurred, the conversion of a black and white South Africa to One Nation of Africans. The vocal support and attendance by Mandela and thousands of black Africans at the Rugby game between the African Rugby team (The Springboks—hitherto a bastion of Apartheid), and the New Zealand All Blacks was an amazing example of this transformation in action (brilliantly depicted in the movie "Invictus" directed by Clint Eastwood).

THE MARSHALL PLAN. In World War II, the allies devastated parts of Europe in intensive bombing raids and street to street fighting, with scant concern for human life. After the war, American General George Marshall proposed a compassionate and generous plan to help Germany and other nations rebuild their infrastructures and social systems. This shifted the relationships and contacts between the countries from unconditional surrender and killing to an atmosphere of caring and contribution. This counterintuitive act created mutuality that has lasted for decades, a miraculous change that was a gift of humanity embracing countless people in the act of giving.

7. Consciousness is the gateway to Human Mutuality & High Performance

Consciousness is the state of being awake and aware of one's surroundings. Each of these prominent, dramatic events caused an explosion of Human Mutuality by dramatically expanding consciousness, in individuals and across large groups of people.

Clearly, crisis can induce the experience of Human Mutuality, as can the wonder of collective accomplishment. How then to accelerate Human Mutuality without burning down the house, starting a war, telling lies or inducing crises one way or another?

30-year astronaut Story Musgrave, team leader of the amazingly successful Hubble Telescope repair, says that the extraordinary results produced by NASA teams is a product of integrating mission nobility and transcendence with systematic and exhaustive performance checklists.

The questions are,

"What is Conscious Leadership?" and,

"How can Conscious Leadership enable Human Mutuality and high performance without threat, personal, or hierarchical force?"

8. Ten Steps to Conscious Leadership

1. **Only Action Causes Results: "To the Barricades"**

Barricades are defensive barriers hastily constructed, as in a street, to stop an oncoming enemy. Imagine massive, continuing demonstrations for Human Mutuality, for the Divine Truth that people and life itself are more important than money.

2. **Declare that *Relationality*, the way people are connected, the way they are 'being' with themselves and each other, is both sacred and the best foundation of sustainable accomplishment.**

Relationality, relationship itself, is the non-linear Quantum Space that needs to become the essence of Evolutionary Activism. Nelson Mandela, when he became President of South Africa, insisted that racist enemies who had imprisoned him for 27 years be part of a collaborative dialogue. Anything less is simply moving deck chairs on the Titanic.

3. **Establish Measurable High-Performance and Transcendent Noble Purpose as dual leadership practices for work and governance.**

Many people with noble purpose seem too soft and flaky. Many with pragmatic and measured purpose seem crass and lacking nobility. Conscious Leadership accepts and integrates the paradox of noble and transcendent purpose with the highest performance standards.

4. **Practice Overview Consciousness**

Overview Consciousness appreciates that *the whole of a situation is greater than the sum of its parts*. Upon breaking free of Earth's gravity and going to space, some astronauts experienced a surprising change in their perspective of life on Earth, named *The Overview Effect*^{3,*} by author Frank White. Just as the astronauts achieved escape velocity and saw the Earth anew, it is possible for many here on Earth to break free of the gravity of circumstances that keep them from going for their dreams with courage and conviction.

5. **Be Aware of Relational Identity**

Relational Identity is the identity of "*Us*", the consciousness of "*Us*", and an element of Conscious Leadership more powerful than "*me and you*" or "*me or you*". When people feel certainty that, "*We are in this together,*" a positive future becomes more possible.

In 1941, Alfred Korzybski⁴ wrote of the necessity for us to change our language from the subject-object framework introduced about 350 BC by Aristotle, which enables and limits what we are able to think and do, even today. He proposes a new 'General Semantic' which is non-Aristotelian and is Relationship based. Korzybski's chart

* See OVERVIEW, a film by Planetary Collective on Vimeo, 2012.

(Appendix I) compares Aristotelian subject-object language with non-Aristotelian Relational language.

It is up to us to take his definitions and invent practical usage.

6. **The Merlin Factor/Present Future Singularity**

The Merlin Factor is the practice of imagining the future, locating one's mind in that future, and planning backwards to the present moment. It asks us to start thinking *from* the future and building bridges back from that. Consider that the Present and the Future are a Singularity; at any moment, there is only one thing going on—the 'Present-Future.' This proposes that the best predictor of a company's future, a team's future, a person's future, is how they are being, what they are doing, and what they are avoiding, right now.

7. **Maintain Energetic Awareness**

Energy Flows Where the Attention goes.

- Can you see that you or a group's energy level predicts success far more than good ideas?
- Do you pay attention to peoples' energy level or to the content subject at hand?
- Does referring to mental concepts rather than your sensory experience keep you stuck?
- Is there high/ low energy and vitality in the person or the group?
- When you look at your own energy, is your 'gas tank' full, almost full, or half-empty?
- What would raise energy in you or with others?

8. **Transmit Conversational Energy**

Organizations with the most connectivity will prevail. Conversational Energy creates connectivity; it is alive. Conversations that Matter⁵ get people's attention. More than dead words, they are magnetic. The vibrational aliveness is what connects people instantly. The vibrational aliveness connects me to a wondrous sunset or my son's enthusiasm.

Conversational Energy does not require words. It cannot come from a PowerPoint without the vitality of images, music and heartfelt speaking. Conversational Energy is nonlinear and not simply subjects, objects and verbs. Conversational Energy has intention and flow. It doesn't merely transmit information; it gives context, meaning, and mutuality.

9. **Practice Disvergence**

Disvergence is awareness of your freedom to move from 'pedal to the metal' *Convergence* (i.e. linear thinking, focused, on purpose, clear action), to *Disvergence* (Quantum Mind,⁶ paying attention to opposites, confusions, uncertainties).

Disvergence is knowing when you are stuck in 'flow' and non-linear possibility thinking, and that you may have gone too far and it's time to converge and focus, AND vice versa. The practice is to be able to move from linear thinking to quantum thinking at will.

10. Listen From the Heart

The practice is to speak and listen from your heart, and for others to listen. The result is almost always an evocative physical presence that provokes and enables an energetic transformation, first within each speaker and then somehow, within the listeners. The energetics of the relationships, and the relational identity of all, moves from “me to we.”

Vibrational energy literally shifts; willingness to cooperate expands, as does a sense of open possibility. The impact moves beyond the mental, to the level of ‘heart and gut’, as the sense/sensation within the room moves from the experience of “me as an individual” to the experience of “the potentials of *us*”, as a couple or a team, which holds an opportunity to bring forth what has never existed before.

“We must stand in the way of those who fail to meet our needs, and demand that they hold themselves to a higher standard. Only such perseverance will save the Earth and all the peoples on it from becoming a 21st century Titanic, a failed experiment in the glorious potential of humanity.”

9. Visible Action

Analysis, good ideas, explanations and the force of will are not enough to change a paradigm. Endless strategizing and theorizing do not lead to action that makes a desired difference. General Ulysses S. Grant said that, “Great strategy always follows action.”

What action can come from “Island of Sanity” thinking? What is now called for is activism, experiments, and Conscious Leadership for implementing paradigm-changing ideas, such as offered in this paper and by many others around the world. Anything less is like moving deck chairs on the Titanic.

Economics was originally defined in both Chinese and Korean as, “to take care of the world and save people.” Small and large groups of activists, disciples, and peaceful warriors devoted to this ideal can drive paradigm shifts and move companies, institutions and even governments substantially toward action based on energy expansion, and in service of the people and communities they impact.

In the past thirty years, the *Star Wars* movie series has helped create a cognitive shift in masses of people, without regard to background philosophies, ideologies, religions or cultures—a shift which appreciates a universal energy field reaching through all sentient life—*The Force*, that infuses and empowers those standing for justice and the good of all peoples, full of noble purpose, shared values and accomplishment. It decries the *Dark Side* of that energy field, which fights for domination, power, control, self-interest and greed.

This cognitive shift leaves us today with awareness of dissonance in everyday life, a dissonance that has people often feeling devalued and insignificant in deference to system

interests, economic interests and political interests not grounded in commitments to their well-being and the wellness of the surrounding world.

This awareness does not allow simply for complaint. It is proving to be a stimulus for broad discord, public dissent and political change..., from all sides of the energetic field. Those of us who aspire to be *With the Force* must find the courage and determination to bring espoused values to life in real world action that demonstrate their effectiveness, quality, benefit and mutuality for people of good will and the world in which we live.

Now is the time to create and require businesses, organizations, institutions and governments to represent these noble purposes and our highest values without compromise. We must stand in the way of those who fail to meet our needs, and demand that they hold themselves to a higher standard. Only such perseverance will save the Earth and all the peoples on it from becoming a 21st century Titanic, a failed experiment in the glorious potential of humanity.

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Notes

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Appendix I

Old Aristotelian Orientations (circa 350 B.C.)	New General Semantic Non-Aristotelian Orientations (1941 A.C.)
Subject-predicate methods	Relational methods
Symmetrical relations, inadequate for proper evaluation	Asymmetrical relations, indispensable for proper evaluation
'Properties' of 'substance', 'attributes', 'qualities' of 'matter', etc.	Relative invariance of function, dynamic structure, etc.
Two-valued, 'either-or', inflexible, dogmatic orientations	Infinite-valued flexibility, degree orientations
By definition 'absolute sameness in 'all' respects, ('identity')	Empirical non-identity, a natural law as universal as gravitation
By definition 'absolute time'	Empirical space-time
Additive ('and'), linear	Functional, non- linear new factors
Eventual 'organism-as-a-whole', disregarding environmental factors	Organism-as-a-whole-in-environments, introducing new unavoidable factors
Two-valued causality, and so the 'final causation' hypothesis	Infinite-valued causality, where consequent 'final causation' is not needed
Avoiding empirical paradoxes	Facing empirical paradoxes

Green Economy and Sustainable Development: The Latin American Scenario

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Abstract

This paper assesses the performance of Latin America (LA) toward its goal of a green and sustainable economy in 2006-2009 and 2010-2013. In a descriptive and quantitative framework, the analysis involves an improvement over Kaldor's (1971) fundamental ideas towards environmental and sustainable development. We deal with a Green Economy Index where three variables are considered: the first representing the economics aspect; the second, the social aspect; the last, the environmental performance. Data has been collected from the World Bank database. Results reveal a tenuous advance of the Green Economy in LA from 2006-2009 taking into account the growth rate of GDP per capita for the majority of the countries, as well as a small positive variation in the Gini Index due to distributive socioeconomic policies in some nations during the mentioned period. However, in 2010-2013, an adverse movement (deterioration) took place due to the difficulties faced by most people in the region, with low investment in renewable energies and energy efficiency.

There is a global consensus on the need to preserve the environment, improve the management of environmental resources and eliminate unreasonable or irresponsible exploitation of natural resources, as well as other anthropogenic activities that must be carried out to have a safe environment to preserve the quality of life. In the quest for sustainability, there was a meeting in 1992, in Rio de Janeiro (ECO-92) with the participation of 179 heads of States. Their task was the elaboration of a document called Agenda 21, in order to establish global policies towards sustainability (DA SILVA *et al.*, 2005). A number of other meetings, worldwide, have been concerned with targets and mechanisms to improve measures on the environment, including the meeting in Washington D.C. in September 2016. It is our view that despite some progress, no doubt, obstructions and failures to alleviate the scenario still persist in startling fashion, which is such a worthy fight. We acknowledge that it may well be hard to accomplish much else without a historical analysis by including a quantitative approach (indices) to understand the obstacles to attain promising results.

In terms of sustainability, till recently, each generation had the view that they should have a fair opportunity to achieve a better environmental and socioeconomic benefit than the previous generation. The word sustainable may mean different things, but, conventionally, it means to achieve different goals simultaneously, (democracy, justice, development and social inclusion) taking also into account environmental and economic concerns. For this

achievement, it is necessary that there are criteria and indicators, which could guide the proper use of natural resources in a sustainable way. The search for equity in the use of environmental resources, naturally, would increase brotherly solidarity; that is, a unity of interest or purpose among people launching programs, guides and line of thoughts and actions beneficial to society in a lucid and in the least partisan way. These are difficulties but desirable aims, explicitly relevant to socioeconomic, technological and political power today.

In order to sustain the idea of an economy that is more adjusted with the ecosystem, the idea of a green economy has recently emerged and has been defined by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP, 2011, p. 2) as “that which results in the improvement of human well-being and social equality, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological food shortages.”

Bezerra *et al.* (2014, p. 1) argue that the “Green Economy (GE) is an emerging issue in the context of scientific and political discussions, with the main challenge to make economic activities in sustainable activities.” This is somewhat a recent concept, which considers the low carbon emissions, efficiency in resource use and democratic inclusion. Such a theme is increasingly common in multilateral organizations, roundtables of entrepreneurs and broad discussions in society. Three dimensions are essential in achieving a green economy; the first and the best known is the transition from large-scale use of fossil fuels into renewable energy. It is necessary to mitigate this dependency of the world economy in relation to fossil energy sources. The second is the use of the products and services offered by biodiversity, which so far have little evolved. And the third deals with the process by which the supply of goods and services is based on techniques able to reduce emissions of polluting gases, reuse waste and reduce the use of materials and energy in production processes (ABRAMOVAY, 2012).

The green economy for sustainable development provides a vision that integrates social inclusion, economic development and environmental sustainability. Jacobi (2003, p. 194) illustrates sustainable development as a multiple model for society in the following way: “Sustainable development does not refer specifically to a limited problem of ecological adaptation as a social process, but a strategy or a multiple model for society, which should take into account both the economic viability as well the ecological”. According to Jacobs and Nagan (2014), its realization also requires a unification in social sciences and the search for a transdisciplinary science of society. At this point, we may add a view that we consider fundamental. According to Bertolt Brecht (2008, p. 27), “The aim of science is not to open the door to infinite wisdom, but to set a limit to infinite error.”

In Latin America, the challenges to moving towards a green economy and sustainable development are diverse and go beyond the implementation of scientific capabilities integrating environmental conservation, economic development, cultural change, job training and long-term planning. The questions and solutions seem to become increasingly complex. Such comprehension of the complexity involved helps to shed light into alternative perceptions. However, such a view may become more promising if we can substitute greed and self-interest with an enlightened and purposeful behavior.

Latin America’s exports are primarily natural resources or pollution-intensive goods; this is a structural problem because consumers in developed countries are increasingly aware of the environmental footprints of the products they buy, and the position of LA countries can

be seen as delicate if this awareness affects trade restrictions against products harmful to the environment (YOUNG, 2011).

In this perspective, there are many questions concerning the measurement of environmental deterioration, as well as the reduction of environmental hazards. This article analyses the performance of Latin America in its quest towards a green and sustainable economy. To achieve this goal we have used the indicator *Green Economy Index*, an analytical instrument expanded from ideas of Kaldor (1971), which synthesizes a dynamic study in which different socioeconomic variables are analyzed simultaneously (TEIXEIRA, et al., 2014).

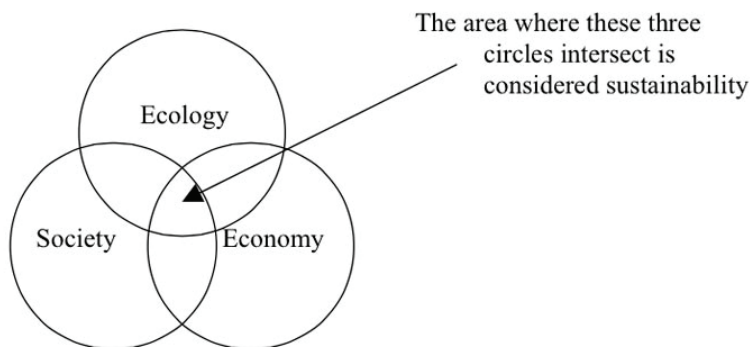
In order to align the essential elements to carry on this research, three variables are used, the Gini Index representing the social aspect, the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita as the economic representative and the energy consumption of fossil fuels taking into consideration the environmental dimension. The connected geometric figure forms a triangle, which is called the “Magic Triangle”. In order to establish significant analytical results we have taken into account the database provided by the World Bank taking the years 2006-2009 and 2010-2013 into consideration.

After this introduction, the present work has the methodological path divided into six sections: the first deals with the key issues and innovations associated with Green Economics; the second section presents methods and materials for the tabulation and the application of the Green Economy Index. The third one includes the variables involved in the analytical approach; the fourth presents the application of the model taking into account data of Latin America; the fifth contains the concluding remarks.

1. Green Economy: Key Issues and Innovations

The green economy is guided by a cleaner economy and is based on rational use of environmental resources, promotes development of technology that is less harmful to the environment, with a lower carbon footprint, greater social inclusion, using an approach known as the *triple bottom line*, which is considered the tripod of sustainable development. It covers the social, environmental and economic dimensions as pointed out in IDB (2012). Figure 1 demonstrates the triple bottom line and its dimensions.

Figure 1- Triple Bottom Line



Source: <http://www.csrambassadors.com>

The above scheme is called the green economy, meaning the pursuit of economic growth that produces wealth, generates new jobs (the so-called green jobs) and promotes sustainable development in its three pillars: economic viability, accountability and social justice. Clearing the environment as a limiter to economic growth and viewing it as a vector of sustainable development are fundamental components of such a view (OLIVEIRA & SAMPAIO, 2011).

The Center for Strategic Studies and Management in Science, Technology and Innovation (CGEE) is a social organization supervised by the Brazilian Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation. It indicates that the green economy can create a new space to deploy another form of use of the territory and of natural and human heritage. It also has the potential to induce sustainable development. However, the major challenge in the planning of a green economy will be with respect to the adjustments to be carried out in the economic apparatus used (or currently in development) for environmental, economic, social and sector policies (CGEE, 2012).

“It is necessary to insert a consciousness of collective responsibility, so that everyone can achieve levels of well-being and social life compatible with sustainability.”

The policies and measures of a green economy can offer great opportunities in order to improve the integration between environmental sustainability and economic development in all countries, regardless of the structure of their economy and their level of development. However, in the case of the developing countries, which have been facing major challenges to eradicate poverty and sustain growth, the transition to the green economy will require structural adjustments that may involve additional costs for their economies. In this sense, it is necessary to support the international community, in accordance with the specific realities of economic, social and environmental development as well as policies and priorities (UN, 2012).

“What is expected of the State in a green economy is that it fulfills a role in inducing cooperation practices with sustainable development and that discourages unwanted practices” (OLIVEIRA & SAMPAIO, 2011, p. 147). In the face of global competition that has given importance to in recent decades the process of generation and appropriation of wealth, it is necessary to insert a consciousness of collective responsibility, so that everyone can achieve levels of well-being and social life compatible with sustainability. In this sense, we should have new objectives and indicators for measuring progress and development.

2. Methods and Methodologies

Studies of the non-governmental organization World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) show that since 1980 the world population's demand for natural resources has been becoming greater than the capacity of the planet to renew them. Latest data show that we are using about 25% more than the natural resources we have available. In other words, we need a new planet or other ways to sustain our current lifestyle. This is a form of irrational exploitation of natural resources, generating the depletion of natural capital faster than its capacity for renewal. This situation is untenable, because, soon we will face a deep social and environmental crisis and a dispute over resources (BORBA, 2007). Three of the most important recent books on global sustainability and leadership have been reviewed by Marien (2015) which is a major contribution on the theme.

The methodology used in this study is based on the ideas of Kaldor (1971), which deal with the circular theory of cumulative causation, where he suggests four concurrent essential variables (rate of growth of the economy, unemployment rate, inflation and balance of payments), which have interlocking relations and are pursued at the same time, to evaluate macroeconomic performance. Several economists improved over the original Kaldorian approach in a number of ways. Karl Schiller, Finance Minister of West Germany between 1971 and 1972, formulated the first diagrammatical representation termed as “magic square”, which demonstrated Kaldor’s ideas geometrically. However, this approach still presented some difficulties concerning the representation of the diagram. Medrano-B and Teixeira (2012) did the required normalization of the variables to measure the impacts of economic policies. In this vein, they reviewed the analytical construction and incorporated an algebraic analysis to quantify it geometrically.

Saavedra-Rivano & Teixeira (2016) noted that there was still a problem concerning the ordering of variables in the “Magic Square”. They showed that by alternating the order of the four variables, in general, different results were generated for the given index. They then created the “Magic Hypercube” and solved the problem of the ranking of variables. In geometry, a hypercube is an n -dimensional analogue of a square ($n=2$) and a cube ($n=3$). It is a closed, compact, convex figure whose 1-skeleton consists of groups of opposite parallel line segments aligned in each space dimension, perpendicular to each other and of the same length.

In the present study, we have chosen to use the indicator Green Economy Index proposed by Vilasboas & Teixeira (2016), an analytical tool with just three variables. This geometrical figure, which we call the Magic Triangle, has no problems with ordering. It provides a unique value for the indicator regardless of the geometrical arrangement (or sequence) of the variables in the triangle.

3. Variables

This research, which uses study variables of the Gini Index representing the social aspect, measures the degree of inequality that exists between the distribution of per capita income of individuals in the face of an equal distribution. The value zero (0) represents absolute equality, while the value one (1) indicates absolute inequality (UNDP, 2014).

The variable chosen to demonstrate the economic approach is the Growth of GDP per capita which measures the Gross Domestic Product of a region divided by its total population in a given period, that is the income per capita (UNDP, 2014). In order to measure the degree of development and quality of life offered to the population, it is necessary to examine another variable which takes into account the environmental dimension associated with the fossil fuel Energy Consumption indicator.

On the threshold of the third millennium, the globalized world formally acknowledges the relationship between fossil fuel energy consumption and the serious environmental problems that have been popping up over the years, the broad environmental degradation arising from consumption patterns of dysfunctional energies, since large volumes of biomass used for energy demand are not renewed. This inclusion of the renewable energy must be a priority, as it is the key to sustainable development (GRIMONI, et al., 2004).

4. Application of the Green Economy Index for Latin America

This section includes information gathered from The World Bank, one of the major databases in the world, from 2006 to 2013. After the collection and tabulation of the data, we calculate a simple arithmetic average separated into two periods to perform comparative analysis, getting the first block from 2006 to 2009 and the second from 2010 to 2013. The growth rate of GDP per capita (Υ) was considered based on the annual percentage. For the Gini Index (ζ) it is the coefficient of variation between 0/measure (absolute equality) and 1 (perfect inequality). In the case of variable consumption of fossil fuel energy (ϕ), we have assessed the total percentage consumed each year. Table 1 shows the data.

Table 1: Rate of change in Latin America during the period from 2006 to 2013

Latin America (%)		
Variables	2006-09	2010-13
Υ -GDP per capita	0.029	0.034
ϕ -energy consumption of fossil fuels	0.654	0.651
ζ -Gini Index	0.377	0.341

Source: World Bank (WB)

Before we go further, the implementation of the Green Economy Index is necessary to normalize the data and so we must put them in the same range of values, and for that we must establish limits of variation between individual measures.* The pre-established limits were between -1 and 1, as you can see in the expression (1). In order to simplify them, it was defined that the index would vary between 0 and 1, so a numeric constant can normalize the unit of area, as seen in expression (2) (VILASBOAS & TEIXEIRA, 2016).

$$-1 \leq \gamma \leq 1; \quad -1 \leq \tau \leq 1; \quad -1 \leq \phi \leq 1 \quad (1)$$

$$0 \leq \gamma' \leq \beta; \quad 0 \leq \tau' \leq \beta; \quad 0 \leq \phi' \leq \beta \quad (2)$$

With the data already normalized, we have all the variables expressed in the same unit. And we can calculate the area of the picture according to the magic triangle (equilateral), proposed by Veitch & Teixeira (2016), which has 0.877, the ideal area value, as shown in Table 2 of standard variables.

Table 2: Standard Variables–Latin America–2006 to 2013

Latin America (%)			
Variables	2006-09	2010-13	Ideal
Υ' - GDP per capita	0.452	0.453	0.877
ϕ' - Energy consumption of fossil fuels	0.726	0.724	0.877
ζ' - Gini Index	0.273	0.289	0.877

Source: World Bank (WB)

* The standardization process was based on linear transformation proposed by Medrano-B and Teixeira (2013). Thus, it is possible to describe the performance of each variable through a straight line function.

With normalized data and the optimal value of the magic triangle, we can then apply the Green Economy Index of Latin America. Table 3 presents the results obtained.

Table 3: Green Economy Index–Latin America–2006 to 2013

Period	Green Economy Index	Ideal
2006-2009	0,365	1
2010-2013	0,376	1

Source: World Bank (WB)

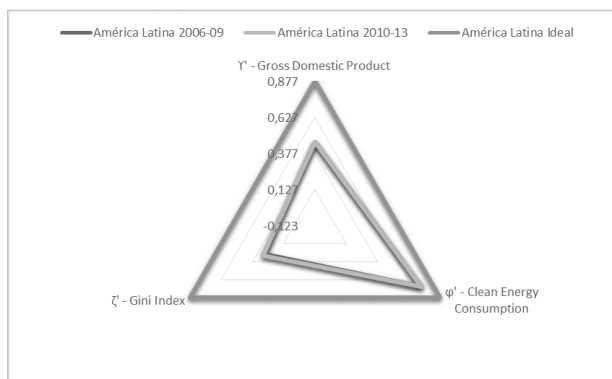
From the data shown in Table 3, it is observed that Latin America had a better performance in the period 2010-2013 ($A'=0.376$), where a% rise of 0.748% was seen, compared to the 2006-2009 period ($A'=0.365$).

To achieve the percentage of geometric variation related to periods examined it is necessary to apply the geometric mean, because the fact that it may not be cumulative and may normalize the outreaches allows us to get a more significant average on a scale from 0 to 100, in order to compare the two periods examined, which are two blocks of four years. The percentage (geometric) variation for the total period is given by the expression (3):

$$100 \sqrt[4]{\frac{0.365}{0.376}} - 1 \quad (3)$$

Figure 3 shows the results obtained from the calculations of the Magic Triangle. The greater area of the triangle corresponds to the ideal index, which was calculated using the formula area of an equilateral triangle. The two smaller areas are overlapping one another and making the display almost imperceptible; they refer respectively to the two study periods 2006-2009 and 2010-2013.

Figure 3: Magic Triangle-Latin America-2006 to 2013

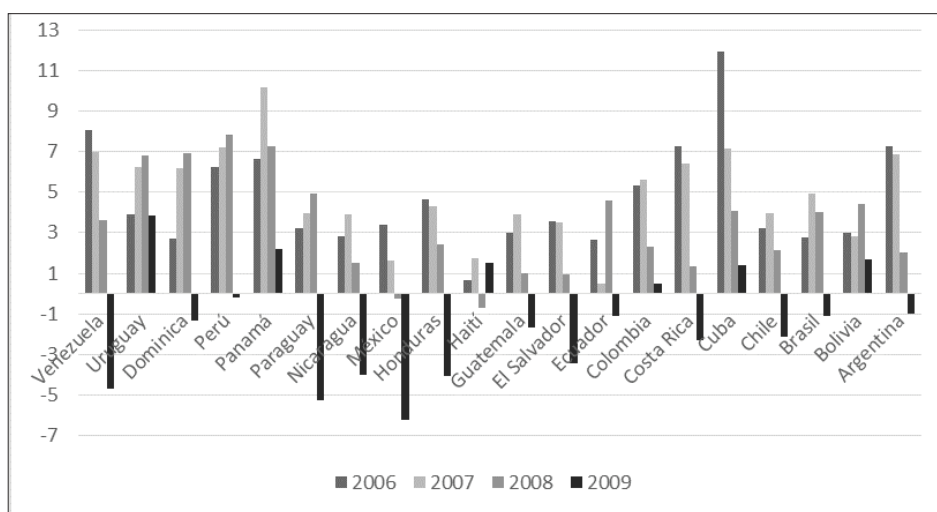


Source: World Bank (WB)

By analyzing this geometric variation of Table 3 in conjunction with Figure 3, we visualize that the second block of years produced a smaller area in comparison with the first set of years. An explanation for such a difference is that the factor that most contributed to this decline in the performance of the indicator in LA has to do, to a certain extent, to the economic crisis started in 2008 that affected Latin America, leading to the flight of hard currency, falling exports and external credit, bringing fear to national private banks, which also cut off credit and raised the interest rates charged.

