"Everyone talks about peace but no one educates for peace. In this world, they educate for competition, and competition is the beginning of any war. When we educate to cooperate and be in solidarity with one another, that day we will be educating for peace."

María Montessori

"…It is time for all to commit to be a force for good, a force for peace: to support the project "Culture of Peace for the Security of Future Generations", contributing to a more secure future for mankind and for the coming generations…"

Michael Frendo, *"Committing to Culture of Peace"*

The Culture of Peace for the Security of Future Generations

Secondary Level Volume Two

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Kuwait
2019

peace culture

The Culture of Peace for the Security of Future Generations

John Teem

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Contents

Acknowledgments

On September 7, 2017, I submitted a proposal to the General Assembly of the United Nations. If the proposal succeeds in being implemented, it will be a milestone for future generations. Its realization certainly depends on our united efforts, especially on our sincere will and determination to serve humanity. The proposal is a project entitled "Culture of Peace for the Security of Future Generations" and requires that all actors of the international community commit themselves to introducing special lessons on Culture of Peace to their educational programs and materials, starting from kindergarten and on to primary education, high school and university. This project has been welcomed by the General Assembly of the United Nations to which I wish to extend my warm thanks. The approval of the project represented an incentive for me to move on to the next steps in the concretization of my idea. On November 22, 2017, the Foundation opened in Rome Abdulaziz Saud Albabtain's chair for Culture of Peace and took care of all its activities. We have entrusted the task of supervising it and teaching Culture of Peace to the European Centre for Democracy and Human Rights, which includes 100 universities from around the world.

I have also decided to set up an international committee to oversee and guide in facilitating the task of those who will be teaching Culture of Peace to future generations. It was then that I presided over the first meeting of this Committee in Rome, on 23 November 2017, the day after the opening of the Peace Chair at the Centre of Altiero Spinelli at the University of Rome. We, then, held a second meeting in Rome on 28 January 2018 (two consecutive days), during which we outlined the content of the manuals. We also met in Lisbon, Portugal, on 4 and 5 April 2018, during the International Symposium held by the Gulbenkian Foundation on higher education during 'emergency times,' and also on the occasion of receiving the Portuguese government's seal from President Marcelo Rebelo. As a first step, we all agreed to prepare a "model manual", to guide experts in their composition of manuals for all education levels. The experts took into consideration all the suggestions given by members of the committee, thus combining the best of propositions in drafting the proposal.

On September 5, 2018, I presented this Manual to the General Assembly of the United Nations at the high level Forum on Culture of Peace. It was accepted by the participants with a special request to add lessons on different tools to protect the cultural heritage.

Since that, as a second step the overseeing committee engaged the expert teams specialized in manuals composition. The selection of members of the teams was done on the basis of three criteria:

- Experience in teaching and in subject matter;
- Mastery of at least two languages (English and French) besides the mother tongue, in each country;
- Geographical diversity: experts from at least two or three continents or more.

The overseeing committee recommended the adoption of the best examples from diverse schools as well as the implementation of an English educational system in its British, American as well as Anglophone forms. It also urged the

consideration of other effective educational approaches in other systems such as the Finnish, German and Italian ones.

The manuals are currently being drafted by three teams of specialists relying on the model manual which was presented to the UN General Assembly on September 5, 2018. These teams are:

- Team of kindergarten, primary and basic education experts.
- Team of secondary education experts.
- Team of higher education experts.

We urged the teams to finalize the manuals by the end of April 2019, so that we could present them to our guests at the first edition of the World Forum for Culture of Peace to be organized by the Foundation at the International Court of Justice in The Hague, on June 13, 2019.. A number of world leaders as well as political, social and cultural actors will be present at this Forum. In order to ensure the comprehensive completion of our work within the deadlines, the overseeing committee entrusted Professor Touhami Abdouli, the General Director of the Foundation, with the coordination, follow-up, and supervision of the manuals. So my deep thanks to all the talented expert teams who composed the manuals and did respect the deadline:

- **Luigi Moccia**, University of Roma Tre, Italy.
- **Desirée Campagna**, University of Padova, Human Rights Centre "Antonio Papisca", Italy.
- **Pietro de Perini**, University of Padova, Human Rights Centre "Antonio Papisca", Italy.
- **Marco Mascia**, University of Padova, Human Rights Centre "Antonio Papisca". Italy.
- **Lawrence Ciccarelli**, George Town University and American University in Cairo.

- **Maria Ponce de Leon**, Temple University, Rome, Italy
- **Andrea Ciccarelli**, Brock University and Trinity Wester University.
- **Mahfoudh Elarem**, Sousse International School.
- **Ashley Muench**, University of North Florida, Jacksonville.
- **Elli Scrimali**, Product Design and Technology University, United Kingdom
- **Onna Seibold**, University of North Texas, USA
- **Njal Haugland**, University of Birzeit.
- **John Teem**, San Diego State University.
- **Jonathan Mason**, Faculty of Arts, University of Sousse, Tunisia.
- **Elizabeth Marques**, French School of Kuwait.
- **Imene Gramy**, French School of Kuwait.

I would like also to extend my deep thanks to the overseeing committee, which I was honoured to chair, for its continued support in our global humanitarian project:

- **Michael Frendo**, former Maltese Parliamentary Secretary and Minister of Foreign Affairs, currently a Vice-Chairman of the Venice Democracy Commission.
- **Charles Nothomb**, President of the North-South Dialogue Foundation, former Belgian Foreign Minister.
- **Patrizia Martello**, President of the World Academy for Poetry.
- **Laura Troisi**, Secretary General of the World Academy for Poetry.

- **Terje Rød-Larsen**, President of the International Peace Institute in New York, and the former U.N. envoy.

- **Adam Lupel**, Vice President of the International Peace Institute in New York.

- **Nejib Friji**, Director of the International Peace Institute for the Middle East and North Africa.

- **Luigi Moccia**, President of the Centre of Altiero Spinelli, Rome.

- **Michele Capasso**, President of the Mediterranean Foundation.

- **George Ulrich**, Secretary General of the European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratization.

- **Touhami Abdouli**, Director General of Abdulaziz Saud Albabtain Cultural Foundation and former Secretary of State of Tunisia for European, Arab and African Affairs (2011-2016).

In conclusion, these manuals could be enriched by your valuable remarks as they are designed for Culture of Peace which is always in process….

Culture of Peace does not need proof and evidence because it is evidence of itself.

Abdulaziz Saud Albabtain
Kuwait, May 1, 2019

Foreword

Committing to Culture of Peace

These "Manuals" (from kindergarten to elementary schools, high schools and universities) to be presented to the international community within the different activities of the "World Forum for Culture of Peace" that will be organized by the Albabtain Cultural Foundation on June 13, 2019, at the International Court of Justice (Palace of Peace) in the Hague, Netherlands, represent another truly worthy achievement of a man who, successful in his business ventures, dedicated himself to literature, to poetry, and to the furtherance of the idea of humankind living together in harmony, respect and understanding, which lie at the heart of Culture of Peace.

Abdulaziz Albabtain is a peaceful voice from the Arab World, passionately furthering an ambitious project to create an international community - within our reach - where we all together jointly assert our "common commitment" for the "security of future generations" by providing them with an educational formation in Culture of Peace.

Certainly, it is in our much maligned Europe, that we have managed to keep a peace for over seventy (70) years by undertaking a unique political, economic and legal construction on the bloodied soil of the very continent that was the cause of two World Wars in one century.

In the context of a shared European perspective, when we speak of Culture of Peace, the vision of the European founding fathers and its actual implementation are central to the theme. The choice was to seek political integration through economic integration and the first step was the sharing of what at the time were the raw materials of war with the European Coal and Steel Community. That dedication to peace is at the heart of the European project in the proven belief that the more the peoples and States of Europe manage to successfully share political and economic sovereignty the less vulnerable they are to fall victim to the isolationism which is the breeding ground of war and conflict.

The achievement of the European Union stems also from the same post-World War II spirit of a collaborative and internationally linked world where the nation-state joins up in international organizations such as the United Nations and its Agencies. The Charter of the UN, in its very preamble makes it clear that "the peoples of the United Nations" have joined together "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security".

For long, in the immediate post-war and in my generation, we took for granted that these noble aspirations had been embraced by the whole world and that the commitment to the direction of international cooperation and sharing of decision-making was unswerving.

Worryingly, we are witnessing events and political choices which do not allow us to take this trend for granted any more. The euphoria of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of most of Europe soon subsided with the indiscriminate attacks on civilians by non-state terrorist groups that engendered widespread fear in the name of

extremism, religious or otherwise.

The sharing of sovereignty in the European Union is under assault from the forces of populism and nationalism: the model of collaborative internationalism which is at the heart of peace in our times has given rise to new walls of nationalism instigated by many factors, not least the issue of massive economic migration, isolationism and nationalistic rhetoric of grandeur.

Perhaps never more than now, therefore, has there been a need to further Culture of Peace in our world - and the project of "Culture of Peace for the Security of the Future Generations" not only comes at an appropriate time but also takes on greater significance in the attempt to ensure that Culture of Peace, as the basis of security for future generations wins the hearts and minds of the new generations.

That great champion of peace and non-violence, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, better known as the Mahatma, put is very aptly, when he said:

"If we are to teach real peace in this world, and we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with the children".

And the Mahatma was someone who knew about the consequences and suffering of choosing the road of non-violence to achieve his political goal of independence for his great nation. His dedication to non-violence as a matter of principle and belief was not a matter of policy. His commitment to discredit the dictum that the end justified the means was based on his conviction that the means were actually an integral part of the end.

"Non-violence is not a garment to be put on and off at will. Its seat is in the heart, and it must be an inseparable part of our being", he taught. And "The attainment of freedom, whether for a person, a nation or a world, must be in exact proportion to the attainment of nonviolence for each".

In showing effectively that there is an alternative to violence as a means to achieve political aims,

Gandhi is a prime example of a champion of Culture of Peace in our world.

The same philosophy permeates the principles guiding the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization, UNESCO. Indeed, as stated in the Memorandum to a Letter by a number of States that requested for the first time a discussion on Culture of Peace in the United Nations General Assembly, the concept of Culture of peace and its propagation, "dates back to the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), adopted more than 50 years ago, wherein that organization is called upon to construct the defenses of peace in the minds of men because 'a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of Governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and ... the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind'."

Doing exactly this: the founding of Culture of Peace upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind, therefore, is a task to which we are all called: to ensure the security of future generations.

However in doing so, we must steer clear of the facile mixing up of appeasement for peace, lest we suffer the fate of Chamberlain's waving of his agreement with Hitler in 1938 as proof of "peace for our time". There is no peace in the mollification of tyrants and in the resignation to evil, as was the evil of Nazism.

To achieve peace for our time, for which the believers of all three Abrahamic religions pray, we must ensure a peace of substance. While no one wants to fill in the cemeteries with the victims of war and conflict, neither do we aspire to a peace of the cemeteries.

There was no peace without justice, and it is right and just to continue to pursue that justice even today. Equally, there is no peace for the oppressed if there is no freedom for them. As Hanna Nassar,

the former mayor of Bethlehem, that birthplace of the Prince of Peace, once told me when I visited him as Malta's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2005: "We are not witnessing peace, we are witnessing piece by piece".

Dialogue and Understanding are the tools of Peace. Diplomatic effort at resolving conflict and international tensions must be unceasing, resolute and continuous in the face of what may seem to be a situation of hopelessness. In the spirit of the words of Mother Theresa, "Give but give until it hurts". We must pursue peace with that extra determination, until it hurts.

Peace must have a dividend. In this context, the international community must ensure that peace always has a dividend. And that dividend is upheld and is shown as a carrot for other situations of conflict which require resolution. When we place the violent actors on the same plane as the non-violent actors, when we do not show reward and progress for those who give up violent struggle for peaceful and diplomatic means for change, we are discrediting the value of peace. Peace must have a dividend.

There is no peace without reconciliation. After political change, in the turmoil of events, we need leaders who place a high value on reconciliation as a means of peace and security for future generations. Perhaps no better example can be found other than the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission which held public hearings on human rights violations for victims and perpetrators alike. Of course no one can deny that there is a fine line between dispensing justice and granting amnesty in the search for reconciliation and no one reality is the same as the other – but there may be times when, under given conditions, seeking reconciliation becomes paramount for the nation to move forward in peace.

Still in furtherance of peace, reconciliation requires historical memory and the recognition of past mistakes. Speaking recently at the International

Peace Institute, my friend and former colleague, Erkki Tuomioja, rightly stated that even where there are peace agreements, the unaddressed history you think you left behind can return "to haunt you and at worst can lead to renewal of conflict." For, "if you do not know your history, you cannot see into the future." In this regard, he mentioned the Armenian genocide the definition of which is still contested between Turkey, Armenians and others, and the slowness of Germany to recognize atrocities in what is now Namibia, and the British and the French in India and Algeria.

Real security lies in a global culture of peace and not in the balance of armaments and the race to the bottom. No military strength can protect all citizens in all circumstances and everywhere within one's territory. Protection lies not only in collaboration with others in security matters and exchange of information but also in the victory of Culture of peace which in itself is a pre-emptive strike against war and conflict.

Peace and security lie in international good neighbourly collaboration in a world which needs to address its own global challenges of climate change, global warming and extreme weather and the ever growing wealth divide where just eight human beings own the same wealth as 3.6 billion people making up the poorest half of humanity.

Peace also requires a social security net provided by each Nation State globally. In many circumstances, extreme and hopeless poverty, morally unacceptable, is also the breeding place and recruiting ground of extremism and violent conflict.

Of course, it is tautological that, even in wartime, with the collapse of peace, no peace is achievable without renewed political process and engagement to stabilize and to heal.

Is the Abdulaziz Saud Albabtain project a project for dreamers? Perhaps it is, but dreaming a better future has been the basis for all true progress for mankind. And at the end of the day peace is

no dream for those who have achieved it: it is a fundamental and precious reality to all of us in our time and the basis for all other facets of life. As good citizens, we must also secure it for future generations.

The drive for the development and furtherance of Culture of Peace therefore must continue, in our schools, in our universities, within the nation-state and on a multilateral and international level. We must continue to fight the good fight: that greatness is not expressed in nationalism, in military strength, in the nostalgia of former empire or in isolationism, that force does not overwhelm justice and that war cannot become more appealing than peace.

The imploration of Abdulaziz Saud Albabtain, on the 7th of September 2017, then in the 5th of September 2018, in addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations to launch a project entitled "Culture of Peace for the Security of Future Generations" where the entire international community, governmental and non-governmental would fashion peace based education and cultural manuals on peace in education globally "from kindergarten to elementary schools, high schools and universities" finds resonance in a General Assembly Resolution entitled "Promotion of religious and cultural understanding, harmony and cooperation adopted on 3 November 2005":

"Encourages Governments to promote, including through education, as well as the development of progressive Manuals and text books, understanding, tolerance and friendship among human beings in all their diversity of religion, belief, culture and language, which will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance, and to apply a gender perspective while doing so, in order to promote understanding, tolerance, peace and friendly relations among nations and all racial and religious groups, recognizing that education at all levels is one of the principal means to build Culture of peace".

Peace requires also inter-religious dialogue, which I know is so close to the heart of Abdulaziz Saud Albabtain and for which he has contributed so much throughout his life work. Peace requires therefore a renewed interest in the values which are the foundation stones of the major world religions. In its programme "Towards Culture of Peace", the United Nations rightly includes promotion of interreligious and intercultural dialogue, understanding and cooperation for peace in interconnected processes.

True enough, religions can be divisive and themselves a source of conflict. John Lennon and his famous song "Imagine" would not argue with that. But religions can and should also be a source of common and shared values. Peace is at the heart of Islam, (from Salem - making peace) and of Christianity (love your enemies) as in Judaism where shalom also means wellbeing and therefore showing peace as not just the opposite of war but as the ideal state of affairs.

It is time for all to commit to be a force for good, a force for peace: to support and commit to the work of Abdulaziz Saud Albabtain and of his Cultural Foundation project " Culture of Peace for the Security of Future Generations", contributing to a more secure future for mankind and for the coming generations.

Michael Frendo[1]

Introduction

"Establishing lasting peace is the work of education…."

"Everyone talks about peace but no one educates for peace. In this world, they educate for competition, and competition is the beginning of any war. When we educate to cooperate and be in solidarity with one another, that day we will be educating for peace."

María Montessori

Peace means education…If a child learns well in his early years, he will not forget, and the rules of living in peace…will serve as a guiding beacon.

Abdulaziz Saud Albabtain.

The Rationale

The project "Culture of Peace for the Security of Future Generations" proposed by the "Albabtain Cultural Foundation" intends to offer a meaningful contribution to the field of Strategic Studies, at all educational levels. The Manuals are designed to promote Culture of peace as a viable and essential component not only within educational institutions, but with an extended influence to local and international government policy-making agencies as well as religious communities.

