

I HAVE SEEN THE PROMISED LAND

A utopian novel

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Cover illustration:

The Conversion of St. Paul

painted by Pieter Brueghel the Elder in 1567.

For its significance, see pages 1-2.

I HAVE SEEN THE PROMISED LAND: PAGES FROM A FUTURE DIARY

August 3

For a long time now, I have felt that I needed to write a personal account of the events that have been unfolding at such an explosive speed. As the founder of CPNN, the Culture of Peace News Network, I have had a privileged position to see the development over the years of what we are starting to call the "Transition", and so I feel an obligation to write down my own version of it. How many years of life do I have left to do this? After all, I am now 87, and my prostate is acting up again. If I don't write now, when will I ever do it?

There are many other accounts being written, but I am not convinced that they are dealing with the essence of what is happening. To make the point, I take time out here to search for a painting that I have not looked at since my days in college almost 70 years ago. It was painted by Peter Brueghel, the elder, almost 500 years ago and concerns an event that took place almost 2000 years ago. Why did I look for it? Because maybe it can help us understand the crazy history that we are going through and why there are so many versions of it.

In the painting, if you look closely you can find the blue torso of a man lying on the ground on a path being taken through the mountains. The title of the painting tells us that it represents Paul after he was struck by the light of God and converted to belief in

Christ. Otherwise we would have no idea of its significance. Even the body is difficult to find unless you know what you are looking for, because it is lost in a dramatic scene dominated by soldiers escorting people through the mountain pass and completely oblivious to the one fallen body. In fact, the dominant images of this painting are the asses of the horses on which the soldiers are mounted.

I think this illustrates an important truth, let's call it the "Brueghel Principle." History is not something visible at the moment it occurs. Instead, it is something that is composed centuries after the events have unfolded, just as the artist paints a picture of events that took place 1500 years before. It is only because a few disciples wrote their histories and someone kept the letters of St. Paul that we know of his conversion and its importance for subsequent history. And the history itself did not become evident until hundreds of years later when Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire.

And yet history is real, perhaps more real than the events themselves.

Many of the most popular histories being written today concern the Great Stock Market Crash six years ago and the panics and exodus from the cities. And it is true these are spectacular stories painted on a vast canvas of suffering and heroism. I think of the recent film, *Long Lost Families*, as a fine example with its description of the farmers of Spain who took in families fleeing the city at the height of the panic.

Other histories center on the Davos Coup and the People-Power Revolution that overcame it, the million people on the streets and the soldiers who abandoned their NATO tanks and joined with them. Only recently are we learning the whole story of how it was planned by the biggest multi-national corporations. My favorite account is the one by Evan Dantzig, the whistle-blower who exposed the plot and launched the avalanche of file-sharing that filled the streets even though the Internet and phone lines had all been shut down.

But to me these stories are like the soldiers and the horses in the Brueghel painting, and in the long run they will not prove to have had the most decisive impact on history. Instead, the most important events have not been recognized, let alone described in detail. Most people have probably never heard of it, but the Transition at the United Nations began with the Porto Alegre Declaration. Before Porto Alegre, we were floundering like a ship in rough seas without a rudder. The Crash of '20 and the Davos Coup had left a power vacuum. Some people thought the Chinese or the Europeans would step in to fill the vacuum at the UN after the fall of the provisional American government, but that was not to be. The failure of the Davos Coup has left the European Union without any credibility, and the Chinese and Russians are so tied down by their own civil wars that they cannot take on a greater responsibility. At an earlier time, India and/or Pakistan might have stepped in, but they have been out of the picture since their 9-day nuclear war now more than ten years ago.

It is not by accident that the Porto Alegre Declaration came out of South America. Looking back, we can see that the establishment of the Bank of the South in South America in 2007 enabled them to survive the storm that destroyed other financial markets in the Crash of '20. Now they are able to take leadership. And it is not by accident that it came from the city of Porto Alegre, since Porto Alegre was one of the Brazilian cities that early on established a culture of peace commission.

I wasn't in Porto Alegre. I was invited, and I wish I had gone. But my surgeon said no, and this time I listened to her. (Last time when I didn't it almost cost me my life!) But although I wasn't there, I know many who were, including the entire leadership of the Cities Culture of Peace Initiative. I know them through my work at CPNN where you can find many articles about the development of Culture of Peace Commissions in South America over the years.