As a result, the internal market retreated, causing low production and rising unemployment (SINGER, 2009). The World Bank's data corroborates with this idea, which demonstrates that in chart 1, in 2009, among the 20 countries studied, only six did not have per capita GDP growth below zero. They are Bolivia, Cuba, Colombia, Haiti, Panama and Uruguay.

Graph 1: Per Capita GDP of Latin America 2006-2009



Source: World Bank (WB)

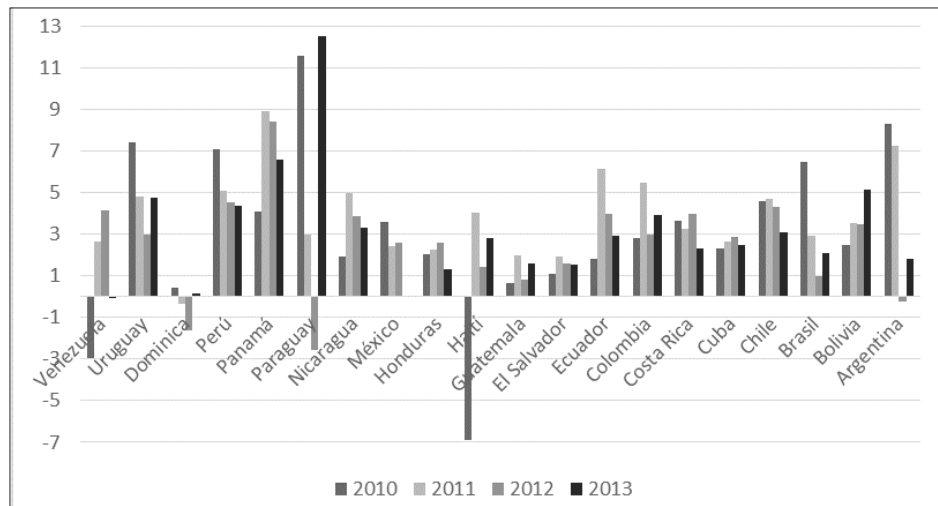
This scenario began to change in 2010, where it can be observed in Graph 2 that only Haiti and Venezuela had per capita GDP growth below zero, and gradually got better from the year 2013.

The distribution of income, represented in this research by the Gini Index, has a small modification in the 2006-09 period, as this was the social policy of income distribution deployed by the countries of Latin America, especially Brazil with the "Family Bourse" and Mexico with the "Family Thrives" programmes.

In the globalized world, economic crisis is further strengthened by the problem of environmental degradation, bringing the risk of an ecological collapse and the advancement of inequality and poverty. In this scenario, the responsibility to alleviate the dangers of environmental unsustainability and bring about green economics and the need for urgent transformation of attitude on the part of the people, Governments and organizations have

not risen to the challenge. This also did occur in many other regions besides Latin America. It became more difficult to stimulate a global movement in order to build an environmental rationality for the development of sustainability and green economy (SCHORR, *et al.*, 2015), in spite of the effort and relative success of a number of organizations worldwide.

Graph 2: Per Capita GDP of Latin America 2010-2013



Source: World Bank (WB)

This movement towards the idea of greening of energy, making it renewable, which requires the replacement of investments in carbon-intensive energy sources for clean energy applications, as well as efficiency enhancements, must gather momentum. From 2002 until mid-2009, even in the midst of a recession, investment in clean energy sources grew up around 33%. It was hoped that in 2010, applications would reach record levels, but it did not happen (UNEP, 2011).

5. Concluding Remarks

This study was set out to demonstrate the performance of Latin America in its quest towards a Green and Sustainable Economy, using documentary research, as well as empirical data through the analysis of information collected from the World Bank database. The application of the efficiency indicator *Green Economy Index* was indispensable for research. It provided the measures for each block of years from the interconnection of the economic, social and environmental variables, enabling a complete analysis of the greening of Latin America in the period studied.

The article concludes that the advancement of a green economy in Latin America in the period from 2006 to 2013 was very shy. This performance resulted in a geometric variation equal to 0.748% for the total period. The main reason may well be that the globalized world was at that moment going through the International Crisis that started in 2007/2008, which affected the global economy, reaching Latin America, and brought about the recession,

thereby resulting in a decline in export, retraction of the internal market, causing a drop in production and raising unemployment.

However, the distribution of income, represented in this research by the Gini Index, had a small variation from the first to the second period studied. This can be explained, to a large extent, by the social policy of income distribution deployed by some of the countries of Latin America. Some examples are Brazil with extensions of the “Family Bourse” and Mexico with the “Family Thrives” programmes.

We realize that the results obtained with the use of environmental policy instruments, such as the reduction of dependence on fossil fuels as the main source of energy and promotion of the development of technological innovations in clean energy generation, brought satisfactory results for the period 2006 to 2009, 2010 and 2013, however this evolution didn’t last long. The reduction occurred because of the low investment in renewable energies and in energy efficiency.

It should also be emphasized on the importance of the proposition that there is a need to promote new ideas and actions that reinforce a common sustainable future science, and a change in fiscal policy, reform and reduction of subsidies that encourage the use of fossil fuels, as well as investment in clean energies. These are some measures, which provide the trust between Government, industry and society, building a healthy environment with respect to natural resources.

This work makes room for further quantitative research to explore the importance of the green economy for sustainable development. No doubt, there is a lack of studies related to this important methodology, which makes it an instrument of environmental public policy in promoting improvements in the well-being of society, increase in social equality and reducing environmental risks. In general, LA’s experience is not a proper model for countries trying to get a foot on green economics and sustainable development. Actually, we have a few good examples for those trying to climb up such a ladder. In this vein, it is necessary to stress the need for more complex models, extending the analysis of natural resources, as well as to make explicit a more detailed analysis of the typical institutions of more advanced societies. Actually, the methodological discussion must go deep indeed and perhaps even require much of socioeconomic theory and political power to be rewritten.

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The General Assembly adopts the Declaration on the Right to Peace: An opportunity to strengthen the linkage between Peace, Human Rights and Development in the New Millennium

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Abstract

War and peace perpetually alternate. Peace is always seen as an endless project, even a dream, to be realised in brotherhood by everyone all over the earth. Present generations should ensure that both they and future generations learn to live together in peace with the highest aspiration of sparing future generations the scourge of war. The UN Charter is the most solemn pact of peace in history, which lays down the necessary basic principles for enduring peace. Recently, in the context of the joint effort in recognition of the importance of practicing tolerance, dialogue, cooperation and solidarity among all human beings, peoples and nations, the General Assembly made victims strongly condemn war and to openly reiterate their inalienable right to enjoy peace so that all human rights are promoted and protected and development is fully realized.

1. Introduction

On 19 December 2016, the plenary of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in New York ratified the Declaration on the Right to Peace by a majority of its Member States,* as previously adopted by the Third Committee of UNGA on 18 November 2016†

* For 131: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbados, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cabo Verde, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kiribati, Kyrgyzstan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nauru, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Africa, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad-Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yemen, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Against 34: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, Montenegro, Netherlands, New Zealand, Republic of Korea, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Kingdom and United States of America.

Abstentions 19: Albania, Andorra, Armenia, Cyprus, Fiji, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Norway, Palau, Republic of Moldova, Poland, Portugal, San Marino, Serbia, South Sudan, Switzerland and Turkey

† A/C.3/71/L.29, 18 November 2016. The resolution was presented by the following States: Algeria, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Eritrea, Namibia, Nicaragua, the Syrian Arab Republic, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) and Vietnam. Subsequently, Belarus, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, China, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Myanmar, South Africa, Togo and Zimbabwe joined in sponsoring the draft resolution. At the same meeting, Benin, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ghana, Indonesia, Nigeria, Paraguay, Senegal, the Sudan and Uganda joined in sponsoring the draft resolution, as orally revised.

and the Human Rights Council (HRC) on 1 July 2016* in Geneva.

In the adoption of the Declaration on the Right to Peace by the UNGA Third Committee, the mobilization and strong voice of some civil society organizations was properly heard in its 71st session, when they openly called on Member States to take a step forward by adopting a declaration that can be meaningful for generations to come.

The resolution A/C.3/71/L.29 of the UNGA Third Committee, in which the Declaration was annexed, includes in its operative part as a new element a general reference to the previous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on “the promotion of peace as a vital requirement for the full enjoyment of all human rights by all”. The last resolution on this topic[†] of 2015 not only reaffirms that the peoples of our planet have a sacred right to peace, but also welcomes the decision of the HRC, in its resolution 20/15, to establish an Open-Ended intergovernmental Working Group (OEWG) with the mandate of progressively negotiating a draft United Nations declaration on the right to peace.

Although most of the States supported the on-going process on the right to peace within the HRC in Geneva, some of them have not recognized the existence of the right to peace under international law. However, they were very open to the approach and procedure proposed by the former Chairperson-Rapporteur Ambassador Christian Guillermet-Fernández of Costa Rica, and consequently actively participated in the three consecutive sessions of the OEWG in Geneva.

Thanks to this approach, a majority of Member States supported the Declaration on the Right to Peace and an important number of Western States abstained for the first time ever on this topic at the Third Committee. In fact, this Declaration is the clear result of three years of work with all stakeholders, including civil society. This positive approach was elaborated in light of the following elements: firstly, international law and human rights law; secondly, the mandate of the HRC in the field of human rights and thirdly, the human rights elements elaborated by the resolutions on the right of peoples to peace adopted by the HRC in the past few years.

An agreement among States and regional groups could not finally be achieved within the HRC and the Third Committee, exclusively because of the lack of agreement on the title and Article 1 of the text as presented by the Chairperson-Rapporteur on 21st September 2015. However, as indicated by a Group of States[‡] within the Third Committee, the Declaration has some value because it develops the New Agenda 2030 and also reinforces the three UN pillars—peace and security, development and human rights. Also they pointed out that the Preamble of the Declaration additionally contains many elements that will benefit the clarity and greater balance in order to ensure and to represent the full range of views among memberships.

This paper shall introduce the reader to the latest discussions and debate on the right to peace within the Third Committee to better understand the evolution of this drafting process in the context of the different sessions held by the Advisory Committee (AC) and the OEWG. Additionally, this article shall analyze the relevant role played by civil society organizations

* A/HRC/32/28, 1 July 2016

† A/RES/69/176, 23 January 2015

‡ Australia, Liechtenstein, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland and Iceland

and it shall take into account their important contribution to the process. Finally, the process of releasing provisions of the Declaration and the adoption of this instrument by the Human Rights Council will be also studied.

2. Role played by Civil Society Organizations

After the adoption of the Declaration on the Right to Peace by the HRC on 1 July 2016, the Foundation for a Culture of Peace delivered a statement in which they stressed that in order to promote the right to peace, it is imperative to implement the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace. They also stressed in their statement that “the UNESCO initiative in which in 1997 Member States were invited to discuss a draft Declaration on the Human Right to Peace soon will be realized within the General Assembly”.*

The UNESCO Chair on Human Rights, Democracy and Peace at the University of Padova (Italy) concluded in a legal study about the Declaration adopted by the HRC in November 2016 that “the conjunction of Article 1 with the very title of the Declaration presupposes that a human right to peace does already exist as implicitly proclaimed by Article 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized”.†

As suggested by the Foundation for a Culture of Peace, on 18 November 2016 the UNGA Third Committee adopted a Declaration on the Right to Peace. This Declaration will be remembered in the UN history for being the first peace Declaration adopted by the General Assembly in this new Millennium.

Consequently, the mobilization and strong voice of some civil society organizations was properly heard in its 71st session. In particular, on 2 September 2016 the International Association of Peace Messenger Cities‡ adopted the Wielun Declaration in Poland by which they welcomed the adoption by the HRC of the Declaration on the Right to Peace contained in the annex to its resolution 32/28 and called upon the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt this Declaration.

Additionally, the Human Rights Centre and the UNESCO Chair at the Padova University informed that they had promoted and carried out, with the collaboration of the National Coordination of Local Authorities for Peace and Human Rights, a large campaign in Italy, to support the work of the United Nations. They added that more than 300 City Councils and 5 Regional Councils had adopted a petitionary motion in this regard.§

An important group of civil society organizations stressed in an Open Letter of November 2016 addressed to the diplomatic community that “in today’s world, devastated by armed conflicts, hate and poverty, the recognition and declaration by an overwhelming majority of states that “Everyone has the right to enjoy peace”, would send to Humanity, and in particular to young and future generations, a much needed message of peace and hope... The adoption

* See <http://www.fund-culturadepaz.org/doc/DerechoHumanoaLaPaz.pdf>

† See <http://unipd-centrodirittiumani.it/en/publicazioni/The-Declaration-on-the-right-to-peace-is-in-the-pipeline-to-the-General-Assembly-of-the-United-Nations/1138>

‡ The movement began in the International Year of Peace, 1986, when 62 cities were chosen from among thousands. Representatives of these 62 cities met on 7 and 8 September 1988 at Verdun (France)

§ See <http://unipd-centrodirittiumani.it/it/dossier/Abbiamo-diritto-alla-pace-Campagna-internazionale-per-il-riconoscimento-del-diritto-umano-alla-pace/42>

of the UN Declaration on the Right to Peace will represent a little step forward toward the fulfilment of the solemn promises we made in 1945”.*

In parallel, the Chairperson of the Drafting Group on the right to peace at the Advisory Committee (AC) of the HRC, Ms. Mona Zulficar, and the former Chairperson-Rapporteur of the OEWG at the HRC, Ambassador Christian Guillermet-Fernández, published in the Arab newspaper Elaph in December 2016 a reflective essay in which they explained how the OEWG witnessed a text presented by the AC that was not properly supported by Member States. For this reason, the Chairperson-Rapporteur decided to promote the effective implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, taking into account that all the main elements of the right to peace identified by the AC had been elaborated in the Programmes of Action on Vienna and Culture of Peace.†

Finally, on 22 October 2016, Paz sin Fronteras (PSF), created by Mr. Miguel Bosé and Mr. Juanes, began the campaign called #RightToPeaceNow through which well-known personalities urged Member States of the Third Committee of the General Assembly to adopt a Declaration on the Right to Peace at the end of the 71st regular session. During this campaign, several personalities of the world of culture and art raised their voices to demand a Declaration on the Right to Peace through their media and social networks. They expressed their support so that the process would be definitively closed in New York with the adoption of a Declaration on the Right to Peace, which occurred in this case.

3. Debate & Adoption of the Declaration by the UNGA Third Committee

The resolution A/C.3/71/L.29, in which the Declaration was annexed, was presented by the delegation of **Cuba**. In its presentation, they said that the adoption of this text was a moral imperative and that they are encouraged by the willingness to contribute to raise awareness among people and governments about the different elements which compose the right to peace at a time when world peace is the desire of millions of people. By adopting this declaration, they said that they aspire to send a clear message of commitment and protection of the right to peace and the lives of millions of people.

The **United States of America** pointed out that they do not agree with the attempts to develop the collective right to peace because it modifies the circle of the exercise of the existing human rights. Consequently, they decided to vote against this resolution. **Japan** considered it premature to recognise peace as a human right principle since it has not been

* This letter was prepared by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), Comunità Papa Giovanni XXIII (APG23), UN Network of United Network of Young Peacebuilders (UNOY) and Japanese Committee for the Human Right to Peace (JCHRP) and it was supported by:

Foundation for a Culture of Peace, International Society for Human Rights (ISHR), Finn Church Aid (FCA), International Federation of Settlements and Neighbourhood Centers (IFS), Commission Africaine des Promoteurs de la Santé et des droits de l'homme (CAPSDH), Cultura de Solidaridad Afro-Indígena, International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (EAFORD), Universal Esperanto Association (UEA), Mothers Legacy Project, International Federation of Women in Legal Careers (IFWLC), International Federation of Women Lawyers (IFWL), 3HO Foundation, Institute for Planetary Synthesis (IPS), Institute of Global Education, Lama Gangchen World Peace Foundation, Federation of Family Associations of Missing Persons from Armed Conflicts (IFFAMPAC), Pax Christi International, Foundation for GAIA (GAIA), Planetary Association for Clean Energy (PACE), Global Eco-village Network (GEN), Institute of International Social Development at the United Nations (IISD), International Association of Peace Messenger Cities (IAPMC), International Peace Bureau (IPB), World For World Organization (WFWO), United Religions Initiative (URI), Lucis Trust-World Good Will Bangwe and Dialogue, Dzeno, Istituto Internazionale Maria Ausiliatrice delle Salesiane di Don Bosco (IIMA), Foundation for the Refugee Education Trust (RET International), Graines de Paix, International Voluntary Organisation for Women, Education Development (IVOWED), US Federation for Middle East Peace, ONG Hope International, World Association for Education as an Instrument of Peace, Columbian Commission of Jurists, General Arab Women Federation (GAWF), International Organization for Victim Assistance (IOVA), International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies (ISTSS), International Women's Year Liaison Group, Association Points-Coeur, Nonviolent Peaceforce, Association Centre Europe- Tiers Monde Cetim.

† See <http://elaph.com/Web/ElaphWriter/2016/11/1117921.html?entry=opinion>

established under international law. They said that the adoption of this resolution at the third committee without reaching consensus among Member States, following the same case as in Geneva, is regrettable. **Iran** indicated that the maintenance and global realization of the right to peace needs a holistic approach. Unfortunately, they added that some important requirements for the realization of the right to peace, such as the challenges posed by the arms of mass destruction to the international peace and security, were totally overlooked in the Declaration.

The **European Union** said since the establishment of the OEWG on the right to peace three years ago, they have consistently expressed their willingness to engage in the discussion between the linkage of peace and the enjoyment of human rights, with a view to reach a consensus on the draft declaration. According to them, the WG has been a model of cooperation and open dialogue.

All sides proved their willingness to have a possible consensus on a declaration acceptable to all. However, in spite of all efforts, consensus was not possible. There is neither an agreed upon definition of peace nor an agreement as to who will be the right-bearers and duty-bearers of such a right. In addition, the proposed declaration could be contrary to some provisions of the UN Charter. Finally, the absence of peace cannot justify the failure to respect human rights. Under these circumstances, they reaffirmed that they were not in a position to support this draft resolution.

Iceland, on behalf of a Group of States,* recalled that it is clear that sustainable development cannot be realized without peace and security, and peace and security will be at risk without sustainable development. They added that the Declaration on the Right to Peace correctly reinforces the Global Agenda 2030 and its goal 16 on the promotion of peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development for all. The New Agenda 2030 recognises the need to build peaceful, just and inclusive societies and provide equal justice, protection and respect of human rights, effective rule of law and governance in all levels and in transparency and effective and accountable institutions. Consequently, they added that they are all committed to the Global Agenda 2030, which is intended to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence. There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development. In addition, they said that the Declaration reaffirms that peace and security, development and human rights are the pillars of the United Nations system and the foundation for collective security and well-being and that development, peace and security and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing. However, they also indicated that they are not in a position to support the draft resolution at this point, because there is no common legal understanding for the specific right to peace and it is also unclear who will be the right-bearers or duty holders of such a right.

Finally, **Liechtenstein**, on behalf of another Group of States,† indicated that the Charter of the United Nations rests on principles of the United Nations, which are, inter alia, to

“Peace and security, development and human rights are the pillars of the United Nations system and the foundation for collective security and well-being.”

* Australia, Liechtenstein, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland and Iceland

† Austria, Belgium, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Estonia, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Poland, Slovenia, Switzerland and Liechtenstein

maintain peace and security and to that end to take effective and collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches against peace. They stressed that one of the key contributions to promote peace is therefore to complement the provisions of the UN Charter, which regulates the legality of the use of force with provisions that establish individual criminal responsibility for the crimes of aggression. They added that the step was taken when States parties of the International Criminal Court (ICC) adopted by consensus provisions on the crimes of aggression, which were included in the Kampala Review Conference in 2010. The activation of the Kampala process in 2017 will constitute a historic step in order to stop illegal wars and for them, this is a main contribution to the cause of peace. Therefore, they called upon all Member States, in particular the supporters of the Declaration on the Right to Peace, to ratify the Rome Statute and the Kampala amendments to ensure that the perpetrators of crimes against peace are held accountable.

4. Legal & Negotiation Background

4.1. Introduction

In the last resolution on this topic presented before the Commission on Human Rights in 2005 (Doc. E/CN.4/2005/56), member States called upon “the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to carry out a constructive dialogue and consultations with Member States, specialized agencies and intergovernmental organizations on how the CHR could work for the promotion of an international environment conducive to the full realization of the right of peoples to peace, and encourages non-governmental organizations to contribute actively to this endeavour.”

In 2008, the HRC, in light of the previous resolution of the Commission, requested the *Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights* (OHCHR) to convene a workshop on the right of peoples to peace, which was finally held on 15-16 December 2009 in Geneva. In this workshop the current deep division about the existence of the right to peace was seen even at the academic level. In fact, some well-known legal practitioners who participated at the *Workshop on the right of peoples to peace* stated that the right to peace had never been explicitly formalized into a treaty, including the UN Charter, and that the UN human rights instruments had not given proper expression to this enabling right (A/HRC/14/38 2010).

Some civil society organizations and academics took advantage of the process already initiated by the Commission in 2001 and afterwards, driven by the HRC in cooperation with them.*

4.2. Human Rights Council Advisory Committee

On 17 June 2010, the HRC adopted resolution 14/3 on the right of peoples to peace, which explicitly requested the Advisory Committee (AC), in consultation with Member

* Fernandez Puyana, David, “International Campaign on the Human Right to peace”, in Villán Durán, Carlos and Pérez Faleh, Carmelo, *Regional Contributions for a Universal Declaration on the Human Right to Peace*, SSIHRL with the sponsorship of the Asturian Agency for Development Cooperation of the Government of the Principality of Asturias, 2010, p. 43-60 (Spanish version) and p. 61-80 (English version).

States, civil society, academia and all relevant stakeholders, to prepare a draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace.

The AC adopted on 6 August 2010 the recommendation 5/2 on the promotion of the right of peoples to peace, establishing a drafting group chaired by Mona Zulficar (Egypt) to prepare a draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace. In light of this mandate, the drafting group initially prepared a progress report on the right to peace, which was submitted to the HRC in its 16th regular session (June 2011).

On 12 August 2011, the AC adopted recommendation 7/3 entitled “Drafting Group on the promotion of the right of peoples to peace”, by which it took note of the second progress report submitted by the drafting group (paragraph 1); it welcomed “the responses received to the questionnaire sent out in April 2011, and the discussions and statements made during its seventh session” (paragraph 2); and it welcomed “initiatives by civil society to organize discussions on progress reports of the Advisory Committee with Member States and academic experts” (paragraph 3).

In accordance with HRC resolution 17/16 of 17 June 2011 and AC recommendation 8/4 of 24 February 2012, the AC submitted to the HRC its (third) draft declaration on the right to peace, which was really inspired by the different proposals of Declarations elaborated and advocated by some civil society organizations.*

The Advisory Committee’s text identified, in cooperation with some civil society organizations, the main elements that should be part of the future Declaration (including issues such as migrants, refugees, conscientious objection to military service, disarmament, environment, rights of victims, development and human security).

The great added value of the Advisory Committee’s text was its elaboration of all linkages between the notion on peace and human rights, its efforts to mobilize civil society organizations and also to create the notion of the human right to peace by putting together all these elements in the form of a Declaration. Afterwards, this enabled Member States to make a global assessment about this text and eventually accept or reject it as a good and useful basis to continue their work on this topic.

4.3. First Session of the Open Ended Working Group on the Right to Peace

Pursuing resolution 20/15 of 5 July 2012, the HRC decided to “establish an open-ended intergovernmental working group with the mandate of progressively negotiating a draft United Nations declaration on the right to peace, on the basis of the draft submitted by the Advisory Committee, and without prejudging relevant past, present and future views.” It also decided that the Working Group would meet for four working days prior to the twenty-second session of the HRC, which took place from 18 to 21 February 2013.

On 18 February 2013, Christian Guillermet-Fernández (Costa Rica) was elected by the Working Group as its Chairperson-Rapporteur, by acclamation. He was nominated by the delegation of Ecuador on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean Countries (GRULAC). This nomination was based on broad consultations with all regional groups and on agreement reached.

* Luarca, Bilbao, Barcelona and Santiago Declaration on the Human Right to Peace

Throughout the general debate and reading of the draft declaration on the right to peace prepared by the Advisory Committee, governmental delegations, representatives of international organizations and members of civil society raised the following doubts and points of concern (A/HRC/WG.13/1/2, 2013):

Firstly, some delegations stated that international community should make every effort to increase the international standards of protection in the field of human rights for the benefit of our own citizens. The full realization of human rights is impossible if we do not live in peace. Other delegations also agreed that the preservation of peace is the founder, goal and main objective of our organization. They added that the promotion and protection of existing human rights can make a profound contribution to peace. It follows that the linkage between human rights and peace is pretty clear. Additionally, other delegations said that the right to peace is strongly inseparable from the most fundamental right, the right to life. They also stated that peace is a precondition or prerequisite to protecting and promoting the realization of all human rights. Other delegations rephrased this latter concept by saying that “the United Nations, in its Charter, recognized that peace is both a prerequisite and a consequence of the full enjoyment of human rights by all.” Others added that peace should be seen as an enabling right which allows people enjoy their civil, political, economic, social or cultural rights.

“The international community should exhaust all necessary efforts to eliminate the threat of war, in particular nuclear war.”

Secondly, for many delegations, the concept of the right to peace was not new, but recognized in soft law instruments including in the General Assembly resolution 39/11 of 12 November 1984, whereby the international community had adopted the *Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace*, and in the *Human Rights Declaration* adopted by the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations* (ASEAN) on 18 November 2012. On the other hand, several other delegations stated that a stand-alone “right to peace” did not exist under international law. In their view, peace was not a human right in and of itself: it was rather a goal that could be best realized through the enforcement of existing identifiable and distinguishable human rights.