The "Culture of Peace project" is envisioned to be introduced in the classroom at an early age and proceed on to all subsequent levels. It is a long term process which should provide both children and young adults with an awareness and respect for human values and rights. In addition to developing the skills of active listening, dialogue and mediation, its proposed courses with diverse levels of competency, include topics such as: guidelines for peace in today's world peace and conflict theories; international/ regional organizations; international treaties and conventions; intercultural dialogue: the role of religious institutions and communities in the current geopolitical context; and new threats to peace in the global context: resources, international terrorism, organized crime; as well as numerous others.

Why Culture of Peace?

Increasingly, international actors and analysts are advocating a holistic understanding of peace, to move from a definition of peace as the absence of conflict towards one of positive peace. Looking at peace from this perspective requires a shift in focus from identifying and combating the causes of wars to understanding the factors that "foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies, free from fear and violence." In fact, people would do anything to live a peaceful life. Peace, however, is not a certainty since wars are omnipresent in almost every society, ranging from civil wars to genocide. Moreover, due to the precariousness of the socioeconomic condition of a large portion of society, the inalienable rights of peace and security are often overlooked or thought of as luxuries. Those rights, however, have been proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as principled values which serve as an ethical code for people to follow all over the world, despite ethnic, religious, cultural, or racial diversity. When countries and people are victimized by the ravages of armed conflicts, it is arduous to guarantee respect for Culture of Peace. This is when education must step in and perform a major role. Indeed, to transcend the destructive repercussions of wars, Culture of Peace has to be established. UNESCO's Constitutional Statement confirms this

when it states: "since wars begin in the minds of men it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". In other words, it is of utmost importance to educate and enlighten people in order to guarantee them the knowledge and respect of their rights in the short and long terms.

It is insufficient to call for peace, long for it, or send an outcry against wars. Rather, it is imperative that we come to terms with the fact that education is the only valid weapon which will enable the citizens of the world to finally attain the long sought after peace. The study of Culture of Peace together with Human Rights should not be solely regarded as an academic topic of education, but rather as an essential tool for attaining behavioural change in favour of a more peaceful society which respects human rights.

In order to achieve the objective of establishing peace and respect for Culture of Peace in education, the aim should be to enrich and deepen the students' concept of peace in content as well as in its enactment. Teachers should be both informative and active. In other words, they not only need to provide their students with information but also present activities that implement the acquired information into daily life behaviour. Instilling peace in the minds and hearts of the learners will necessarily go hand in hand with Culture of Peace education; an education that advocates the universally acclaimed values of freedom, justice, and equality. If these values were to prevail, people would be able to coexist peacefully, in a conflict-free society.

Culture of Peace encompasses a wide range of subjects and sub-topics, but despite how far-reaching and fast-growing its realm may be, its objective derives from a simple maxim: doing unto others as you would have them do unto you, which is basically synonymous with human responsibility within a framework of shared humanity.

In order for Culture of Peace to be respected and diffused around the globe, universal peace values should comprise an integral part of education from the very first contact with a school setting, namely in kindergarten. Moreover, Culture of Peace education requires a combination of high-quality teaching and learning, intended to provide a well-balanced and fulfilling scholastic environment, which inevitably results in a better balanced and more contented society. Culture of Peace education should offer students the guidance and assistance needed to become responsible, law-abiding, and humane citizens in the real world and such can be achieved by setting up a comprehensive Human-Rights' education enriched with a goal-oriented, thematic, and tangible Manual, adaptable to all the subjects.

These Manuals seek to provide educators of all levels, from kindergarten through higher education, with the guidelines and teaching materials required to inspire and reinforce an awareness of Culture of Peace in learners. Though the manuals are intended to serve as guidebooks for teachers who seek to cultivate Culture of Peace in the classroom, the manual should not be considered binding, but rather adaptable and emendable whenever necessary, in accordance with the feedback of the scholastic community: teachers, experts, parents, students, etc. That being said, it is hoped that these manuals will not cease to evolve and will serve as means to an end rather than an end in itself.

'Actions speak louder than words'

One cannot give what one does not have. Similarly, one cannot teach something one does not know and preach about something one does not personally abide by. In other words, students do not need to be solely instructed and informed about Culture of Peace at school. For Culture of Peace education to be effective, students need to learn not only how to hold Culture of Peace values in high regards, but

also how to hold the destructive deep-entrenched ills in contempt. To do so, teachers must seek to show respect for Culture of Peace in their methods of teaching. For example, a teacher cannot lecture to students about the importance of justice as a value, and then use unfair treatment. That would be contradictory to say the least, and would discredit the teacher in the eyes of the students, who would not be convinced to take the value of justice seriously. Notwithstanding the fact that some academic subjects are not directly associated with Culture of Peace, instructors of any given subject can foster Culture of Peace values in their students through the set of behaviours they try to promote within the classroom such as mutual respect, acceptance, trustworthiness, dependability, solidarity, equality, and equity. These values carry the same weight in the Humanities and the Social Sciences as they do in the Sciences and Mathematics.

It is advisable that teachers include Culture of Peace in the content of their subjects as well as incorporate classroom activities centred on real life issues such as freedom, equality, and justice. In this vein, Ian Lister proposes the following guidelines for a Human Rights school, which could be very useful for the school of Culture of Peace since the Human Rights are basic elements in the education of Culture of Peace. The standards he suggests are tentative ones; nevertheless they are a good set of starting points for any school community that would live by principles of Culture of Peace. In the following quotation of Ian Lister we are replacing the term of Human Rights School by Culture of Peace School as the last necessarily contains the Human rights:

- "Its general structures and practices reflect a concern for the Procedural values which underpin (Culture of Peace), toleration, fairness and respect for truth and for reasoning;

- It will respect the rights and fundamental freedoms of all its members, including the students, acknowledging that the members have these rights and fundamental freedoms by virtue of their common humanity;

- All are entitled to these (principles of Culture of Peace) and freedoms because of their common humanity, and there will be no discrimination against anyone on grounds of race, religion, social class or gender. In particular, the (Culture of Peace School), will regard and respect children and women as part of common humanity. It will guard against 'unconscious' or 'unintentional' racism and sexism;

- No one in the school should be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;

- Any punishment must be preceded by due process and a fair hearing;

- Everyone will have the right of freedom of opinion and expression, and of peaceful assembly and association. Students will be able to form, and belong to, issue-related groups which respect the ideals and procedures of (principles of Culture of Peace);

- The education practiced by the (Culture of Peace School), will be directed to the full development of the human personality, and will show a concern for brain and hand, and for intellect and emotions;

- Through its structures and its manual, the (Culture of Peace School) will promote understanding, tolerance and friendship between people of different national, ethnic or religious groups and a concern for the maintenance of peace. It will help its students to acquire the attitudes and

- skills necessary to facilitate peaceful social change;

- It will recognize that everyone has duties and obligations, as well as rights and freedoms, and that these will include duties to the community and obligations to respect the rights and freedoms of others;

- It will be aware of the relationship of rights and freedoms and duties and obligations, and that the relationship between the rights and freedoms of one (or of one group) and the rights and freedoms of another (or of another group) may be contentious issues. The (Culture of Peace) school will not be without - or seek to be without - conflicts and issues, for they are an essential element in political and social change"

Making one's teaching gravitate around the principles of Culture of Peace can be very rewarding even beyond the scholastic environment and benefit the whole community. The manuals do not intend to overburden teachers with extra-manuals tasks, but rather it is designed to serve as a referential didactic tool when including Culture of Peace values in the teaching of already-existing subjects as well as in promoting positive classroom behaviour. However, the manuals for Culture of Peace are not intended to be considered inflexible dogma; indeed, they are subject to ratifications and other suggestions when necessary. Basic Culture of Peace values will be examined and taken into consideration when choosing the different activities and tasks in order to promote an open-minded and considerate conduct at school. The different activities suggested as part of the manuals will not only be suited to beginners but also to students of more advanced levels, due to the universality of its message.

How to foster Culture of Peace in the class-room?

Teachers/ professors are encouraged to disregard conventional didactic methods when setting up the pillars for Culture of Peace teaching. The student needs to feel part of a close-knit unit in a secure atmosphere. In other words, the inalienable rights of the students need to be secured and guaranteed in order that Culture of Peace teaching is efficient and not incongruous with reality. Hence, the learning process cannot be passive, but it must engage the student proactively while placing him/ her at the centre of the educational process.

Additionally, Culture of Peace education put into action should not be solely limited to epistemological and conceptual facets. It needs to be interdisciplinary as the focus will be allocated equally to three different fields: the first one dealing with information and knowledge; the second one with practice and projects; and the last one focused on dialoguing and deliberations. This approach to Culture of Peace education should synchronize the epistemological component with the practical one. For Culture of Peace to be assured and carried out in real life, its focus needs to be directed towards changing hackneyed mind-sets and replace them with positive, constructive attitudes. This should start at an early age so as to be more effective and easier to carry out.

Self-Worth

Self-worth on the one hand, coupled with acceptance on the other is one of the most imperative values that need to be addressed seriously and worked on at school. Hence, the learning environment needs to focus more on rewarding rather than punishing. This is a preliminary step towards creating a conducive environment for Culture of Peace. Self-worth can be attained by encouraging different points of view

and uninhibited discussions in the classroom as well as acknowledging the fact that every student is entitled to an opinion, no matter how divergent it is from others' opinions. This would also contribute to developing other important values such as mutual respect and self-confidence. Teachers can also stress self-respect by involving the students in the course's outline and conception, which would not only boost their self-confidence but also imbue them with a sense of responsibility and give them a sense of purpose.

Class Arrangement

Deciding the students' seating arrangements is not solely for aesthetic purposes. Indeed, its effects far outweigh the eye-pleasing factor. The way students are seated in the learning environment; the way they are treated; and the way they are instructed are of the essence in determining the kind of persons they grow to be in the future. The classroom environment is actually a microcosm of the greater community. The more responsibility, trust, freedom of speech, democratic values, and mutual respect are nurtured in the classroom, the more it will be reflected on a wider community scale. Moreover, a class managed horizontally, i.e. in which the teacher does not order or direct students, but involves them in a two-way learning relationship, has proven fruitful. This does not mean a total hands-off approach to teaching, but rather that the teacher plays the role of mediator and facilitator of both the teaching process and the socialization process in class.

Problem-Solving

Dealing with conflicts in class, whether they arise amongst students themselves or between the students and the teacher should be handled in a way that fosters Culture of Peace values. As a matter of fact, it is essential to choose a particular course of action to nip crises in the bud especially because in class, conflicts tend to transpire very often. Dealing with conflicts steadfastly actually enables students to acquire the much needed skill of peaceful problem-solving, which can then be put it into practice naturally in and outside of class. Instead of focusing on the problem itself, the teacher should underscore a constructive slant that leads automatically and spontaneously to finding a perfect solution. Methodically speaking, a teacher should first recognize the problem, opt for a specific strategy, and finally perform the reached resolution. If done accurately, this process is likely to teach students conflict resolution on their own, without even asking for a teacher to intervene.

Fighting the 'Isms'

Whether it is racism or sexism or any other "ism", deprecating or bigoted conflicts that stem from religion, race, or gender grounds must be dealt with seriously so that this kind of behaviour will not spread into the community. It is important to note that this type of hateful demeanour has been noticed at an early age. Hence, it should be remedied early on with the help of a culture of peace centred teaching. One way of combating discrimination is celebrating every chance of diversity in the classroom, be it ethnic, religious, racial, or national. Simultaneously, the Manuals should shed light on the common, universally acclaimed values that bring us together, and steer away from the traits that drive us apart. The same approach should be taken into consideration when dealing with students with special needs.

That being said, teaching Culture of Peace should go beyond manuals choices and extend its reach to the whole teaching method and the general learning atmosphere.

Dinant, Belgium today ▲

The Destructive Power of War

The destruction that commenced as a result of World War I was truly inconceivable before that time. The Industrial Revolution and the technological advancements made in the production of weapons unleashed a power that was not entirely understood at the onset of the war. The image on the right is just one example of a monumental piece of architecture that was reduced to mere rubble as a result of this conflict. Use the picture as a platform to begin your exploration of the destructive power of modern industrial war.
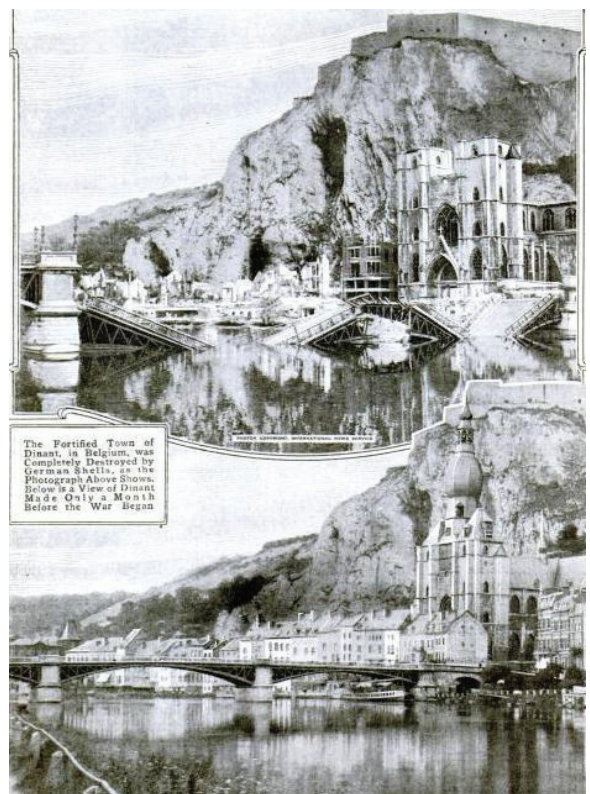
▶ *The fortified town of Dinant in Belgium was completely destroyed by German shells as the photograph above shows. Below is a view of Dinant before the war began.*

Task 1

Split the class up into small groups and discuss the following prompts.

1. Brainstorm what your group knows about the first World War.

2. Looking at the picture of Dinant on the left, how long do you think it took to construct a building of that magnitude? How long do you think it took to destroy it?

3. Consider what the building was used for. How would its destruction affect the community of Dinant?

4. To conclude, compile a list of the different emotional reactions you think you would experience if that was the center of your town.

All groups should present their answers to prompt 4 to the class.

Task 2

In light of the group and class discussion, record the most striking effects of this type of destruction in your notes. Include the ramifications that you may not have thought of before you discussed it with the group. Then elaborate on what you found to be the most detrimental effect on the community.

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Beyond the unfathomable destruction of communities and their property, the human and psychological toll undoubtedly created even deeper wounds. As a result of increasing literacy rates in the century leading up to the war, this conflict produced a trove of personal pieces of writing that had simply not been possible in all the other conflicts that preceded it. One such soldier was Wilfred Owen; whose poetry immortalized his visceral revulsion to modern industrial war and the unnecessary cost that the young men of that generation bore. At the age of 25, Owen lost his life just one week before the armistice was announced and the war came to an end.

What follows is one of his most famous poems describing the horrors of the Great War.

Anthem for a Doomed Youth

By Wilfred Owen

What passing-bells for these who die as cattle?
— Only the monstrous anger of the guns.
Only the stuttering rifles' rapid rattle
Can patter out their hasty orisons.
No mockeries now for them; no prayers nor bells;
Nor any voice of mourning save the choirs,—
The shrill, demented choirs of wailing shells;
And bugles calling for them from sad shires.

What candles may be held to speed them all?
Not in the hands of boys, but in their eyes
Shall shine the holy glimmers of goodbyes.
The pallor of girls' brows shall be their pall;
Their flowers the tenderness of patient minds,
And each slow dusk a drawing-down of blinds.

Task 1

Examine the poem as a class in order to decipher Owen's reactions to the war.

1. Who is being compared to cattle and why?

2. Owen insinuates that the young men will not receive proper burials, except for the songs of a choir. But what are the songs of the choir being "sung" at the funeral of these men?

3. The consistent references to a burial pervade the second stanza, and it culminates with references to "dusk" and closing the blinds to windows. What do these two references have in common? How do they relate to the untimely death of soldiers?

Wilfred Owen

Task 2

Given your understanding of the poem, what do you think Owen's intended message is regarding the cost of war? Do you think that he believed these men died a glorious death? Do you think he would have supported another large war in Europe had he survived? Consider these questions as you craft a personal response to this poem.

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Compare your answers with the class as a whole.

In the wake of World War I, the emotional toll of the war had affected virtually every corner of society. Consider the damage to the psychological state of the average citizen or retired soldier after the war. Your goal will be to empathize with the citizens who were forced to rebuild in the aftermath of this conflict. How would you feel if you were in their shoes?

In order to do this, read the brief synopsis below to get a sense of the state of France after the war.

"The human cost of the First World War proved particularly high for France. While military mobilization had resulted in the raising of more than 8 million men, losses amounted to 1.4 million dead, approximately 3.5 percent of the pre-war population. This proportion – unmatched among the West-European belligerents – explains the ghostly presence of the war that pervaded the French society throughout the interwar period. No less than 2.5 million people had lost a father or a husband."

"Moreover, the Spanish flu pandemic, in 1918 and 1919, had resulted in approximately 450,000 dead."

"War remained present not only in the profusion of commemorative traces, but also in the daily lives of 760,000 orphans, 600,000 widows and 1.2 million disabled. A common feeling experienced by these different categories of war victims was a sense of social exclusion."