Maybe most important was who didn't go to Porto Alegre. There were few representatives from national governments. They were invited, but they declined. For them it was not interesting, or maybe they were just strapped by their own problems.

But what was amazing were those who did go to Porto Alegre. Representatives came from cities that were devastated and regions that overwhelmed with refugees and suffering. Not so surprising that delegates came from Canada and the US and Europe and Japan, but they came from Africa as well and

throughout Asia, even from India and Pakistan despite (or perhaps because of) their devastation. It is amazing to think of the courage of those who came. After all it is the cities that have been hardest hit, and five years ago it was something that nobody could have imagined! Now we are used to hearing the stories. How many cities are like ghost towns, without food or services, choked with garbage, stalked by epidemics, skyscrapers empty with elevators that no longer work, gutted by uncontrolled fires? How many hundreds of millions of people are refugees, living under inhuman conditions without adequate food, shelter or sanitation? Who could have predicted that such conditions previously thought to be limited to Africa and Asia would now be commonplace in the heart of North America and Europe? People say that New Orleans and Chernobyl were the warnings. Now every city is a New Orleans and every region a Chernobyl.

It was also amazing how many people managed to get to Porto Alegre despite the difficulty of getting plane flights. Don't forget that in 2021, airline flights around the world were running at less than 30% of pre-crash levels, and to get a ticket under ordinary circumstances you needed to reserve six months in advance and hope that the airline would stay in business that long. Attendance at Porto Alegre was aided greatly by the Culture of Peace Tourism Board through their contacts in the airlines, and by the special rates and access to flights that they could obtain.

Some have called Porto Alegre the "Cuban revenge." The Cubans were treated like stars at the conference. Having survived the American embargo for half a century and having survived the end of oil long before the rest of us, the Cubans were the only ones to come through the crash of '20 without any problem. In fact, just as they have exported doctors to the rest of the world for the past 30 years, they are now exporting advisors for sustainable agriculture. But most important of all has been their example of decentralized government and participatory budgeting since the death of Fidel Castro, which has proved an inspiration to the Culture of Peace Cities.

Even though Porto Alegre was billed as a conference of elected officials, many NGOs came as well. They were not on the agenda and had to issue their own statement outside the main sessions, it turns out to have been important, since it can now be seen, in retrospect, as the basis of the Geneva Declaration. But more on that another day.

I predict that the Porto Alegre Declaration will go down among the great declarations of world history. Its importance will be seen in the same way as the British Magna Carta, the American Declaration of Independence and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its first lines set the stage for the Transition:

When in the course of history it becomes evident that the old order has failed and it becomes possible through the development and sharing of a new

vision that power be transferred from the nation-state with its culture of war to a new order based on the culture of peace, it is the right and duty of those who have been elected to represent the people on the local and regional level to take up the higher responsibility of world governance.

Much has happened in the five years since the Porto Alegre Declaration, and the road has not been smooth from Porto Alegre to the Transitions at the United Nations. But I can say that it began there.

From my vantage point, I can see how the Cities Initiative goes all the way back to the early years of the Century. Here are excerpts, for example, from the CPNN story entitled Culture of Peace Advances in Brazil, which I co-authored in 2005 with Lia Diskin from the Culture of Peace Commission. The original is available online at <http://cpnn-world.org/cgi-bin/read/articlepage.cgi?ViewArticle=229>.

Local government commissions for the culture of peace are spreading in Brazil. They are the outgrowth of the Comitê Paulista of the Culture of Peace, established in 2000 for the International Year for the Culture of Peace by UNESCO, the City of São Paulo and the Association Palas Athena.

These commissions are composed of both legislators and representatives of civil society organizations. In this way, they integrate the initiatives and perspectives of government and civil society.

Because the culture of peace integrates a broad range of program areas, including not only disarmament, but also peace education, equality of women, human rights, tolerance and solidarity, democratic participation, free flow of information and sustainable development, it provides a platform to integrate different departments of government.