Thirdly, some delegations stressed that the current initiative on the right to peace could become a great opportunity to stop wars and armed conflicts in the world and consequently, to avoid all human rights violations, crimes against humanity and genocides, which usually occur in these dreadful situations. Also they indicated that this initiative is not only a clear reaction against war and conflict, but also a means to eliminate all kind of violence against people. Others added that there is no possibility to exercise fundamental rights in the context of war. No socioeconomic transformation may work under a conflict. As indicated also by the delegations, in order to ensure the promotion and realization of the right to peace, the international community should exhaust all necessary efforts to eliminate the threat of war, in particular nuclear war, to settle disputes peacefully and to end all ongoing conflicts, which are seriously affecting the lives of millions of people. Some delegations stated that the Declaration should reflect the preventive role of peace with regard to the human rights violations. Other delegations also stressed the complementarity and interdependence of the three main pillars of the United Nations (i.e. peace, development and human right).

Fourthly, in regard to the legal standards of the Declaration elaborated by the Advisory Committee, some delegations said that the thematic areas selected seem to have been arbitrarily picked. In addition, they indicated that many concepts of human rights included in the Declaration are new and unclear, which means that the current process can become an unproductive, futile and frivolous exercise. By introducing a broad concept of the right to peace, said some delegations, the drafters included many binding disparate issues to peace. In addition, most of the delegations added that the issues that the draft Declaration purports to address are already addressed in other, more appropriate forums, some under the HRC, and some not. They also added that the Declaration includes and subsumes a range of existing human rights and that it is inconsistent with relevant international norms, including the UN Charter. Furthermore, some of them said that the major misgiving is to use undefined, ambiguous and ungrounded concepts that lack any consensus in international law or to insert topics that do not have a slightest linkage to the purpose of the declaration. Several delegations called for the drafting of a brief, concise and balanced declaration that would be guided by international law as well as by the *Charter of the United Nations*, compliant with its Article 51. The declaration should avoid referring to controversial issues and unidentified and vague topics that do not presently enjoy international support and consensus.

Fifthly, as indicated by some delegation, “the draft declaration has attempted to reinvent the wheel by formulating new concepts and definitions, whereas it should be guided by international law, basing itself on the UN Charter.” In addition, others stressed that the essence of the next phrase in the resolution which indicates “and without prejudging relevant past, present and future views and proposals” is an open door to revise, to adjust or to change the text with new ideas and formulations.

4.4. Second Session of the Open Ended Working Group on the Right to Peace

On 13 June 2013, the HRC adopted resolution 23/16 by which it requested the Chairperson-Rapporteur of the working group to prepare a new text on the basis of the discussions held during the first session of the working group and on the basis of the inter-sessional informal consultations to be held, and to present it prior to the second session of the working group for consideration and further discussion thereat.

The second session took place from 30 June to 4 July 2014 in Geneva. The preliminary ideas of the Chairperson-Rapporteur were included in a letter addressed to the members of the working group, which was circulated as an official document at the session (A/HRC/WG.13/2/2). In accordance with the above letter, the following points of concurrence among all delegations were highlighted by the Chairperson-Rapporteur:

1. The declaration should be short and concise and should provide an added value to the field of human rights on the basis of consensus and dialogue.
2. The declaration should be guided by international law, basing itself on the Charter of the United Nations and the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
3. The legal basis of the human rights legal system is the concept of human dignity.
4. Human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the right to life, are massively violated in the context of war and armed conflict. In addition, there is no possibility to exercise fundamental rights in the context of armed violence.

5. Cooperation, dialogue and the protection of all human rights are fundamental to the prevention of war and armed conflict.
6. The promotion, protection and prevention of violations of all human rights would make a profound contribution to peace.
7. Human rights, peace and development are interdependent and mutually reinforcing.
8. Many concepts of human rights included in the draft declaration elaborated by the Advisory Committee are new and unclear, which results in the risk that the current process will become an unproductive, futile and frivolous exercise. Many notions have already been addressed in other more appropriate forums, some under the Human Rights Council, and some not.

The approach by the Chairperson-Rapporteur as included in his text was welcomed by the OEWG, which is open to all States, civil society organizations and other stakeholders represented in the United Nations. This approach was accepted by the majority of participants and afterwards, adopted “ad referendum”. Delegations stated their appreciation for his efforts to prepare a new text carefully reflecting the various positions expressed in the first session of the working group and during the various inter-sessional consultations. Some cautiously appreciated the direction in which the drafting was heading on the basis of broad consultations. In particular, the approach is based on the following five ideas, which are a clear attempt to give an answer to the main points of concern raised during the first session:

Firstly, unlike the Security Council, the HRC is not the competent body to deal with those matters linked to the maintenance of international peace and security in the world. Pursuant to UNGA resolution 60/251 of 2006, the HRC is trusted to work in some of the purposes and principles contained in the UN Charter (i.e. friendly relations among nations, self-determination of peoples, international cooperation and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all), but never on matters related to breach of peace, the use or threat of force or the crime of aggression.

The HRC is exclusively focused on those who truly suffer in a conflict: human beings and peoples. It is a forum for dialogue, not confrontation, which always works by and for the victims. Since the mandate of the HRC is to promote and protect human rights, peace should be elaborated in light of some fundamental human right, which has already been recognised by the international community as a whole, such as the right to life.

Secondly, the added value of the new Declaration is to strengthen the linkage between peace, human rights and development. Therefore, the recognition of the right to life and the affirmation of the right to live in peace, human rights and development are intended to ensure that the authorities take measures to guarantee that life may be lived in a natural and dignified manner and that the individual has every possible means for this purpose.

Thirdly, the new Declaration should bear in mind two issues: the need to promote peaceful relations among countries and the condemnation of war. In order to protect and promote the right of peoples to peace, States should implement and comply with all the principles contained in art. 2 of the *Charter of the United Nations*. Therefore, the essential content of this Declaration, and in particular the strong condemnation of war, should be a cornerstone of the future declaration in the line of the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace.

Fourthly, with regard to the Declaration prepared by the Advisory Committee, it should be stressed that all the main elements proposed by the AC were already included in the *Declaration and Program of Action of Culture of Peace*. In particular, the concepts proposed by the Advisory Committee have been elaborated by different stakeholders in the line of the *Programme of Action of Culture of Peace* (i.e. human security and poverty, disarmament, education, development, environment, vulnerable groups, refugees and migrants). It follows that in spite of including in the future Declaration concepts that are being currently dealt with by other competent bodies, the international community should progressively elaborate these notions in light of agreeable Declarations already adopted by the General Assembly, such as the *Declaration and Programme of Action of Culture of Peace*.

Broad support was expressed for the new concise and focused text as a significant improvement over the previous Advisory Committee draft (A/HRC/20/31) and as a basis for further discussion during the present session. Delegations noted that a number of ambiguous issues included in the Advisory Committee draft that did not yet enjoy international consensus were no longer found in the new text and noted that it was not appropriate to include in this text controversial issues or concepts lacking in clarity still being discussed in other forums.

4.5. Third Session of the Open Ended Working Group on the Right to Peace

On September 25, 2014, the HRC adopted resolution 27/17 as a continuation of the work done on this topic in recent years. The draft resolution requested to convene a third session of the OEWG on the right to peace with the purpose of finalizing the Declaration, which was held from 20 to 24 April 2015. The Council further requested the Chairperson-Rapporteur to prepare a revised text on the basis of the discussions held during the first and second sessions of the working group and on the basis of the intersessional informal consultations to be held, and to present it prior to the third session of the working group for consideration and further discussion thereat.

The resolution 27/17 paths the way to introduce progressively the new approach proposed by the Chairperson-Rapporteur for the following reasons: (1) this resolution is not referring to the draft Declaration on the right to peace elaborated by the Advisory Committee. As indicated by the Chairperson-Rapporteur in his report (A/HRC/27/63), the Advisory Committee, in its draft declaration, had built on and elaborated further elements contained in the *Declaration and Programme of Action on Culture of Peace*; (2) it opens the possibility to take into consideration not only the *Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace*, but also other important relevant instruments in the field of peace (i.e. *Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace*, the *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action* and the *Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace*); (3) the resolution welcomes not only the work performed by civil society organizations, but also academia and other stakeholders (i.e. international organizations); (4) it clearly stresses that the new stage of the process will be based on the inputs received from Governments, regional and political groups, civil society and relevant stakeholders, and the text presented by the Chairperson-Rapporteur. A summary of the discussions is included in the report of the working group on its second session, which has to be read in conjunction with the compilations of the proposals made by States and by other stakeholders.

At the conclusion of the session, a number of delegations expressed their sincere gratitude for the leadership, flexibility and efforts demonstrated by the Chairperson-Rapporteur in working with all parties. Appreciation was also expressed for the contributions by non-governmental organizations and the support provided to the Chairperson-Rapporteur (Para. 79).

The Chairperson-Rapporteur acknowledged the respectful atmosphere and spirit of dialogue and cooperation that reigned during the third session of the working group while moving towards a consensual outcome (Para. 80).

On 24 April in the afternoon the Chairperson-Rapporteur presented a new revised text, which was based on the following agreeable points and ideas raised by some States and civil society organizations during the third session of the Working group:

Firstly, the international community is absolutely ripe to advance in the progressive elaboration of the right of peoples to peace through the development of those elements that compose it. Despite the different positions about the existence of this right, all member States, even those which do not recognize it, agreed to recall the 1984 Declaration on the right of peoples to peace in the preambular paragraph 4 of the new text.

Secondly, the revised new text is the result of the work done by everyone during the week of the third session. It has taken into account comments and recommendations proposed by all stakeholders, including some civil society organizations. In the text there is no preambular paragraph or provision, which has not previously been discussed within the Group and has not been included in the compilation of the second session of the Working Group.

Thirdly, the Preamble of the new revised text, which is composed of 37 paragraphs, includes all the specific measures aimed at preserving the right of peoples to peace identified by the HRC since 2008 – Res. 11/4 of 2009, 14/3 of 2010 and 17/16 of 2011: (1) the principles of the *Charter of the United Nations*, such as the peaceful settlement of disputes, international cooperation and the self-determination of peoples; (2) the elimination of the threat of war; (3) the three pillars of the United Nations (i.e. peace, human rights and development); (4) the eradication of poverty and promotion of sustained economic growth, sustainable development and global prosperity for all; (5) the wide diffusion and promotion of education on peace and (6) the strengthening of the *Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace*.

Fourthly, the three UN pillars have been recognised by the HRC as a fundamental element aimed at promoting the right of peoples to peace. In particular, Council resolutions on the right of peoples to peace have constantly stressed in its operative sections that peace and security, development and human rights are the pillars of the United Nations system and the foundations for collective security and well-being. Therefore, it follows that the three UN pillars are strongly linked to content of the right of peoples to peace.

Fifthly, the new revised text invites solemnly in the last preambular paragraph all stakeholders to guide themselves in their activities by recognizing the high importance of practicing tolerance, dialogue, cooperation and solidarity among all human beings, peoples and nations of the world as a means to promote peace. To that end, the present generations should ensure that both they and future generations learn to live together in peace with the highest aspiration of sparing future generations the scourge of war. The linkage between the right to life and peace is again reaffirmed in this paragraph.

Sixth, the first provision of the new revised text proclaims that “Everyone has the right to enjoy peace such that security is maintained, all human rights are promoted and protected and development is fully realized.” This proposal of language, inspired in Article 38 of the *ASEAN Human Rights Declaration*, was made by Indonesia during the third session and obtained support from Malaysia, India, Venezuela, Pakistan and Philippines, and some civil society organizations (i.e. *Associazione Comunità Papa Giovanni XXIII* and *United Network of Young Peacebuilders*). Additionally, on 25 June 2015, Vietnam on behalf of ASEAN* delivered a statement in which they recalled art. 38 of the 2012 ASEAN Human Rights Declaration which states “every person and the peoples of ASEAN have the right to enjoy peace...”.

This proposal also received the support from some civil society organizations. On 22 September 2015, an important NGO network called “on Member States to take a step forward in the promotion of peace by adopting a declaration that proclaims the human right to peace, or at least the “right to enjoy peace”...”.[†]

Seventh, the second new provision proclaimed that “States should respect, implement and promote equality and non-discrimination, justice and the rule of law and guarantee the security of their people, fulfil their needs and ensure the protection and promotion of their universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms as a means to build peace.” This second article was jointly drafted by USA, Australia, EU, Malaysia, Indonesia, Morocco, Tunisia, Iran and Egypt.

Eighth, in accordance with Article 3 of the new text, the main actors on whom rests the responsibility to make this highest and noble aspiration of humankind reality are human beings, States, United Nations, specialized agencies, international organizations and civil society. They are the main competent actors to promote peace and dialogue in the world.

4.6. Process of releasing provisions of the Declaration and Adoption by the Human Rights Council

On 18 September 2015, the Secretariat of the HRC presented its compliments to the Permanent Missions of the United Nations Office at Geneva and had the honour to transmit a new text of a Draft United Nations Declaration on the Right to Peace prepared by the Chair-Rapporteur of the third session of the Open-ended intergovernmental working group on a draft United Nations declaration on the right to peace.

On 21 September, the Permanent Mission of Cuba convened an informal consultation open to all permanent missions, civil society and other stakeholders, in which the Chairperson-Rapporteur was invited to participate. He began his statement by deeply thanking the mission of Cuba for convening this informal consultation on the right to peace.

* Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam

† On 22 September 2015, Associazione Comunità Papa Giovanni XXIII delivered a joint oral statement in item 5 on behalf of the Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights (BADIL), Center for Global Nonkilling, Commission Africaine des Promoteurs de la Santé et des Droits de l'homme (CAPSDH), Institute for Planetary Synthesis, Institute of Global Education, International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), International Network for the prevention of elder Abuse (INPEA), International Peace Bureau, International Society for Human Rights, Istituto Internazionale delle figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice (IIMA), Mothers Legacy Project, Organisation pour la Communication en Afrique et de Promotion de la Coopération Economique Internationale (OCAPROCE), International Pan Pacific Southeast Asia Women's Association International (PPSEAWA), Pax Romana, United Network of Young Peacebuilders, Volontariato Internazionale Donna Educazione Sviluppo (VIDES) and Women's World Summit Foundation.

The Chairperson-Rapporteur recalled that on the afternoon of 24 April he had presented a new revised text, which was based on some agreeable points and ideas raised by some States and civil society organizations during the third session of the Working group. In his report he acknowledged the respectful atmosphere and spirit of dialogue and cooperation that reigned during the session while moving towards a consensual outcome. However, we could not achieve this desirable agreement because 16 preambular paragraphs and the operative section appeared in square brackets, revealing the objections of the States.

He indicated that now that we have walked a long way, his role of mediator was almost over presenting this new version of the text, which responds to work in these months. The ball is now in the hands of States: you can accept this text as a consensual text or you have the option to reject it entirely, he said. The negotiation process ended in the third session. Now is the time to advance and to take action on this topic.

The new revised text presented on 21 September 2015 was the result of the bilateral meetings held from June to September 2015 with those missions which had objected some of the preambular paragraphs on 24 April 2014, last day of the OEWG on the right to peace. Those delegations which objected to some of the 16 provisions of the text finally released these paragraphs by proposing a new language or deleting some notions, which is a demonstration of real engagement of many missions from South and North in the process.

In the elaboration of the Declaration on the Right to Peace, the mobilization and strong voice of some civil society organizations were not properly heard in the September session held in 2015, when they openly called on Member States to take a step forward by adopting a declaration that can be meaningful for generations to come*.

However, thanks to this strong and resounding message, on 1 July 2016 the HRC of the United Nations in Geneva adopted a Declaration on the Right to Peace by a majority of its Member States.[†] This Declaration is the clear result of three years of work with all stakeholders, including civil society, led by Ambassador Christian Guillermet-Fernández of Costa Rica, the secretariat and his team, and jointly promoted with Cuba.

On 13 June 2016, Paz sin Fronteras (PSF),[‡] created by Miguel Bosé and Juanes, began the campaign called #RightToPeaceNow through which well-known personalities urged

* On 22 September 2015, Associazione Comunità Papa Giovanni XXIII delivered a joint oral statement in item 5 on behalf of the Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights (BADIL), Center for Global Nonkilling, Commission Africaine des Promoteurs de la Santé et des Droits de l'homme (CAPSDH), Institute for Planetary Synthesis, Institute of Global Education, International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), International Network for the prevention of elder Abuse (INPEA), International Peace Bureau, International Society for Human Rights, Instituto Internazionale delle figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice (IIMA), Mothers Legacy Project, Organisation pour la Communication en Afrique et de Promotion de la Coopération Economique Internationale (OCAPROCE), International Pan Pacific Southeast Asia Women's Association International (PPSEAWA), Pax Romana, United Network of Young Peacebuilders, Volontariato Internazionale Donna Educazione Sviluppo (VIDES) and Women's World Summit Foundation.

[†] Favour: Africa: Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Togo; Latin American and Caribbean States: Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Venezuela; Asia Pacific States: Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Vietnam; Eastern European States: Russian Federation

Against: Belgium, Republic of Korea, France, Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, Slovenia, Latvia and Macedonia.

Abstentions: Albania, Georgia, Portugal and Switzerland.

Co-sponsors:

Council Members: Algeria, Bolivia, China, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Venezuela, Vietnam, Indonesia, Qatar (on behalf of the States Members of the Group of Arab States) and South Africa,

Council Observers: Angola, Belarus, Cabo Verde, Costa Rica, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Egypt, Eritrea Malaysia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Syrian Arab Republic, Sudan, State of Palestine and Tunisia

[‡] See <http://pazsinfronteras.org/en>

Member States of the HRC to adopt a Declaration on the Right to Peace at the end of the 32nd regular session. Thanks to its social mobilization, the HRC finally decided to adopt a Declaration on the Right to Peace. During this campaign, several personalities* of the world of culture and art raised their voices to demand a Declaration on the Right to Peace through their media and social networks.

The resolution 32/28, in which the Declaration was annexed, was presented by the delegation of **Cuba**. In its presentation, they emphasized that the adoption of this Declaration is framed in the context of the bilateral ceasefire and cessation of hostilities signed in Havana, between the Government of Colombia and the Revolutionary Armed forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP) on 23 June 2016.

The HRC recommended that the General Assembly adopt this Declaration in its 71st regular session, which occurred in its Third Committee in November and the plenary of the General Assembly in December 2016. Consequently, after almost twenty years, the Declaration on the right to Peace was definitely adopted. This longstanding humankind's aspiration has finally been realized within the framework of the General Assembly after the first serious attempt carried out by UNESCO in 1997.

The Declaration will be known in the UN history for being the first peace Declaration adopted by the General Assembly in this new Millennium, after the adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action on Culture of Peace in 1999 by the same body.

This Declaration is the clear result of the important role played by some sectors of civil society and Universities for years, which have shown that genuine dialogue among all stakeholders and regional groups is the foundation of peace and understanding in the world.

5. Conclusions

In the 17th session of the General Assembly, several delegates expressed concern about submitting the conclusions of the Assembly to the mechanical process of majorities and also emphasized the importance of allowing all delegations to be heard and therefore, adopting the conclusions by consensus.

The adoption by large agreements of peace instruments in the General Assembly has been a clear tendency since the creation of the United Nations. In particular, it should also be recalled that the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples of 1965, the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict of 1974, Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Co-operation of 1982 and the Political Declaration on the Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts in Africa of 2013, were adopted by consensus.

Neither the Declaration on Preparation on Societies to Life in Peace of 1978, the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace of 1984 nor the Declaration and Programme of Action on Culture of Peace of 1999 were adopted by the General Assembly with the opposition of regional groups. In fact, both the Declaration on Preparation on Societies to

* Miguel Bose, Juanes, Alejandro Sanz, Pablo Alboran, Bulli, Sasha Sokol, Benny Ibarra de Llano, Ximena Sariñana, Fonseca, Patricia Cantu, Edgar Ramirez, Laura Pausini or the north American actress Jessica Chastain

Life in Peace and the Declaration and Programme of Action on Culture of Peace were adopted by consensus, with the exception of the first instrument, which was adopted with only one abstention. On the other hand, the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace obtained the abstention from all Western and European States, but never the vote against.

In this ongoing debate about the notion of consensus and dissent in the adoption of international instruments within the United Nations, it is relevant to recall Alberoni when he affirmed in his article “Democracy Means Dissent” published in *Corriere della Sera* on 9 January 1997, that “Democracy is a political system which presupposes dissent ... if we cannot accept unanimous consent as a more perfect form of consent, and hence recognize that a system founded on consent inevitably contains dissent”.

Norberto Bobbio added in his paper “The future of Democracy” that “Freedom of dissent presupposes a pluralistic society, a pluralistic society allows a greater distribution of power, a greater distribution of power opens the door to the democratization of civil society, and eventually democratization of civil society extends and integrates political democracy”.

The problem arises when there are important substantive differences among delegations and the possibility of a broad agreement looks like a chimera. An agreement among States and regional groups could not finally be achieved within the HRC and the Third Committee, exclusively because of the lack of agreement on the title and Article 1.

It is strongly desirable for the promotion of peace worldwide to strengthen the positive trend on this matter already initiated in the times of the UN Commission on Human Rights. In particular, some Latin American, African and Asian States, which currently support the right to peace in the United Nations, abstained on this topic at the Commission.* Additionally, it should be taken into account that although some other important States abstained on the right to peace within the HRC,† their positions positively changed in the past few years by supporting the Declaration on the Right to Peace recently adopted by the UNGA Third Committee.

Currently, the Latin American, the African and the Asian group with the exception of some particular States‡ positively support the right to peace, which was never the case in the past. In addition, it should be taken into account that an important number of Western States abstained for the first time ever on this topic in the adoption of the Declaration on the Right to Peace in the HRC, the Third Committee and the plenary of the UNGA.

In addition, as indicated by some Group of States, the Declaration has some value because it develops the New Agenda 2030 and also reinforces the three UN pillars—peace and security, development and human rights.

In order to strengthen the positive trend and to move towards a more consensual and inclusive approach, the ASEAN States and many civil society organizations have always proposed in article 1 the notion of the right to enjoy peace, human rights and development. By using the notion of “right”, the legislator desired to stress the idea that everyone is entitled to enjoy and access the benefits stemmed from peace, human rights and development,

* Res. E/CN.4/2002/L.90, August 2002: Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, India and Senegal; Res. E/CN.4/2003/L.76, May 2003: Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and India; Res. E/CN.4/2005/56, April 2005: Argentina, Armenia, Costa Rica, Honduras, India and Mexico.

† Res. 8/9, June 2008: India and Mexico.

‡ Japan and Republic of Korea.

founding pillars of the whole UN system. Denying access to the three pillars is to deny the very existence of the United Nations.

In the pursuit of possible broad agreements in the near future of the Declaration on the Right to Peace within the United Nations, we should recall that for this endeavor there is personage in international literature, Moliere's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, who discovered too late that he was speaking prose without knowing. Let no one discover too late that we are creating history without knowing it.*

"Peace is a never ending process... It cannot ignore our differences or overlook our common interests. It requires us to work and live together"

– Oscar Arias

Nobel Peace Prize Laureate & former President of Costa Rica

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Annexure

General Assembly Resolution A/RES/71/189, 19 December 2016

Declaration on the Right to Peace

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action,

Recalling also the Declaration on the Right to Development, the United Nations Millennium Declaration, including the Sustainable Development Goals, and the 2005 World Summit Outcome,

Recalling further the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace and the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, and other international instruments relevant to the subject of the present declaration,

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling also that the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations solemnly proclaimed the following principles:

that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, the principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter, the duty of States to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter, the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the principle of sovereign equality of States, the principle that States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter,

Reaffirming the obligations of all Member States, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, and to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are not endangered,

Acknowledging that the fuller development of a culture of peace is integrally linked to the realization of the right of all peoples, including those living under colonial or other forms of alien domination or foreign occupation, to self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and embodied in the International Covenants on Human Rights, as well as in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Convinced that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a State or country or at its political independence is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter, as stated in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, contained in General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970,

Recognizing the importance of the settlement of disputes or conflicts through peaceful means,

Deeply deploring all acts of terrorism, recalling that the Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism recognizes that acts, methods and practices of terrorism constitute a grave violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations and may pose a threat to international peace and security, jeopardize friendly relations among States, threaten the territorial integrity and security of States, hinder international cooperation and aim at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and the democratic bases of society, and reaffirming that any acts of terrorism are criminal and unjustifiable regardless of their motivations, whenever and by whomsoever committed,

Stressing that all measures taken in the fight against terrorism must be in compliance with the obligations of States under international law, including international human rights, refugee and humanitarian law, as well as those enshrined in the Charter,

Urging all States that have not yet done so to consider, as a matter of priority, becoming parties to international instruments related to terrorism,

Reaffirming that the promotion and protection of human rights for all and the rule of law are essential to the fight against terrorism, and recognizing that effective counterterrorism measures and the protection of human rights are not conflicting goals but are complementary and mutually reinforcing,

Reaffirming also the determination of the peoples of the United Nations as expressed in the Preamble to the Charter to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours,

Recalling that peace and security, development and human rights are the pillars of the United Nations system and the foundations for collective security and well-being, and recognizing that development, peace and security and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing,

Recognizing that peace is not only the absence of conflict, but also requires a positive, dynamic participatory process where dialogue is encouraged and conflicts are solved in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation, as well as socio-economic development is ensured,

Recalling that the recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, and recognizing that peace is promoted through the full enjoyment of all inalienable rights derived from the inherent dignity of all human beings,

Recalling also that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be fully realized,

Recalling the world commitment to eradicate poverty and promote sustained economic growth, sustainable development and global prosperity for all and the need to reduce inequalities within and among countries,

Recalling the importance of prevention of armed conflict in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the commitment to promote a culture of prevention of armed conflict as a means of effectively addressing the interconnected security and development challenges faced by peoples throughout the world,

Recalling that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields,

Reaffirming that since wars begin in the minds of human beings, it is in the minds of human beings that the defences of peace must be constructed and recalling the importance of the settlement of disputes or conflicts through peaceful means,

Recalling the need for strengthened international efforts to foster a global dialogue for the promotion of a culture of tolerance and peace at all levels, based on respect for human rights and diversity of religions and beliefs,

Recalling further that development assistance and capacity-building based on the principle of national ownership in post-conflict situations should restore peace through rehabilitation, reintegration and reconciliation processes involving all those engaged, and recognizing the importance of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities of the United Nations for the global pursuit of peace and security,

Recalling that the culture of peace and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of human beings and constitute a duty that all nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern,

Reaffirming that the culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life, as identified in the Declaration on a Culture of Peace, and that all this should be fostered by an enabling national and international environment conducive to peace,

Recognizing the importance of moderation and tolerance as values contributing to the promotion of peace and security,

Recognizing also the important contribution that civil society organizations can make in building and preserving peace, as well as in strengthening a culture of peace,

Stressing the need for States, the United Nations system and other relevant international organizations to allocate resources to programmes aimed at strengthening the culture of peace and upholding human rights awareness through training, teaching and education,

Stressing also the importance of the contribution of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training to the promotion of a culture of peace,

Recalling that respect for the diversity of cultures, tolerance, dialogue and cooperation, in a climate of mutual trust and understanding, are among the best guarantees of international peace and security,

Recalling also that tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human, as well as the virtue that makes peace possible and contributes to the promotion of a culture of peace,

Recalling further that the constant promotion and realization of the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities as an integral part of the development of a society as a whole and within a democratic framework based on the rule of law would contribute to the strengthening of friendship, cooperation and peace among peoples and States,

"Everyone has the right to enjoy peace such that all human rights are promoted and protected and development is fully realized."