"Such a feeling of exclusion also applied to the 1.4 million refugees who had fled from the German armies. Subject to marginalization during the war itself, they were the most anxious to return home, even to the most devastated areas. For many of them, the return to a normal life would not occur until many years had passed, after reconstruction that would last a decade."

Source: *encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/post-war_societies_france*

British soldiers and French refugee children by a field kitchen on a street in Nesle, 22 March 1917.

Task 1

Delineate the four following categories of victims between the class equally.

You will then write an individual journal entry from the perspective of your predetermined group.

- The disabled soldier
- The widow of a soldier who had been killed
- The orphaned child
- The refugee

When you begin, allow yourself to focus on the emotion that you would feel in that situation. Is it sadness, despair, anger, or something else entirely? Truly put yourself in their position.

For those that are willing, present your entries to the class. Make sure at least one entry from each of the four groups is shared.

Open Horizons

Do some research outside of class and summarize the real-life struggle of a particular individual who wrote about the challenges they faced after living through a devasting war in their home country.

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Understanding a vindictive peace

Following the war, the leaders of the victorious countries met in Paris to draft what would come to be known as the Treaty of Versailles. History remembers this treaty as being overly punitive towards Germany and creating a set of conditions that helped produce World War II, a war that would come to dwarf the first World War in terms of damage and lives lost.

Cologne bombing destruction

At the Paris Peace Conference, it became clear that France would extract everything it could from the Germans in a blatant effort to cripple them indefinitely. Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, the "tiger of France," was intent on carrying out the will of the men and women whom he represented. Beyond forcing the Germans to accept the blame for starting the war, he sought to impound every German resource that could possibly be used in a future war with France. He obtained the rights to the Saar coalmines that bordered the reacquired territory of Alsace and Lorraine for 15 years; coal being an essential element to powering the heavy industry necessary to supply a 20th century army. Furthermore, the treaty deprived Germany of almost half of its iron and steel industry, the key materials used to make the weapons of war. And what remained of German industry would serve one primary purpose: to allow Germany to pay back the inconceivable bill that came with the acceptance of the war guilt.

Adding insult to economic injury, the Treaty of Versailles reduced the German military to less than 100,000 soldiers and prohibited the use of required military service laws. The Germans were further barred from possessing many of the new weapons of war: submarines, an air force, and even heavy artillery. And if that had not been constraining enough, the German Army was even prevented from moving soldiers and weapons throughout certain areas of their own legally recognized territory; German soldiers could not enter the Rhineland, the area of West Germany that borders France. The once preeminent German military that struck fear into the hearts of European nations was finally quelled by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. It would seem that Clemenceau had achieved his goal: to cripple German power.

Yet, Clemenceau was not satisfied. He had wanted the German speaking Rhineland to be made into a small independent state. He had wanted the French to control the Saar coal mines in perpetuity. He had wanted the Germans to pay for the war pensions of every allied soldier as well as every debt the French and the British had garnered over the course of the war.

But what he got was a rejection from the French electorate in 1920. The Treaty of Versailles, often remembered as one of the most punitive peace treaties in modern history, was deemed not harsh enough by a nation ravaged by modern industrial war.

Task 1

Consider the perspectives and discussions that the class developed during section 1.3 as you answer the following questions regarding the case study.

1. Why did Clemenceau want a particularly harsh treaty?

2. Was this a reflection of the attitudes of French society as a whole? Do you think the average citizen was likely to advocate a compassionate approach toward the Germans?

3. If the treaty is deemed harsh by many historians, why did the French vote Clemenceau out of office in 1920? Provide a hypothetical explanation.

Artistic reflection on the of the bombing of Dresden

Task 2

More broadly, consider how the attitudes of those affected by war may create conditions that could produce another conflict in the future.

Write out a hypothetical cause and effect chain originating from the psychological state of those affected to the beginning of another conflict. Include at least five steps in the chain. Then compare your work with a classmate.

Furthermore, include any information you may already know about how these events are connected to World War II.

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Obstacles to Peace: Fear and Distrust

In June 2009, Rodrick M. Kramer wrote in the Harvard Business Review that "human beings are naturally predisposed to trust—it's in our genes and our childhood learning—and by and large it's a survival mechanism that has served our species well."

Meanwhile, Douglas T. Kenrick wrote a piece a few years later positing the opposite position on human nature in his article titled, "Why the Human Brain is Designed to Distrust." In the article, he drew on some of the more recent assertions made by professionals in the field of psychology:

"As evolutionary psychologists Randy Nesse and Martie Haselton have argued, the mind is designed like a smoke detector, set to go on red alert at any possible sign of threat in the environment (rather than waiting till the evidence is so overwhelming that it is too late to put out the fire)."

It would seem that the previously stated positions are in direct opposition to one another. That leaves it to your group to explore this topic in light of your own experiences and determine an answer to the following question:

Are human beings naturally inclined to trust one another, or are human beings naturally suspicious of one another?

Task 1

Individually answer the question above. Where do you stand? Are we a naturally paranoid species? Or is our first instinct to trust others?

Use at least one anecdote from your past to substantiate your position.

To understand the fundamentals of peace and conflict resolution, one must first examine the psychological phenomenon of distrust at an individual level. Our personal understanding of how people come to distrust one another will be an invaluable tool as students of peace ascertain the primary obstacles to peace.

As a class, examine Randy Conley's article as it maps the development of distrust in a personal relationship.

"Distrust doesn't happen overnight. It develops progressively through stages, and if we can recognize these stages when we're in them, we have a chance of

Stages of Distrust

addressing the situation before distrust takes root."

1. **Doubt** – The first stage of distrust begins with doubt. You start to experience a slight uncertainty about someone's trustworthiness that causes you to pause just a bit. It might be that nagging doubt in the back of your mind that you can't seem to dismiss, or something just doesn't feel right about the situation even though you can't put your finger on it exactly.

2. **Suspicion** – Doubt, if unresolved, grows into suspicion over time. Suspicion is belief without proof. You've started to see a pattern of behavior that may indicate a lack of trust, but you don't quite have enough proof to make a firm conclusion. Your trust radar is telling you that something is wrong.

3. **Anxiety** – The third stage of distrust is anxiety, a feeling of apprehension or uneasiness, that is often manifested physically. When dealing with someone you don't quite trust, you

may experience nervousness, a rapid heartbeat, anger, a knotted stomach, or even disgust.

4. **Fear** – At this point in a relationship, distrust has risen to the point where you are afraid to show vulnerability. You have experienced repeated breaches of trust and have grown to distrust another person to the point you are afraid for your emotional well-being.

5. **Self-protection** – As a result of the fear you experienced, you move into a state of self-protection. You put up walls in your relationship to prevent the other person getting close to you. This act of self-preservation reduces your vulnerability, but also cements the state of distrust in the relationship.

Task 1

Discuss the following questions in order to solidify your conceptual understanding of the text.

1. In your own words, what is the most significant difference between doubt and suspicion?

2. According to this article, step 3 is characterized by a recognizable physical reaction. How can one recognize when someone has transitioned in to the fear stage?

3. In stage 5 the author uses the expression of "putting up walls," what are some specific things an individual could do to reduce their vulnerability?

4. In the graphic above, the line culminating in the arrow gets progressively larger. What is implied by this enlargement? And if you were to put one word at the end of the arrow, what would it be and why?

Task 2

Reflect individually about this process. Consider a relationship in your own life that was clearly affected by the growth of distrust.

Deconstruct your experience and classify it by applying the five different stages. It may not fit neatly in to each category, however, you must insert one brief anecdote for each of the five stages.

1. Doubt

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2. Suspicion

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3. Anxiety

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4. Fear

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5. Self-protection

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Task 3

It is essential to realize that distrust does not occur in a vacuum. It creates a ripple effect that is often taken on by those around us. Building off the previous reflection, consider a third party that was affected by your experience with distrust. How did it affect them? What were the long-term consequences for those people that had a relationship with both parties in the disagreement?

Without going into details about the incident, discuss the adverse effects that this growing distrust had on others. Compile a list of these effects as a class in order to further examine the consequences of distrust.

Given that world conflict does not result from distrust between two individuals, but instead between groups of individuals; your understanding of the psychological state of distrust and its evolution must now be applied to groups of people. As you embark on the next exercise, individuals should continually consider if the mentality of the group mitigates or exacerbates the foundational development of distrust.

Task 1

Split the class in to two groups of equal number. Group one and two will act out a hypothetical scenario in order to simulate an interaction that has the potential to lead to distrust between two groups.

The instructor will read out different stages of the scenario that follows. Each new stage should be followed by a brief period for the group to discuss their initial assumptions about the event and record the group viewpoint or response on a separate sheet of paper.

Before beginning, determine which two groups will act as team one and team two in the role-playing exercise.

For the integrity of the exercise, no group shall read ahead past this point.

The hypothetical scenario is as follows.

Two separate sports teams share the same facility. They see each other in their comings and goings, however, they are not affiliated with each other and there are no social events that they attend together. In this scenario, each team has played together for many years and they share quite a bond; they often turn to one another in times of personal hardship or concern.

One day, as one of **team two's** members gets home from a practice, he or she realizes that a small denomination of money that was in the outer pocket of their sports bag seems to be missing. The following team member shares this revelation with his fellow team members via social media in a closed group.

They discuss possible explanations for how the money came to be 'missing.'

The next day team one and team two cross paths at the sports facility, and one team member from team two decides to bring up the matter to team one….

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After the two teams interact with one another, have them retire and discuss the interaction privately.

Now closed group chats are swirling with discussion about the exchange of words between the two teams. Both teams are discussing how they can maintain their pride in this matter. Discussions continue as to how they should react the next time the two teams run into one another.

Two days later, they do.

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After the two teams interact with one another, have them retire and discuss the interaction privately.

To conclude, have each team write down their reflection on the role-playing exercise.

How do they instinctually feel about the other? Do they feel wronged by the other? And do they feel like they would be able to leave their unattended equipment around each other in the future?

Have each team present their reflections to the other in order to further discuss distrust between groups. Consider the other groups perspective as it is being presented. Were their actions or assumptions understandable from their point of view?

Task 2

In conclusion, respond to the final question individually.

If your group was a country, what would have been a comparable reaction to that of your group? If one group began raising their voices over the other, what does that look like in terms of countries conducting diplomacy with one another? If your groups were indeed countries, what would have been the end result of this scenario?w

Open Horizons

Prepare a report on how the psychological study of decision making has affected the development of the field of international relations. Pay special attention to the psychological process of building trust as well as the effects of perceived betrayal.

Distrust and the Dawn of the Cold War

Read the following case study and apply what you have learned about the development of distrust between individuals and groups to the international sphere. What can your newfound understanding illuminate about events from the past?

Despite differing political and economic systems, the United States and Great Britain allied with the Soviet Union in World War II in a combined effort to defeat Nazi Germany. During the war, the U.S. supplied weaponry to Soviet Russia through the Lend Lease Act to ensure that the USSR did not fall during the Nazi invasion of its territory in Operation Barbarossa. Over the course of the war, the Big 3 collaborated heavily in their shared purpose to prevent Hitler's lasting domination of Europe.

However, Josef Stalin continually held misgivings about the Supreme Allied Command's decision to engage in their campaign in North Africa instead of invading France and opening up a "true" Western Front. While Allied bombers launched sortie after sortie against German industry, German troops were never required to divert large numbers of troops to the West. As the Eastern front continued to decimate Soviet populations, Stalin grew more and more troubled by the actions of his allies. He watched his country burn for two whole years while the Americans gathered their strength, finally storming the beaches of Normandy in 1944.

As the war continued into 1945 and both sides thrust into Germany, subtle tensions further festered. With the death of American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the torch passed to President Harry S. Truman; and relations between the Americans and the Soviets were not to become any more cordial. When these two men met at the Potsdam conference at the end of the war, Truman hinted to his Soviet counterpart that the Americans had developed a weapon capable of grave destruction (the atomic bomb). And as the war drew to a close, Truman withheld any further assistance via the Lend Lease act and Soviet requests for a post war loan were soundly denied.

Following the war, the international system was completely overhauled and the victorious powers began to create new structures to govern international relations with the expressed goal of preventing another devasting conflict. The world had entered a new age during the closing days of the war: the age of atomic weapons. Fears over these ramifications led the United States to suggest that the new United Nations Security Council forego the established rules on veto powers when it came to these new weapons. It was proposed that a new international agency be given the right to inspect nuclear facilities and impose sanctions on those who sought to utilize nuclear technology for any purpose other than civilian use. Stalin, incredulous at the notion that outsiders would be allowed to hinder his construction of the weapons that the United States already possessed, sternly balked at the proposal.

Stalin, Truman, and Churchill

The post war world was taking shape, and trust between the United States and the Soviet Union was not a defining feature of it. When US Secretary of State George C. Marshal proposed his plan to subsidize the rebuilding of Europe, Stalin saw to it that no Eastern European countries with Soviet troops stationed in them accept any of the aid. The Marshal plan must have been an American attempt to encroach on the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. Therefore, the Soviet Union would oversee the development of its own separate system to assist in the rebuilding of the Eastern European nations. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, or Comecon, was predicated on the notion that the communist countries of the east would trade only with each other, and any potential financing would be directed from Moscow, not from Washington or Great Britain.

What followed was the Cold War; more than four decades of incessant competition and an ever-looming fear of nuclear annihilation. The two camps engaged in proxy wars around the globe and the cooperation that had nobly pushed back the specter of Hitler's insidious Third Reich soured and turned into an encumbrance of skepticism, bitterness, and outright antagonism. This discord would come to define the second half of the 20th century.

Task 1

Consider the stages of distrust as it played out during the last years of World War II and the Dawn of the Cold War.

1. Doubt first emerged as the result of which event?

2. At what point did the initial feelings of doubt compound into true suspicion?

3. What is the clear piece of evidence that shows that this distrust had evolved into real fear over the intentions of the other?

4. What international institution was created as a tactic of self-protection?

5. Explain in detail how this event exemplifies the psychological progression to a mode of self-protection?

Task 2

Consider how the progression of distrust affects the individuals, small groups, and finally, modern countries.

1. Examine the similarities between these distinct levels of analysis?

2. Describe the differences between these different levels of analysis?

Reflect on how the understanding of distrust at all three levels could inform people on how to look at the challenges of maintaining peace in the world. When considering the international view, is it easier to prevent the progression of the stages of distrust, or harder? Why is that? Record your reflection individually and discuss your responses as a class.

Obstacles to Peace: An Anarchic World

Anarchy: A state of disorder due to absence or non-recognition of authority or other controlling systems.

From the Greek word "anarkhos," meaning "without a chief"

- Oxford English Dictionary

Task 1

What is the first memory that you can recall where you were with siblings or friends and there were no parents, guardians, or authority figures around you?

Briefly describe the situation.

Then answer the following questions. If one cannot be applied to your situation, simply move on to the next applicable question.

1. What was the first thing that you did once you came to the realization that there was no authority figure present?

2. Did you work with the person that you were with? If so, towards what end?

3. Did you have a conflict with the person that you were with at any point? If so, what was it over? And how was that conflict different given the lack of authority?

4. If your behavior was completely unaffected by the lack of oversight, why do you think your behavior remained unchanged?

As a class, compile a list of the effects on the behavior of children when there is no authority present.

Below is a quote from the seminal political philosopher Thomas Hobbes.

As you read for understanding, consider how these quotes relate to the previous discussion on the concept of anarchy. Furthermore, consider the implications of their opinions on how world politics has been conducted.

THOM. HOBBES Nobilis Anglus
Ser. Principi Walliæ à studiis præp.
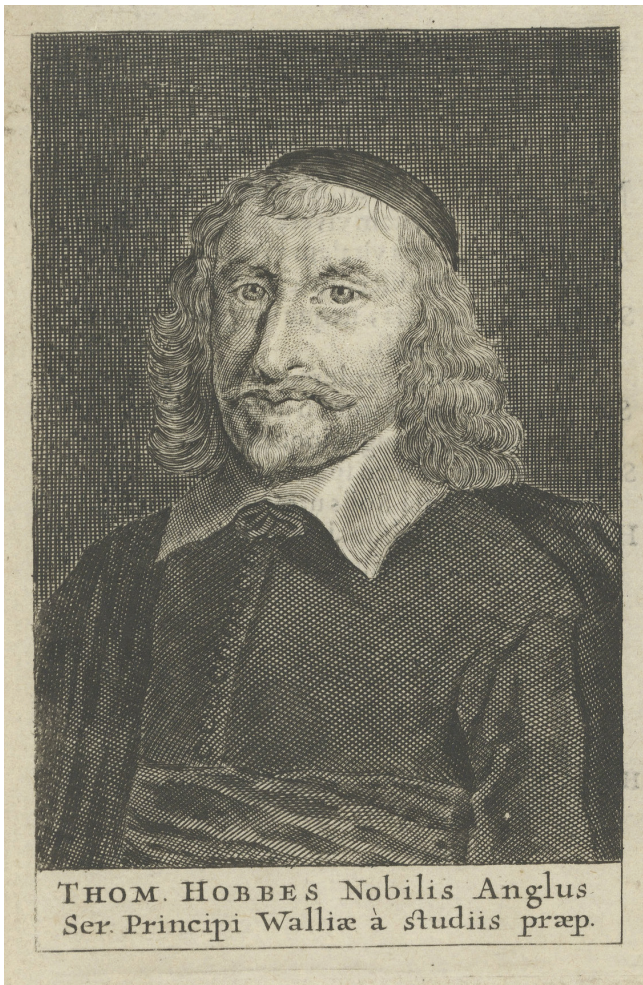
Thomas Hobbes

When Thomas Hobbes was discussing what has come to be known in academic parlance as "**the Hobbesian state of nature,**" he wrote that "**the life of man (is) solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.**"

Task 1

In pairs or groups, consider the following questions to foster a more comprehensive understanding of Hobbes' statement.