In the words of Lia Diskin, "We have already made progress in the first five years of the Decade for a Culture of Peace on the basis of minimal support and little organization of the various partners and without much research on the culture of peace. Imagine what progress we can make in the next five years if we organize ourselves well and work together!"

It was a thrill for me in 2021, a full 16 years later, to get daily calls from Lia at the Porto Alegre meeting where Sao Paulo played a leading role in the negotiations around the final Declaration!

August 6

I went down to New York yesterday for a meeting with some colleagues at the new campus of the University for Peace. Five years now since the crash, and the city is still like a scene out of one of Brueghel's paintings.

There are plenty of vehicles in the streets again, and many shops have reopened, even a few high-priced grocery stores. But the garbage is still not being collected, and it overflows from containers everywhere. And the rats must now outnumber the people. You even see them in broad daylight rummaging through the most recent garbage.

Many buildings remain abandoned, some scarred by fire, others simply boarded up, even some skyscrapers. And others appear to be occupied by squatters, unchallenged by the authorities who have all they can do to keep some semblance of order for those still coming to work in the city.

Elevators are still not working in many buildings. I had to walk up 15 flights to Jack's apartment where the meeting was held. If the building had been any higher, it would have been impossible for me. As it was, I had to rest on every floor, and it took me the better part of an hour to get to his apartment.

The trip was worth it, however, as we decided to call a conference of the graduates of the University of Peace to coordinate their follow-up to the

Transition at the UN. We need to take advantage of the momentum of the Transition and make the changes irreversible.

August 17

I promised that I would write every day but it has not been possible. All I can say is "Don't get old, it's not fun!" But I will not spend time on my physical ailments. For that you can read Montaigne.

The second defining moment for the Transition will have its first anniversary next week, the Security Council transition.

It was the Nobel Peace Prize team that brokered the final agreement, but what many people don't know is that there were at least three separate teams working on the Transition at the same time. There was not only the Nobel team, but also a team of former Secretary-Generals and Director-Generals of the UN and its Agencies, and the team that I took part in, that of the University for Peace Alumni Organization. Actually, I was not a graduate of the University for Peace, but because of my long association with them, I was an honorary member and included in the team.

We call it the First Transition, the transition at the Security Council, now that we are going to have a Second Transition at the General Assembly. But more on that another day!

Suffice it to say that when we all got started on the Transition a few years ago, we had the Porto Alegre Declaration and follow-up conferences and statements, but the United Nations was still a disaster. It is hard to overestimate the extent to which it was paralyzed following the Crash of '20 and the Davos Coup. Its stock, like that of Wall Street, had fallen to the point that it was essentially worthless. Many said that its day was over, like that of its predecessor, the League of Nations. The old order, established after World War II, that the "Allies" should run the Security Council, had been disintegrating for many years since the turn of the Century, but all attempts at reform were unsuccessful. Nor was situation helped by the terrorist bombings and assassinations at UN headquarters which many of us believe to have been an inside job, although we'll probably never know.

We were inspired by the events of 2023 at UNESCO in Paris. If they could shift its basis of governance, why couldn't the UN itself? UNESCO began working on its transition almost five years ago at the 2021 General Conference, following the brilliant speech of the outgoing Secretary-General. Although, in calling for reform based on the principles of the culture of peace, he did not specifically mention the global network of culture of peace commissions, he must certainly have been aware of it, just as he was aware of the controversies during his tenure when they returned to the culture of peace program that UNESCO had launched under Federico Mayor in the 90's and then abandoned during the following decade.

While it is true that the UNESCO transition was not as thorough as the present Transition at the UN, it set the precedent that the Member States are so caught up in the culture of war that they are incapable of preparing for a culture of peace, and therefore we have to work around them. In fact, it was easier for UNESCO to make their transition, since they actually reverted to a system that was in place during the early decades of the organization. At that time, and now once again, representatives to the governing bodies are not diplomats, but prominent intellectuals and cultural workers nominated by their country but able to vote and take initiatives that are free from instruction from their government.