Recalling the need to design, promote and implement at the national, regional and international levels strategies, programmes and policies, and adequate legislation, which may include special and positive measures, for furthering equal social development and the realization of the civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights of all victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Recognizing that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, where they amount to racism and racial discrimination are an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among peoples and nations, and are among the root causes of many internal and international conflicts, including armed conflicts,

Inviting solemnly all stakeholders to guide themselves in their activities by recognizing the high importance of practicing tolerance, dialogue, cooperation and solidarity among all human beings, peoples and nations of the world as a means to promote peace; to that end, present generations should ensure that both they and future generations learn to live together in peace with the highest aspiration of sparing future generations the scourge of war,

Article 1

Everyone has the right to enjoy peace such that all human rights are promoted and protected and development is fully realized.

Article 2

States should respect, implement and promote equality and non-discrimination, justice and the rule of law and guarantee freedom from fear and want as a means to build peace within and between societies.

Article 3

States, the United Nations and specialized agencies should take appropriate sustainable measures to implement the present Declaration, in particular the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. International, regional, national and local organizations and civil society are encouraged to support and assist in the implementation of the present Declaration.

Article 4

International and national institutions of education for peace shall be promoted in order to strengthen among all human beings the spirit of tolerance, dialogue, cooperation and solidarity. To this end, the University for Peace should contribute to the great universal task of educating for peace by engaging in teaching, research, post-graduate training and dissemination of knowledge.

Article 5

Nothing in the present Declaration shall be construed as being contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The provisions included in this Declaration are to be understood in the line of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and relevant international and regional instruments ratified by States.

A Pragmatic view on the Evolution of Life: Trends, Paradigm Shifts or New Laws of Life?

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Abstract

Is the evolution of life and society outpacing our theoretical research? Do we need a pragmatic view to be open to a future of paradigm shifts and even to new laws of life? This article attempts such a pragmatic view by looking through possible windows on our future. A paradigm shift from centralised to decentralised power in life seems to be part of an evolutionary movement, away from a world of division and conflict towards a world of cooperation, harmony and unity. On the macro level it is observed in the movement of decentralisation of energy and money towards free energy and a free basic income for all. On the micro level we observe the growing independence of the individual from physical ownership and experts in so many areas of life. A wider perspective presents a possible new law of life based on balance and equality rather than shortages. This then opens a perspective where freedom is the basic ingredient in a new law of life for the individual. The evolutionary movement has to prepare us and the world for a future where true freedom, equality and abundance for all will become the normal character of life. When we look dispassionately and curiously at the world and search for the powers that move the world today, one of the first things we see is the changing nature of power in our world. Power used to be characterized by principles of monopoly and centralization, power of one over the other, of a minority over a majority. An even distribution of power is not part of our experience, not horizontally nor vertically. The changing nature of power we observe can be crystalized in a movement: a decentralizing movement of power. It appears that the nature of decentralized power is characterized by an even distribution of power in innumerable points. It virtually means that power grows (only) powerful at the point and moves away from former centers of power.

1. Towards a World of Harmony and Unity

A world in which centers of power lose their power progressively, and well in favor of the individual, is a world on its way of becoming a world based on and ruled by movements that organize harmony and unity. And this movement to decentralize power, as we will see, is increasing in power and speed by the day.

2. An Evolutionary Movement

One of the most interesting aspects of this movement is that it is not man-made or man-powered or man-directed. The reason being that it is an evolutionary movement.

This movement and other evolutionary movements carry in them an awakening of higher principles and values in ourselves and in our societies. The resulting new world will be one world that will free itself from all shackles of imperfection and falsehood.

3. Macro Level

The movement of decentralization of power can be seen on the macro level and on micro levels. But first we have to mention that this movement of decentralization was seen and described by former WAAS President Harlan Cleveland when he wrote an article about VISA, an innovating decentralized international company, some 20 years ago.

The movement can best be observed at the macro level in the movement of decentralization of energy and money. Only 10 years ago, energy, in the form of oil, gas, coal and nuclear power, dominated international corporate power and played a determining role in world politics. Today solar and wind energy are pushing the old sources of energy from their throne. The former darlings of the exchange, the large power-houses of old energy, are afraid to meet their insecure future. At present companies, businesses and families can free themselves from the grid and drive their cars on ‘free’ solar electricity. Interestingly, Norway will ban the sales of old energy cars in 2025 and we are moving to a reality where all self-driving cars will be electric. The decentralization of power in energy-matters will take no more than a generation to finalize itself.

The decentralization of money though, is a younger movement. But the signs are impressive. Zero interest and negative interest rates on borrowed money are shocking the financial world. ‘Low interest rates stimulate the economy’ is what all of us have learned. Maybe in the past but not anymore! Money is free and that phenomena is not growing the economy as expected. Economic laws have to be rewritten, but nobody seems to have ideas as to what the new laws are, let alone understand them. On a parallel with ‘free’ money, we see in Western countries the growing necessity to provide each person with a free basic income. The present system of welfare is breaking at so many points and is not supportable anymore. The rise of popular voting on one side and robotization on the other side make a fundamental overhaul of the system necessary and indispensable. Free basic income is a short-cut to solve most of the problems the Western societies are facing. Studies have found that the prejudices towards free basic income for all, like inducing laziness and it being too expensive for the economy, are prejudices. Freedom from authority proves to be a boost to personal life and to the economy. The growing popularity of ‘tiny houses’ fits perfectly with free basic income. A mortgage binds one to the bank for 30 years, but the loan or mortgage on a tiny house can free one in 5 years and leaves 25 years to enjoy financial freedom. We can pragmatically say that ‘free’ money is part of the movement of decentralizing power and resisting it is resisting an evolutionary power that pushes for equality.

“‘Free’ money is part of the movement of decentralizing power and resisting it is resisting an evolutionary power that pushes for equality.”

Another expression at the macro level is the shifting of central government power and budgets to the cities. Large cities in West-European countries are virtually becoming ‘city-

states'. The idea behind it is pragmatic. Local decision-making can be tailor-made and voters in the cities are dreading the one-size-fits-all mentality of the central government. The cities are in close contact and can copy and implement successful ideas and strategies of fellow cities. The increase of (local) details makes adaptation much more effective and faster, while the learning curve becomes sensitive to paradigm shifts. At the same time, we see that moving budgets to specific neighborhoods brings self-determining power to its people. In other words: the town hall understands that it is very advantageous to no longer know everything better than its citizens. The balancing of power is an admirable characteristic and result of the movement of decentralization.

4. Micro Level

At the micro or personal level, we can see multitudinous examples of movements that decentralize power and increase independence. Internet and mainly Wikipedia make information, previously concentrated in encyclopedia, libraries and universities, freely available to every single person. The Social Media brings a voice to everyone, to connect with every other one and freely exchange ideas and interests. Virtual Reality brings new possibilities of 'freely' experiencing life and even the whole world while staying at home, overcoming in the process a multitude of physical and psychological disabilities. Sharing your possessions and your work-skills—'sharing is the new owning'—is an exploding movement all over the world of which Uber, Airbnb, local people's owned energy and Wi-Fi networks, volunteer work, sharing meals and equipment in the neighborhood, are examples. Even local, alternative or complementary currencies can be seen as a method to promote local sharing.

"Our thinking has so far been grounded in the reality of shortages."

An interesting part of the said movement is the growing independence of the individual from experts and expertise. Blockchain technology is on its way to make experts like notaries, lawyers, bank experts, insurance experts, in many areas of expertise superfluous. Similarly, gadgets are developed that can measure everything in our food and environment, removing our present dependence on information and knowledge from companies, authorities and the media. Gadgets measuring our well-being and products that restore our well-being offer solutions that therapeutic experts, psychologists and psychiatrists can only dream of. Psychological 'defects' and disabilities are presently treated chemically and via therapy of all sorts. A harmonizing product that restores the harmony that was broken in time, without the interference or necessity of an expert doctor, is a reborn 'power to the people' worthy. The growing robotization and development of robots for our daily life can also be seen as a movement towards more freedom and more 'free' enjoyable time.

5. Larger Perspectives

But is all this 'free' energy, money, products, services, affordable and realizable in economic terms?, is a rational question. Enlarging our starting perspective should show logical and reasonable answers. The larger perspective points immediately at the reality that feeds the movement of decentralized power. Our thinking has so far been grounded in the reality of shortages. Shortages move the world we know and live in. But as we know that old

energy is limited, we understand that new energy is unlimited in time. Money is changing its nature in the same way. Crowdfunding, micro-loans, people cooperatives, bitcoin technology, local currencies, are all examples of new uses of money and money moving away from points of money-power. Once the points of concentration of money-power release themselves, shortage of money will be a thing of the past. It virtually means all present shortages will ‘soon’ be a thing of the past. There are more developments that point at the removal of shortages. The ‘Cradle-to-Cradle’ concept and applications are conquering the hearts of the world. 3D printing changes our thinking in manufacturing. The nanotechnology innovations make futuristic ideas possible, but also unbelievably smaller and cheaper.

“Real or imagined personal ‘shortages’ are the source and basis of conflicts.”

In a still wider perspective we see that the decentralization of power and the actual removal of shortages point us to a most interesting phenomena: falsehood in all its aspects losing its overwhelming hold and power over the world in favor of simple truth. Falsehood and power are twins and so are falsehood and shortages. The evaporation of both power and shortages will mean the disappearance of the use and need of societal falsehood. For personal falsehood there is already a fine solution in the form of a ‘new’ type of education where children can grow to their full potential independent from social class or parental genes. Real or imagined personal ‘shortages’ are the source and basis of conflicts. A child that is a stranger to competition and bullying, who does not see or experience limits within himself or his/her life, will grow into a really free person. World implementation of this type of education will—by itself alone—remove aggression and violence from our world within two generations.

At the next wider perspective, we see we need these free children for we are moving to a state where death can be postponed and move towards a state of immortality, physical immortality. Present day humanity is hardly prepared for the challenges that are created when time becomes ‘free’ and eternal.

WAAS seems to be a perfect platform to develop ideas, even guidelines, for the future world that is being born before our eyes.

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World Context and Implications for Higher Education Systems and Institutions: Globalization, Trends and Drivers of Change

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Abstract

For the first time in history, thanks to digital technology, human beings are able to express themselves freely and participate: from passive spectators to actors. They know what is happening on planet Earth as a whole, and are thus becoming world citizens. Women, the cornerstone of the new era, are able to progressively take part in the decision-making process. In this context, universities will not only efficiently contribute to being, to knowing, to doing, to living together and to undertaking, but they will also be at the forefront of the general mobilization needed to pave the way for the transition from a culture of force to a culture of word. In order to develop human capacities exclusively (thinking, imagining, discovering, anticipating, innovating, etc.), the philosophical, humanist and artistic dimensions of higher education are crucial. We should bear in mind the need for a dignified life (food, water, health) and sustainable development for all. To face the main challenges of our times— social inequality, extreme poverty, environmental deterioration, immigration, global citizenship— and make the transition from a culture of war to a culture of peace feasible, the world needs higher education of excellence that makes human beings free and responsible in order to reverse present trends. This article points out the main characteristics of globalization and the drivers of change that will have a global impact on society and higher education in the years to come.

1. Introductory Remarks: The Future is to be Invented

Each human being is unique and capable of creativity. This is the great hope for humanity. Until recently, individuals were seen merely as specks in the trajectory of a mankind dominated by absolute masculine power, in which people were invisible, anonymous, silent, fearful, submissive... But now, for the first time in history, humankind has a global conscience, is able to contemplate planet Earth as a whole, in all of its dimensions, and has realized that the future is yet to be written.

Confined both territorially and intellectually, the world's inhabitants have always lived and died in extremely limited spaces. And they have lived in fear, without referents, without the capacity for comparison.

The first phrase in the UN Charter, written in 1945, was extremely lucid in articulating, then and today, the synthesis of how to face the most pressing challenges: 'We the Peoples'.

It does not mention states or governments, but rather ‘Peoples’—peoples who have decided to ‘save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war’. This means that they assume that supreme commitment—so often evoked by President Nelson Mandela—to future generations. *It is the duty of each generation to take the next one into account.* And, once and for all, to enable peace to prevail over war, and words to prevail over force. From the beginning of time, national powers have always followed that perverse adage: ‘If you want peace, prepare for war’. And thus, at the end of World War I the Republican Party prevented the United States from joining the League of Nations which President Wilson had created to implement his ‘Covenant for Permanent Peace’.

“It is the duty of each generation to take the next one into account.”

President Roosevelt’s magnificent plan at the end of World War II placed ‘the Peoples’ at the forefront of history. Moreover, the Constitution of UNESCO, as the United Nations’ intellectual institution, proclaimed that the educated people must be free and responsible, and that they should be guided by the democratic principles of justice, equality and intellectual and moral solidarity. But these ideals, as well as those of the free flow of ideas by word and image, were all too soon ignored and forgotten by the great powers, which invariably had security as their supreme concern.

Three years later, in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, asking all member states ‘to publicize the text of the Declaration and to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories’.

The Preamble reads:

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the ‘equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family’ is the foundation of justice and peace in the world... the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and ‘freedom from fear and want’ has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people...

In its article 26 the Declaration states that ‘higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit’. The reference at this point is to adult citizens, and obligatory or compulsory provisions are excluded. The basis is merit, with respect to all members of the academic community, both professors and students—the merit, dedication, effort and imagination required in order to be fully ‘free and responsible’.

The second paragraph of Article 26 reads:

Education shall be directed to the ‘full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms’. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

The excerpts from the Universal Declaration quoted above are especially pertinent at this time when it is quite possible to find rather biased definitions being offered by institutions that specialize in other areas, such as economics, and which should not be interfering in education to promote their own interests.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s the buzzwords were ‘sharing’ and ‘international cooperation’. Sharing what we have with others and distributing wealth appropriately were the essence of those ‘democratic principles’ that had to be observed in order to put an end to an era of absolute power. ‘Union makes strength’, and it was necessary for all countries to unite (*United Nations*) to achieve the overall and proportional development that would enable peaceful coexistence at the national and international levels. I recall incessant deliberations about the nature of ‘development’: it should be integral, that is, not limited to merely economic aspects but instead, and most importantly, include social and cultural factors; it should be endogenous; it should be sustainable, according to the definition put forward by the committee chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland; and in the late 1980s—at the behest of UNICEF’s Assistant Administrator, Richard Jolly—development should above all be *human* (Development with a Human Face).

There are some other crucial references to be taken into account: in December 1993 after a very important meeting held in Montreal, Canada, the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy* was adopted. I would like to emphasize to whom it was addressed:

The World Plan of Action is addressed, among others, to: individuals, families, groups and communities, educators, teaching institutions and their boards, students, young people, the media, employers and unions, popular movements, political parties, parliamentarians, public officials, national and international non-governmental organizations, all multilateral and intergovernmental organizations, the United Nations Organization, in particular its Centre for Human Rights, specialized institutions of the United Nations System, in particular UNESCO, and States.

Two years later the World Summit on Social Development was held in Copenhagen to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, together with the summit in Beijing on ‘Women and Development’† and the ‘Declaration of Tolerance’‡ by the General Conference of UNESCO. Approval and implementation of the eight commitments should have been widespread, but, regretfully, this was not the case in a neoliberal context.

Particularly relevant is the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in September 1999.§ Its article 1 states that:

A culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life based, among others, on:

* http://www.unesco.org/webworld/peace_library/UNESCO/HRIGHTS/342-353.HTM

† <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/fwcwn.html>

‡ http://www.unesco.org/webworld/peace_library/UNESCO/HRIGHTS/124-129.HTM

§ <http://www.un-documents.net/a53r243a.htm>

- Respect for life, ending of violence and promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation;
- Full respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- Commitment to peaceful settlement of conflicts;
- Efforts to meet the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations;
- Respect for and promotion of the right to development;
- Respect for and promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women and men;
- Respect for and promotion of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information;
- Adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations.

In order to put these aims into practice, the measures to be adopted in regard to such matters as education, development, freedom of expression and gender equality are provided in the programme. The ‘new beginning’ as proclaimed in the Earth Charter* would be the transition from a culture of oppression, violence and war to a culture of encounter, dialogue, conciliation and peace. ‘The transition from force to words’ is the main goal of humanity at present. Such immense funding is devoted to military expenditure and armament when the majority of humanity is living in extreme poverty.

I would also like to mention the Alliance of Civilizations UN Programme.† The report of the High Level Group was presented to the UN Secretary General on 13 November 2006. Its main fields of action are in education, youth, migration and media.

Here again, the importance and urgency of using these highly relevant documents as guidance for everyday behaviour is clear. Also crucial is the inspirational role of the scientists, political leaders, philosophers, teachers and others who have provided timely warnings for humanity and guidance for action. Taking just the 20th century into account, some particularly relevant figures include Wilson, Roosevelt, Kennedy (‘There is no challenge beyond the reach of the creative capacity of humanity’), Gorbachev and Mandela, among others. The crucial role played by these figures will be highlighted later in this article.

In addition, I consider it important to highlight the intellectual leadership of Aurelio Peccei, the founder of the Club of Rome, which published *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972), following the publication of *The Chasm Ahead* (Peccei, 1969), three years earlier. Peccei was particularly skilled in his ability to foresee the future, advocating a position of permanent watchfulness in order to anticipate and prevent calamity.

Also of note are scientists like Albert Einstein (‘only imagination is more important than knowledge’), Bernardo Houssay (‘there is no applied science if there is no science to apply’), Hans Krebs (‘research is to see what others can see and to think what nobody has thought’)

* http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/mods/theme_a/img/02_earthcharter.pdf

† <http://www.unaoc.org/>

and Severo Ochoa ('knowledge to avoid or reduce human suffering'), as well as philosophers such as Edgar Morin, who enlightened us with his wise educational directives (Morin, 1999).

In the early 1990s I commissioned European Community President Jacques Delors to produce the report *Higher Education in the Twenty-first Century*,* which was drafted by a committee of prominent professors at all levels, as well as educators, sociologists, artists and philosophers, among others. The report defined the four principal pillars of the educational process: learning to know; learning to do; learning to be; and learning to live together. Among these four, I would like to underscore the principle of 'learning to be'. A century ago Francisco Giner de los Ríos affirmed that 'education is the capacity to sensibly manage one's own life'; indeed, we might say, learning to use the distinctive and infinite powers of the human species: thought, imagination, foresight, creativity. To the Delors Committee's pillars I added 'learning to undertake', since—and I have mentioned this many times—I remember that after a long stay at the Biochemistry Department at Oxford University, whose county coat of arms reads 'Sapere aude' (dare to know), when I returned to Spain I thought that *while daring to know, one must also know how to dare*, since risk without knowledge is dangerous but knowledge without risk is useless. Learn to dare, learn to undertake, to innovate, remembering those mountaineers who once said, 'we did it because we didn't know it was impossible'.

It is time to reflect and to act accordingly. We must ensure that education is available for all throughout life, and be mindful of the social and physical environment in which it operates.

2. Globalization and Present Trends

At the end of the Cold War, when many important events were taking place—for instance, the end of apartheid, the fall of the Soviet Union, the success of various peace processes—the neoliberalism imposed by the US Republican Party, with the support of UK, led to a system based on market laws, the marginalization of the United Nations System and the weakening of the Nation State. This lack of solidarity on a global level formed the basis of the present social disparities.

In fact, the debates in the UN at the time concerning the nature of development were already being overshadowed by the arms race of the super powers, raising the stakes to stratospheric levels. I recall with horror the 'star wars' in which the United States and the Soviet Union were then engaged. 'Star wars!', while most of the rest of the world were engaged in 'starvation', as I saw it written in large letters in a New York street. International cooperation became exploitation; subsidies and loans were granted under draconian conditions; the nation state was progressively weakened in favour of large multinational corporations. At the same time it was the educational institutions, research centres and universities that kept the flame of human progress and ethical values alive.

To endow the current inhabitants of the Earth with the strength they require, now that they may finally cease to be invisible or anonymous, and to provide the stimuli to enable them to work tirelessly for equal human dignity and world governance, encompassing all human

* <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001166/116618m.pdf>

beings and not only a privileged few, it is essential to keep in mind the episodes that I have experienced or witnessed, either personally or from the perspective of the university: the Ku Klux Klan and racial segregation in the United States; the lack of freedom and excesses of power in the Soviet Union; apartheid in South Africa; the abominable practices of 'Operation Condor' in Latin America; the economic and technological colonialism imposed without hesitation in so many countries in Africa; the craving for domination of the Republican Party led by Ronald Reagan and seconded by UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who replaced the United Nations with groups of plutocrats, and democratic principles with the rules of the marketplace. Although it would appear unthinkable, based solely on their wealth and military power, both leaders intended that a handful of six, seven or eight countries should govern the other 180 countries or more existing at that time. Unthinkable, but true.

"But now, with a global conscience, the growing participation of women in decision-making processes and the new digital technologies, it is possible to initiate the great transitions capable of transforming this era of change into a change of era."

However, the unexpected happened. *The unexpected is our hope.* The unexpected is the best that can be expected of human beings endowed with creativity. Suddenly, a dark-skinned prisoner called Nelson Mandela appeared after 27 years of incarceration without seeking revenge. On the contrary, he emerged with open arms, and, in complicity with another great figure, President Frederik de Klerk, in a few months he ushered in the downfall of apartheid to become the first black president of South Africa, marking the course of a new beginning in that country and in the African continent as a whole.

Also unexpectedly, thanks to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's radical change in the manner of exercising power, and with the symbolic breach of the Berlin Wall, the vast Soviet empire fell, while its members formed the Commonwealth of Independent States and could thus commence their long march towards building regimes based on public liberties and pluralism.

A system that was based on equality, but which had forsaken liberty, had finally fallen. But the alternative, based on liberty but forsaking equality, failed to learn its lesson. Just the opposite, it intensified and imposed rules and standards of conduct on the West in a very peculiar manner.

Nevertheless, in the late 1980s everything pointed to peace. For example, following the end of the Cold War and the racist regime in South Africa, thanks to initiatives supported by UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar, in a few years peace finally came to Mozambique with the wise intervention of President Joaquim Chissano and the Community of Saint Egidio; the civil conflict in El Salvador was resolved at Chapultepec; and the peace process was renewed in Guatemala. Indeed, the late 1980s witnessed a popular demand for peace, a demand that was ignored by those who thought that the moment had come to achieve their dreams of dominance.

The West, particularly Europe, is experiencing the collapse of a system based on an economy of speculation and the delocalization of production—which, above all, has converted China into a huge communist capitalist—and war, whose tragic balance may be summarized by more than 3 billion dollars that are invested daily in military spending and weapons while at the same time at least 20,000 people die of hunger and neglect daily, the majority of whom are children under five years of age.

“The fundamental mission of universities is to pave the way for this new era, the era of the people.”

However, beyond the confusion gripping Europe, the effects of emerging citizen power are being felt. Latin America, Africa and a few Arab and Asian countries—including India, both qualitatively and quantitatively—are taking a new course and applying original models.

Only twenty years ago it was unimaginable that institutions using socially responsible policies could decisively influence the attitudes and lives of the majority of people. But now, with a global conscience, the growing participation of women in decision-making processes and the new digital technologies, it is possible to initiate the great transitions capable of transforming this era of change into a change of era.

Thanks to digital technology, for the first time in history human beings are able to express themselves freely and participate in events—moving from passive spectators to actors. They are no longer silent, obedient and fearful. They know what is happening on planet Earth as a whole and are becoming world citizens. Above all, women, who form the cornerstone of the new era, are able to progressively take part in decision-making. After a secular male absolute power, every human being, with the distinctive capacity for creativity, will contribute to inventing the future—a future in which humanity will be guided by democratic principles, as enshrined in UNESCO’s Constitution, the only context in which human rights can be fully exercised.

3. Drivers of Change

Citizen participation has always been very weak and the voice of the people, generally barely audible, was neither listened to nor heard. In contrast, today there are many who are capable of making the transition from subjects to citizens, becoming visible, identifiable, bold and unbound. The fundamental mission of universities is to pave the way for this new era, the era of the people.

Higher education means being fully—and at a higher level—free and responsible, as so masterfully defined in Article 1 of the UNESCO Constitution. Free and responsible! This means empowering people who act on their own reflections and not on the dictates of others; who are aware of their rights and obligations; and who fully apply democratic principles at the personal, local, regional and global levels, which is the only context in which human rights may be freely exercised.

During the 1990s, as Director General of UNESCO, I had the opportunity of organizing global conferences on higher education, which provided me with first-hand knowledge of the

sector's essential characteristics and those that must be maintained as our principal reference: the values that are common to all universities in the world. This process culminated in the World Conference on Higher Education held in Paris in 1998,* the conclusions of which are still entirely applicable as models for the foremost academic institutions at the dawn of this new century and millennium.

It was underscored that **'it is essential that we all be autonomous, while being interrelated and interactive'**, so that universities may play their role as intellectual, academic, scientific and cultural leaders, enabling them to achieve universal recognition and to implement human rights within a genuinely democratic framework.

In effect, **universities must tirelessly promote justice, gender equality, sustainability and democracy.** The adequate provision of and investment in lifelong higher education that is accessible to all citizens from the age of emancipation is, as it was so lucidly defined in the Declaration of the Regional Conference on Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, **'an irreplaceable element for social progress, the generation of wealth, the strengthening of cultural identities, social cohesion, the struggle against poverty and hunger, the prevention of climate change and the energy crisis, as well as for fostering a culture of peace'**.†

Concerning universities as a vital process, point C.6 of the Declaration of the 2008 Regional Conference on Higher Education‡ is quite significant:

Moving towards the goal of generalized, lifelong higher education requires demanding and providing new content for principles of active teaching, according to which learners are individually and collectively the principal protagonists. Active, permanent, and high-level teaching is only possible if it is closely and innovatively linked to the exercise of citizenship, active performance within the workplace, and access to the diversity of cultures.

We must read and re-read the Declaration because it contains essential recommendations, particularly in Chapters D (Social and Human Values of Higher Education) and E (Scientific, Humanistic and Artistic Education and Comprehensive Sustainable Development).

In order to achieve *a socially responsible university*, among the major questions to be addressed, I would like to highlight the following:

- The policies and perspectives of higher education for a socially responsible university.
- The educational and teaching challenges in training highly-qualified professionals who are committed to society. Universities should demonstrate socially responsible management of the environment, energy and sustainable development.
- The use of information technologies to support the social mission of universities.
- Improvement of the training of educational and health professionals as an expression of socially responsible universities.

* http://www.unesco.org/education/educprog/wche/declaration_eng.htm

† https://www.iau-hesd.net/sites/default/files/documents/declarationres_ingles.pdf

‡ Ibid.

- Food security: the responsibility of universities towards society within the contemporary context.