1. What exactly did Hobbes mean when he referred to the "state of nature"? What is life like in the natural world? What is the dynamic between animals in the animal kingdom?

2. What does "solitary" mean? How would you describe a solitary life?

3. The word "nasty" can be interpreted differently based on the context in which it is used. What do you think is the most precise interpretation of its meaning in this context?

4. Why is "life in the state of nature" considered by Hobbes to be "short"? Why is it that lives are shorter in this world? What is ending these lives early?

Now that you have considered this quote in depth, what do you think Thomas Hobbes thought would happen if society was suddenly rendered to a state of anarchy? Do you agree with Hobbes view? Support your answer.

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Further Reading

A wide variety of scholars have described the world of international relations as being in a constant state of anarchy. Given that no world government exists that may enforce its decisions on a given country, one can see why these scholars have looked at how countries have dealt with each other in history in a way that Thomas Hobbes would agree with. One such scholar writing after World War II was Kenneth Waltz. He suggested that the anarchic structure of world politics defines how states (countries) interact with each other. Expanding on that premise, Kenneth Waltz wrote:

"Each state pursues its own interests, however defined, in ways it judges best. Force is a means of achieving the external ends of states because there exists no consistent, reliable process of reconciling the conflicts of interest that inevitably arise among similar units in a condition of anarchy." (Waltz, 238)

Task 2

In Pairs, examine and discuss the following questions on the implications of this viewpoint.

1. What is the number one priority of any given state (country)?

2. What is one of the primary tools a state has in addressing this priority?

3. Given this worldview, what would lead a country to cooperate with another?

4. Given this worldview, what would lead a country to engage in conflict with another?

5. And finally, what do you think are the long-term effects of Waltz's worldview?

For years now, academics in the field of game theory have been examining the individual calculations that are required when making decisions about engaging in cooperation or conflict. One common scenario was even turned into a popular British game show. Now it is your turn to see how you would respond in that scenario.

a. Divide the class into two different sections.

b. Then read the activity with your group and determine how you will respond as a team.

In order to get the most out of the exercise, set a time for the class to come back together to act out the activity.

The Prisoner's Dilemma

Directions

Read through the scenario presented below and answer the question that is provided beneath. Be prepared to answer questions the instructor may have about how you reached your decisions.

You (A) and a fellow criminal (B) are both arrested for a crime and made prisoners. The two of you are separated with no means of speaking to or exchanging messages with the other. The police admit they don't have enough evidence to convict the pair on the principal charge. They plan to sentence both of you to a year in prison on a lesser charge. Simultaneously, the police offer each prisoner a deal. Each of you is given the opportunity either to betray the other, by testifying that the other committed the crime, or to cooperate with the other by remaining silent. Here's how it goes:

- If A and B both betray the other, each of them serves 2 years in prison

- If A betrays B but B remains silent, A will be set free and B will serve 3 years in prison (and vice versa)

- If A and B both remain silent, both of them will only serve 1 year in prison (on the lesser charge)

Assume that there will be no other consequences for your decision. The other prisoner will not seek revenge and your reputation will not suffer. The only consequence for remaining silent or speaking out is prison time.

	Prisoner A Remains Silent	Prisoner A Betrays Prisoner B
Prisoner B Remains Silent	Both serve 1 year in prison	Prisoner A goes free Prisoner B serves 3 years in prison
Prisoner B Betrays Prisoner A	Prisoner B goes free Prisoner A serves 3 years in prison	Both serve 2 years in prison

Task 1

Would you betray Prisoner B or remain silent? Why?

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Task 2

Now elect three members from your group to put this into practice.

Now the group will engage in three rounds of the game. Separate the two groups again as best as you can. Under no circumstances can any member of group one talk to any member of group two. Each group will quietly consult its elected volunteer before they present their decision to "the interrogating officer." The interrogating officer will discreetly obtain the "statement" of the volunteer and then announce the "prison sentences" to the group as a whole. Once this has been completed, each group will send their next volunteer to try again.

In the end, tally the total years "in prison" for each group. If one group has less than the other, they will be deemed the winner.

Task 3

In conclusion, respond to the final question individually.

If your group was a country, and the selected volunteer was that country's leader, how can we expect countries to behave with each other on the international stage? Support your answer with evidence from the activity.

Open Horizons

Prepare a report on how game theory came to influence international relations thinkers in the years that followed World War II. In particular, examine the U.S. Defense Department under the leadership of Robert McNamara (pictured above).

The Anglo-German Arms Race

Moving forward, apply the same logic that you explored with the Prisoner's Dilemma to the case of the Anglo-German Naval Rivalry that contributed to insecurity leading up to WWI.

Read the following synopsis as it was presented by Professor Branislav L. Slantchev of the University of California in San Diego in order to contextualize this real-world dilemma.

HMS Dreadnought (British Battleship, 1906)

"Consider one of the most-famous arms races, the Anglo-German Naval Race of the early 20th century. After the unification and creation of a German state in 1871, Otto von Bismarck carefully constructed a system of alliances that would make his country appear less threatening to its neighbors. However, as soon as he was out of office, the German government embarked on an expansionist program of world power. Germany had to acquire true Great Power status, and at the time that meant possession of colonies. The problem was that to get access to overseas territories, one had to deal with the Royal Navy. Britain controlled the seas and vigorously maintained its own "Two-Power" standard adopted in 1889 — her fleet was to be larger than the fleets of the next two great powers combined. Kaiser Wilhelm II supported Admiral Tirpitz who convinced the German parliament to fund a program of naval expansion. The Germans knew that they did not have to match the British fleet, after all, the Royal Navy had an entire world to patrol. All it had to do was provide enough forces to gain control of the North Sea which would ensure that Germany would not be blockaded during war (which is exactly what happened in the Great War that followed). And so, in 1897, the construction of a modern German navy began. The British were caught off guard. There was some speculation about Germany invading Britain, but the more realistic view was that Britain had to maintain its lead or risk losing its vast overseas empire. Despite the enormous costs involved, the British resolved to embark on their own modernization and expansion to protect their strategic superiority."

Task 1

Fill in the boxes below with how secure you think each country when you consider the combination of the two variables. Then compare your answers with the class.

	Germany does not expand their naval forces	Germany builds up a large competitive naval force
Britain chooses not to build up a fleet of modernized battleships		
Britain invests in building a fleet of modernized battleships		

Task 2

How does this case study mirror the prisoner's dilemma that you examined in the activities section?

Given that history followed the path of the bottom-right scenario in the table above, hypothesize how this set of circumstances could still lead to war in the 21st century?

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A battleship squadron of the German High Seas Fleet

Choosing Peace for a Mutually Beneficial Future

Have you ever heard someone use the phrase "**win-win situation**" to describe something?

This phrase is quite common today. But what exactly does it mean?

In order to discuss this concept in more formal terms, examine the following definition from the online Business Dictionary:

> "*Win win: Negotiation philosophy in which all parties to an agreement or deal stand to realize their fair share (not 100 percent) of the benefits or profit.*"

Task 1

After examining the preceding quote, answer the following questions with a partner.

1. If it is referring to a "negotiation" with multiple "parties," what is implied about these parties? Do you think they are representing similar positions in the negotiation?

2. If the deal is also referred to as an "agreement," what else is implied about this arrangement?

3. What does the action of "realizing" mean in this context?

4. By including the word "fair," does that necessarily mean both sides will be happy with the deal?

Task 2

After you have arrived at a comprehensive understanding of the definition, contemplate the following questions individually.

1. If both sides achieve some level of benefit, why do negotiating parties ever pursue deals that are not characterized as a "win-win" situation?

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2. Why would a "win-win" situation produce more long-term benefits in comparison to short-term benefits?

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4.2 Reading

The concept of "win-win" situations or negotiations takes on a new name in the field of the social sciences. This is often defined as a negotiation that results in both parties achieving "absolute gains."

In a previous lesson, you examined the game-theoretical model known as the "prisoners dilemma" and experienced first-hand the choice that two parties may face when their decisions affect another as well as themselves. In the absence of trust or authority, this typically results in a decision that is characterized by calculating the relative gains of a deal. Ultimately, one is likely to select an outcome where they are in a less bad position than the other. Furthermore, the concept of relative gains rests on the idea of comparison: as long as one party is better off than the other, a relative gain has been achieved.

However, great philosophers and political thinkers have created more positive models to illustrate that absolute gains may hold the potential to override the cold, selfish adherence to pursuing relative gains all the time.

Read the following extract from a piece written by Brian Skyrms of UC Irvine. He succinctly lays out the infamous analogy of the Stag Hunt as it was first promulgated by Jean Jacques Rousseau.
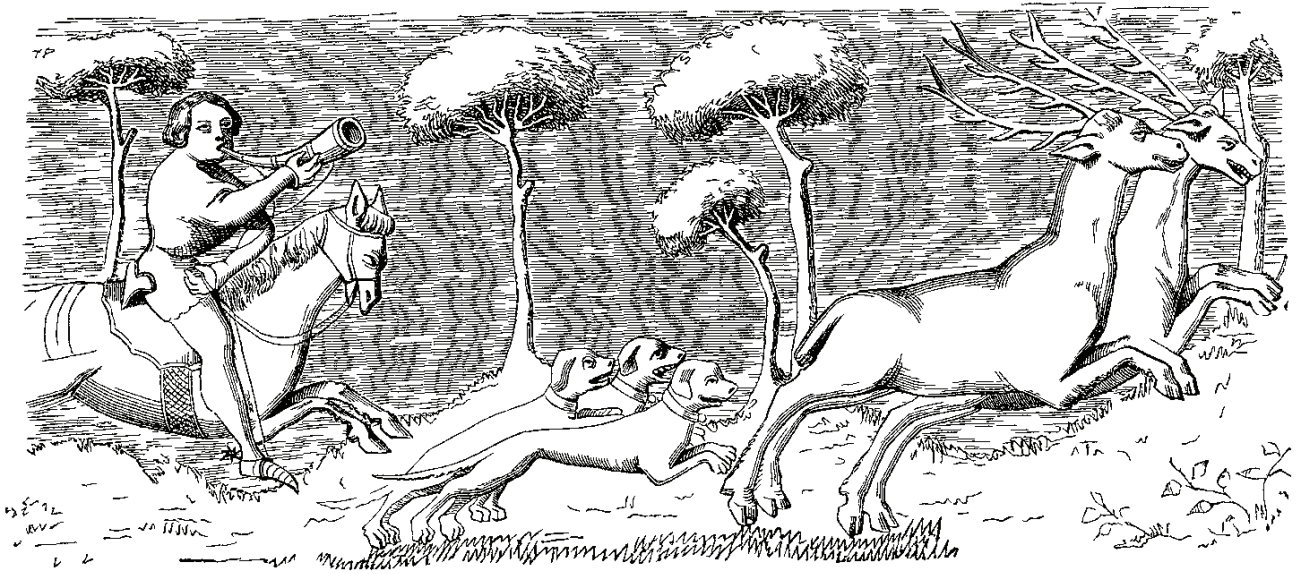
"Nature and Appearance of Deer" taken from "Livre du Roy Modus", created in the 14th century

The Stag Hunt is a story that became a game. The game is a prototype of the social contract. The story is briefly told by Rousseau, in A Discourse on Inequality:

"If it was a matter of hunting a deer, everyone well realized that he must remain faithful to his post; but if a hare happened to pass within reach of one of them, we cannot doubt that he would have gone off in pursuit of it without scruple..."

Rousseau's story of the hunt leaves many questions open. What are the values of a hare and of an individual's share of the deer given a successful hunt? What is the probability that the hunt will be successful if all participants remain faithful to the hunt? Might two deer hunters decide to chase the hare?

Let us suppose that the hunters each have just the choice of hunting hare or hunting deer. The chances of getting a hare are independent of what others do. There is no chance of bagging a deer by oneself, but the chances of a successful deer hunt go up sharply with the number of hunters. A deer is much more valuable than a hare. Then we have the kind of interaction that that is now generally known as the Stag Hunt.

Source: *mindyourdecisions.com/blog/2008/06/03/ understanding-the-stag-hunt-game-how-deer-hunting-explains-why-people-are-socially-late/*

Task 1

In your own words, convey the essence of the stag hunt using the following prompts.

1. Why would a hunter choose to leave the group and go after the hare?

2. Why would a hunter choose to stay in the group and continue to pursue the deer?

3. Over the course of many hunts, what do you think the hunters will come to realize?

4. What is the ultimate lesson that one can take from this scenario about cooperation? Formulate your answer into a definitive statement.

Task 2

In light of all this, it is time for you and your class to expand on these hypothetical concepts. Consider how two separate groups of hunters would approach the hunt if they were to return to the same camp or community every night.

How would the incentives change? How do you think this would affect the behavior of the group? Is this going to accelerate the pace of cooperation with in the group? And do you imagine that these two groups will eventually join forces? Why? Why not?

4.3 Activities

You have examined the hypothetical scenario of the Stag Hunt and envisaged its consequences. Now you must put this theory to the test. Using your class as a testing group, does Rousseau's theory regarding human social interaction actually hold up in practice?

Divide the class into different "hunting parties" to get to the bottom of this question. Then follow the prompts below.

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Each of you has the choice of pursuing a rabbit or a stag.

The stag is the bigger prize and tastier, and can be caught for sure if you both choose to pursue it. Each of you can capture a rabbit, which is smaller but still satisfying. Also, each person can capture a rabbit for sure regardless of what the other person does.

Before you start hunting, you can discuss strategy with your companion, but the game is about individual survival. You can't be sure your companion will follow through on any agreement.

What choice do you make?

To get the analysis fixed, I'll write out payoffs that are consistent with the game description.

Let's assume capturing a rabbit gives a payoff of 3, capturing the stag gives a payoff of 5 to each person, and capturing nothing is a payoff of 0.

By nature of the game, if a player pursues a rabbit, he's guaranteed a payoff of 3. (Each person is able to capture a rabbit)

On the other hand, if a player pursues the stag, the payoff depends on the other person's choice. If the other person also chooses stag, then the stag is captured and each gets a payoff of 5. If the other person chooses rabbit instead, then the player captures nothing and gets a payoff of 0.

Figure 4.1

	stag	rabbit
stag	5,5	0,3
rabbit	3,0	3,3

Task 1

Utilize the following prompts.

1. Record your thought process as you made your personal choices in the game.

2. Furthermore, discuss with your group how long it took you to begin cooperating in earnest.

3. Compare your progress with other groups. Which group started to cooperate sooner?

Task 2

Now, imagine that each of the various groups were actually different countries all competing in the international system. In other words, the community or camp that you all return to after the hunt (discussed in the reading section) is actually the world.

What challenges would your group face if the other groups started cooperating before yours?

How long do you think it would take the various different groups to combine forces and hunt the deer together as one large group?

Use the remainder of your class time to answer these questions thoroughly. Make sure you attempt to relate your answers regarding the analogy to the reality of country-to-country interaction on the world stage, confronting real challenges.

Open Horizons

Nicky Case

In July 2017, a game designer launched this step-by-step tutorial on the building of trust, using a Prisoner's Dilemma game as well as Robert Axelrod's books, "The Evolution of Cooperation" and "The Complexity of Cooperation." If you have time, explore this game and make your own determination as to whether or not it illuminates this concept for others in a fun and interactive way. The tutorial is open for translation into other languages, dozens of which are linked from the foot of the intro page.

If you find the game to be enlightening, share it with your friends. Explain to them why it matters.

Examining two of the largest "hunting parties" on the world stage

In 2012, Yeu Xeutong, dean of the Institute of Modern International Relations at Tsinghua University in Beijing, wrote an op-ed piece in the New York Times exploring the development of U.S.-China relations in the post war period. In the "great camp" of international relations, China and the United States are often portrayed as competing rivals; but many academic commentators have wondered… how can these two powers find a way to avert the pitfalls of miscommunication and conflict?

Read the following excerpts from this article to determine how this case applies to the model of the Stag Hunt that you have been exploring.

"Mr. Obama had struck the same note as a candidate in 2008 when he said, "America and China have developed a mature, wide-ranging relationship over the past 30-plus years. Yet we still have to do serious work if we are to create the level of mutual trust necessary for long-term cooperation in a rapidly changing region."

But mutual trust is not the answer. Perhaps the best that fierce competitors like China and America should strive for is cooperation on shared interests and an open dialogue on conflicting interests.

It is not even clear what mutual trust between nations means. There are countless examples throughout history of cooperation between major powers that lacked any of this so-called mutual trust. In fact, the lack of trust has been the norm in successful international relationships.

China and the United States have not had much trust since Communists came to power in 1949. Yet relations were just fine during 1972-1989 and through the first few years of the 21st century. China and the United States developed a working relationship in 1970 even though Mao Zedong and Richard Nixon did not trust each other. Presidents Jiang Zemin and George W. Bush developed cooperation on a counterterrorism campaign a few months after the military collision between Chinese and American air forces over the South China Sea in April 2001."

"Chinese and American officials looked for a term for this unstable type of relationship in the mid-1990s. They eventually agreed on the phrase "neither-friend-nor-enemy" (fei di fei you), which has become widely accepted by experts in both countries. During President Bill Clinton's visit to China in 1998, the two governments even defined their relations as a "strategic partnership." During Mr. Obama's visit to China in 2009, both sides claimed that their bilateral relations reached the climax of China-U.S. history.

None of those nice definitions improved mutual trust between these two countries.

Nevertheless, the fear of nuclear war made China and the United States very cautious about conflicts that could escalate into military clashes. As long as both sides are conscious of the danger of military conflict, they will keep their competition peaceful."

The U.S.-China relationship may be best viewed as one between two business partners. That is what we are, after all: two huge nations with interlocking economies. The Chinese like to say that, "Money matters should be accounted for even among brothers" (qin xiongdi ming suanzhang). In other words, business comes before family.

Policy makers in Beijing and Washington should keep in mind that mutual trust is a result rather than a premise of long-term cooperation. Instead of "mutual trust," Beijing and Washington should drop the wishful thinking and spend more effort on building a realistic relationship based on their interests."

"In recent years, the Chinese and U.S. navies have also cooperated off the coast of Somalia to address the global threat of piracy. Collaboration on humanitarian assistance operations, search and rescue missions, and other nontraditional forms of security cooperation can help build military-to-military relationships at some levels. This type of cooperation can come before trust and will help to prevent conflicts resulting from miscommunication.

Task 1

As a class, answer the following questions to ensure your understanding of the reading.

1. What previously explored obstacle to peace does Yeu Xeutong reference in this article?

2. How does the article characterize the U.S.-China relationship since the communist revolution in China in 1949?

3. What does Yeu Xeutong insinuate will keep the competition between The People's Republic of China and the United States peaceful?

4. What are some of the "stags" that China and the United States have pursued together as opposed to "chasing the hare"?

5. What is cooperation between these two "great hunting parties" contingent on?

6. Is the development of mutual trust between the United States and China possible? If so, what must be achieved first?

Task 2

As a class, discuss this final question. Make sure you record your conclusions in your notes.

What do China and the US have to do in order to pursue cooperation over competition? What is the key ingredient?

What role could a movement toward a Culture of Peace play in facilitating the realization of this future? Brainstorm as a class.

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Building Peace through Building Trust

Use the following anecdote about a group of American businessmen working in China to begin to explore the building of trust.

> *"They had prepared a beautifully polished and well-rehearsed presentation. But they didn't get the business, since their Chinese clients chose to work with a group from Malaysia whose price was even higher than the Americans'. The reason is because the Chinese trusted the Malaysians more, since in addition to having a nice product, the Malaysians had spent a significant time sharing meals together and developing friendships, thus establishing affective trust."*

Source: *psychologytoday.com/us/blog/between-cultures/201706/who-do-you-trust*

Task 1

Discuss the following prompts as a class.

1. Why didn't the Americans win the contract?

2. Why could this decision by the Chinese businessmen be seen as odd?

3. What might this tell you about countries that are attempting to work together in the future? What must they consider when they do? Formulate more than one answer to this question.

Levels of trust development

At early stages of a relationship, trust is at a calculus-based level. In other words, an individual will carefully calculate how the other party is likely to behave in a given situation depending on the rewards for being trustworthy and the deterrents against untrustworthy behavior. In this manner, rewards and punishments form the basis of control that a trustor has in ensuring the trustee's behavioral consistency. Individuals deciding to trust the other mentally contemplate the benefits of staying in the relationship with the trustee versus the benefits of 'cheating' on the relationship, and the costs of staying in the relationship versus the costs of breaking the relationship. Trust will only be extended to the other to the extent that this cost-benefit calculation indicates that the continued trust will yield a net positive benefit. Over time, calculus-based trust (CBT) can be built as individuals manage their reputation and assure the stability of their behavior by behaving consistently, meeting agreed-to deadlines, and fulfilling promises. CBT is a largely cognitively-driven trust phenomenon, grounded in judgments of the trustees' predictability and reliability.

However, as the parties come to a deeper understanding of each other through repeated interactions, they may become aware of shared values and goals. This allows trust to grow to a higher and qualitatively different level. When trust evolves to the highest level, it is said to function as identification-based trust (IBT). At this stage trust has been built to the point that the parties have internalized each other's desires and intentions. They understand what the other party really cares about so completely that each party is able to act as an agent for the other. Trust at this advanced stage is also enhanced by a strong emotional bond between the parties, based on a sense of shared goals and values. So, in contrast to CBT, IBT is a more emotionally-driven phenomenon, grounded in perceptions of interpersonal care and concern, and mutual need satisfaction.

Source: *beyondintractability.org/essay/trust_building*

Task 1

After reflecting on the reading, consider the following prompts in order to cement your understanding of the concepts as a class.

1. The author describes a situation in which the two parties that are building trust test one another. How does the author suppose they do this?

2. What two things does the author assert the potential trustor will weigh when they consider trying to further build trust with the other party?

3. In the first phase of trust building, what must one do to build their reputation in terms of trust?

4. What is the pivotal realization that allows a calculus-based trust to evolve into something that is of a higher level?

5. At the highest level of trust, what is fundamentally different about the relationship that was not possible before?

6. When the highest level of trust has been realized, what then serves as the basis for the continuation of trust that did not exist in the beginning?

Task 2

Use the remaining class time by applying this model to evaluate relationships in your own life. Consider what kind of trust-building measures you may have engaged in without even knowing that you were doing it. Determine who you think you have a value-based trust relationship with. Then ascertain if you have developed an identification-based trust with any of your peers or family members.

Justify your answers by using specific examples to illustrate these different types of relationships.

Refer to your findings on building trust in a relationship and apply that model to the world of international relations. It will be your job to reinterpret the major relationships that your home country has with other countries.

Task 1

As a class, brainstorm all the different countries you believe to be allies of your home country. Compile an exhaustive list first. Then remove any countries that there is significant disagreement over.

Task 2

Moving forward, divide the class into multiple groups.

Each group will divide the list of allies into two different categories.

The first category will contain the allies that most readily correspond to the highest level of trust a country can have in the international sphere: a primary ally. Each group will be required to justify their inclusion of each country into its designated category. Primary allies may have developed as a result of a shared culture, language, or ideology. Consider these aspects as well as any other variables you see fit to determine what may have led to a deeply emotional bond between these two nations (as it was discussed in the previous reading on trust development).

The second category will correspond to those relationships that your home country has with others on a more transactional basis. In effect, both sides are constantly calculating the cost and benefit of remaining allies. Consider how these countries attempt to build their reputation with one another. Use any instances you can think of in which either country attempted to prove their worth or loyalty to the other; these will serve as your justification to assign them to the second group: secondary or transactional allies.

In the end, each group should present their findings to the class. Use a comparison of your different classifications as a basis for discussion.

Task 3

As you wrap up this activity section, compile a list of different measures that each group came up with in regard to proving loyalty, worth, or trust between nations. What are some of the various ways that nations attempt to do this with one another in the international sphere?

Open Horizons

If the class has time and they are looking for a nice change of pace, consider engaging in some trust building games as a class. Afterwards, make an assessment as to their effectiveness. Did they increase the level of trust within the class? Why? Why not? Utilize the website below as a starting point.

http://www.wilderdom.com/games/ TrustActivities.html

Building trust to prevent the build-up of nuclear weapons

In 2001, the Institute for Science and International Security held a conference of academics and experts who were seeking to address instability emanating from the build-up of nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula. While there, Holly Higgins presented a paper outlining historical success stories of preventing the build-up of nuclear weapons. In it she explored the often-overlooked example of states pursuing nuclear ambitions on the continent of South America during the 1980s.

Read the extract from Higgin's paper to provide real world context on how competing nations can slowly build trust between one another. Perhaps this can guide future peacemakers as they advocate for building peace through building trust.

Latin America, and more specifically the Argentine-Brazilian experience of nuclear rapprochement, is universally heralded as a successful example of reducing regional nuclear tensions through CBMs (confidence building measures). Much will be discussed (today and tomorrow) on this region's experience with bilateral inspections and historic commitments banning unsafeguarded nuclear activities, but what should not be left out of this discussion is the initial steps taken to begin this process: in other words, how the volatile politics of the two countries abated to allow this historic and groundbreaking process to proceed.

Argentina and Brazil fought just one war in its history, and that was in the 1820s. Afterwards, the two countries had periodic flare-ups, but nothing that came close to war again. However, rivalries between the two countries plagued their relationship.

In September 1962, Brazil, which was then under a civilian government, proposed the idea of a Latin American Nuclear Weapon Free Zone. At the time, Argentina was under a military government and was disinterested. But in the aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Latin American nations realized that the prospects for a nuclear war were too close. This concern became the catalyst for the negotiation of the Tlatelolco Treaty that took place in Mexico City between 1963 and 1967. The treaty was successfully concluded in 1967, but both Argentina and Brazil remained outside of the treaty for the next 25 years. Although both nations were not parties to the treaty, both countries agreed to take no actions contrary to the intent of the treaty.

University of Virginia Associate Professor John Redick has said that this commitment set the political context for their nuclear rapprochement. The process was groundbreaking, in that for the first time, the two rival nations began to talk about sensitive nuclear issues and develop common positions. Redick defines the Tlatelolco negotiations as the first step in the long confidence building process between the two.

Several issues, however, prevented progress on nuclear issues. Former Argentine Ambassador Julio Carasales identified the last serious difficulty between the two countries occurred regarding the management of water resources on the River Parana, which flows from Brazil into Argentina. That dispute was solved by a 1979 agreement. Carasales points out that until that problem was solved, it was unrealistic to expect advances in any field, including the nuclear field.

Progress on economics and trade also proceeded before the nuclear issue. However, at a certain point there was a realization that the nuclear issue had to be included on the agenda in order to proceed with the overall rapprochement process. Nuclear affairs were considered an important part of the entire political climate that encompassed a range of foreign policy issues, not a separate or isolated phenomenon. A nuclear dimension in any regional conflict will likely always be on the agenda, because nuclear concerns go to the heart of a country's insecurities.

Argentinian Flag

The first attempt to improve relations between Argentina and Brazil in the nuclear field took place in 1980 when then-President of Brazil, General Figuereido, made a state visit to Argentina, then also under a military regime, led by General Videla. At that meeting, several agreements were signed, including an Agreement on Cooperation for the Development and Application of Peaceful Nuclear Uses of Nuclear Energy. The underlying motivation for this agreement was a shared view that modern technology--a powerful symbol of an advanced economy and prosperity--was unjustly dominated by

Brazilian Flag

a few highly developed nations. Consequently, Brazil and Argentina viewed collaboration in the nuclear field, rather than competition, as the best means to surmount the barriers of the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

However, the return of democracies in the middle 1980s was critical to resolving the nuclear issues. The militaries in each country mistrusted each other too much to make significant progress in this area.

As economic progress between the two countries increased, a Joint Declaration on Nuclear Policy was issued that stressed the exclusively peaceful purposes of the nuclear programs of both countries and the intent to cooperate very closely in this area. This declaration also established a joint working group under the responsibility of the Argentine and Brazilian Foreign Ministries to study and propose concrete measures to implement the declared bilateral nuclear policy. The nuclear rapprochement process was a gradual, step-by-step process that included seminars, scientific and

economic cooperation, and joint work on the peaceful applications of nuclear energy and on related topics.

There were frequent reciprocal head-of-state visits to sensitive nuclear sites, which improved the climate of mutual trust and confidence. Following each visit, a specific declaration of common nuclear policy was signed, thus giving the visits important political meanings and objectives.

The process was first and foremost designed to address indigenous and bilateral concerns. Once those had been addressed, the time was ripe to address regional concerns, as well. When those were addressed, the concerns of the international community could be satisfied.

Task 1

Answer the following questions to record the most crucial lessons from the historic example of the benefits of building trust between two competing countries.

1. What were some of the initial obstacles to Argentina and Brazil reaching an agreement on this issue?

2. What are CBTs? What is their intended purpose?

3. What was the first step to building confidence between the two nations? What were those negotiations called?

4. What big step was taken in 1979 that laid the ground work for a resolution on the issue of nuclear weapons development? In what way was this a stepping stone to the final agreement?

5. In what way could the agreement on the nuclear issue be seen as a final confidence building measure between the two countries? Explain.

6. Nowadays, these two large South American countries stand as two of the leading members of the Mercado Comun del Cono Sur (the Southern Cone Common Market), or MERCOSUR. In terms of the development of the levels of trust from the reading, do you think that the relationship between these two countries has been elevated to something beyond a transactional calculus-based trust relationship? Why? Why not? Justify your answer.

Task 2

Consider two countries that you are aware of that show signs of possible conflict.

How would you suggest they attempt to build trust through confidence building measures in order to prevent an escalation to war? What could an entire movement for a Culture of Peace do to urge governments to pursue those options?

The Benefits of Peace

Read the following quotes individually and contemplate their meaning.

"If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner." ~ Nelson Mandela

Peace is a daily, a weekly, a monthly process, gradually changing opinions, slowly eroding old barriers, quietly building new structures. ~ John F. Kennedy

"War depends entirely on the aggressive use of weaponry and can only be a source of destruction. On the contrary, peace, based on education and positive planning, inevitably leads to progress and development." ~ Unknown

Task 1

Use the following prompts to further consider the meaning of these statements.

1. What did Nelson Mandela mean when he used the word "partner?" Partner in what?

2. When John F. Kennedy referred to "building new structures," what do you think he meant? Was he simply referring to physical buildings? Did he mean something more abstract? Or could he have meant both?

3. Looking at the last quote, how do you interpret the meaning of the words "progress and development?" These words may sound slightly vague, but what could they mean for a nation?

Task 2

Select the quote that means the most to you and explain why.

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Discuss your answers together as a class.

Read the following statement by an organization that is working on the ground to bring development to countries emerging from years of conflict.

There can be no peace without development and no development without peace

Report of the UN Secretary-General, September 2013

Global poverty and violent conflict are two of the most serious problems that we face in the world today, and they are often linked. In the poorest corners of the world, the daily struggle of deprivation can often lead to clashes between individuals or communities that can then descend into violence. Young people can be forced to seek refuge in militant organisations in order to survive, and once recruited they become part of the problem. Poverty is clearly a contributing factor to warfare – but the reverse is also true.

Armed conflicts have been the single most important determinant of poverty and human misery in Africa affecting more than half the continent's countries during the1980s and 1990s (African Development Bank, 2013).

It's estimated that civil war sets back a country's development by 30 years. We see this daily in the countries where we work. With a population of nearly 66 million, DR Congo spans a territory as large as Western Europe. Over the last two decades, five million Congolese people have died because of conflict – either as a direct result of the fighting or because of the disease and hunger it has caused. Three quarters of the country's people live below the poverty line, with more than half not having access to drinking water or basic healthcare. One in five children do not make it past the age of five.

Almost all the countries affected by conflict have failed to achieve a single Millennium Development Goal and deaths due to malnutrition are twice as common in war-torn countries. If the world is to secure prosperity and peace this needs to change, and currently not enough work is being done to overhaul the tragic circumstances in which the people in areas like this live – but there is hope.

Source: *peacedirect.org/conflict-poverty*

Task 1

According to the Peace Direct Organization, what is the single greatest contributing factor to countries in Africa failing to provide healthcare and basic necessities?

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Now list the evidence that the author presented to support that assertion.

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Task 2

Working in small groups, brainstorm and record all the possible benefits that could be realized if those countries were to achieve long-term peace. What key aspects of development do you think would start to improve? Explain why you think they would.

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Now it is time to see if some of these theories hold up when we look at some statistical data. It will be your job to determine if conflict holds back the development of the economy. If a country that has faced years of war is able to achieve a sustained period of peace, do you think their economy will start to develop? Use the charts below to make your determination.