At this point I believe it would be interesting to examine what were considered the great challenges facing higher education 25 years ago and the solutions that were proposed at that time, looking at some of the points that I addressed and the recommendations made at the Europe-Latin America University Conference held in 1987 in Buenos Aires:

- **The genuine wealth of a country has its expression in its capacity for creativity, innovation, and in its capacity to respond to challenges both personally and collectively.**
- The unwavering reason for the university's existence is to bring culture to all citizens.
- New dimensions and change require an attitude of permanent learning.
- **Universities can and must play a fundamental role in providing an accurate analysis of the present and in predicting the future.**
- The quality of its teaching staff is the indisputable essence of a university.
- If you really believe that higher education institutions are the motors of society on whose actions future progress depends, then new national priorities must be established so that education and science receive the financial and social support that they so urgently need.
- **With few exceptions, universities have not fulfilled their role as catalysts for social change.**
- The only requirement for choosing teachers should be their qualifications. And as for students, access to higher education should not be based on their families' economic standing, but rather on their duly accredited efforts and abilities.
- We cannot expect universities to be rebuilt or renewed in a context that is anachronistic and indifferent to any change.
- **Transformation of our universities can only be achieved with the necessary daring and lucid political, social and economic changes.** It is in stimulating and supporting that transformation where universities can play a fundamental role.
- **Universities must become permanent centres for higher learning,** and institutions capable of mobilizing all of their intellectual potential.
- If universities lead the never-ending rebellion against ignorance, and if they still have the strength required to implement the previously mentioned transformations, then universities will be the life blood of all educational activities.

Sonia Bahri rightly quoted from the World Conference on Higher Education, UNESCO 2009*: 'new dynamics [this was the title of the 2009 WCHE] are transforming' higher education functions to 'lead society in generating global knowledge to address global challenges' and

* UNESCO, World Conference on Higher Education: The New Dynamics of Higher Education and Research For Societal Change and Development (2009)

promote ‘critical thinking and active citizenship’ which ‘would contribute to sustainable development, peace, wellbeing and the realization of human rights’. And she added that:

[A]t both the national and the subregional levels, universities will need to work in synergy and build bridges between the other stakeholders of the public space: policymakers, whose decisions must draw upon research findings, civil society, industry and the media, and not forgetting local populations. This synergy must ensure complementary and sharing for the sake of greater impact.

Yes, higher education is at the forefront of the priorities that scientists must urgently address in close cooperation at the global level*:

- Food. Food production using agriculture, aquaculture and biotechnology and the preservation and suitable distribution of food, promoting as far as possible the local raising of crops and livestock are key to development.
- Water. The appropriate use and management of water resources, agriculture adequately supported by technology, water production through desalination, etc. are essential aspects for ensuring the welfare of all of the Earth’s inhabitants.
- Health. This will undoubtedly become the most important field of scientific research in the next few years, given its increasing focus on the individual. Much progress has been made, but, given that each life is a wonder that must be nurtured with the utmost care, in-depth studies are required in such fields as genetics, epigenetics, autoimmune symptomatology and neurological deterioration due to age. All of these are areas that deserve special attention. Prevention is undoubtedly the top priority, but it is very difficult to find popular support for these areas since they are essentially invisible.
- Environment. For the first time mankind is living in an age in which human activity has a global impact. This is called the ‘anthropocene’ age in reference to the fact that today human beings, given the fantastic development of their creative imaginations, are able to modify parameters that not long ago were beyond their reach. It is now vital that specialists in areas such as energy sources, recapturing carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases and forecasting the effects of the partial melting of polar icecaps (particularly in the Arctic) should focus their research on adopting measures capable of at least containing or lessening the present rate of environmental deterioration.
- The recent Paris Agreement (12/12/15) is a very important step forward that must now be implemented under the supervision and coordination of the UN System. This is a process in which universities and scientific institutions must play a central role, as its success requires intergenerational solidarity.
- Rapid and coordinated action to reduce the impact of natural disasters (wind, water, fire) is another of the measures demanded by the world’s citizens, alarmed by the immense amounts of money devoted to military spending, while the aid needed to rehabilitate areas devastated by earthquakes or tsunamis and to return the victims to normality is always too little and comes too late.

* Art. ‘Science and Conscience for Radical Change’, *Litoral, Revista de Poesía, Arte y Pensamiento* (2012).

- Education. As is the case with health, water and food, education is a social component of the right to dignity in life—and thus there should be no limitations on access to education at any age. Through learning and studying, human beings are empowered to act on their own reflections, rather than under the influence of ideological or religious dogmas or the dictates of others.
- Peace. In the transition away from a secular culture of war, oppression and violence, the perverse adage ‘if you want peace, prepare for war’, must now be replaced by ‘if you want peace, work to build it each day in your daily lives’. Here again, to achieve a re-founded United Nations and competent world governance, scientists must endeavour to contribute to the development of mechanisms capable of rapidly resolving the inevitable conflicts, using appropriate and modern materials, without threatening life as a whole, as is currently the case with nuclear weapons.

In view of the foregoing, the following recommendations are the great objectives that universities should pursue, using all of their influence and capacity for mobilization, both in the classroom and in cyberspace:

1. A re-founding of the United Nations System, making ‘We, the Peoples’ a reality in a General Assembly—as is already the case in the International Labour Organization, that relic of the League of Nations—in which 50% of the delegates would be representatives from the member countries and 50% from civil society. This would be augmented by a Security Council in which veto rights would be replaced by weighted votes and the addition of an Environmental Council and a Socioeconomic Council.

This has all been well planned: it is now a matter of ensuring that they (especially the Republican Party in the United States) realize that the time for silence and a passive citizenry in the world is over. It is essential to return to the concept of a ‘United Nations’ so that all of us, together, may achieve the great transformations previously mentioned, with particular emphasis on the ‘power of the word’ to demand equal dignity for all human beings.

2. Nuclear disarmament. It is madness for the world to continue under the sword of Damocles represented by nuclear weapons. No excuses can be made concerning reasons of security since nuclear weapons contradict all the norms of a civilized society. Thus, the use of these weapons must cease immediately. If the great majority of the world’s universities were to demand that we usher in a post-nuclear era in situations of conflict, this would be a giant step towards creating that other world which we all desire.
3. Strengthening genuine democracy is the only context in which it is possible to implement human rights to achieve socially responsible universities in the short term. In this respect, universities should familiarize themselves with and contribute to the project for a Universal Declaration on Democracy,* drafted with contributions from Karel Vasak, Juan Antonio Carrillo Salcedo, Mario Soares and others who have distinguished themselves for their knowledge in this field. The institutional support of higher education for this document would be particularly important in order to achieve its consideration and approval by the United Nations. In addition to covering ethical, social and cultural factors, this Declaration also includes economic and international aspects.

* http://www.fund-culturadepaz.org/democracia_eng.php

In terms of organization, there are already multiple associations of higher education institutions at the global and regional levels. But especially now that new digital technologies are bringing us even closer together, despite any physical distance, it would be wonderful if we could collaborate so that higher education institutions become not only places for lifelong learning (especially important given our present rates of longevity), but can also take action to support or reject options that would ultimately and rapidly usher in the previously mentioned transformations, including fulfilling our obligations to future generations, both from a social perspective as well as with respect to protecting the environment. In that regard, it is also interesting to consider the World University Consortium, a project of the World Academy of Art & Science* whose members include the International Association of University Presidents and the Inter-University Center.

In my opinion, one of the current activities related to the World Academy of Art and Science that is particularly relevant is the **'new paradigm', which seeks to formulate alternatives to the present neo-liberal system** and in which the Green Cross Foundation, the Club of Rome and the Foundation for a Culture of Peace, among others, are now participating.

I emphasize that **at this moment in time there is the risk of reaching points of no return**, particularly in terms of social and environment issues. This represents an essential concern because certain measures cannot be postponed. For this reason, the following Joint Declaration† has been launched:

We, individuals and institutions that are profoundly concerned about the Earth's present state, particularly by potentially irreversible social and environmental processes, and about the lack of an effective, democratic multilateral entity respected by all that is essential for world governance at this extraordinarily complex and changing time,

Urge you to adhere to this joint declaration in order to contribute to the rapid adoption of the following measures:

3.1. Environment

The current tendencies, resulting from a deplorable economic system based solely on making fast profits, must be urgently reversed to avoid reaching a point of no return. Both President Obama 'we are the first generation to feel the effect of climate change and the last generation who can do something about it',—as well as Pope Francis—'...intergenerational solidarity is not optional, but rather a basic question of justice, since the world we have received also belongs to those who will follow us', have with wisdom and leadership warned of the immediate actions that must be taken concerning climate change. We must invent the future. The distinctive creative capacity of human beings is our hope. As Amin Maalouf has highlighted, 'unprecedented situations require unprecedented solutions'.

We live in a crucial moment in the history of mankind in which both population growth and the nature of our activities influence the habitability of the earth (anthropocene).

All other interests must be subordinated to an in-depth understanding of reality. The scientific community, guided by the democratic principles so clearly set forth in the UNESCO Constitution, should counsel political leaders (at the international, regional, national and

* <http://www.worldacademy.org/>

† <https://jointdeclaration.wordpress.com/>

municipal levels) concerning the actions to be taken, not only in their role as advisors, but also to provide foresight. Knowledge to foresee, foresight to prevent.

It is clear that accurate diagnoses have already been made, but they have not led to what is really important: the right and timely treatment.

Communications media and social networks must constantly strive to achieve a resounding outcry, a sense of solidarity and responsibility, adopting personal and collective resolutions at all levels—including radical changes in institutions—capable of halting the current decline before it is too late.

3.2. Social Inequality and Extreme Poverty

[As I have already emphasized above,] [i]t is humanly intolerable that each day thousands of people die of hunger and neglect, the majority of them children between the ages of one and five, while at the same time 3 billion dollars are invested in weapons and military spending. This is particularly true when, as is currently the case, funds for sustainable human development have been unduly and wrongfully reduced. The lack of solidarity of the wealthiest towards the poor has reached limits that can no longer be tolerated. For the transition from an anti-ecological economy of speculation, delocalization of production and war to a knowledge-based economy for global, sustainable and human development, and from a culture of imposition, violence and war to a culture of dialogue, conciliation, alliances and peace, we must immediately abolish plutocratic groups (G7, G8, G20) and re-establish ethical values as the basis for our daily behaviour.

3.3. Elimination of the Nuclear Threat and Disarmament for Development

The nuclear threat continues to pose an unbelievably sinister and ethically untenable danger. Well-regulated disarmament for development would not only guarantee international security, but would also provide the necessary funds for global development and the implementation of the United Nations' priorities (food, water, health, environment, lifelong education for all, scientific research and innovation, and peace).

For these so relevant and urgent reasons *We propose* calling an extraordinary session of the United Nations General Assembly to adopt the necessary urgent social and environmental measures and, moreover, to establish the guidelines for the re-founding of a democratic multilateral system [as suggested above in the objectives that universities should pursue]...

In view of the poor progress made toward fulfilling the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and, given the present lack of solidarity, increased social inequality and subordination to the dictates of commercial consortia, no one believes that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to be adopted in September will actually be implemented [without the leadership of a multilateral democratic system].

The solution is an inclusive participative democracy in which all aspects of the economy are subordinated to social justice.

Jose Luis Sampedro left a fantastic legacy to young people: 'You will have to change both ship and course'.

Now ‘the Peoples’ can raise their voices and actively participate. But it is up to the scientific, academic, artistic and intellectual communities to mobilize them, to be at the forefront in the movement towards a better world. As the Earth Charter,* one of the most lucid documents from recent decades, states:

We stand at a critical moment in the Earth’s history, a time when humanity must choose its future. As the world becomes increasingly interdependent and fragile, the future at once holds great peril and great promise. To move forward we must recognize that in the midst of a magnificent diversity of cultures and life forms we are one human family and one Earth community with a common destiny. We must join together to bring forth a sustainable global society founded on respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice, and a culture of peace...

We must realize that when basic needs have been met, human development is primarily about being more, not having more. We have the knowledge and technology to provide for all and to reduce our impact on the environment. The emergence of a global civil society is creating new opportunities to build a democratic and humane world.

Now that the voice of the people can be heard, we must ensure that everyone understands that **implementing human rights benefits all of us equally**. It must be universally accepted that accumulating immense fortunes adds nothing to an already comfortable life. I would like to repeat a simple observation that I read one day in a small chapel in the south of France: ‘*Les linceuls n’ont pas de poches*’ (‘funeral shrouds have no pockets’). Whether we are born into wealth or poverty, death is the great equalizer. Thus, it is essential that universities, aware of the emergency the world is facing, become protagonists in the radical changes that cannot be postponed, and achieve now what in 1945 was impossible: cooperation and working together, in a context of democratic principles, towards peaceful coexistence marked by social justice and the conditions inherent in a dignified life for all human beings.

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Predation, Gender & our Anthropological Oxymoron

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Abstract

Predation, an inheritance from our biological past, is alive and well. It now takes the form of concern with our place in the social hierarchy, the “social food chain”. Furthermore, it appears in science as the underlying principle of individualism in the free market system in economic theory. Darwinian theory has also been distorted into survival of the strongest, in order to suit the needs of this modern ideology. The deterministic systems of both science and religion are far from ancient Greek philosophy, which gave rise to most of western thought about the meaning of human existence. Women do not generally participate in this predatory ideology, but are more geared to cooperation, partly because they have been at the bottom of the “food chain” for thousands of years, and also because their brains are shaped differently from men’s when their gender is determined as embryos. Male brains are compartmentalized; female brains are more connected. Each could play a significant role in human society were they given equal opportunity to do so. As all 70 trillion cells in the human body are important, so should the female population be involved in the creation of a new society based upon cooperation.

1. Predation

A long, long time ago, a really long time ago, a creature was walking along and saw another creature approaching him. He had to make a split-second decision: Was that creature a predator who was going to eat him or not. In other words, where was he in the ‘food chain’ at that moment? This was/is not an idle question; he had to decide whether to stay and fight or to flee, or as an additional stress response suggests, freeze, hoping the other creature would think him dead and leave him alone.

Believe it or not, this bit of decision-making is still with us. Most men still want to know about every other person (man) they meet. Is he above me or below me in the ‘food chain’? What we mean, metaphorically and to a degree ironically, by ‘food chain’ is whether the other person is above us or below us in the social hierarchy, especially in the workplace, so that we will know how to confront him. Though this varies from culture to culture, this is not a minor question, for the fate of men low down on the ‘food chain’ is much worse even than for women since they are given all the riskiest life assignments: fighting wars, exploring unknown territories, carrying out risky occupations, etc., with the attendant higher mortality rate (Baumeister 2007). In the predatory system which we inhabit in the world today this sense of location in the food chain extends all the way up to communities, regions, nations, religions, cultures, etc. It is captured in the psychological idea of in-group/out-group.

Where is our group in the hierarchy of groups? How can we rise to, or stay at the top of this collective food chain in order to survive (and not be 'eaten')?

"What sets us human beings apart, more than anything else, from other species is the development of consciousness."

Most women are different from men in this respect. They have been below men in the social food chain for so long that they don't really bother asking this question. What they do want to know is whether the other person they encounter is with them or against them. Would she (or he) be willing and able to cooperate with her, so they could together better survive "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" that accompany their common subordinate position? (Gray 2012) This bit of decision-making is also still with us, for women, in spite of some improvements in the past 50-100 years or so, are still considered by most men in the world to be far below them in the social 'food chain'!

2. Evolution

But now Darwin, in discussing the evolution of species, suggested, if I understand him correctly, that human beings are the highest stage in the evolutionary process. What sets us human beings apart, more than anything else, from other species is the development of consciousness. We have the ability to think, even quite abstractly, and to communicate these thoughts to other human beings and then act in response to those (now) collective thoughts. The workings of this process are embodied in the concept of culture, something to which anthropologists have devoted a great deal of effort to understand and to document. Culture, however, is not simply a biological mechanism; it is a human construct held together by emotional and moral, as well as intellectual meanings. It contains a set of roles and rules designed to allow a group of human beings to work together as a social group beyond specific natural laws that only set ultimate constraints on human behavior. The strictly biological requirements for culture are survival and reproduction, and there is and has been, apparently, an endless variety of different cultural forms that in one way or another have succeeded in fulfilling these biological requirements (and perhaps some that did not). This is not to say that biological factors at some point disappear from human behavior, but that once consciousness enters the picture biology and culture enter into a dialectical relationship, with infinitely more complex outcomes than can be formulated by biology alone.

Why then is this predatory mentality still with us after such a long time? For tens of thousands of years humankind lived in small bands determined largely by kinship. In these bands women and men consciously shared responsibilities for the cooperative effort that allowed them to survive in all sorts of hostile environments from the frozen Arctic to the steaming jungles. From what we know and can infer, there must have been a degree of equality between the sexes in these hunting and gathering societies. Though there might have been cultural differences, there was no problem of property to be inherited or special territories to be defended. The birth and death rates were both high and the population sparsely distributed (Lerner 1986, pp. 17-19, Boehm 2012).

Meanwhile, along the evolutionary trajectory, Darwin wrote about mutations and/or changes in the environment of organisms and the ability of those organisms to adapt to those changes in a mindless process of natural selection (Dennett 1995). One result of this was the disappearance of some species as a result of their inability to adapt. He characterized this process as a competitive struggle among the different species. Those able to adapt would be the ones that would survive. I think he also suggested that cooperation was very important in this process of competition and adaptation, such as molecules cooperating to become cells, cells cooperating to become organisms, multi-cellular organisms following this, etc. This process also culminated in the human body with its plus or minus 70 trillion cells, which exist in more or less perfect biological cooperation unless and until environmental forces enter to upset this balance.

One could be allowed to ask if the evolution of the species, as Darwin described it and as the subsequent research in biology has demonstrated, would have succeeded if half the population of elements in the universe had been excluded by definition from participation in that process. This has been exactly the fate of women who have been excluded from meaningful participation in the evolution of society over the past 8,000 years or so. Is there anything about the human body, that greatest marvel of evolution, which suggests that it could function just as well without the full participation of half of its cells? Do we see human organs waging war on each other in order to protect their 'interests'? Does the liver attack the kidneys, or the heart the lungs, for whatever reason? Somehow, over time *all* the body's cells discovered a way to cooperate for a mutually beneficial coexistence.

In fact, it would appear that the process of evolution has in some ways been arrested with more recent developments of consciousness, particularly since the time of the domestication of plants and animals. We have experienced an enormous increase in our ability to produce goods and services, often, if not always at the expense of the less fortunate members of the human race, including our own countrymen, as our history of imperialism, slavery and exploitation can well attest. But our ability to manage ourselves as a species has been somewhat more erratic, at least with respect to the question of predation. Neither science nor religion, those two great systems of deterministic thought that have governed our lives in the West for the past two thousand years or more, allows for the full significance of consciousness. Or perhaps we could better say that those systems of thought have been used primarily to rein in or channel consciousness, rather than to allow it the freedom to evolve as it might have, or as, indeed it did for a time in ancient Greece before the new religion of the day arrived. Byzantine emperors tore down most of the Greek temples and schools, destroying the spirit of democracy and freedom of inquiry in the process. The Bible also writes:

"You shall tear down their altars and smash their sacred pillars and burn their Ashram with fire, and you shall cut down the engraved images of their gods and obliterate their name from that place". (Deuteronomy 12:3)

The same fate has befallen countless other 'pagan' philosophies in most of the remainder of the world as they have become 'civilized' by the West, either in the name of religion or, more recently, economic progress.

Many Darwinians, and, especially, social Darwinists have developed an image that emphasizes the competitive nature of the process of evolution, though many have

misinterpreted Darwin's meaning, for example Herbert Spencer, who coined the term, 'survival of the fittest'. Unfortunately, the word, 'fit', has (at least) two meanings in English: a) in good physical condition, or strong and dominant, as it is popularly interpreted, versus what Darwin actually meant, b) appropriate for the circumstances, i.e., the shoe 'fits', or, more to the point, if the environment changes or if a mutation in a species 'fits' the environment in which it arises, it will over time survive, and the species that embodies this mutation will survive.

The same can be said about social evolution. If a social or cultural form is appropriate for the natural environment in which it arises, that social group, now including most of humanity during our present evolutionary moment, will survive. So with our new-found evolutionary level of consciousness we are able to and need to ask ourselves if our present socio-economic system of rugged (predatory) individualism is appropriate or fits the environment in which it finds itself and hence whether that system and its people will survive. Indeed, the environment is actually sending us some messages on that score at this very moment. And, in fact, some people are, indeed, conscious of this existential problem. They are working to inform others so that the necessary 'adaptation' need not be left to blind chance but could actually be designed by us humans before it is too late.

The problem is that our environment is now more and more being created by men (gender intended); it is no longer only a passive force arising according to 'natural law'. Mortality and morbidity are created as much by human intervention in the natural environment as by the 'forces of nature', themselves. Indeed, we now have many studies to enlighten us about the state of our health in an environment largely created by us (Gutenschwager 1991, Cloninger 2004, Deiner, et al 2010, Edwards 2010).

In fact, the truth of the matter probably is that cooperation has been a much more important force in the survival of our species than competition (Minard 2006). This question has been studied in great detail by Martin Nowak (2011). He used Game Theory, especially The Prisoner's Dilemma, to establish that cooperation would generally improve the chances of survival of any species or social group, more than, or in addition to competition, as both are present in nature and society.

Darwin and most of those who have followed in his giant footsteps have talked about mutation and selection. But we need a third ingredient, cooperation, to create complex entities, from cells to societies (Nowak 2011, p. 14)

So why have economists and other scientists dwelt so much upon competition in their theoretical formulations? Perhaps it is because it has been necessary for their atomistic paradigm, or perhaps it is because men are always concerned about their hierarchical position in relation to other men in a world they have already defined as predatory in the first place. Or, perhaps, the men who first sought to rationalize the so-called 'free market' were reacting to the oppressive nature of feudalism and religion, the social paradigms that preceded and opposed the rise of science.

Nowak employed the Prisoner's Dilemma in a specific manner. Unlike the traditional approach, he iterated it over many trials or generations. He found that players over time discover indirect reciprocity: "I scratch your back and somebody else will scratch mine".

They are then willing to take some risk by adjusting their future moves in accordance with their prior experiences. Thus, they tend toward cooperation in the long run or, at least, those who found ways to cooperate were more likely to survive, as his subsequent research in biology and medicine also established. Indeed, he claims,

Cancer is a disease where individual motives return to dominate (p. 142).

The story of humanity is one that rests on the never-ending creative tension between the dark pursuit of selfish short-term interests and the shining example of striving toward collective long-term goals (p. 280).

Furthermore, the development of indirect reciprocity, which leads to cooperation, requires communication, so that language has been the key evolutionary adaptation that has allowed humans to survive and now dominate nature itself. But communication is used differently by women and men. Men communicate to transmit information and to solve specific problems. Women communicate to share emotions (Gungor 2008). One is not more important than the other: *Both forms are necessary to establish cooperation*. But since women have been missing from the public discourse for thousands of years, this may be why prevailing ideologies and scientific theories, including especially economics, would, when applied to society, ignore the emotional and moral dimensions which play an important role in constructing the social world (Gutenschwager 2015).

3. Science and Predation

Science arose as an integral part of philosophy in Ancient Greece. It was the product of a natural curiosity about human existence in an environment uncomplicated by modern systems of technology and large-scale organization. Leisure time was provided by slavery (and the usual unrecognized labor of women). There was no particular compulsion to control and dominate nature in the search for profits. There was also no imposition of orthodoxy; men (and even some women) were more or less free to express their philosophical thoughts without fear of reprisal. Thus there were almost as many schools of thought as there were philosophers, located throughout the territory of the Greeks, from Asia Minor to the islands, to Athens itself. This is not to say that there were no political conflicts or wars or that human beings were somehow free of all the other failings of humanity at that time, but simply that philosophy and hence science were not so involved in material society at that time.

This is quite unlike the rise of modern science, which took place in a very hostile environment characterized by strong opposition from religion. Though Galileo, Copernicus, Giordano Bruno and others were merely saying things that Aristarchus had stated freely 2000 years earlier (about the earth circling the sun), they either paid with their lives or were exiled as a result of their thoughts.

But it was mercantilism and budding capitalism that preserved their ideas and the subsequent scientists who were influenced by them. In fact, modern science and capitalism had a very close relationship from the very beginning. It was the profits from trade and industry that provided the leisure time for philosopher-scientists to pursue their ideas during the renaissance. At the same time science and technology provided many of the innovations in both production and weaponry that have facilitated the expansion and continued success of capitalism. This same symbiotic relationship continues right up to the present day. Both

science and capitalism are dedicated to the domination and control of nature (and society) through both theory and action. Predation is, therefore, at the heart of both endeavors, whether or not all the participants in the two systems of thought and behavior intend or even recognize this. In some cases scientists are willing and able to bridge the gap between their science and the political economic system that it serves and are thus able to use their scientific knowledge to criticize its use (Commoner 1971, 1990). But these cases are somewhat rare, for reasons we shall examine below.

Modern culture also reflects and promotes predatory thinking. It is addicted to violence and predation. This is evident in the newscasts, in the movies, in television and in the computer games promoted even among the very young. Natural and man-made disasters—blowing up people and objects, killing and/or devouring of living things, continuous images of terrorism—are everywhere in the media. Is this an accident or, as claimed by those who produce this predatory carnage, a mere “reflection of what people wish for”? Or is it part of an organized attempt to perpetuate the predatory culture within which it is embedded?

The predatory search for wealth, idealized in economic theory, is also claimed to be the most important measure of success in modern society, leading, it is presumed, to happiness. Of course, this is true up to a certain point, but predation and the need for power can be addictive for most men (and even some women), and money is pursued way past its ability to bring satisfaction based upon the consumption of goods and services. This can also be seen in the theory and research originating in most of the (non-predatory) humanities and humanistic social sciences, including psychology, all of which are, needless to say, marginal in the mainstream culture of both academia and larger society. One indication of the mixed blessing of power and money is a recent survey of 5,000 American users of the online social media network.

Higher-income people are using Twitter as a means of disseminating information; lower-income people use it more for social communication... The analysis also revealed that tweets from those who make more money are likelier to express fear or anger (Nuwer 2015).

Still, there might well be hope for a future where cooperation replaces predation. Greek philosophy also offered Epicurus, whose philosophy of cooperation is gaining support in the world today. The idea of the dialectic also suggests that conflict in the form of antitheses is incomplete without new syntheses (Gutenschwager 2013). Conflict needs to be resolved with some new form of cooperation, as Kuhn suggests in his influential study of conflict among scientific paradigms. There are also some 100 million American and European adults experimenting with new forms of community living without competition and even in some cases without money (Ray and Anderson 2000). There is also hope in an otherwise unsuspected (by men) location—the female brain.

4. Male/Female

Perhaps we could allow ourselves the freedom to ask if life today, or, perhaps more importantly, tomorrow, might be different, if women were and had been allowed to participate freely in discussions about what kind of society we should create for ourselves? Also we might ask: Has woman's fate always been thus, that is, since the beginning of our time on

this planet? How did this circumstance arise? Is it a product of our biology and thus a result of natural law (Lerner 1986, Chodorow 1999)? Or could the position of women, in fact, be changed? Indeed, one could say that it is already changing. What would be the benefits of this change (apart from the obvious benefits to women, of course)?

Throughout our biological history the predators have almost always been men. They were the hunters, while women were the gatherers. The women knew plant world and were likely responsible for the domestication of plants and the rise of agriculture. The domestication of animals then made hunting less a necessity than a sport. Men also became involved in much of the farming activity in the West, leaving the not inconsiderable 'domestic' activities to women. Over time land became the primary resource both for agriculture as well as for the grazing of animals. What male predators hunted then was land and the best 'hunters' obtained the best land. In time the most cunning men were able to monopolize and privatize land and to define themselves as feudal lords, landed gentry, emperors, kings, etc., declaring themselves as rulers by 'divine right' or natural selection or whatever. They also at some point developed the idea that their fellow human beings could be preyed upon and used to further their economic interests and satisfy their psychological needs for power and security. Marx documented this process up into the 19th century for the nobility in England, describing what Thomas Paine in *The Rights of Man* had already referred to humorously as a class of 'no ability'!