Both charts use the measurement of gross domestic product to gauge the performance of the economy of the whole country. Gross domestic product is the measurement of the value of all products and services that are produced, bought, and sold within that particular country. This is the most consistently used measurement to compare the economic performances of various different countries.
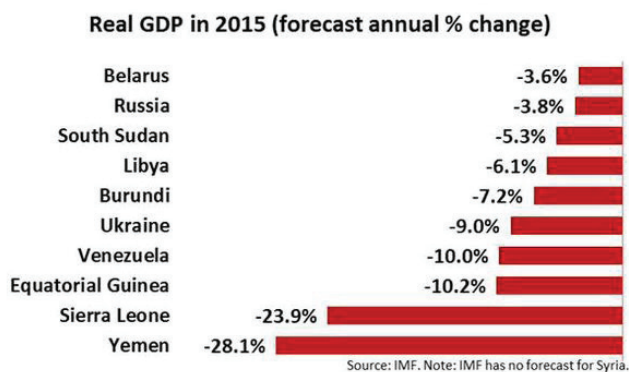
Task 1

Real GDP in 2015 (forecast annual % change)

Country	% change
Belarus	-3.6%
Russia	-3.8%
South Sudan	-5.3%
Libya	-6.1%
Burundi	-7.2%
Ukraine	-9.0%
Venezuela	-10.0%
Equatorial Guinea	-10.2%
Sierra Leone	-23.9%
Yemen	-28.1%

Source: IMF. Note: IMF has no forecast for Syria.

Fig 1. Source: *express.co.uk/finance/city/610730/IMF-worst-performing-economies-2015-Russia*

After examining the worst performing economies of 2015, answer the following questions.

1. Which country was the worst performing economy in 2015?

2. Looking at the small note at the bottom, which country were they unable to include in the list due to a failure to obtain accurate data?

3. What did those two countries have in common in 2015?

4. As a class, compile a list of what you know about the conflicts in those two countries.

What conclusion can you draw about the relationship between conflict and economic growth. Record your answer.

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Sierra Leone presents an interesting statistical anomaly. As the second worst performing economy by far, one might think there was a war going on in that country at the time. But there was not. Sierra Leone was dealing with the massive economic consequences of the Ebola epidemic in West Africa in 2014. However, why do you think Sierra Leone's economy was so drastically affected by the outbreak in comparison to its neighbors?

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Task 2

Despite one or two minor flare-ups, what do you think most of these countries have in common? What was not going on inside these countries from 2000-2016? How many of these countries have a history of civil war or interstate conflict prior to these dates? Use your own knowledge and any tools at your disposal to briefly review the history of each country.
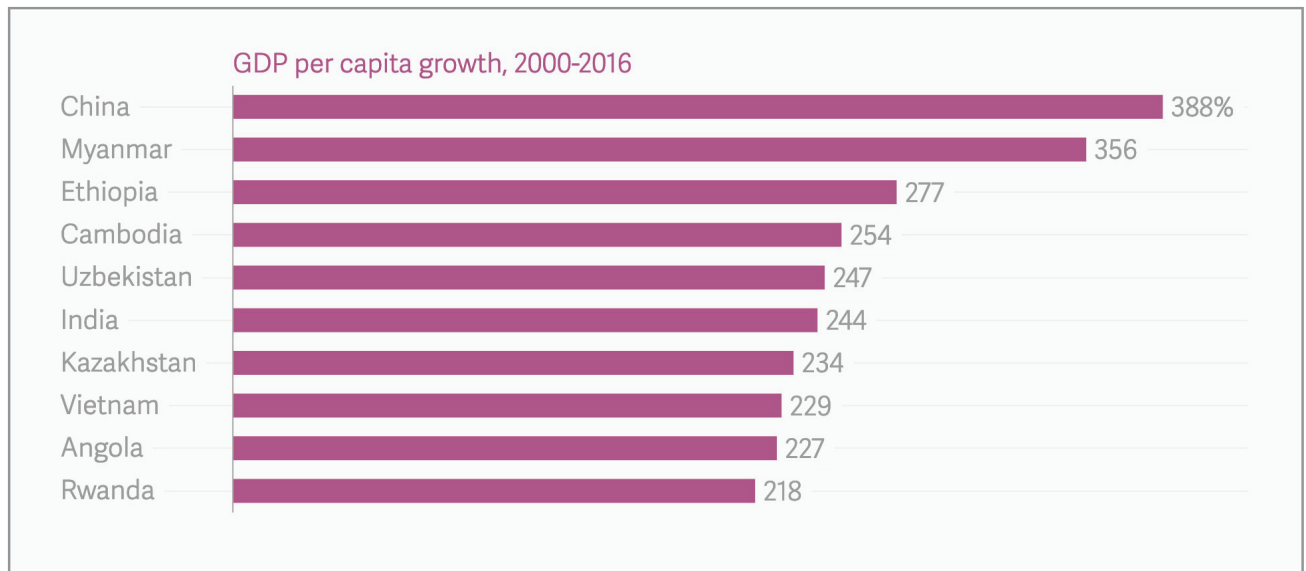

GDP per capita growth, 2000-2016

Country	Growth
China	388%
Myanmar	356
Ethiopia	277
Cambodia	254
Uzbekistan	247
India	244
Kazakhstan	234
Vietnam	229
Angola	227
Rwanda	218

Fig 2. Source: *theatlas.com/charts/H1mKNBRab*

Using both graphs, make the following calculations.

1. Considering that Rwanda emerged from one of the worst genocides in history in the 1990s, calculate the economic growth percentage per year during the period that followed. What is possible when a country is able to move past a brutal conflict?

2. Now compare that number to that of Ukraine in 2015, which was in a state of conflict at the time. What is the difference?

3. At what annual rate has Vietnam's economy grown? Remember that Vietnam emerged from decades of war and was only able to reestablish normalized trading relationships with the whole world in the 1990s.

In the next section, you will look in-depth at the world's third fastest growing economy during the period of 2000-2016. And which nation is that?

The rise of Ethiopia

After the Italian occupation of Ethiopia during the Second World War, it faced years of conflict, both internal and with its neighbors. However, despite an insurgency in the Ogaden region and troop contributions to the African Union's regional peacekeeping mission in Somalia, Ethiopia has achieved a level of peace not seen before in its modern history.

Ethiopian soldiers armed with weapons confiscated from the Italians (May 1941)

Examine the recent assessment of Ethiopia's economy given its unprecedented level of peace since 2000.

"Ethiopia's economy is booming, and despite the country's current political turmoil, the IMF thinks the good times will last.

In 2000, Ethiopia, the second-most populous country in Africa, was the third-poorest country in the world. Its annual GDP per capita was only about $650. More than 50% of the population lived below the global poverty line, the highest poverty rate in the world.

What has happened since is miraculous. According to IMF estimates, from 2000 to 2016, Ethiopia was the third-fastest growing country of 10 million or more people in the world, as measured by GDP per capita. The country's poverty rate fell to 31% by 2011 (the latest year Ethiopia's poverty level was assessed by the World Bank).

The outlook for the next five years is bright. In its latest global forecast, the IMF projected that Ethiopian GDP per capita would expand at an annual pace of 6.2% through 2022—among countries with 10 million or more people, only India and Myanmar are expected to grow faster."

Source: *qz.com/africa/1109739/ethiopia-is-one-of-the-fastest-growing-economies-in-the-world/*

Task 1

How would you characterize the benefits that a country can receive after it has been able to reach a state of peace following years of conflict? How could the data you viewed in this lesson be used to incentivize future peacemakers as they attempt to prevent conflict throughout the world?

Formulate a persuasive speech to present to your class arguing for peace and all the benefits that come along with it.

As the Culture of Peace starts to thrive around the world, you may be called on to deliver similar speeches in the future…

Open Horizons

Research the long-term effects on Sierra Leone's development as a result of its brutal civil war from 1991-2002. What were the consequences of this conflict for the economy? How did the conflict affect their ability to cope with the Ebola crisis years later? How could the damage to the infrastructure during the conflict possibly exacerbate the effects of the outbreak?

7

Conflict Prevention: The Power of Partnership

It is common knowledge that competition between European States has led to some of the most catastrophic instances of war in human history. The antagonism that evolved in the modern era expanded to involve many of Europe's overseas colonies as imperial competition accelerated throughout the Modern Period. This culminated in the two World Wars of the twentieth century, in which the combination of technological innovation and accelerated industrial production brought the efficiency of violent means to a level never before seen in human history. This is undoubtedly evident in the death tolls that directly resulted from those wars. Many estimates of the loss of human life sustained in World War I are as high as 15-20 million, with millions more irrevocably affected by injury and the indirect effects of its aftermath. The Second World War and the nascent development of aerial warfare pushed those numbers to even greater heights, with a minimum estimated death toll of 50 million. Yet, despite this unspeakable legacy of human carnage preceding 1945, no major war or quest for vengeance has erupted between the powers of Europe since.

WWII: Invasion of Normandy

Task 1

In small groups, produce a brief synopsis of what you know about World War II.

If your group is struggling to get the conversation started, use the following prompts to assist you.

1. How did it affect your home country?

2. How did it affect the world at large?

3. Who were the primary belligerents of the conflict?

4. How did the war actually start?

5. How did it come to an end?

Come together as a class and share your group's findings.

Task 2

Given that the end of WWI is often seen to have planted the seeds for WWII. One obvious question should be lingering for many of you…

So how is it that Europe (at present) has seemed to break the cycle of constant warfare?

Individually write out your hypothesis.

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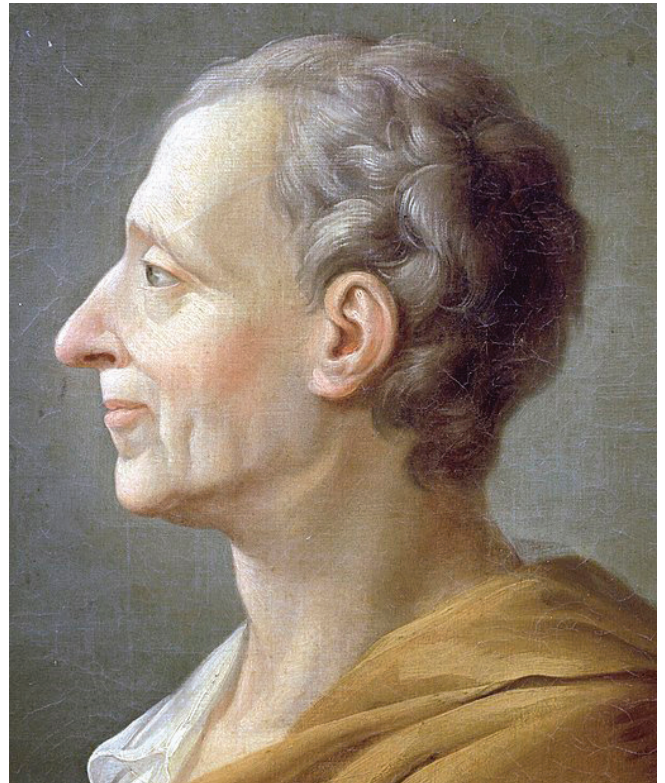
One method of attempting to prevent conflict from emerging between nations has come to be known as Interdependence Theory. One of its greatest historical proponents was the famed political philosopher Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brede et de Montesquieu. History has simply remembered him as Montesquieu.

Charles Montesquieu

Task 1

Read the following quote which encapsulates the core concept of Interdependence Theory and discuss it as a class.

> "The natural effect of commerce is to lead to peace. Two nations that trade together become mutually dependent: if one has an interest in buying, the other has an interest in selling; and all unions are based on mutual needs."
> – Montesquieu

Answer the following questions to establish a thorough understanding of the meaning of the quote.

1. What does he mean by the "natural effect?"

2. Describe "mutual dependence" in your own words.

3. How can buying and selling between nations make them dependent on one another?

4. Can you think of any unions that exist between nations in the modern world?

5. What are the "needs" that bind those countries together? Are they economic? Are they shared interests in security? Is it a combination of both?

Task 2

Examine the graphic below which attempts to show the reinforcement process of peace and security with economic activity, especially in regards to trade.

After considering the graphic, answer the following questions below by utilizing your understanding of Interdependence Theory.

1. How has the calculation of war changed in an increasingly globalized world?

2. How might countries create a set of circumstances that prevent the boiling over of hostilities into an outbreak war?

3. What will be required to make the general population in your country resist calls to war in the 21st century?

4. If economic relationships exist between two countries, what message should be conveyed to the public in order to deter calls for war?

Now it is time for you and your class to put Interdependence Theory to the test. Consider the following hypothetical situation and determine what the most rational response would be. Then consider how it correlates to the experience of two nations interacting with each other.

The Shopkeeper Scenario

Consider the relationship between two shopkeepers whose stores reside next to one another. These stores sell some similar products as well as some that are intended for very different customers. The shopkeepers may have had personal disagreements in the past, yet, every morning, when they open their respective businesses, they greet each other and exchange the usual pleasantries that one neighbor would expect from another.

But one day, one of the shopkeepers erects a neon flashing sign to further advertise his business and hopefully draw in more customers. However, the other shopkeeper believes it looks shabby and will deter his or her potential customers, who are most likely to purchase his or her most expensive products.

Furthermore, all possible authority figures in this matter have declared that they will not get involved in any way, or under any circumstances.

What will the shopkeepers choose to do in the absence of authority?

Task 1

Your task is to divide into two separate groups and represent the positions of each shopkeeper. When you meet with your group, devise three possible courses of action for your position.

After doing so, record the pros and cons that you foresee as likely if each of the three possible actions were pursued.

Finally, determine which action you are going to pursue and reveal it to the opposite group. Do not lose sight of the fact that no overseeing authority exists in this scenario and both parties' primary motivation is to ensure maximum profits for their business.

What was the outcome?

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Task 2

Now consider that same situation with one minor alteration. The offended shopkeeper previously provided a loan to the other. And this loan has not been paid back yet. So, in this scenario, they are economically tied to each other.

In light of this key change to the basic conditions of the situation, return to your groups and go through the process again.

How did the outcome change?

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Task 3

What conclusion can be extrapolated from this scenario if you assume that nations would act in a similar manner to the shopkeepers?

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Open Horizons

Without question, Interdependence Theory has played a role in shaping the modern globalized world. However, in recent years, its core principles and validity have come under immense criticism. Research the topic further and evaluate the arguments that challenge it. Should future generations be skeptical of Interdependence Theory? If so, why?

Why a Third World War has not started in Europe

The following is a brief historical overview of Franco-German relations following WWII:

"Both the First World War and the Second World War occurred in large part because of Franco-German conflicts. Creating a stable Europe required reconciliation between France and Germany. One of the major obstacles to Franco-German reconciliation after the war was the question of coal and steel production. Coal and steel were the two most vital materials for developed nations; the backbone of a successful economy. Coal was the primary energy source in Europe, accounting for almost 70% of fuel consumption. Steel was a fundamental material for industry and to manufacture it required large amounts of coal. Both materials were also needed to create weapons.

The largest concentration of coalmines and steel production was found in two areas in Western Germany: the Ruhr Valley, and the Saarland. The Allies detached the Saarland from West Germany and made it a semi-autonomous region. In the Ruhr Valley, the Allies placed restrictions on the production, ownership and sale of coal and steel in an attempt to restrict German economic growth. The Ruhr Valley coal and steel production was also restricted as a guarantee to Germany's neighbours, France, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands, that these crucial resources would not be used to re-create a Germany army."

The solution to the coal and steel problem and the core of the reconciliation between France and Germany was the Schuman Plan, named after the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman. The Schuman Plan was presented on 9 May 1950. It argued that coal and steel production should be placed under a supranational High Authority. Following shortly after Schuman's declaration, the negotiations that established the European Coal and Steel Community began. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) pooled the coal and steel resources of six European countries: France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg (BENELUX). These countries would be collectively known as "the Six". Pooling coal and steel resources greatly reduced the threat of war between France and West Germany. The ECSC became a reality in 1952.

Source: *carleton.ca/ces/eulearning/history/moving-to-integration/the-european-coal-and-steel-community/*

The European Coal and Steel Community provided the framework for Franco-German Cooperation and the establishment of the European Union. Contemporarily speaking, their economies have become incredibly intertwined:

According to recent statistics, Germany is France's main trading partner. It is its leading customer (exports of €71.3 billion) and its leading supplier (imports of €86.5 billion). Germany's trade dependency on France is more limited. In 2015, France fell into second place amongst Germany's trading partners (€170 billion of trade), just behind the United States (€173 billion). France is Germany's third-largest supplier (7.1% share) and its second-largest customer (8.5% share).

Source: *diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/germany/france-and-germany/*

Task 1

Consider the historical experience of Germany and France after World War II.

1. How did the French and the Germans move from a long history of conflict to the establishment and continuation of cooperation?

2. If relations between the two countries ever become tense, how might war be prevented between the two? What might people argue as reasons to resist the urge to engage in hostilities with the other?

3. What lessons could be learned from this story in regard to conflict prevention in the future?

4. How would Montesquieu have explained this drastic shift in foreign relations between these two historic rivals?

German soldier amidst the ruins of Calais, France

Task 2

A movement for a Culture of Peace may be asked where it stands on key strategies for preventing conflict in the future. Whether you agree with Interdependence Theory or not, practice developing your stance on an issue by writing a brief paper advocating for a strategy of creating interdependence between nations.

Working with a partner, write a defense of Interdependence Theory by using this case study to support your argument. Use specific examples from the text.

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Conflict Resolution: Outside Mediation

There are a few different approaches one can take to resolving a conflict. Undoubtedly, you have utilized some of these strategies before, whether you knew it or not. But as you go on to build a Culture of Peace, you will find that there is value in classifying these different strategies.

Use the graphic below as you address the first two tasks.

Figure 8.1: Conflict Continuum
Source: *viaconflict.wordpress.com/2012/01/01/the-conflict-continuum/)*
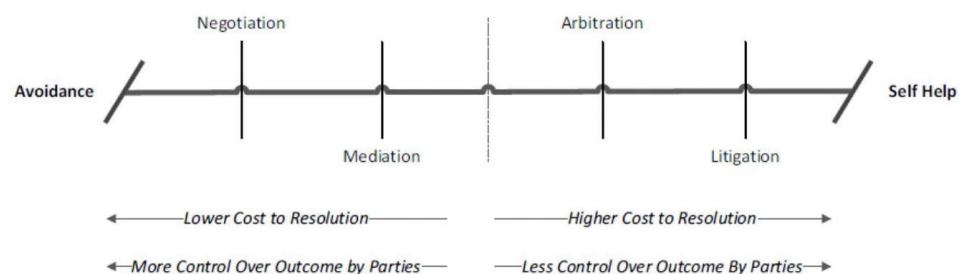
Task 1

Working in pairs, define each term on the continuum: **avoidance**, **negotiation**, **mediation**, **arbitration**, **litigation**, and **self-help**. If necessary, use an English dictionary to assist you in ascertaining the meaning of each term.

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As you transition to the international sphere of analysis, the remainder of the lesson(s) in this section will examine one of these strategies in particular: mediation. **Examine the brief overview below outlining the application of mediation in a general sense; followed by its application to international conflicts.**

What is Mediation?

The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) defines mediation as "a mode of negotiation in which a mutually acceptable third party helps the parties to a conflict find a solution that they cannot find by themselves."

Mediation is sometimes referred to as assisted negotiation. It does not involve a judge or require testimony, and it is not limited by rules of evidence. Instead, mediation is informal, flexible and private.

Three Phases of Mediation

Mediation consists of these three distinct phases, including an introduction, problem-solving and closure phase.

The mediator sets ground rules while suggesting a schedule. The mediator also oversees meetings, giving each side the opportunity to state their perspectives and their preferred solutions to the conflict.

The parties discuss relevant issues, their interests and possible solutions. Each party is able to speak with the mediator in private to discuss its position.

Both parties state their terms for resolving the conflict before drafting a document detailing the terms of their commitments.

Advantages and Benefits of Mediation

The mediator is able to guide the process, thanks to receiving confidential information from each party. This helps the mediator oversee a resolution that benefits everyone involved.

Relationships between parties stay intact. The parties are able to communicate directly and actively participate throughout the process, leading to creative and mutually beneficial solutions.

Effective Mediation Strategies

Adopting one or more of the following strategies can help mediators when they're acting as intermediaries.

Procedural Strategies

According to the Beyond Intractability Knowledge Base Project, the mediator controls the agenda, timing, media publicity, release of information, meeting place and arrangements, and the amount of formality and flexibility at the meetings. This strategy is capable of reducing stress and disruption between parties with no history of peacemaking.

Procedural Strategy in Practice

From 2002 to 2004, the Organization of American States, the United Nations Development Program and Jimmy Carter opened a dialogue between Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez Frias, the government and the opposition. According to USIP, the mediation's purpose was to reconcile a deeply divided society and preserve democratic processes while preventing violent conflict.

Communication-Facilitation Strategies

This strategy involves the mediator taking a more passive role while focusing on facilitating cooperation and communication between parties.

Communication-Facilitation Strategy in Practice

After the Kenyan post-election riots of 2007–2008, the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) reported that "a truth commission was established to examine not only the immediate violence but its root causes as well." According to USIP and ICTJ, the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission consisted of four Kenyans and three foreigners.

Directive Strategies

With this strategy, the mediator attempts to influence the discussion and the solution either by threatening parties with diplomatic sanctions or by providing support or incentives, possibly in the form of humanitarian aid.

Directive Strategy in Practice

Representatives from the European Union (EU), Japan, Norway and the United States attended the Tokyo Conference on Reconstruction and Development of Sri Lanka in June 2003. The purpose of this conference was to show support for the reconstruction and development of Sri Lanka by offering $4.5 billion USD in financial support.

Other Strategies and Methods

Preventive diplomacy is another strategy that can be useful for resolving conflicts. The United Nations' (UN) 1992 Agenda for Peace defined preventive diplomacy as "action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur."

Apolitical organizations are nonprofit and private voluntary organizations that help resolve international conflicts by mediating informally. One example of an apolitical organization is the International Crisis Group, which is dedicated to analyzing, researching and advocating for the sake of resolving conflicts.

Source: *online.norwich.edu/academic-programs/ masters/diplomacy/resources/infographics/how-mediation-works-in-international-conflicts*

Task 1

Answer the following questions in light of the reading above.

1. What are the advantages and benefits of mediation?

2. What is pursuing the procedural strategy likely to reduce?

3. In practice, how has the communication-facilitation method been used?

4. Which strategy requires the most involvement from the mediator?

5. Provide an example of an outside mediator using financial incentives to make peace in a country that had experienced civil war.

6. Given all the strategies mentioned above, which strategy do you think is likely to be most effective in the modern world? Why? Justify your answer.

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Now that you have been introduced to different strategies and approaches to mediation in the international sphere, it is time for you and your peers to apply it.

As a class, brainstorm various different conflicts that are ongoing in the world right now and take a vote on which conflict you would like to address as a class. Refrain from discussing conflicts that are close to home. The goal of this exercise is to simulate being an outside mediator, not one of the conflicting parties.

Using any and all research materials at your disposal, contextualize the conflict. Pay special attention to ascertaining the objectives and grievances of both of the conflicting parties. If possible, students should be told to bring in some research from home prior to the day of this activity.

Task 1

Utilizing the reading from the previous section, split the class up into four equal groups based on the different mediation strategies presented in the reading.

Create a mediation plan to assist in the negotiation of the conflict. Each group will write up a one-page detailed approach using their designated strategy. All groups are encouraged to think creatively, and all groups should feel free to create a plan with the assumption that the international community and key world leaders are behind them.

Task 2

Present your proposal to the group as though it was an international panel tasked with determining the best course of action to resolve this conflict.

Afterward, take a blind vote to determine which plan sounds like it will have the greatest chance of success.
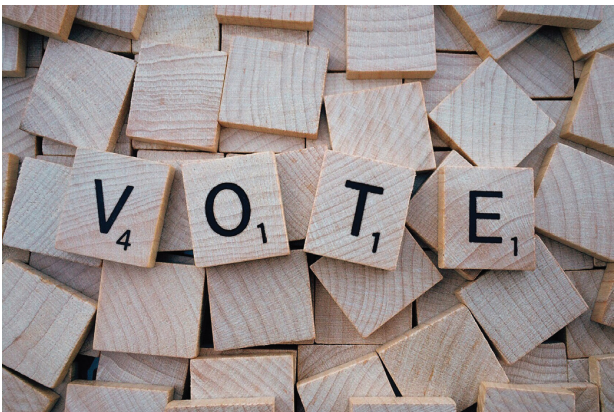
Task 3

If time permits, individually take a moment to troubleshoot one stumbling block that the plan might face. What reasons might one of the parties give for refusing this mediation proposal? Explain your answer.

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Open Horizons

Increasingly, primary and secondary schools around the world are adopting alternative strategies for addressing conflict with in schools and between students. As the Culture of Peace spreads, new and innovative strategies will emerge from creative young minds from all walks of life. In that light, explore the link below and watch the video to see how students at other educational institutions have dealt with this so far. After that exploration, collaborate and develop your own policy of peer mediation to resolve conflict in your community of students, thus adding another innovation on the road to building a grassroots Culture of Peace.

Children as Peacemakers
https://edu.apps01.yorku.ca/peacemakers/

UN Mediation in Guatemala

Read the following two articles to examine the role of mediation in Guatemala during the 1990s.

After a U.S.-supported military coup in 1954, leftist guerrillas launched an insurgency against the military government in 1960. Guatemalan forces and paramilitary groups waged a brutal counterinsurgency campaign that took a particularly heavy toll on the nation's poor and indigenous population. A 1999 U.N. report found state-sponsored attacks on indigenous Guatemalans amounted to genocide, and blamed U.S. support to the military for aiding human rights violations. In all, as many as 200,000 Guatemalans were killed or "disappeared" during the conflict.

Peace talks began in the early 1990s, and culminated in the deal to end hostilities in 1996, earning guerrilla leader Rolando Morán and Guatemalan President Álvaro Arzú the UNESCO Peace Prize. The peace process controversially included an amnesty for many crimes committed during the conflict. However, in recent years, Guatemala has begun to try some of the most grave abuses, including an ongoing case against former military dictator Efraín Ríos Montt for genocide and crimes against humanity.

Source: *huffingtonpost.com/2015/05/08/peace-deals-successful_n_7224950.html*

Task 1

Answer the following questions to ensure you understand the background information regarding the conflict in Guatemala.

1. How many Guatemalan's perished during the conflict?

2. What award was given after the peace process and to whom?

3. What crucial, yet controversial, policy was utilized?

4. What evidence is there that the policy was not applied to everyone?

Read the following text exploring the UN's role starting in 1994.

It created a space for discussion of issues that had been taboo for decades-and that remained taboo in the still-restricted electoral arena. In addition, the Guatemalan process featured a novelty not present in the Salvadoran negotiations: the creation of the broad-based and politically pluralistic Assembly of Civil Society (ASC), a forum of virtually all of the organized sectors of civil society except, by their own choice, the big-business sector.

As the main agreements were being hammered out, the ASC-after engaging in a fascinating process of consensus-building among widely divergent positions--offered proposals to the negotiating parties that had to be taken into account.

Substantively, the resulting Accords are a mix of genuine achievements and serious limitations. The first breakthrough achievement was the Human Rights Accord, signed in March, 1994. It was important not so much for any new concept of human rights-these were already guaranteed on paper in the 1985 Constitution-as for the new mechanism it created for ending their systematic violation in practice: it brought a UN Verification Mission (MINUGUA) into the country.

The on-the-ground, in-country UN presence signified the international community's intention to monitor respect for human rights, definitively altering the political context. Second, at the heart of the entire arrangement is the Demilitarization Accord (Strengthening of Civilian Power and the Role of the Army in a Democratic Society), signed in September, 1996. This accord requires far-reaching constitutional reforms to limit the functions of the army-which since the 1960s has considered itself the "spinal column" of the Guatemalan state and has involved itself in everything from internal security to civic action and vaccinating babies. Henceforth, the accord stipulates, the army will have a single function: defense of the borders and of Guatemala's territorial integrity. The Accord also eliminates the dreaded paramilitary "Civilian Self-Defense Patrols" and other counterinsurgency security units, reduces the size and budget of the army by a third, and creates a new civilian police force to guarantee citizen security. Finally, it mandates necessary reforms of the judicial system to eliminate the pervasive impunity.

Source: *nacla.org/article/guatemalan-peace-accords-end-and-beginning*

Task 2

Individually, summarize the UN efforts in your own words. Then determine which item of the effort you think produced the greatest long-term benefits and justify your answer.

Deliberate as a class to determine which one was the most effective.

Making Peace After Conflict: The Use of Peacekeeping Forces

In the years following World War II, the international community has made great strides in attempting to make a collective effort toward facilitating peace in conflict zones. The brief description below has been taken directly from the United Nations Peacekeeping website. For the purpose of coming to understand the role of peacekeepers in the modern world, you must first examine their mission statement and discuss it with your class in order to begin to unpack how and why they are utilized in areas of conflict.

> "UN Peacekeeping helps countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. We have unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing, and an ability to deploy troops and police from around the world, integrating them with civilian peacekeepers to address a range of mandates set by the UN Security Council and General Assembly."

Task 1

Before you engage with the activity, discuss the quote as a class. Take the time to look up any words that you are unfamiliar with as you attempt to fully comprehend the mission of UN Peacekeepers.

1. In your own words, summarize the ultimate goal of UN Peacekeeping forces in one sentence.

2. Compare your answer with the student next to you and determine if you both perceived the same objective. Consider what part stood out to you and what part stood out to your partner. Why do you think that is?

Task 2

After reaching a greater understanding of the mission statement. Do you think UN Peacekeepers will be an integral part of building a worldwide Culture of Peace?

Justify your answer.

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The following reading has been selected for the purpose of your examination of UN Peacekeeping missions around the world. It includes some crucial statistical information which has been selected for the purpose of your discovery. **Read the text as a class and continue with the questions that follow.**

Every day, more than 100,000 UN Peacekeepers work to stabilize some of the world's most volatile conflict zones – protecting civilians from violence; monitoring the implementation of peace agreements; disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating former combatants into society; facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance; training national police forces; and supporting free and fair elections, and the creation of stable governing institutions.

15 Peacekeeping Missions

As of February 2018, there are currently 15 UN peace operations deployed in five different regions: nine in Africa, three in the Middle East, two in Europe, one in the Americas, and one in Asia.

100,000+ UN Peacekeepers

UN Peacekeeping is made up of over 100,000 total field personnel, with 125 countries contributing troops, police, and civilian personnel including 126 peacekeepers from the U.S.

8 Times More Cost Effective

According to a report by the U.S. Government Accountability Office, it is eight times more cost effective for the U.S. to financially support a UN Peacekeeping mission than to deploy U.S. military forces. Additionally, according to UN Peacekeeping, its annual budget is less than 0.5% of global military spending.

$7.3 Billion

The UN Peacekeeping budget is around $7.3 billion, which helps more than 125 million people around the world. This is less than the city of Chicago's budget.

Women in Peacekeeping

Women make up 30% of civilian, 10% of police, and 3% of military peacekeepers. Currently, there are three women leading peacekeeping missions in Haiti, Cyprus, and the Middle East. This is in line with the Secretary-General's System Wide Strategy on Gender Parity. Currently, women serve as 25% of heads or deputy heads of peacekeeping missions, this is a sharp increase from ten years ago when women only comprised 2% of leadership in UN Peacekeeping.

Peacekeeping Requires Service and Sacrifice

Since 1948, when UN Peacekeeping operations began, more than 3,654 UN Peacekeepers have lost their lives in the service of peace. In 2017 alone, 110 UN Peacekeepers were killed promoting global peace and security. In December 2017, UN Peacekeepers faced the largest attack on their forces killing 15 and wounding over 40 peacekeepers. UN Peacekeepers are deployed in dangerous places working to protect and support some of the most vulnerable populations in the world.

Source: *unfoundation.org/blog/post/7-key-facts-un-peacekeeping/*

Task 1

Answer the following questions to ensure your understanding of the text.

1. Roughly how many UN Peacekeepers are operating around the world?

2. What regions were UN Peacekeepers operating in at the time this piece was written?

3. With a population of less than three million people, the city of Chicago actually has a larger budget than UN Peacekeeping operations. How many people are UN Peacekeepers serving?

4. Aside from the fact that a city like Chicago is required to provide a wider array of services to its residents, what other reason would the author point out in order to illuminate the effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping operations despite their poor funding?

5. Which specific activity mentioned in the first section do you think pays the greatest dividends in terms of actually stabilizing the conflict area that they are operating in?

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Task 2

Now that you have a basic understanding of some of the facts about UN Peacekeeping missions, it is time to critically consider the section that was not referenced in Task 1.

Furthermore, what could be the possible benefits to the policy of increasingly ensuring the role of women in peacekeeping forces. How could this benefit the society or community that they are serving? How could it benefit or enhance the quality of the peacekeeping mission?

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For the activity element of this section, you will be required to put yourself in the shoes of a young citizen in a country that has been ravaged by conflict. The following journal assignment will require you to consider the feelings of a young man or woman who has just learned that the United Nations has proclaimed that it will send peacekeeping forces to that nation. Before writing this entry, consider the following:
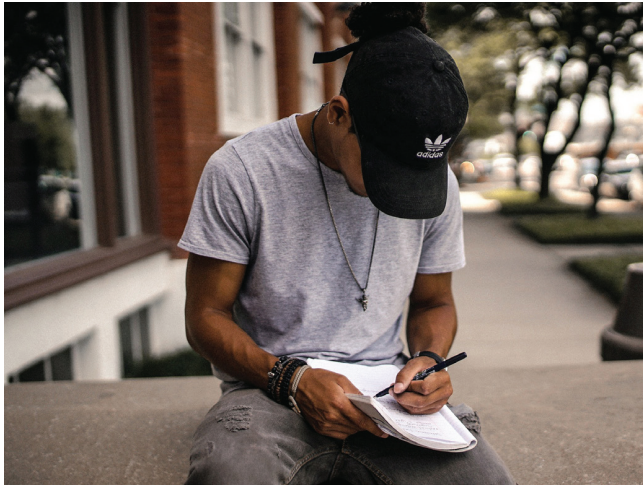
- What set of emotions are likely at the forefront of your conscience as a result of witnessing years of war?

- How would you likely view the international community, or outsiders more generally, as a result of your experiences?

- What expectations would you have for the UN peacekeepers? Do you think you would have high hopes for their success?

- What concerns might you have about the arrival of foreign soldiers in your country?

- Do you think you would openly support their mission, remain a quiet bystander as they attempt to prevent further conflict, or would you actively not cooperate with them?