In time, and with the increasing size of society, men also began to develop more specialized forms of knowledge in order to survive in a more complex social world. Thus carpenters, merchants, plumbers and subsequently accountants, salesmen, etc., took their place alongside the farmers and herders, creating a more divided social world and a separation of knowledge and expertise into separate compartments.

But whatever these developments, I think we can all agree that for thousands of years we have lived in a male-dominated predatory world: a world *of* men, *by* men and *for* men, to edit slightly Abraham Lincoln's famous quotation. This is not just a male-dominated world. Since the social world is socially constructed we live in a world *constructed* by men. Furthermore, it is also probably true that most men in the world would accept the idea that this is proper and good: a woman's place is in the home. Or as an educated Swiss man told me personally in all seriousness in the 1970s, "We Swiss believe that women are good (only) for the three 'Ks': 'Kuche' (Kitchen), 'Kinder' (Children) und 'Kirche' (Church)"! (See also Weisstein, 1970). More recently a fourth 'K' has been added: 'Karriere', usually without any lessening of the responsibilities in the realm of the other three 'Ks', of course. I believe that it was still the case that women could not even travel outside Switzerland at that time without the written permission of their husband, father, or male guardian!

This subordination of women and their exclusion from public life is something that has been going on for thousands of years. Women have been essentially imprisoned during this time: for the lucky ones it has been the bedroom and kitchen that was their confinement, for the less lucky it has been the slave quarters or the harem and for the really unlucky it has been houses of prostitution (Lerner 1986). With the glass ceiling and reduced pay for equal work that is still the fate of the majority of women, to say nothing of the largely hidden but still very substantial traffic in white slaves in the world today, we can assume that the idea of equality between the sexes is still very much something to be struggled for.

Meanwhile, we live in a world filled with irony, or of “unanticipated consequences”, as Robert Merton called it in the 1930s. That is, we are not able to foresee all the consequences of our behavior, mainly because we do not give full meaning to the idea of consciousness. This is related to our unwillingness to realize that, as human beings, we are constantly constructing and reconstructing our world in an endless dialectic process in which we act individually and collectively, attempting to perceive what we have done and then react to this with a hopefully improved set of images of the world (Gutenschwager 1970). The problem is that there are substantial time delays in this process. It may take whole generations for us to adjust our images of what we are actually doing, especially when we consider the emotional investments we have made in our existing images of the world, conditioned as they are by habit, superstition, mystery, mythology, religion, science, or just the great need for certainty.

One of the recent unintended consequences in the history of female oppression turned out to be a product of the economic system itself. Capitalism, as already noted, is a system of exploitation, of predatory individualism—the euphemistic vocabulary of economics notwithstanding. It was enormously successful in creating growth and the rise of the technological society. However, when the unintended consequences of overproduction or the loss of the equilibrium between production and consumption, (labeled ‘supply and demand’ by economists in order to mask any possible human involvement in the system) began to appear towards the end of the 19th century, capitalism turned to its recent consumerist form, trying to boost consumption. *But the damaging effects of too much concentration of wealth in too few hands had already taken its toll on the ideological assumptions of Adam Smith’s formulation of a system of never-ending growth.* In spite of this, the rate of exploitation of workers in relation to productivity gains in 1900 was still not yet extreme enough to prohibit the ability of those workers to maintain a family, often with many children, based on their wages alone. In other words, women could still be restricted to the three Ks without any loss of family status.

After two world wars and the attendant rampant rise of financial or casino capitalism resulting from overproduction, this is no longer true. By the end of World War II the wages of the majority of men alone were not sufficient to maintain a family of even one or two children. Women had to enter the labor force, as indeed they had in large numbers during the war years, in any case. Women then were able to enter the educational system, as they did also in large numbers, and then subsequently into higher education. As a result, their research began to reinterpret the male-dominated world of knowledge and to discover that their perspective on certain things was quite different from that of their male colleagues. Thus was born the Women’s Liberation Movement and its continuous effort to change our image of the world as it had been given to us by men over the past thousands of years.

As a result, female subordination is lessening somewhat now, largely as a result of this movement for women’s liberation that started in the 1960s, or even earlier if we go back to the movement for women’s suffrage. That prior campaign began in the 19th century and provided women with the right to vote in England and the United States in the 20th century after more than 50 years of struggle, including marches, imprisonment, hunger strikes and forced feedings, among other things!

Since that time a good deal of, especially, women’s research has been focused on the transition period when women lost the status of relative equality that they had enjoyed during

the tens of thousands of years of small-scale hunting and gathering societies. There their abilities, not only to give birth and thus ensure the propagation of the species, but also their knowledge of the natural environment made them extremely important in the survival of the species: they were the source of a more consistent and guaranteed food supply, but also knew the medicinal properties of the plants that surrounded them; they were also the doctors of their time (Ehrenberg 1989).

“That we are facing not only an economic crisis, but a social, political and moral crisis as well is not often recognized in the compartmentalized male world of science and engineering.”

The key ‘moments’ of their loss of status is seen by some as beginning during the Neolithic period (7-8,000 years ago) as a result of, in part at least, the domestication of plants and animals (Lerner 1986). Riane Eisler (1995) has also examined this period and has suggested that equality between the sexes and cooperation had actually still been present even in agricultural societies up until the invasion by Kurgan herders from Asia and early Semites from North Africa. These were warrior tribes (and carnivores, one might add).

The one thing they all had in common was a dominator model of social organization: a social system in which male dominance, male violence, and a generally hierarchic and authoritarian social structure was the norm (author’s emphasis). Another commonality was that, in contrast to the societies that laid the foundations for Western civilization, the way they characteristically acquired material wealth was not by developing technologies of production, but through ever more effective technologies of destruction (p. 45)

Engels had also already analyzed this question in his now famous book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1972), written in 1884 and based upon previous anthropological research carried on in the 19th century. Whether or not these historical accounts are completely accurate in their dating and/or descriptions, there is certainly evidence of a male predatory mentality still present in today’s ‘civilized’ society, including its science and engineering, whatever and whenever the actual origins might have been.

5. Human Biology

Confronting our biology has been one-sided within the deterministic framework of conventional science up until recently. That is, the highest form of evolution, human consciousness, has not been seen to play a role in the formulations about nature and even society, except in ancient Greece, in some non-western cultures and now in a different sense in the world of quantum physics. Ancient Greek philosophy is known only in part and only by very few scholars. When it was rediscovered during the Renaissance it was used only selectively and only insofar as it was compatible with the rising mechanistic view of the universe formulated at that time. The humanistic dimension enjoyed a brief period of attention but was soon hijacked by the spirit of individualism, which was more compatible with the atomistic

view of the world propagated by Democritus and then Newton and Descartes. Undoubtedly science has changed our understanding of the universe and its technology has improved our lives in untold ways, but it has to a large extent ignored or even denied the spiritual dimension of that universe, at least until quantum physics came on the scene, as it were.

Human consciousness has made both religion and science possible, but neither of those systems of thought has seen it as playing more than a circumscribed role in the social order perceived and constructed by them. This has restricted the understanding of consciousness and not allowed it to be analyzed or fully appreciated in the study of human affairs. Thus, this highest form of evolution is still in an experimental stage, something that the current world wide socio-economic crisis makes abundantly clear. Economists and other positivist social scientists have offered many different explanations for this crisis, but only a highly restricted actual human involvement is present in these explanations and there appear to be few solutions in sight. Nor do they see the interconnections among the many dimensions of this crisis. That we are facing not only an economic crisis, but a social, political and moral crisis as well is not often recognized in the compartmentalized male world of science and engineering.

Could the female brain more easily see these connections? Perhaps, but it still plays only a minor role in the academic and political world. Recent scientific discoveries about the difference between the male and female brains might offer a clue. When the embryo reaches the stage when its sex is determined, the male embryo receives large doses of testosterone and the female embryo estrogen. The resulting male brain is larger but has fewer dendrites and synapses, or connections among the parts of the brain. In fact, testosterone actually appears to block connections between the two hemispheres of the brain. The female brain is smaller but has many more synapses or connectors.

The two hemispheres of [the female brain] interact and process information together [author's emphasis]. Because of this, women process their environment from more than one point of view. They have logic and reasoning juxtaposed with feelings and relationships – much more complex than a man's thinking. (Gungor 2008, p. 42)

Men's brains are specialized. Compartmentalized. Because of the separation of the two hemispheres, men must focus on one thing at a time [author's emphasis]. (p. 43)

. . . men have the ability to block out every distraction and focus on one task and excel at it. (p. 45)

Thus, most male brains are more compartmentalized and female brains more connected. This has allowed men to create a greater degree of specialized and penetrating knowledge about specific aspects of the world around us, something very necessary as society became more complex and at a larger scale following the domestication of plants and animals and the subsequent rise of cities. However, male dominated science and society have also become more compartmentalized, with a loss of appreciation for its inherent unity. This is reflected in the organization of the university, for example, where specialists in one field know little or nothing about what is going on in other fields, even though they are found on the same campus, or in medicine which divides the body into separate organs and systems, often without proper attention to the connections among them.

Mark Gungor has portrayed this in a humorous manner in his YouTube presentation, "A Tale of Two Brains". He describes the female brain as a mass of connections, as capable of multi-tasking and seeing the connections among the many portions of her life. This might be symbolized by the woman's purse containing most things of importance for her life, in contrast to the man's pockets, which compartmentalize all of his important belongings. Thus, these important differences in the ways in which women and men view the world would appear to *complement* each other. One is not superior to the other, though they may be so viewed in the different mental worlds that each occupies. Nature must have had some purpose in creating this two-world or two-'brain' views. In a Darwinian sense they must be necessary for survival.

"Scientific social theory, particularly economic theory, contains little understanding of the human being."

Further evidence for this distinction between the male and female comprehension of the world can be seen in the field of psychoanalysis, especially post Freudian psychoanalysis, given that his contribution though substantial had a strictly male-oriented understanding of the psyche. Male identity formation is characterized by its need to develop apart from the mother; it is characterized by separation from her. Female identity formation confronts no such need.

The earliest mode of individuation, the primary construction of the ego and its inner object-world, the earliest conflicts and the earliest unconscious definitions of self, the earliest threats to individuation, and the earliest anxieties which call up defenses, all differ for boys and girls because of differences in the character of the earlier mother-child relationship for each... there is a greater complexity in the feminine endopsychic object-world than in the masculine. (Chodorow 1978, p. 167)

From the retention of preoedipal attachments to their mother, growing girls come to define and experience themselves as continuous with others: their experience of self contains more flexible or permeable ego boundaries. Boys come to define themselves as more separate and distinct, with a greater sense of rigid ego boundaries and differentiation. The basic feminine sense of self is connected to the world; the basic masculine sense of self is separate. (p. 169)

Masculine personality, then, comes to be defined more in terms of denial of relation and connection (and denial of femininity), whereas feminine personality comes to include a fundamental definition of self in relationship. Thus, relational abilities and preoccupations have been extended in women's development and curtailed in men's. (p. 169)

Consciousness, however, and the cultures that it creates, complicates both this psychoanalytic and Darwinian perspective. We must not only survive in and be compatible with our environment; we actually, now, are to a great extent creating both the psychosocial and the natural environment! Thus survival has much more to do with our consciousness and culture created by it than with the world of nature in which we find ourselves. Our consciousness *is* our world. A deterministic religion, social science or philosophy that ignores this fact is bound to be dangerous to our survival. Endless competition, endless

aggression, endless and ever more destructive military and industrial technologies that ignore the broader effects on humanity and the environment cannot be beneficial to our survival in the long run.

What is important here are not only the differences between these perspectives but also the fact that the female understanding has been almost totally suppressed in the western and most of the remaining so-called ‘civilized’ world for thousands of years (Lerner 1986). Thus, the compartmentalized perspective has dominated not only the social world but also the theory about that world. Scientific social theory, particularly economic theory, contains little understanding of the human being. That is somebody else’s problem! Economics has created a caricature of the human being, ‘economic man’. This is employed along with myths of the market and of the models of that market, which it employs in its mathematical explanation of the world (Bjorkman 2016). Anything that does not ‘fit’ in this compartment is defined as a separate and exogenous factor and left to some other discipline. If there should be more to the current economic crisis than meets their eye, then it would appear that economists must believe that ‘the other side of the ship is sinking’. Hopefully it will not be too late before they and we realize that we are all on the same ship!

The body would not have survived if individual motives were the only things at work. As stated above, Nowak (2011, p. 142) considers cancer to be a disease where individual motives dominate. Nor would it have survived if half the cells were omitted from participation. It is now time to reconsider the role of women in society, especially their role in constructing society. Their long history of abuse and persecution is now becoming more widely known, thanks in part to the liberation of thought brought about by the scientific revolution itself.

Positivist social science has been little affected by their contribution, however, conceived as it has been in the deterministic framework of natural science. But this bias is largely a product of otherwise ignored male psychology: many (though certainly not all) men up to now appear to *need* to dominate and control. Natural science has had great success in dominating and controlling nature. Why wouldn’t the same approach in social science lead to success in controlling society? If this were the perception of the male-dominated academic world, then this approach would naturally be more highly rewarded there; indeed, positivist social scientists are made to feel superior to more humanistic academics. They dominate academic faculties and the social theories that emanate from them. As they dominate intellectual thought they necessarily dominate social thought and behavior. Our social world is now a product of their beliefs and behavior. We will not be able to solve our social, economic and political problems, to say nothing of our psychological and medical problems, as long as women are denied access to the discussions that have defined these problems up until now.

Of course these discussions are already changing, not only because women are more active intellectually but also because more and more men are beginning to see the world differently. We can see the effects of these new approaches throughout biological and social sciences, as well as even medical science. The latter is changing to a more holistic approach, borrowing in part from eastern traditions that do not separate the mind from the body. It is also being affected by quantum physics, which defines the universe as a world in which all particles are connected instantaneously to all other particles. Bruce Lipton’s book, *The Biology of Belief* (2016), finds intelligence in the membrane of the cell rather than in the

DNA, which is merely a blueprint for reproduction of the cell. The membrane acts as an intermediary with its environment, therefore informing and ‘educating’ the cell. All cells in the body are in communication with all other cells, including those in the brain.

Other scientists are exploring the intelligence of the heart, or ‘heart math’, as it is called, where information from the environment is seen to be received first by the heart and then by the brain. Observing the one third of people in drug trials that experience therapeutic results after receiving only a placebo or sugar pill or the 10 percent of nocebos who receive the drug itself, but without effect, suggests that more than chemistry is involved in healing. The beneficial effects of acupuncture and acupressure, as well as bio-resonance, yoga and meditation, which results in more visits to alternative medical practitioners than conventional ones in the U.S., also supports the need for a less mechanistic and more holistic approach to health. As always, it is important to stress that the older paradigm of conventional medicine is not to be thrown away with these new (old) understandings, but merely to be seen in a broader framework, as Kuhn emphasized in his book on scientific revolutions.

“Compartmentalization is an obstacle to true understanding.”

6. Our Anthropological Oxymoron

Indeed, it would appear that we are now finally confronting a long established anthropological oxymoron (οξύμωρον): as humans we are born into, are socialized into and live together in a social setting, but at some point we decided, or were persuaded by a massive propaganda campaign, NOT to cooperate with each other but rather to prey upon each other under the aegis of the so-called free market system. And with the proper (largely self-serving) assumptions and a bit of mathematical sleight-of-hand we are led to believe that this will produce the best social outcome! The assumptions and outcomes of social science based upon natural science epistemologies are filled with injustices and inequalities which are in no way necessary or appropriate in a civilized and conscious world. The division of labor and the compartmentalization of knowledge with the rise of complex societies may have been appropriate for the actual societies created by these developments but are in no way appropriate for the theories and ideologies that seek to explain and legitimize this complexity. Here compartmentalization is an obstacle to true understanding.

It is long past the time when our consciousness, aided by the structure of the woman’s brain, should be allowed to play a less confined role in defining the social theories and ideologies that control our thoughts and actions. There is no reason why we cannot create a social system not based upon predation and one that respects all members of the species in this search. Psychosocial and biological predispositions should not necessarily be seen as deterministic, however, but as an active part of the dialectic between biology and culture, once they are brought to human consciousness as it evolves into the future.

Meanwhile, we can only hope that women in today’s society will not have to become as predatory as men in order to gain participation. This is also not to say that men should become women or, heaven forbid, that women should become men, but that the dialectic between their two different ways of understanding the world should be allowed to work its magic so that we may survive the adolescence of our consciousness.

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Social Power, Social Responsibility and Science

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Abstract

Social power depends on the specific understandings in which one would motivate others to change in the way he intends them to change. Social responsibility is associated equally with individuals or organizations as well as with ethics. The classical view states that an organization's only social responsibility is to maximize profits. Over the last few decades social responsibility has become increasingly important to the business world, in which case it is being called corporate social responsibility. In modern times scientific discoveries often lead to powerful applications which rapidly affect a society. The social power and social responsibility of scientists are closely related to their scientific competences and technological abilities. Science education is an important part of researchers' social responsibility and therefore should be an important part of social power. Ethics in science has increasingly become an important issue in the Social Power process.

“What you do doesn't matter, as long as you're the best.”

– Felda Hardyman

1. Introduction

Power is fundamentally *relative*—it depends on the specific understandings, recognition of a quality in which one would motivate others to change in the way he intends them to change. French and Raven¹ and later Feldman* argue that there are six significant categories of such qualities, not excluding other minor categories. Social power is directly related to social responsibility. Responsibility is associated equally with individuals or organizations as well as with ethics. In modern times scientific discoveries often lead to powerful applications which rapidly affect a society which is ill-prepared for them. Science enables us to recognize facts which exist long before we become aware of them or can take responsibility for their implications. The practical uses to which scientific discoveries may be put are full of risks and uncertainties. Scientists are often perceived as having special power and authority. Thus, one of the most important powers today is science and technology. Long-term effects of scientific discoveries and their social power cannot accurately be foreseen, or foreseen at all.

2. Social Responsibility

Social responsibility is an idea that has been a concern to mankind for many years.² Over the last few decades it has become increasingly important to the business world, in

* Reward Power, Coercive Power, Referent Power, Legitimate Power, Expert Power and Informational Power

which case it is called corporate social responsibility. This has resulted in growing interaction between governments, businesses and society as a whole.

The social power of social responsibility relies on ethics which suggests that an organization or individual has an obligation to act for the benefit of society as such to maintain a balance between the economy and the ecosystem. The classical view states that an organization's only social responsibility is to maximize profits.* On the other side, there is the socioeconomic view which states that an organization's first responsibility is to maintain and improve the environment in which it conducts its operation; the second is to maximize profits.

The need for social responsibility can be supported by taking into account the need for: Public expectations, long-run profits, ethical obligation, public image, better environment, discouragement of further government regulation, balance of responsibility and power, shareholder interests, possession of resources, and superiority of prevention over cures. At the same time, one can argue against social responsibility because of the violation of profit maximization, dilution of purpose, costs, too much power, lack of skills, lack of accountability, lack of broad public support.

Social responsibility requires businesses to recognize what is right or wrong in their work and thus to seek fundamental ethical truths. Thus, responsibility has been identified in many professions, such as the one embodied in the Paramountcy principle[†] and the fundamental and primary ethical principles of engineering (professional engineer's code of ethics NSPE 2003). This is particularly important as their activities have effects on the safety, health or welfare of the society. Such social responsibilities of researchers arise from the fact that they are carried out in the name of society as an expression and reflection of the society's needs, interests, priorities and expected impacts. The social responsibilities of researchers often extend beyond upholding the ethical standards of society. The Uppsala Code of Ethics for Scientists[‡] highlights the responsibility of scientists to refrain from and speak against weapons research and other scientific research with the potential for detrimental consequences for the environment, for present and future generations. Thus social responsibility is first and foremost a social, and therefore institutional, issue and power.

2.1. Corporate Social Responsibility

Companies have a policy of social responsibility known as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), exercising which they agree to follow their businesses in such a manner so as to benefit the community at large. Thus, CSR is a **vital element** for business corporations. The most focus in corporate social responsibility is with regard to the environment. Other areas that should be considered in the development of CSR programs are education and health. "Today, however, businesses must also reflect on the legal, ethical, moral and social consequences of their decisions".³

There are several factors which explain the growing interest in corporate social responsibility. The first is the new concerns and expectations of citizens, consumers, public

* www.ocean_lymn.com/2006/11/17/fieldmansocial

† www.scasprocedures.ukk.net/local_keywords/permanancy_prin.html

‡ www.prio.org/Publications/Publication/2x=2074

authorities in the process of globalization and industrial change. One other main factor is the increasing influence of social criteria on the investment decisions of individuals and institutions, as investors or consumers. Furthermore, there is a growing concern about environmental degradation.

There has always been a contradiction between business ethics and social responsibility. Companies are often engaged in acts that cannot be called ethical. Sometimes what is good for the society may not be good for the business, or vice versa. If the society is conscious and ethical then businesses are forced to behave responsibly.

CSR in the United States has been defined much more in terms of a philanthropic model, while in the European model it is much more focused on operating the core business in a socially responsible way.

3. Social Power and Research Ethics: What is Ethics in Research & Why is it Important?

Social responsibility and responsible research conduct should be two essential sides of ethical science and therefore social power. The great task of our times is to keep society from being shaken to pieces by the progress of science and technology. Science crosses new borders, and thereby calls fundamental ethical views into question.⁴ Scientific research has become more competitive and more politically controlled in recent years. This has been a source of frustration for many researchers, who believe that research has become short-sighted. Much of the emphasis in science is on professional responsibility regarding how research should be conducted. This focuses on the tension between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ uses of scientific concepts, theories and methods what is called “internal”. Scientists also have “external” social responsibilities toward the larger community. In some situations in research, people disagree about the proper action for researching what are known as ethical or moral dilemmas. Independence in research would, as argued by Merton,^{*} diminish external control and hence the distortion of scientific results. Thus, it is important to adhere to ethical norms in research. Research ethics involves the application of fundamental ethical principles where ethics is usually understood as rules for distinguishing between right and wrong. Their norms are so ubiquitous that one might regard them as simple common sense, while others might consider them as a social power more informal than laws.

Ethical considerations have traditionally been excluded from scientific discussions. This tradition might be due to the intention of the scientific community to avoid controversies which, for example, divided Europe following the Reformation. Most researchers are aware of their social responsibilities, but they disagree on how much politics should interfere with their work. In the contemporary world, it became accepted practice that **novel** research programs should include an ELSA component (Ethical, Legal and Social Aspects of Science).

Ethics in science has increasingly become an important issue in the Social Power process. However, the real problem arises from the way the scientific results are used; therefore it is not only scientists that should be concerned with ethical, legal and social aspects of science, but everybody taking decisions. There are two different ideologies when it comes to research and public utility in the scientific community:

^{*} https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_K._Merton

- An ideology of internal control—researchers are to judge about the public utility of their research. To make important discoveries, research must be motivated by curiosity.
- An ideology of external control—social actors such as politicians and organizations determine what research should be done and how. It might become very fashion-driven, especially concerning funding of research. Some examples might be treatment of climate change, nanotechnology, and synthetic biology.

Scientists and engineers take privileges of positive achievements in science and technology. They should, also be, at least, morally responsible for the negative consequences which result from various applications of their work. Certainly, fragmentation, ignorance and diffusion of responsibility are the reasons why scientists and engineers should not be blamed for all the evils created by their work. In particular the excuse of ignorance is acceptable for scientists involved in basic and fundamental research, while it is much weaker for those involved in applied scientific research and innovation.⁵

The social responsibility of scientists is closely related to their scientific competences and technological abilities. Rotblat, with Atiyah, wrote:⁶

- Scientists will understand the technical problems better than the average politician or citizen, and knowledge brings responsibility and power.
- Scientists have knowledge and they are responsible for how this knowledge is properly used.

The pattern of good scientific behavior, as the basis of social power, is reflected in Merton's ethos of science.⁷ Merton suggested that good scientific practice should include the sharing of scientific results with others, whereby everyone, in principle, will be able to test, challenge and use scientific results, known under the acronym CUDOS (Communism, Universalism, Disinterestedness, Organized Scepticism).

It is debated whether politicians should apply a code of ethics, or whether it is a profession entirely discretionary.* Many professional associations, government agencies, and universities have imposed ethical codes, rules, and policies related to research ethics. The following is a rough and general summary of some professional ethical principles, which include: Honesty, Objectivity, Integrity, Carefulness, Openness, Respect for Intellectual Property, Confidentiality, Responsible Publication, Responsible Mentoring, Respect toward colleagues and treating them fairly, Social Responsibility, Non-Discrimination, Competence, Legality, Animal Care, Human Subjects Protection.⁸

Ethical codes are often adopted by management, not to promote a particular moral theory, but as necessities for running an organization in a complex environment. It is interesting how the CFP Board adopted only 7 principles to establish the highest principles and standards: **Integrity, Objectivity, Competence, Fairness, Confidentiality, Professionalism, and Diligence.**[†]

Behind the ethical codes there are codes of practice (code of professional responsibility) which are usually adopted by a profession or by a governmental or non-governmental

* Ana Maria Cetto (Ed.): Proceedings of the WCS, UNESCO, 2000, p. 482. (<http://www.unesco.org/science/wcs>; see under 'proceedings').

† www.CFPnet/about-cfp-board

organization to regulate that profession. Listed below are a few examples of professional codes (Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), and Public Relations Society of America (PRSA)).

- Minimize Harm (Honesty);
- Proper Conduct (Patience);
- Show Loyalty (Faithfulness);
- Act Independently (Courage);
- Act Independently (Independent).

Many international treaties, agreements, declarations and judgements intend to regulate the ethical process of scientific research and development* that are influencing social power. For example, in his book *Hope in a Dark Time: Reflections on Humanity's Future*, David Krieger has collected a number of declarations and statements that treat different aspects of ethical dilemmas that have emerged from techno-scientific development. The declarations and statements included in Krieger's book are the following:⁹

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted by United Nations General Assembly, 1948).
- The Declaration of Global Ethics (discussed at the Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago, 1993).
- The Earth Charter (formally launched in 1991).
- The Russell-Einstein Manifesto (the moral foundation of the Pugwash conferences).
- Appeal to End the Threat of Nuclear Weapons to Humanity and All Life (the appeal has been signed by many leaders and Nobel laureates).

One could add to the list the Groningen Manifesto¹⁰ and the Charter of Human Responsibilities.[†]

The human condition has changed dramatically with the growing importance of techno-science in modern societies. These changed conditions give rise to a new ethics—an ethics for the technological age. A new imperative has emerged which **promotes the** aims of research, such as knowledge, truth, and avoidance of error (prohibitions against fabricating, falsifying...), while, at the same time, it involves cooperative ethical standards which promote **values that are essential to collaborative work** (trust, accountability, mutual respect, and fairness).