Task 1

Now write a first-person journal entry expressing the feelings you would likely feel if you were in this situation. The class should spend no more than half the period drafting their journal entries.

Task 2

Read your journal entries to the class one at a time in order to hear a variety of different viewpoints on this topic.

When you have finished, record which point of view was the most different from your own and formulate a question for that person in order to facilitate a dialogue. Sincerely try to understand the viewpoint that is not your own.

9.4 Case Study

The case of Liberia

Below is an article from Reuters providing a brief overview of the UN Peacekeeping mission in Liberia. This case provides exceptional insight when it comes to evaluating UN Peacekeeping missions given that it recently came to completion. **After reading the short piece, it will be up to you to judge the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions, not in theory, but in practice.**

Liberia Mission

The United Nations closed its peacekeeping mission to Liberia on Thursday, 15 years after it was deployed in the aftermath of two civil wars that ended with the fall of then-president Charles Taylor.

The mission had already withdrawn most of its 15,000 troops in mid-2016, signaling that the poor West African nation can meet its own security needs.

Some 2,000 U.N. forces had remained in case of an emergency, but over time they have pulled out.

"This mission contributed to the restoration of peace and stability in Liberia," President George Weah said in a joint address with visiting U.N. Deputy Secretary Amina Mohammed.

"We salute the men and women in blue helmets who came from far and near, some of whom paid the ultimate price for peace".

Weah was sworn in to cheering crowds in January, a testimony to how far Liberia has come since its civil wars left almost 250,000 people dead and turned children into killers. He replaced outgoing Africa's first woman president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf after a hotly contested but nonetheless peaceful election a month earlier.

After being bogged down in quagmires such as Mali, Central African Republic and Congo, it was a welcome bit of good news for a U.N. peacekeeping mission to be able to leave a country in which peace is restored.

"The results were over time but there were 100,000 combatants disarmed and reintegrated," Mohammed told Reuters in a telephone interview. "The youth are taking ownership as ... the custodians of peace."

But she added that "there's a lot of consolidation that needs to be done."

Founded by freed American slaves, Liberia is Africa's oldest modern republic. Though now peaceful, youths complain that little so far has been done to tackle widespread graft or lift Liberians out of dire poverty

Task 1

Engage with the following questions to determine the effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping operations. Then compare your answers with the group.

1. What has been achieved in Liberia with the help of UN Peacekeepers?

2. What are some historical and geographic differences between Liberia and the other countries mentioned in the article where UN Peacekeeping missions did not find as much success?

3. What segments of the Liberian population did the UN Peacekeeping mission engage with in order to create the best possible chances for a lasting peace in Liberia? Explain why you think this could be vital to those chances.

4. What lessons do you think this case provides for future peacekeeping missions?

Task 2

In light of everything you have discovered, reformulate your opinion of UN Peacekeeping Missions in conflict zones. Do you think this is an indispensable tool for building a more peaceful world? Did your opinion change? Or did it remain unaltered? Explain.

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If you have any other knowledge of peacekeeping missions around the world, share that knowledge with the class.

Images of those killed during the 1994 Rwandan genocide

The Responsibility to Protect

10.1 Have Your Say

If you were to ask any new parent what their number one responsibility is, many would say that it is to protect their child at all costs.

But what does that entail? Protection from what? Are they referring to their protection from physical harm? Does that "protection" include protecting them from unfair treatment at school? How far does that responsibility go?

Discuss these questions as a class before you continue with the task below.

Task 1

Over the course of the past few decades, the international community has attempted to adopt a Responsibility to Protect civilians all over the world.

But before you read about how they have defined it, discuss the following questions with your class in order to begin to consider your own opinion on whether or not the international community should even attempt to take on this monumental responsibility.

1. How far should this responsibility go?

2. In what situations should it be applied?

3. What problems could you foresee with the application of this idea?

The following article clearly lays out how the international community has defined the Responsibility to Protect as well as some concerns over its application. **Read the text as a class and answer the questions at the end to solidify your understanding of the topic.**

These are difficult days for defenders of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine, which holds that the international community must be prepared to act when countries "manifestly fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity." All member states of the United Nations endorsed this language in 2005.

In the past year alone, however, mass atrocities against civilian populations in Syria, Central African Republic and South Sudan have unfolded in plain sight while international efforts to halt these crimes have ranged from tentative to nonexistent. When, contrary to this trend, the Obama administration employed military force last summer to rescue members of the Yazidi minority in northwestern Iraq, some observers asked: Why protect the Yazidis and not the multitude of other threatened groups?

The R2P doctrine was supposed to answer this question. It says that civilian populations have a right not to be subject to mass atrocities and that all states have the responsibility to uphold this right, a formulation that has gained a broad following. It has helped elevate the importance of "human protection" in the United Nations and elsewhere, including in the White House. Two years ago, President Obama issued a directive that "the prevention of mass atrocities and genocide is a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States."

But for all this attention, R2P did little to resolve the toughest questions of armed humanitarianism: When, for whom and how should coercive force be employed?

For a while, the international air campaign in Libya in 2011 seemed to render such questions moot. After Libya's then-President Moammar Gaddafi threatened to overrun Benghazi, the U.N. Security Council authorized military force to protect "civilians and civilian-populated areas" in the country. Rapid intervention by NATO-led air forces quickly stopped Gaddafi's forces – a remarkable demonstration of R2P's utility, or so it seemed at the time.

In retrospect, however, the Libya intervention was problematic for R2P. After neutralizing the immediate threat to Benghazi, the NATO-led coalition provided de facto air support for Libyan rebels, who counterattacked and ultimately destroyed the Gaddafi regime. This, in turn, provoked an angry response from several countries, including some that had voted for intervention and now accused NATO of using R2P as a cover for regime change. Meanwhile, inaction in the face of mounting atrocities in Syria elicited a very different criticism of R2P: That it was an ineffective, hollow doctrine that offered false hope to threatened populations.
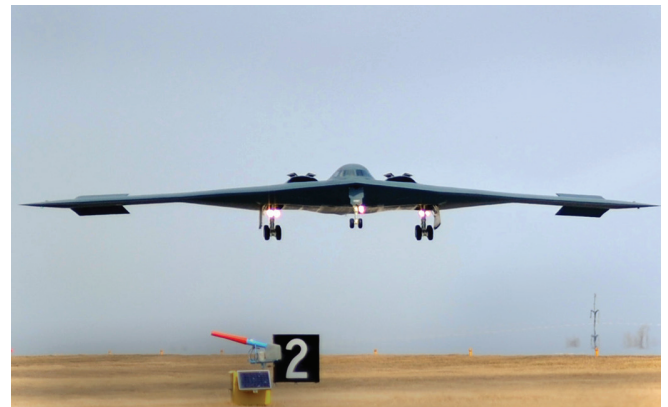
B-2 Landing after bomb run over Libya

To some extent these criticisms were specific to the circumstances of Libya and Syria, but in a recent International Peacekeeping article, I argue that they have revealed deeper tensions in the strategic logic of humanitarian intervention and R2P:

1. **The mixed-motives problem** – The legitimizing rationale for a R2P intervention is its altruistic aim. However, decisions to use armed force usually involve a mix of motives, including self-interest. This is not only unavoidable, but to some extent it is also desirable and necessary; unless humanitarian interventions are partly rooted in self-interest, intervening states may lack the political commitment to complete the tasks they undertake. On the other hand, self-interested motivations make R2P interventions inherently prone to having their legitimacy called into question.

2. **The counterfactual problem** – It is virtually impossible to demonstrate that such missions have accomplished their main objective because the primary evidence of success is a non-event: That is, a mass atrocity that did not occur. Consequently, defenders of the mission must resort to "counterfactual" arguments that involve imagining a reality that might have taken place.

3. **The conspicuous harm problem** – What is actually visible, instead, is the destructiveness and costs of the intervention itself. This is bound to have a more immediate impact in public debates about the operation, not only because the detrimental effects of military intervention are obvious and material whereas an averted atrocity must be imagined, but also because the stated purpose of the intervention is to prevent harm.

4. **The end-state problem** – If an operation achieves its immediate goal of protecting a threatened population, it must then devise an "exit strategy" of one kind or another. The problem, however, is that the requirements for terminating such a mission are different – and more expansive – than the initial goal of preventing mass killing. As a result, humanitarian intervention appears to have a built-in propensity toward mandate-expansion.

5. **The inconsistency problem** – There will be cases in which mass atrocities loom, but outsiders do not intervene to protect civilians for any number of reasons, including because R2P itself counsels against intervening in circumstances in which military action is likely to do more harm than good. The inevitable result is an appearance of inconsistency, which in turn erodes the credibility of R2P.

Each of these problems is daunting in itself, but they coalesce in a way that makes it difficult to establish the usefulness and legitimacy of R2P and humanitarian intervention. The central issue is not a lack of political will or intervention machinery, but that the strategic logic of this kind of mission gives rise to a profound dilemma. On one hand, if there is no intervention in the face of looming mass atrocities, R2P is likely to be criticized as phony or hollow, because of the inconsistency problem. On the other hand, if a preventive operation is launched and achieves its initial goal of averting an atrocity, it is still likely to be judged harshly because of the combined effects of the first four problems.

In other words, the more R2P is employed as a basis for military action, the more likely it is to be discredited, but paradoxically, the same will hold true if R2P's coercive tools go unused. This helps to explain why the Libya intervention was simultaneously a triumph and setback for R2P. The doctrine is trapped by its own internal logic.

This does not mean that all humanitarian interventions are destined to fail, or that R2P has no future. But it does highlight the inherent problems facing such interventions, while also dampening hopes for the development of R2P into a reliable mechanism for averting atrocities. As in the past, states will analyze each crisis through the filter of their respective interests and values, considerations of what is feasible, and calculations of the costs and benefits of action versus inaction.

Source: *washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/ wp/2014/12/09/is-it-possible-to-meet-the-responsibility-to-protect/?utm_term=.bf5d7dfde7e4*

Task 1

Answer the following questions to check for understanding. Review your answers as a class.

1. What does the Responsibility to Protect cover? Who is it supposed to protect and from what?

2. In the most extreme circumstances, how can the international community protect people? Using what tool?

3. What big question was raised when comparing the situation in Northwestern Iraq and other areas, such as Syria, the Central African Republic, and South Sudan?

4. What questions followed the application of the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine in Libya?

5. Out of the five problems listed in the article, which one is the most glaring to you? Go beyond the description and explain why you consider it to be the most problematic.

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Military aircrafts

In light of your own initial opinion on this topic as well as the knowledge you gained from the previous reading section, it is time for you to have a debate.

The debate question:

"If the international community decides to intervene in a conflict to protect one group from another, is it more or less likely that the conflict will end with a lasting peace?"

Task 1

Divide the class into two equal groups for the purpose of this debate. Some students may have to defend a position that they do not personally agree with, however, this will only enhance the learning experience.

Students should consider the following prompts in order to begin formulating their arguments.

- Is the idea of the Responsibility to Protect civilians from atrocities a noble one?

- Even if it is not applied equally to every conflict, could it still be an overall benefit to the world to intervene on behalf of civilians if it is feasible?

- Who should determine when violence has reached a point at which the invocation of the Responsibility to Protect should be considered?

- If only one group of the population is defended by the international community, how could that affect the peace process when the conflict is over?

These prompting questions should only serve to start the conversation. You should go beyond these questions in formulating your position.

Students should spend roughly half the class period preparing their positions on the debate question. Any research materials available in the classroom should be utilized.

Task 2

After both groups have had sufficient time to prepare, the instructor or class leader should lay out the ground rules for the debate.

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The debate will be conducted in three rounds, lasting a minimum of two minutes each. Both round 1 and 2 should be followed by a brief, but sufficient, meeting to formulate the statements of the next round as a group. For the sake of classroom inclusion, different students should be elected to speak in each round.

1. Round 1 will consist of the opening arguments presented by both sides.

2. Round 2 will consist of rebuttals and challenges.

3. Round 3 will consist of closing statements.

In the event that no creative means to judge a winner can be agreed upon, the instructor should act as the final judge.

Rwanda and the birth of the Responsibility to Protect

Your final case study is an International Crisis Group article from Donald Steinberg, who is an advocate for the R2P Doctrine. The reading pays specials attention to the case of the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, before the Responsibility to Protect had been adopted by the international community. **Consider how this case led to the creation of the Responsibility to Protect.**

In April 1994, I was President Clinton's special assistant for Africa when the plane carrying the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi was shot down outside Kigali, sparking the genocide that killed some 800,000 Rwandans. Within a few weeks it was clear that this was not a spontaneous blood-letting, but a planned, systematic exercise in extermination. I'll always regret that I bought into the common wisdom that in the wake of the Blackhawk Down killings in Mogadishu, the American people would not abide sending US troops to another remote African location. Still, we could have done much short of sending US forces to help save lives.

We could have jammed the hate language on the radio station, Mille Collines. We could have reinforced Romeo Dallaire's forces with equipment and other support. We could have pressed for new UN or African peacekeepers to save as many lives as possible. We could have immediately declared the situation to be genocide.

But each time some of us pushed for these steps, others would ask: "Where's the legal basis for these actions? Where's the public outcry, the hallelujah chorus of support? Where's the evidence to show that these actions will end the killings?" Indeed, there were few voices in civil society, on college campuses, in the media, or in Congress calling for action beyond humanitarian relief. And there was little ground truth to inform our efforts.

The jamming the radio station was caught up in a discussion of whether it was legal under international communications law. The supply of 50 armored personnel carriers to Dallaire was fatally delayed by a debate over what color they should be painted to conform to international law.

Proposals to supply new peacekeepers were made moot not only by the lack of ready trained forces, especially from Africa, but also by disagreements over how we would pay for their deployment. And we avoided the term "genocide" for fear it would result in pressure on ourselves to take the forceful actions we weren't prepared to take. Time and again, the voices of inaction triumphed until the genocide burned itself out.

Steinberg then goes on to point out various different examples in which different organizations and nations took on the Responsibility to Protect.
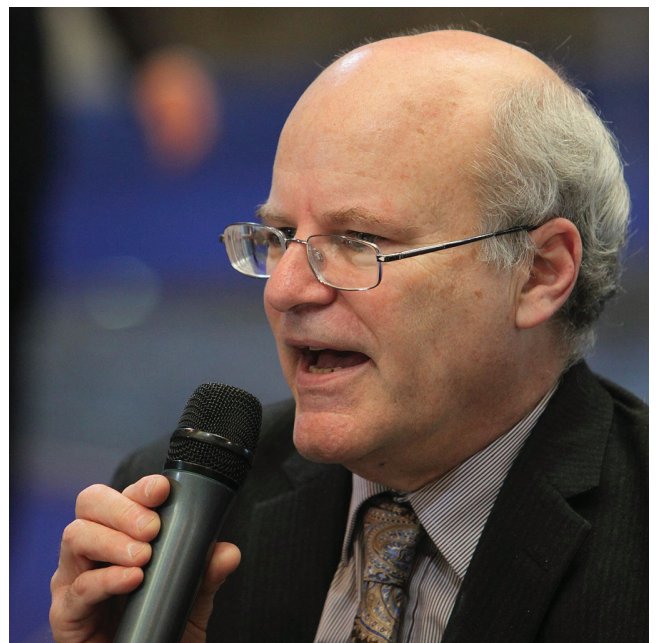
Donald Steinberg

Even then, military engagement could occur only under the strictest of tests to ensure that this doesn't become an excuse for regime change under another name. Still, it is significant that in a preventative or responsive manner, country after country has stepped forward militarily in potential R2P situations, such as the South Africans in Burundi, the British in Sierra Leone, the French in Cote d'Ivoire, the African Union in Darfur, NATO in Kosovo, the Americans in Macedonia, and the Australians in East Timor.

Further, we have responded with institutional programs – such as the nascent Peacebuilding Commission -- to help societies to avoid falling into the genocide trap through preventive efforts and to emerge from conflict through recovery and reconstruction.

Task 1

Reflect on the Rwandan genocide and the failures of those who had the power to do something about it. Consider the effect of this case on the development of the Responsibility to Protect. For that purpose, utilize the prompts below.

1. How many Rwandans were killed in 1994?

2. This humanitarian disaster has been classified as a campaign of genocide. What about the killings proved beyond a reasonable doubt that it should be classified as such?

3. What could have been done to prevent this systematic extermination?

4. What does he mean when he states that the genocide "burned itself out"?

5. Fundamentally, the Responsibility to Protect is a legal justification to take action. Therefore, how did the Rwandan genocide possibly lead to the creation of the Responsibility to Protect doctrine?

Task 2

Now that you have examined this controversial topic from many different angles, what is your position on the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine? Go beyond the case study and utilize everything your class has done in relation to this topic.

If you are to create a worldwide Culture of Peace, should your movement openly support the Responsibility to Protect? Or should it campaign to prevent the application of this doctrine in the world conflicts to come? Think carefully about your position. It may come down to young people like you some day as to whether or not it will be implemented.

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Open Horizons

As a final expansion on this unit, students should divide up the cases mentioned by Donald Steinberg for the purpose of group research projects. Students should present their findings to the class so that by the end of this unit, you will all be well versed in this issue.

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