The ethics and morals might seem the same to many. But, morals define personal character, while ethics place stress on a social system in which those morals are applied. In

* Among them the most common are: Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legality of nuclear weapons, Biological Weapons and Toxin Convention, Convention on Biological Diversity, Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety, Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, Convention on the Prohibition of the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of antipersonnel mines and on their destruction (Mine Ban Treaty or Ottawa Convention), International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer, Stockholm Convention on persistent organic pollutants (POPs), Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (The Outer Space Treaty), Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (The Kyoto Protocol).

† <http://www.alliance21.org/en/charte>

other words, ethics means standards or codes of behavior expected by the group to which the individual belongs. Thus ethics, as a part of social power, can be differently defined for different groups. Such scientists working at universities are guided by the ethos of academic science. The Danish philosopher Hans Fink has formulated ‘the ethos of the university’.* It consists of five principles:

- Close connection between research and university education,
- Freedom of research,
- Freedom of teaching,
- Self-governance,
- The unity of science.

Fink’s ethos of the university especially emphasizes the CUDOS norm of disinterestedness and the principle of self-governance which addresses the quality aspect of scientific knowledge. When confronted with the ethos of academic science and existing academic institutions, scientists have a responsibility to exercise regarding the ethos of science, and not for the practices of the existing institutions.

“Every true scientist should undoubtedly muster sufficient courage and integrity to resist the temptation and the habit of conformity.” – Joseph Rotblat

Another mechanism that might help prevent unintentional consequences is to encourage science and technology to establish early warning committees¹¹ such as specific institutions of social power. Since scientists are best placed and have competence, they should practice early warning to alert society to the possible consequences of their work. It was the 53rd Pugwash Conference[†] that recommended that early warning and preventive action on emerging technologies should be established.

A good example is Joseph Rotblat who in his Nobel lecture said: “Whistleblowing should become part of the scientific ethos. The life of Albert Einstein provides an illustration of scientific whistleblowing: duty of alert (his four letters to Roosevelt, from 1939 to 1945), continuing responsibility (his last signature was for the Russell-Einstein manifesto, which thus acquired the symbolic value of a testament). Encouraged by the example of Einstein (and his readings of Albert Schweitzer, Leo Szilard, Linus Pauling, Niels Bohr), Andrei Sakharov has given a model of personal moral revaluation, unique in its amplitude and subsequent worldwide impact; in his words: Every true scientist should undoubtedly muster sufficient courage and integrity to resist the temptation and the habit of conformity.”

* Kristensen (Eds.): Universitet og videnskab, Hans Reitzels Forlag, Copenhagen, 2003, pp. 9-29. Tom Børsen Hansen, Christian Baron and Sine Zambach, ‘Rapport fra Arbejdsgruppen vedr. kursus i biokemi, kemi, miljøkemi og nanoteknologis videnskabsteori’, Lærerguppen for Fagets Videnskabsteori, Faculty of Science, University of Copenhagen, 2003, p. 57. (<http://www.nbi.dk/~natphil/FVT>).

† Science and World Affairs: Advancing Human Security – The Role of Technology and Politics, working group 5, discussing the issue of ‘New Technology for Human Development and Security’

3.1. Education as a means to direct Social Power

Science education is an important part of a researcher's social responsibility and therefore should be an important part of social power. Most academic institutions require undergraduate, graduate, or postgraduate students to have some education for the responsible conduct of research, while others have also developed curricula in research ethics where they learn about responsible research conduct and other ethical concerns. Educational programs in science ethics in Europe and the US approach the topic from different directions. Both are needed for an adequate treatment.

"The social responsibilities of researchers and their social power extend beyond the ethical standards of society."

Presently, the focus of ethics education in science and engineering in the US tends to be on the individual and the responsible conduct of research, or microethics, which has been criticized as insufficient as it does not adequately recognize the larger societal context of which research is a part. In Europe, ethics education in science and engineering is grounded firmly on the macroethical approach, the concept of social responsibilities of scientists and engineers.* European institutions of higher education have adopted an overarching educational framework that highlights social responsibility.† That includes (EHEA) the expectation that *all* graduates "have the ability to gather and interpret relevant data to inform judgments that include reflection on relevant social, scientific or ethical issues" (at the bachelor's level) and "have the ability to integrate knowledge... and formulate judgments... that include reflecting on social and ethical responsibilities linked to the application of their knowledge and judgments" (at the master's level), and "communicate with their peers... and society in general about their areas of expertise" (at the doctoral level). Many would like to see more core ideas integrated into graduate education, with their mission as maximizing social power, while scientists should appreciate the global dimension of science.

The coverage of science in the media has a major role in shaping the public's perception of science and its social power. Although most scientists are reluctant to talk to the media, there is agreement that scientists contributed significantly, and that science is effectively reported in media. Media reports on science have an effect as well in helping shape the priority that schools and legislatures assign to science education. Scientists obviously have the responsibility for helping the public to understand scientific issues and therefore their power. This can be done in many ways, but all methods require that scientists communicate in clear, understandable ways, working with journalists to educate the public so that they can appreciate the significance and power of the scientific enterprise.

3.2. Misconduct and the Responsible Conduct of Research

The social responsibilities of researchers and their social power extend beyond the ethical standards of society. Although most scientists are highly ethical, misconduct occurs because of various institutional pressures, incentives, and constraints which encourage misconduct.¹² Misconduct most often results due to environmental and individual reasons. The examples of research misconduct have been: fabrication, falsification, plagiarism, sexual harassment

* www.aaas.org/news/social-responsibility-and-research

† www.ehea.info

of graduate students. Misconduct represents a significant threat to the research enterprise since it could undermine public trust as well as confidence in the research process within the community (US National Academy of Sciences 1992). Misconduct often might lead to misuse of social power.

4. Conclusion

Social power of scientists has become very important and it is credited to the skill, knowledge, information or fame that it possesses in a desirable area of expertise. Scientists hold a responsibility to produce credible, transparent scientific knowledge that should not be under pressure of external interests. In producing scientific knowledge scientists are required to follow Merton's ethos of science. Scientists need to practice the limits of the ethos of science, so that they only apply them in the context of justification. While they direct and harness social power the various ethical responsibilities are not exclusively, and primarily, moral dilemmas for scientists. Certainly, scientists need to be adequately equipped through education, training and institutional support, to cope with their responsibilities and social power.

When techno-scientific advancement influences the environment, human health and social settings, it should be governed by social responsibility mechanisms; thus, techno-scientists are required to follow ethical principles recognizing their social responsibility. Practicing this, it might happen that in some situations existing ethical codes, treaties, agreements and conventions may not be sufficient, new ones may be required for handling the modern techno-scientific development in order to provide adequate social power.

Scientists and engineers are asked to reflect on existing regulation mechanisms and institutions (national, regional and international laws), and it is required that these mechanisms and institutions satisfy ethical principles, and their effects on social power. Certainly, science has much more social power than it has been given credit for.

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The Memory of Suffering and the Pedagogy of Freedom*

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Abstract

Romanians lived under a dictatorship that cancelled the freedom of movement, all forms of free expression and oversaw the personal life of every citizen by political police surveillance. Afterwards they endured a post-totalitarian transition whose social price was heavily paid. For people of my generation, democracy is not an abstract concept and any situation that undermines democracy and prejudices freedom affects us deeply. When oppression, censorship, terror seemed to ensure a smooth future for communism, the resulting hardship turned into a true pedagogy of freedom, thus building solid characters which can tear the status quo apart. Democracy as a system for ensuring individual freedom is a fragile product that must be defended from the dangers represented by the tyranny of a unique leader, the tyranny of the majority against minorities, and even the tyranny of minorities that were oppressed in the past. For the intellectual elites who build ideologies and social projects, democracy involves a permanent choice between utopia and realism. Scientists preoccupied by social issues must not forget that in science, utopia is the mother of progress, but in politics utopia always and everywhere has been the mother of criminal totalitarian regimes.

1. Memories of a Life under Tyranny

I would like to begin with a confession. I was born in 1939. If in that year someone had to cross the Eurasian continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, they would have to cross from Tokyo to Lisbon, meaning only states under civil or military dictatorships. My family lived in a town located on the Nistru River, on the Soviet border. We were twice forced to take refuge from the Red Army, alongside tens of thousands of people and my first memories are related to this desperate exodus, for those who failed to leave were mostly arrested and deported to Siberia.

“The atrocities of the two wars in the first half of the twentieth century proved to be insufficient to understand that Western civilization cannot be strengthened only through the assertion of a cultural superiority or by managing frozen conflicts.”

*Presented at the Postgraduate Certificate Course on Social Power, organized by the World Academy of Art & Science and the World University Consortium, Dubrovnik, Inter-University Centre, October 31-November 2, 2016.

I lived until the age of 50 under dictatorship, in a country where people were not allowed the freedom of movement: you could not leave the country and you were forced to work and live in a particular place, allocated by governmental distribution. A dictatorship that would only recognize state or collective ownership, cancelled all forms of free expression and oversaw the personal life of every citizen by political police surveillance.

I lived through a post-totalitarian transition whose social price was heavily paid. For those of my generation, democracy is not an abstract concept and any situation that undermines democracy and prejudices freedom affects us deeply.

2. Peace without Freedom

The Second World War caused the death of more than 25 million soldiers and over 73 million civilians, caused huge economic losses and destructions of world cultural heritage. The atrocities of the two wars in the first half of the twentieth century proved to be insufficient to understand that Western civilization cannot be strengthened only through the assertion of a cultural superiority or by managing frozen conflicts.

At the end of the Second World War, the UN General Assembly adopted and signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the first document with universal calling, meant to defend the real values of humanity. Few would have suspected that this document and its principles would be so brutally violated in Eastern Europe. What determined such an attitude?

The answer can only be found in the contrast between the facade politics of the Soviet Block member states and the communist ideology implemented by them. Communism is a devilish mechanism where the foundations of civilization have been replaced by a communist dictatorship with ideological surrogates, in a tenacious attempt to transform half a century of European history into a tragic experience for all humanity. The human person was replaced by a depersonalized individual, whose existence depended on social group affiliation. Any reaction contrary to the group principles diminished his identity down to dissolution, banishing him to the margins of society. The utopia of equal rights, the elimination of constructive competition, and removal of free expression led to the emergence of an amorphous form claiming to be a society, where ideology replaced feeling, free words were trapped in slogans, and freedom in general was replaced by concealed terror. All these changes have defined the new face of Eastern Europe, crisscrossed by the suffering of millions of people. The result of Soviet occupation was implementation of communism in Eastern Europe by violent means and bloody repression of anti-communist resistance. The removal of actual and potential opponents was achieved through torture and re-education centers, extermination prisons, forced labor camps, political assassinations, summary executions, mass deportations. Amid a precarious peace secured during the Cold War by focusing on arms race, the price paid by the citizens of the communist states in Eastern Europe was extremely heavy: millions of deaths, tens of millions of human lives destroyed, national economies in tatters.

3. Freedom, a Fundamental Human Right

Beyond the Iron Curtain, countries of the “Free World” could only assist, most often helplessly, to the struggle of those for whom communism had become a fact. The only way of helping them seemed to be to raise awareness of human rights for all of those whose

freedoms were crushed by the communist regimes. Nowhere else in the world did the Human Rights Declaration have more influence and power than in the former communist countries. It represented the lever that led to the demolition of this system in Eastern European countries. Where does this influence come from? From the fact that the principles of this Declaration represent the fundamentals of human existence, regardless of race, religion or political affiliation. Their “policy” is the policy of normality, where each person is unique in everything that he does, thinks or feels. When oppression, censorship, terror seemed to ensure a smooth future for communism, the resulting hardship turned into true pedagogy of freedom, thus building solid characters, which can tear the *status quo* apart.

On August 1st, 1975 occurred an event of historical consequences. Thirty-three European countries, together with the US and Canada, signed the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, not just ratifying the inviolability of state borders at the end of the Second World War, but also including a so-called “third basket” concerning the free circulation of ideas and people.

The Helsinki Act was considered by the leaders of the USSR and of other communist countries in Eastern Europe to be a great victory, consecrating the borders of the Communist Empire established by force at the end of the Second World War. The democrat intellectuals however understood the chance they were being given: in August 1976, Workers’ Defense Committee (KOR) was founded in Poland. In Czechoslovakia, in January 1977, 238 personalities signed Charter 77 demanding the implementation of the third basket of the Helsinki agreement. In 1978, again in Czechoslovakia, VOWS was formed, the defense committee of those who suffered unjustly. In 1978, in Hungary, the Baltic States, and Russia reflection groups arose around dissident philosophers and writers, scientists and artists.

4. Culture of Freedom Defeats Dictatorship’s Tanks

The fall of communism was, of all things, an ideological collapse that prepared the political collapse of dictatorships in most countries of the former Soviet Bloc. Culture played a fundamental role in this context. Parallel to the official speech, an “underground” speech was created, which was meant to denounce deception and falsity and to reject those who “stopped thinking”. The danger for the super-armed Soviet Empire of a “cold” or “hot” war did not come from the West, which was otherwise successfully confronted. The danger did not come from the “American missiles”. It came from the intellectuals in their own countries, despised by the members of the communist apparatus. The danger came through the “word” of the democrat intellectuals and through their “writings” illegally disseminated to citizens of their countries, tricking surveillance and censorship.

In 1999 I awarded the gold presidential medal “Anniversary of a decade since the collapse of communism in Central and South-Eastern Europe” to Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, and His Holiness Pope John Paul II. The former President of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, joined them as well, for the role that the “Glasnost” policy played in the awakening of the oppressed nations in the USSR. However, Mikhail Gorbachev’s attempt to reform communism in the late 80s failed miserably, confirming the certainty many of the intellectuals of the former Soviet Bloc had from the first moment—that the communist system cannot be reformed, but only destroyed.

The effects of the humanist speeches of the democrat intellectuals appeared before long. Movements such as the “Polish Summer” or the “Prague Spring” prepared the final collapse of the communist regimes in the early 90s. An ideology for which human rights are almost absent could not maintain its influence indefinitely. The student riots during the spring of 1968 in Poland and the Prague Spring demonstrated that young people could no longer endure the communist lies. The echoes of these movements were felt in Romania as well, where they took the form of the miners’ riots on Jiu Valley, in 1977, or the workers’ riot in Brasov, in 1987. Suffering, long used as a terrible tool of control and oppression, had become the gateway to freedom. In 1989, when millions of workers, on whose behalf the communist dictatorships claimed to be governing, crossed this gate towards freedom, and the regimes suddenly collapsed, mostly through peaceful revolution.

5. Crossing the Post-totalitarian Desert

For those who experienced communism and had to live through the post-communist transition period, nothing is more true and instructive than the reading of *The Exodus*. We understand best why it took 40 years for the Hebrew people to reach the Holy Land, what is the meaning of the worship of the golden calf, the temptation of collective debauchery, violence and treason, the need of a Table of Laws and the punishment for failing to comply with the Ten Commandments.

The collapse of the communist dictatorships in the USSR and in South-Eastern Europe and their replacement with democratic regimes avoided military confrontations and huge casualties. For the younger generation liberated from the communist constraints, the struggles of their parents might seem an issue more connected to the past, as their present is marked by a different type of political, economic and social crisis than the hardships and lack of freedom of previous generation. Nevertheless, those who still carry the memory of that era are the main artisans of tackling the human rights issue from a contemporary perspective.

The horrors of the bygone era have left their mark in the collective memory of the entire ex-communist space. The millions of dead people from the communist camps might seem just statistical data for some contemporaries, but historical memory appears to be the element explaining why citizens from former communist countries refuse to support totalitarian approaches, regardless of the coat they are wearing. The pedagogy of freedom needs a memory of suffering because, as in the case of health, we perceive the value of freedom only when we no longer have it. The question is: what will happen when the last survivors of the gulags disappear?

6. Democracy as a Power Sharing Tool

In order to avoid the return of totalitarian systems, the need to restore or to introduce the separation of powers has been keenly questioned. The principle of the separation of power is meant to put a barrier to the desire for seizing power and safeguarding it by any means.

In 1991-1992, when I was a professor at an American University on the East Coast, I had the opportunity to visit the memorial houses of the founding fathers of the US democracy. In each of these austere and modest houses, there were Greek tragedies in the libraries and a Bible on the nightstand. I believe that a tenacious reading of the Old and New Testament made them understand the true nature of the human being. Its struggle between good and evil.

It is risky to establish, for the defense of democracy, a single consensus around the idea of good. We can suspect that, for centuries to come, each society will have its own idea of its earthly and spiritual wellbeing. Trying to standardize these ideas begs for the establishment of a unique thinking and is only multiplying sources of tension. Political doctrines, symbolic contexts, local traditions and belief systems are irreducible. There are, therefore, rightful suspicions to any syncretistic project capable of considering the uniqueness of these orations and representations as relative. Nobody—politician, thinker, religious leader or ordinary man—is willing to sacrifice their identity. We cannot discuss effectively when the interlocutor senses the danger of losing his identity. And nothing authorizes us to claim that our offer is superior in absolute terms, to that made by others. On the other hand, no one can claim today to reduce the ensemble of humanity to one's own political, economic, cultural or religious denominator.

It seems more reasonable, since we cannot always identify the common good, to identify common evil for starters. It is in the interest of all nations to meet on the rejection ground of what they consider intolerable. I am sure that the majority of us refuse war, terrorism, torture, pollution, xenophobia, racism, genetic manipulation, minors' exploitation, social exclusion, famine, and professional discrimination based on sex, religion or ethnicity. We have the duty to diagnose these pathologies together, as we can together heal the wounds they continue to cause.

Unfortunately, I found that democracy is not a perennial ideal of the human being, but rather a dream of those deprived of it. Democracy is however the best power-sharing tool. Power is one of the strongest motivations of human actions. It can become a dangerous drug for those who have it. From my life experience, I believe that power related to a head of state is merely a conjuncture or an illusion.

The moral value of power appears only in the confrontation between this formal power and the person who temporarily holds it. Is the person in power dominated by power or can he or she dominate it through wisdom and common sense? The head of state position can, in truth, transform existence into destiny only if the difficult cohabitation between ideal and real can produce a significant change in the history of a nation.

7. “Free World”: Peace through Democracy

The European Union was born as a political project at the end of the Second World War, when the destructive capacity of humans managed to exceed even the Apocalypse as it was presented. It was conceived in Western Europe, out of the need to overcome the hardship of tens of millions of people, victims of the Nazi totalitarian ideology and has shown that after Europe unleashed two world wars, democracy could ensure peace in a free world for seven decades. I had the opportunity to participate, this time directly, alongside intellectuals from Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Baltic States, in the democracy expansion project for Central and South-Eastern Europe. Democracy offered then a perspective for the people traumatized by the communist tyranny. Democracy based on moral principles continues to be a solution even today, where totalitarian regimes still exist, where sufferings must be overcome and reconciliation must be achieved, and I am now engaged in this project with all my strength.

Human rights are today perceived as the key to mutual understanding and acceptance. Intransigence against all discrimination, freedom of expression, excluding any attempt at anti-democratic governance, moving from condemning the ultranationalist political speech down to actual fight against terrorism, are the results of this new manner of understanding reality. In one word, the human person has reclaimed his rights, occupying again the central place from where he has been evacuated through the communist ideology. But beyond this optimistic image of the post-communist society, we must not lose sight of the fact that the perception of the ideal of freedom, achieved through long and heavy suffering, can be distorted: the excess of idealization can transfer the foundations of freedom as they are conveyed in the Declaration of Human Right in the utopian sphere; ignoring this ideal and especially the pedagogy of suffering can cause an irreparable rift between the values of the past and the desire of the present to affirm itself; its formalization can move the poles of interest and action to pseudo value, falsity and imposture. For each one of the countries from the former communist bloc, understanding the lesson of genuine freedom represents the foundation on which they can build their own identity in the new society of the United Europe. Without ignoring the past, we must not lose sight of the fact that this is more of a guide rather than a goal we need to strive for. We cannot sit motionless in a fast changing world, but forgetting the lessons of history is always a mistake.

“We cannot sit motionless in a fast changing world, but forgetting the lessons of history is always a mistake.”

8. Freedom and Bread

Debating the relations between power and freedom also targets the distribution of wealth. In *The Karamazov Brothers* by Dostoyevsky, Ivan tells Alyosha that if people were asked to choose between freedom and bread they would choose bread. This is also the psychological foundation on which totalitarian regimes ground themselves, in order to obtain a consensual obedience. A significant part of the population in the former communist countries regrets the times when they had poorly paid but safe jobs, lived in miserable conditions but in houses received by government allocation and they were given minimum food rationed by cards. The most important psychological element stopping rebellion was, paradoxically, the fact that everyone was equally poor and they did not feel humiliated in relation to the others. The comeback of neo-communist parties is based on this nostalgia.

In the democratic societies with market economy, freedom is followed by a chase after material goods that creates significant differences between the rich and the poor. These differences are often not correlated with the quality and quantity of work performed and with the contribution to the general welfare of the society. Many times these realities overwhelm the ones who believed in the ideals of democratic principles in the Western World.

On the other hand, according to libertarians, anything added to the opportunities for economic growth raises welfare, and it is normal for some to win more than others. Keith Dowding, professor at the London School of Economics, distinguishes between power and chance and concludes that some groups get what they want more often than others because of the manner in which society is structured. Based on the non-cooperative game theory,

he proves that distribution of wealth brought by economic growth can be used in different ways so that it can benefit more people and that local communities can limit the systematic lack of corporations. Through greater transparency in the governing process and the “hidden relations” governments have with corporations, more fair governance methods can be reached.

9. Freedom and Democracy

To begin with, we can try to distinguish between freedom as a fundamental human right and two other concepts that mobilize the energy of the civil society, such as the rule of law and democracy. Following the experience under the communist regime, we can understand the ease of the totalitarian regimes in accepting the “rule of law” principle, by this understanding compliance with their own laws. I saw how the “free elections” slogan, voiced in front of the tanks and weapons of the communist repression apparatus, can be used to seize power by the former communist nomenclature or new oligarchs. I saw how a “showcase democracy” can disguise real democracy. I saw how the manipulation of public opinion through “free press” owned by oligarchs can be more efficient in the market economy and democracy than the communist propaganda disseminated by official media of the totalitarian regime. I saw how the authors of crimes and perpetrators against their own people can escape criminal liability by prescription because agreements on “genocide” are not applicable to them and general recognition of the “crimes against humanity” is delayed.

In a real democracy, a human being must have both freedom and responsibility. If we discuss the moral values in politics, the best form of capitalization is the one that provides the people maximum cohesion and harmony in given conditions. This does not mean a formal democracy where, through ballot, people are apparently given all powers, but they are deprived of their legitimate rights, through a set of abusive laws, regulations and state interventions.

In a good political regime, citizens enjoy maximum individual and community freedom, the state plays the role of the coordinator and referee, and selection is made based on personal merit, based on a social service and genuine commitment. Such a regime is far from the type of democracy where responsibilities are only assigned by ballot.

Freedom regained through sacrifice has created not only rights, but also responsibilities, which we gradually familiarize ourselves with, in often difficult social and psychological conditions. The citizens of the former communist countries have been deprived of all their rights, including the right to live, for half a century. Their lesson in suffering and struggle is for each of us a first step towards understanding the greater lesson of freedom: respecting each other's freedom.

10. The Decay of Western civilization and the Vulnerability of Democracy

The Western civilization is going through a period of decay marked by the shift from a real economy to a speculative economy, from welfare society to consumer society, by the degradation of the political system through populism and demagoguery, disappearance of visionary leaders and their replacement with managers of presidential or governmental terms, concealing reality through “politically correct” language, involution from the democratization of culture and education to their massification at the cost of quality, mass-media embezzlement,

once the “watchdog” of democracy to commercial objectives, acceptance of the “positive” manipulation by the intellectual elites to the detriment of scientific truth, to provide funding for research and environmental protection. All these have a long-term effect on the democratic conscience. Individual freedom and democracy can only survive in societies represented by citizens with awareness and not by an amorphous mass of easily manipulated individuals.

Western democracy is currently threatened by the increasingly visible presence of a toxic triangle at the top: administration—corporations—mass media.

In 2012, I was invited by Jakub Klepal, executive director of the Forum, to the Forum 2000 Prague Conference, the first one to be held since Vaclav Havel’s demise. During the interactive discussion between the speakers on the stage in the conference room of the Zofin Palace, I asked one of the American political scientists there, why is there a need to spend an enormous amount, three billion dollars, for the US presidential campaign. After a short pause, he replied that this amount is required in order to communicate with the voters. A stupefying answer, considering the huge incomes that the television gets from advertising related to the candidates’ shows. A dismaying answer also came from the US Supreme Court, which decided to remove the limit on corporate election contributions. The cancelation of the “door to door” campaigns, only present in the electoral textbooks, after Carter’s term, and the supremacy of TV campaign, organized by advertising companies that sell candidates the same way they sell toothpaste or cars, narrowed the field of choice.

The presidential candidates resemble each other increasingly more, have increasingly reduced obligations towards the citizens and increased obligations towards corporations, drawing a dangerous road from democracy to plutocracy, which not only affect the American economy but also the global economy. The sideslip of the political speech is also encouraged by the lack of “culture of democracy” by the utopian presentation of democracy as power of all people, an ideal model nowhere reached to this day. We overlook the fact that on the long and difficult road from tyranny to freedom, the two classical models of democracy—Athenian and American—legislated slavery and forbade voting rights for women. Invoking the “demo”-“kratos” (people power) etymology, leads to a false perception of the Athenian model, whereas in reality the power of decision did belong only to free men and was also limited to the ones who were cultivated and paid their taxes (the poor being excluded).

The historical model of American democracy did not grant, at its beginnings, any rights not only to black slaves, but also to Jews and Catholics. If we comprehend that today’s American democracy is the result of a long evolution it is clear that many abuses lay in the way of the democracy adopted by societies that have never in their history known freedom. The assimilation of democratic conscience needs more time than the time required for the adoption of democratic laws and institutions. Let us remember that when the American system of power separation was exported to Latin America or South-East Asia, it invariably led to totalitarian regimes, until a democratic conscience capable of ensuring the functioning of democratic institutions was formed.

Another danger is the attraction of direct democracy, exercised through referendum or under street pressure, which is dangerous because it leads to quasi-totalitarian regimes. Most authoritarian leaders in Africa or Asia have obtained power through referendum and reinforced it through rigged elections. I find Robert Dahl’s approach much more appropriate

to contemporary realities. He starts from political freedom and political power relationship, suggests polyarchy as the solution, which he defines as a political regime where political power is delegated, controlled, and the fundamental rights of citizens are protected.

Democratic culture is threatened at the beginning of the third millennium also by the dominant postmodern culture that seems to invalidate the appeal of the ideals of the European Union's founding fathers. Political leaders, like ordinary citizens, seem to ignore the social significance of governance by thrift, virtue and moderation, essential moral values. Perhaps exactly a return to these values, given that the social costs of governance are supported increasingly harder, where society is rapidly being divided between the privileged and the disadvantaged, could be a reconstruction tool for politics on other grounds than the collectivism imposed during communism or the selfish individualism promoted in capitalism. A return to moral values could be an alternative to the careless or contemptuous attitude towards the needs and the requirements of those treated only as a mass of voters or producers and consumers of goods and information. Paul Valéry justly condemned a governance where politics is just "the art of consulting people in relation to affairs they do not understand and preventing people from taking part in affairs which properly concern them".

The twentieth century has brought an extraordinary freedom for all racial, ethnic, sexual, professional and political minorities. What has been lost is solidarity. Solidarity, which is the supreme form of freedom and the foundation of social power that we need, not only starts from mutual understanding or even from peoples' sense of compassion, but from their participation in a joint work in the service of a common ideal. Reading Saint-Exupéry once again, we will remember that "love does not consist in gazing at each other, but in looking outward together in the same direction".

11. Freedom to Choose

Democracy as a system for ensuring individual freedom is a fragile product that must be defended from the dangers represented by the tyranny of a unique leader, the tyranny of the majority against minorities, and even the tyranny of minorities that were oppressed in the past.

Between freedom and tyranny, democracy is necessary but it is not a sufficient premise to ensure a fair division of power.

For the intellectual elites that build ideologies and social projects, democracy involves a permanent choice between utopia and realism. Scientists preoccupied by social issues must not forget that in science utopia is the mother of progress, but in politics utopia always and everywhere has been the mother of criminal totalitarian regimes.

Those elected in high leadership roles, based on free elections, find themselves, when making decisions, facing a fundamental choice: whether they want to do something for the good of those who elected them (sometimes against their own will) or want to be re-elected. Most often, the team they are working with or the party that promoted them will pressurize them to adopt those measures that would lead to their re-election, in order to perpetuate their power.

In the long run, for the survival or the quality of democracy, the essential factor is the democratic conscience of those who chose freely. In *The Karamazov Brothers*, Dostoyevsky

tells us that: “**man** prefers stillness, and even death, to the freedom of solitary choice between good and evil. Nothing is more seductive for man than his freedom of conscience, but nothing is a greater cause of suffering”. Dostoyevsky wrote these lines in the nineteenth century, from the perspective of people who never knew individual freedom or democracy.

One hundred years later, in December 1989, young people who demonstrated against the communist dictatorship in the University Square in Bucharest, did not ask for bread, or for higher wages. They voiced “Free elections!”, “Freedom of the press!”, “Freedom we love you, we die for you!” and “We will die and we will be free!” At midnight, the repression troops went in with tanks against the unarmed demonstrators, who did not threaten any governmental institution, but offered flowers to the military. Dozens of people were killed and thousands arrested and tortured. Those arrested would have been killed too, as it happened 5 days prior to these events in Timisoara, if not for half a million of Bucharest citizens who surrounded the tanks and the symbols of communist regime the next day. The incredible lack of fear and the solidarity of people forced the dictator to flee and freedom was gained. In one of history’s brightest moments, people were willing to die for the ideals of freedom and democracy.

The answer regarding the future of freedom and democracy is the choice of each generation and, in the end, is the choice of each of us.

“The answer regarding the future of freedom and democracy is the choice of each generation and, in the end, is the choice of each of us.”

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Book Review

by **Michael Marien**

Fellow, World Academy of Art & Science;
Senior Principal, Security & Sustainability Guide

New Earth Politics: Essays from the Anthropocene.

Edited by **Simon Nicholson and Sikina Jinnah** (both from American University).
Earth System Governance Series. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2016, 442 p., \$34pb.

“Humans now influence all biological and physical systems of the planet. Almost no species, land area, or part of the oceans has remained unaffected by the expansion of the human species. Recent scientific findings suggest that the entire earth system now operates outside the normal state exhibited over at least the past 500,000 years. Yet at the same time, it is apparent that the institutions, organizations, and mechanisms by which humans govern their relationship with the natural environment and global biogeochemical systems are utterly insufficient—and poorly understood.”

Frank Biermann (Utrecht University; WAAS Fellow) & **Oran R. Young** (UC-Santa Barbara)
Earth System Governance Series editors, in Foreword, p. xi

As of mid-2016, the number of humans on planet Earth exceeded 7.4 billion.* By 2050, barring a major calamity, the population will likely swell to more than 10 billion. As noted by the editors of this important volume, “the collective impact of our species is vast,” and “humanity is stretching the world to and beyond ecological limits,” such that an Earth 2.0 is being created, where the challenges are “immediate, pressing, and unprecedented.” (pp 1-2)

In the year 2000, Nobel Prize-winning chemist and WAAS Fellow Paul Crutzen and biologist Eugene Stoermer coined the term *Anthropocene* for a new geological and climatic epoch characterized by this human dominance of Earth’s major processes. The term is gaining acceptance by many scientists and is being considered for formal adaptation by scientific groups. The New Earth frame used here is not meant to supersede or challenge the power of the Anthropocene concept, but rather to complement it.

This illuminating book is distinguished by a unique format of eight paired sections, where different authors offer contrasting essays with points of constructive overlap. Moreover, each of the 16 non-technical essays are undergirded with both extensive footnotes and bibliography. Although the book is hardly encyclopedic in discussing all issues raised by the Anthropocene, it is certainly a broad introduction.

* **2016 World Population** Data Sheet. Washington: Population Reference Bureau, August 2016. As of mid-2016, PRB calculates world population at 7.42 billion, with projected population in 2050 at 9.87 billion. Projections have been creeping upward, however, so it is likely that they will exceed 10 billion in 2018. Unfortunately, there is a widespread tendency to use lower outdated figures without attribution both for current population rounded to 7 billion and for the 2050 projection, usually at 9 billion.

1. CAUSES OF THE NEW EARTH. *Ken Conca* (American University) highlights three inflection points that seem likely to condition environmental politics on the New Earth: complications of economic globalization, a missed political window in world politics, and decline of the sustaining middle class (in contrast to over-consumers and the marginalized); thus strategies of the modern environmental movement are unlikely to be effective. More emphasis is needed on the “rights-and-risks approach”: environmental human rights and risk management. *Daniel Deudney* and *Elizabeth Mendenhall* (both Johns Hopkins University) describe an emergent planetary green civilization. Their “conditional optimism” sees a wealth of visions and ideas, new sustainable practices, and institutional arrangements that are partial solutions to the overarching environmental problem. The greening of religion and green religions have been a salient feature, as well as greening economics from anti-capitalism to “natural capitalism,” green urbanism, and industrial ecology. But, as climate change rapidly emerges as the master environmental problem, previous environmental programs need reassessment, e.g. nuclear power to replace fossil fuels.

2. SCHOLARSHIP AS ENGAGEMENT. After a long career on the science/policy interface, *Oran R. Young* (UC-Santa Barbara) recounts his involvement in maintaining the Arctic as a zone of peace and in crafting the UN’s new Sustainable Development Goals, where goal-setting is seen as a form of governance, concluding that working back and forth between theory and practice has been “enormously helpful” in crafting governance in stateless settings. WAAS Fellow *Richard Falk* (UC-Santa Barbara), author of *This Endangered Planet* (1971) and much more, expresses skepticism about devoting energy to influence national governments, as well as world politics beholden to the ethos of “old earth.” Rather, “the center of gravity of New Earth scholarship has been moving in the direction of biopolitics and spiritual renewal as vital ingredients of a restorative ecological response.” (p.100) The gap between feasibility and necessity cannot be closed without a transformational post-Marxist social mobilization from below built around a New Earth synthesis.

3. PEDAGOGIES OF HOPE. *Karen T. Litfin* (University of Washington) outlines the utility of contemplative approaches to teaching and learning about sustainability, arguing for working with deeply felt emotions and somatic responses; enrollment in her course on Global Environmental Politics has greatly expanded since begun in 1991, but a purely cognitive approach tends to elicit fatalism and paralysis. Contemplative inquiry opens the space to envision new possibilities. A “contrarian view” is expressed by *Michael F. Maniates* (Yale-NUS College, Singapore), who states that “anything less than straight talk about the enormity of our predicament feels cowardly and paternalistic;” we must look reality squarely in the eye no matter the cost. The problem we face is not some dearth of hope, but a set of walls and canals that imprison our hope in cell blocks of despair and immobility. He discusses eight hope-restricting myths, e.g. the state prevails, things change only in a crisis, top-down change is bad, a few simple things done by all can change the world.

4. NEW EARTH INSTITUTIONS. *Kate O’Neill* (UC-Berkeley) examines state-led global environmental institutions such as the UN Environmental Programme; the system is highly piecemeal with few formal connections, it does not adjust fast enough to changing and escalating challenges, there is “summit fatigue” and a tendency to lowest-common-denominator bargaining, and the convention for bargaining is too slow and provides too little too late. Still, the state-led system has not been static, and many global environmental

problems are likely to have been much worse without it. **Maria Ivanova** (University of Massachusetts-Boston) looks at UNEP as the anchor institution for global environmental governance, and highlights its major development milestones. She also considers efforts to design and reform the institutional structure for the environment at the four major global conferences over the past four decades. Concludes that the environment-economy dichotomy needs to be reframed, and that a new ethic of global citizenship is essential for effective, legitimate, and equitable governance.

5. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY. **Peter J. Jacques** (University of Central Florida) asserts that, “despite important impacts, environmental civil society—the transnational network of environmental NGOs and other components of the movement—has not had the impact necessary for humanity to live on this New Earth.” (p.222) True sustainability requires changing the basic operating principles of world civilization, where real public interests matter more. But neoliberalism places the interests of capital over the Earth and society, and environmental civil society has not penetrated the structures that govern market civilization. Economism continues to encourage “a violent and rapacious form of growth,” while environmental solutions have been narrowed to green consumerism of products. Viewing our most likely future planet as “Venus Junior,” **Erik Assadourian** (Worldwatch Institute) insists that preventing this future, if possible, “will require a radical reformation of the environmental movement as either a bolder political force, a missionary religious force, or ideally both.” (p.247) The current environmental movement “at its best is doing little more than slowing the spread of the global cancer that human civilization currently has become and at its worst is legitimizing the unsustainable growth and consumer culture that the movement is embedded in.” (p.248) “Ultimately, the only way we get to a sustainable future is by reining human civilization back within planetary boundaries, and that will require dramatic degrowth of energy and material usage, consumption, and the total population.” (p.252) A new “ecophilosophical missionary movement” may offer more hope than light green environmentalism, perhaps leading to a day where ecocracies (ecological theocracies) become the dominant form of state—just as Christian, Islamic, and Buddhist kingdoms once guided the world.

6. NEW EARTH GEOPOLITICS. **Joyeeta Gupta** (University of Amsterdam) develops the concept of ecospace—the resources and ecosystems that humans share—as a source of growth, conflict, and cooperation in the global arena. The New Earth is marked by emerging ecospace realities that require a new social contract: limited abiotic resources (minerals, metals, rare earths), limited sinks, the need to maintain ecosystem services, and unlimited demand for fixed resources (land, topsoil, freshwater). “If we overuse this space, we run the risk of crossing planetary boundaries.” Global sustainable development governance must take these issues into account, as well as persistent North-South and rich-poor challenges. But the sustainable development community has now split into two subdiscourses: the green economy (focusing on internalizing externalities, industrial transformation, dematerialization, and decarbonization) and the inclusive development paradigm (reinventing the role of the state as provider of amenities, infrastructure, and the rule of law for all). Geopolitics in an anarchic world leads to fragmentation and incoherence. “In the Anthropocene, global constitutionalism and the rule of law are increasingly becoming an escapable necessity.” (p.287) **Judith Shapiro** (American University), author of **China’s Environmental Challenges** (2nd ed, Polity Books, 2016), argues that China’s impact on the planet is so great that it deserves a

major place in any consideration of the future global environment. She provides an important overview of China's planetary footprint: China's contribution to climate change, traditional Chinese cultural practices that endanger biodiversity and animal welfare, the Chinese shift to a meat-based diet, China's projection of economic clout overseas, and how this resources push has raised geopolitical tensions and catalyzed geopolitical risk.

"An Anthropocene lens emphasizes an integrated perspective of evolving social-ecological systems that require not only active management of human influences, but also the adaptation of human societies to inescapable changes." – Frank Biermann

7. CLIMATE CHANGE AS NEW EARTH'S DEFINING PROBLEM. *Navroz K. Dubash* (Center for Policy Research, Delhi) discusses energy transformation in four narrative frames: climate change as the most urgent global case for an energy transition, energy security to meet domestic needs (the dominant narrative in India), energy poverty as a central theme for many developing countries, and local environmental pollution. These multiple narratives can lead to dissonance and institutional fragmentation, but are important to understand and map complexity and linkages. "Working within well-defined silos and categories is no longer a viable option...engagement with energy systems in all their complexity is a necessary starting point." (p.333) *Wil Burns* and *Simon Nicholson* (both from American University) outline problems of governing climate engineering: the wide array of speculative technologies and techniques that could help avoid passing critical temperature thresholds while the global community moves toward decarbonization. Consideration of climate engineering dates back to the President's Science Advisory Committee in 1965, and in recent years has been getting serious consideration. Options include stratospheric sulfur injection to weaken monsoons, carbon dioxide removal schemes, carbon sequestration, ocean fertilization, etc. Sustainable governance requires a regime with broad range and legitimacy.

8. NARRATIVE FRAMES FOR LIVING ON A NEW EARTH. *Paul Wapner* (American University) considers the first wave of environmentalism as a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative of the Industrial Revolution, critiquing the rapacious grab on resources, inhuman working conditions, and the threats to wilderness. Over the decades, environmentalism deepened and expanded its critique to include mass consumerism, population growth, loss of biodiversity, and widespread use of toxics. But environmentalists have always been underdogs and Cassandras, pegged as misanthropes and espousing an apocalyptic sensibility. Indeed, environmentalism will probably always fight an uphill battle and live at the margins of collective life. *Peter Dauvergne* (University of British Columbia), author of *Environmentalism of the Rich* (MIT Press, Oct 2016, 218p), explains how multinational business has tried to control the sustainability debate and rewrite the narrative of sustainability to expand business, reduce costs, and gain more control over suppliers through certification programs and codes of conduct. Scholars should weigh the evidence, debunk corporate rhetoric, interrogate collaborating NGOs, and reveal what is really going

on. Specific comments are made about Walmart and Coca-Cola. Acknowledging the New Earth in the frame of “an age of unsustainability” can bring to the fore the need to think in geological time and the shadows of consumption.

In a concluding Epilogue, **Frank Biermann**, co-editor of the Earth System Governance Series of ten books so far and author of **Earth System Governance: World Politics in the Anthropocene** (MIT Press, 2014, 267p) writes “one irrefutable conclusion” of this book: “today we are living on a New Earth” which has aptly found its new scientific title as a distinct and unprecedented epoch. “An Anthropocene lens emphasizes an integrated perspective of evolving social-ecological systems that require not only active management of human influences, but also the adaptation of human societies to inescapable changes.” (p.407) Five elements of changes in political analysis and practice are needed: revisioning institutional architectures, new normative debates and discourses such as the “2 degree target” and “tipping points” for planetary boundaries, new efforts to integrate social science disciplines to understand socioecological systems, seeking new alliances between political science and political practice, and envisioning alternative futures that can protect and enrich the lives of all people while maintaining life-supporting functions of the planet, especially transformative ideas based on sound theory and evidence.

COMMENT: THE LONG AND BUMPY ROAD AHEAD

New Earth, the new Anthropocene epoch, and planetary boundaries* are powerful and complementary concepts. They are broader than climate change, and similar to the Club of Rome’s “world problematique” basket of concerns about environmental degradation, poverty, insecure employment, economic disruptions, pollution, population growth, and depletion of nonrenewable resources, which led to its famous *Limits to Growth* report in 1972, launched with a “sense of extreme urgency.”† The report received widespread attention in the 1970s, but none of the three new concepts have received much attention or debate to date. The “New Earth” frame is convincing, to me at least. The problem is making it widely visible in a world of infoglut so that it leads to necessary action by many governments and NGOs.

This book on New Earth Politics is a small step forward. The eight sections on causes, scholarship and policies, pedagogies of hope, state-led institutions, social movements, geopolitics, climate change remedies, and narrative frames all offer useful perspectives.

But at least two additional perspectives deserve to be added, as concerns institutions and social movements, as well as politics and learning.

The good news, potentially, is that the state-led institutions, academic institutes, and especially independent think tanks and international NGO action groups are far greater in number than perhaps anyone realizes. **The Security & Sustainability Guide**, a WAAS project underway since 2014, has now identified over 1,500 organizations in the August 2016

* The “planetary boundaries” concept was introduced in 2009 and is explained in several books, e.g. **Bankrupting Nature: Denying Our Planetary Boundaries, a Report to the Club of Rome** by Anders Wijkman and Johan Rockström (Earthscan/Routledge, 2012), **Big World Small Planet: Abundance Within Planetary Boundaries** by Johan Rockström and Mattias Klum (Max Strom Publishing, 2015), and **The Age of Sustainable Development** by Jeffrey D. Sachs (Columbia University Press, 2015, Chapter 8, pp181-218).

† **The Limits to Growth: A Report for The Club of Rome’s Project on the Predicament of Mankind** by Donella H. Meadows et al. (Universe Books, 1972, p.196).

Interim Draft.* By early 2017, at least 300 more organizations will be added. They include think tanks concerned with security and/or sustainability (in that sustainability is ultimately a major security problem, and vice versa), climate and/or renewable energy, biodiversity, water, oceans, pollution, human rights, etc. But if Kate O'Neill (above) complains that the system of state-led global environmental institutions is "highly fragmented," the myriad "S&S" organizations are far more so. The "S&S Guide" has identified at least a hundred alliances, consortia, and networks to overcome this fragmentation, but much more collective leadership is needed to promote a more coherent message and build political visibility and strength.

This leads to the bad news. It is time for environmentalists and sustainists to get real about politics and recognize it as an ongoing struggle to get good ideas in power, embed them in wise law and policy, and keep them from being eroded or reversed. At the same time, bad ideas for the New Earth must be fought off,[†] and the political opposition favoring the status quo or going backwards must be recognized. No better example is available than the 2016 election for president of the United States, where a climate denier won the highest office in the country, arguably the most powerful in the world. Climate change, although briefly mentioned in passing, was not an issue in the long and divisive campaign. Suffice to say that climate policy will very likely turn backwards in the US, and perhaps the world if America pulls out of the Paris climate agreement, as promised by the new president.

It is time to get smart about promoting New Earth politics. Paul Wapner (above) argues that environmentalists have always been underdogs at the margins of collective life. But this need not be so if they aim to mainstream their message and avoid the widespread "sandbox syndrome" of self-marginalization. They can do so, by example, by stressing green jobs, the co-benefits of wise climate policy (better health, secure energy, cost savings), truth-telling green economics, public investment rather than mere spending, and climate change as a "threat multiplier" that will make security and migration concerns far worse. And they can push businesses large and small toward greener capitalism and the ethical triple bottom line (people, planet, profits), while recognizing that business will always fall short of Ideals and there will always be some greenwashing and self-congratulation. Peter Dauvergne (above) is correct in pointing out that multinationals promote sustainability to their own advantage and are not always sincere. But capitalism is not going to go away, and can and should be prodded by the UN Global Compact, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development, the Natural Capital Coalition, the Global Reporting Initiative, the Climate Bonds Initiative, and scores of other organizations urging sustainability that are identified in a new report derived from the S&S Guide: *Greening Capitalism, Quietly: Seven Types of Organizations Driving the Necessary Revolution* (Feb 2017, 46p).

The rightward turn in American politics, as well as in many European nations,[‡] is fueled in part by anti-immigration and anti-globalization nationalism. And the growing wave of

* **The Security & Sustainability Guide: 1500+ Organizations Pursuing Essential Global Goals** compiled by Michael Marien, David Harries, and Michael Sales (Interim Draft, August 2016, 277p; available at www.securesustain.org).

† An example of a relatively sophisticated approach between "alarmist" and "denier" camps that may soon underlie US climate policy is **Lukewarming: The New Climate Science That Changes Everything** by Patrick J. Michaels and Paul C. Knappenberger (Washington: Cato Institute, Sept 2016), which argues that "the evidence of some human-caused climate change is compelling but it is hardly the alarming amount predicted by the models." Worse, outright denial of climate change may soon direct US policy.

‡ **Far-Right Politics in Europe** by Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, March 2017), on staunchly nationalist parties.

immigrants is likely to increase as environmental problems worsen, thus creating a vicious circle eroding human security. World tensions are rising due to terrorism and cyber-security, which draws attention and resources from New Earth concerns. The long and bumpy road ahead can easily accelerate the various environmental and economic calamities that many already see. Or the immediate years ahead may spark the “radical reformation of the environmental movement” prescribed by Erik Assadourian (above). Massive uncertainty lies ahead, and it is far too soon to forecast whether 21st century rationality will prevail. But, as Michael Maniates insists (above), we must “look reality squarely in the eye.”

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INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE



2nd International Conference on Future Education Effective Learning in an Age of Increasing Speed, Complexity and Uncertainty

A multi-disciplinary, inter-generational dialogue in
collaboration with the Roma Tre University
Rome, Italy—November 16-18, 2017

The Challenge: Society is changing more rapidly than ever before, generating unprecedented opportunities and challenges in its wake. Anticipating and addressing the consequences of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, environmental pressures, rising levels of youth unemployment and inequality, globalization and virtualization of business models, the explosive growth of online communications and education, the globalization of education, increasing intercultural contacts and migration will place enormous pressure on educational institutions, students, teachers and researchers.

The Solution: Education is humanity's most effective instrument for consciously steering social evolution to maximize the benefits and minimize the disruption and trauma associated with it. There is urgent need to expand the reach, accessibility, affordability and quality of education at all levels. But multiplying the existing model is not sufficient. Indeed it is likely to aggravate rather than alleviate many problems due to the time warp and gap between the education offered today and that which is so urgently needed. We need not only much more education but education that is qualitatively different— a new paradigm. Updating course content is not enough. We need an education that equips youth to adapt to future innovations and challenges that cannot be anticipated now.

The Participants: Building on a break-through conference at the University of California at Berkeley in 2013, the World University Consortium and the World Academy of

Co-organized by



Art & Science are collaborating with the University of Rome, the Inter-University Centre and other partners to conduct an international conference on Future Education to identify practical measures to meet the needs and aspirations of major stakeholders—youth, students, teachers, employers, workers, research institutions, governments and civil society.

The keynote address will be delivered by Edgar Morin.



The Objectives: The conference will explore ways to

- * Implement student-centered, person-centered, active, participative learning pedagogies;
- * Harness the potential of emerging learning technologies and delivery systems;
- * Foster synthetic, integrated modes of thinking;
- * Make conscious and explicit the central role of values in human development;
- * Shift toward multi- and trans-disciplinary approaches to knowledge;
- * Development of independent thinking, creativity, entrepreneurship & leadership;
- * Extend the scope of learning outcomes from information and mental skills to encompass development of social capabilities, personality, values and individuality.

The Format: This conference is designed to serve as an open, active platform for participants to share, collaborate and co-create new ideas, approaches, methodologies and best practices. The multi-stakeholder approach and structure of the conference will make it possible for participants to organize or participate in special sessions dedicated to in-depth exploration of specific topics ranging from subject content, pedagogy and learning technologies to social and economic impact on issues such as employment, skills development, business development, innovation, social power, citizenship, cultural diversity, personal development and individuality.

The Agenda: The conference will be organized into streams focusing on the following themes

- * Learning in a time of increasing uncertainty
- * Closing the time warp in higher education
- * Education for Full Employment and Human Welfare
- * Education distributes Social Power
- * Transdisciplinary Education
- * Person-centered learning
- * Mind, Thinking & Creativity
- * Anticipation in Education
- * Developing Individuality through Education
- * Learning as a way of life
- * Value-based vs. Value-free education
- * Social construction of knowledge
- * Network-based education, learning spaces and learning communities

- * Online and hybrid learning
- * Disruptive educational technologies
- * Technological enhancements, automation and digitization
- * Storming the Ivory Tower
- * Ways of Thinking and Knowing
- * Sustainable Entrepreneurship
- * Transformational Leadership
- * Education beyond the university
- * Navigating transitions in education and society
- * Multi-stakeholder perspectives
- * What students want from higher education
- * Teaching in a time of instant information and rapid change
- * Politics and Economics of Education
- * Business and Employer Needs
- * Workers' Perspectives

For further information, please visit <http://wunicon.org/rome>

Or contact support@worldacademy.org

Special Notice to WAAS Fellows

“The S&S Guide offers a unique and invaluable glimpse of 1,500 mostly non-profit organizations of global interest—more than half begun since 2002. Especially note some 80 information portals, and nearly 100 alliances, consortia, and networks.”

– Ted Trzyna (WAAS Fellow; Editor, **World Directory of Environmental Organizations**, 6th Edition 2001; President, **Inter-Environment Institute**, Claremont, Calif.)

The Security & Sustainability Guide: **1,500 Organizations Pursuing Essential Global Goals**

Prepared by Michael Marien, David Harries, and Michael Sales

A 277-page August 2016 Interim Draft PDF of The S&S Guide, a project of the World Academy of Art & Science, was distributed to WAAS Fellows last fall. A new Interim Draft of some 330 pages, with expanded coverage of 1,800 organizations, will be available in June 2017 at www.securesustain.org. It reflects the critical fact that sustainability and security are both essential and can only be achieved in concert. The Guide is incomplete, but the compilers believe that, even in its current state, many WAAS Fellows will find it useful for illuminating many of the most serious problems facing humanity under the broad, overlapping categories of “Security” (weapons proliferation, terrorism, cyber-attacks, economic and food insecurity, human rights, peacemaking, crime and corruption, inadequate infrastructure, etc.) and “Sustainability” (climate change, biodiversity loss, pollution, energy, agriculture, population growth, cities, oceans, forests, vulnerability to disasters, green economics and finance, etc.)

The August 2016 draft of the S&S Guide features the following:

- Forewords by **Heitor Gurgulino de Souza** and **Garry Jacobs**
- Part 1: **Overviews**
 - A. Major Categories Index (a quick orientation to key topics and # of orgs. under each)
 - B. 100 Notable Books and Reports (mostly recent and freely-available online reports)
 - C. 50 Notable Organizations (briefly described)
 - D. 25 Notable Individuals (to be added in 2017-2018)
 - E. 80 Information Portals (to various security and sustainability topics, e.g. climate)
- Part 2: **Title Index** to 1,500 organizations (more to come; suggested additions invited)
- Part 3: **Organization Descriptions** (400 orgs. with links to the Title and Subject Indexes)
- Part 4: **Subject Index** (already extensive—some 60 double column pages!)

For a free PDF of the S&S Guide, contact WAAS Fellows **Dr. Michael Marien** (mmarien@twcny.rr.com) or **Dr. David Harries** (jdsharries@bell.net). Comments on this work in progress are encouraged; also suggestions for funding to make this project sustainable.

Editorial Policy

The editorial guidelines reflect the policy priorities for the publication of articles in this forum of the World Academy. These priorities are:

- articles and papers solicited from Fellows or from knowledgeable experts who are members of academies and associations having a fraternal and cooperative relationship with the World Academy;
- papers generated in the advancement of specific projects adopted by the World Academy, which may emerge from the give-and-take of electronic seminars or other processes in furtherance of the completion of Academy-adopted projects;
- papers that are reasonably well developed and which may serve as a stimulus, among the Fellows, for the development of new project proposals for the World Academy;
- other such contributions as may emerge from the Fellows of the World Academy and which the editorial board deems important to be published and made available to all the Fellows of the World Academy; and
- that editorial policy enhance creative freedom, fresh perspectives, original ideas and new proposals which capture interface of different disciplines, transparency for non-specialized readers, and challenging conclusions.

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