The first breakthrough here in New York came when the permanent members of the Security Council, Britain, France, US, China and Russia, agreed to stand down and to suspend, at least temporarily, the functions of the Council. This enabled negotiations to go forward for a new representational system in the Council. We will probably never know all the details of the negotiations that went on between the Nobel Group and the five great powers. Confidentiality is the essence of traditional diplomacy. We do know that there was great pressure on the French and British representatives from the European cities network, but it is more difficult to speculate on the motivations of the other three. All three have been fighting secessionist movements and the specter of civil war, and we may guess that they simply did not have the energy or commitment to continue holding on to power in the UN. In fact, the long-standing anti-UN campaign in the United States has become so strong in

the last few years that it may have helped keep the U.S. out of the decision-making process.

Next came the long and complex struggle among regional organizations. Based on Porto Alegre, the European Cities League and the Council of South American cities insisted that they should take the place of the European Union and the Organization of American States. The South Americans argued that the OAS was hopelessly dominated by those who had collaborated with U.S. hegemony. The Europeans argued that the role of the European Union in the Davos Coup disqualified them from the new Security Council. The situation was no less conflictual in other regions. The Arab Reform Forum made a similar argument against the Arab League. Asia insisted that it must have separate representation from East Asia, South and West Asia, and Oceania, and they tried to resist the shift to a basis on local governance instead of national governments. The Caribbean wanted separate representation instead of being included with the U.S. and Canada. It was like the Gordian Knot. The world awaited an Alexander the Great to cut it with his sword.

It was the Nobel Peace Laureates who cut the Gordian Knot, and they did it through a year of mediation, not by a single stroke of the sword. To me this symbolizes in a single image the transition to a culture of peace! It cannot be achieved overnight. There is no single decisive battle, but only the long patient process of dialogue, listening, and negotiation. As my African friends have always said, "A culture of peace is not built. It is cultivated."

In the end, the agreement was reached. Those regional organizations previously based on state power, that could reorganize themselves on the basis of local and provincial representation were granted a seat in the new Security Council. For the Africans, it was easiest. For decades, the Africans have been unhappy with the state structures that had been established by European colonialism, and they were ready for decentralization. For South America it was not difficult either, thanks to the long history of the League of Culture of Peace Cities and the League of Local Authorities for Environmental Initiatives. For the Arabs and the three Asian regions, it was more difficult but ultimately they found formulas that could be accepted. It was Europe and North America who came last to agreement, and only after great pressure from their city, state, and provincial organizations, who had replaced the states for all practical purposes in their management of the post-crash economy.

In a few weeks, we will mark the first anniversary of the Transition Security Council, and what a year it has been! In only one year, the Transition Council has revitalized the disarmament process. Already, the International Atomic Energy Commission has announced a schedule of nuclear disarmament that should be completed within the year. And, most dramatic of all, they have succeeded where a Century of efforts by the nation-states failed; they have brought a viable peace plan to the Middle East. It was one thing when the Wall came down in 2021, but that was only a beginning. In a few months we will have the reunification of Jerusalem, and it will

be cause for great celebration. The culture of peace has come of age! And this time, people will see what is happening!

August 18

The weather was beautiful today. I took my usual walk in the woods behind our house, but this time I decided to dress for running and I tried to run a little. I felt young again. I could remember the feeling of the run, moving up in the pack of runners in the latter part of the race. The rhythm of the body. The synergy of deep breathing, pumping, striding!

But it was only in my imagination. I ran a few steps and fell. I don't remember how it happened. Did I trip on a branch? Did I just lose my balance? That has been happening lately. What I remember was the fear. Really, a kind of panic. What if my hip was broken? Would I be able to move? Would someone come along to help me? I went back in my mind to a scene of my youth. It was in the woods on Cape Cod when I had decided to die and I ran a hose from the exhaust of the old Studebaker into the car and waited for oblivion. Then, too, I never remembered how it happened that I managed to open the door, fall out and crawl to the road for help.

Well, I didn't break my hip. I was only bruised, and I walked home OK. But it hurts to know I can't run anymore! The psychic pain is the worst of all. And the feeling that death is stalking me. I am reminded of the words of Dylan Thomas and I take down the well-worn, blue-jacketed copy of his poetry:

Do not go gentle into that good night,
But rage, rage against the dying of the
light!

My mind goes back to the scene when I recited those words at the funeral of my father. He lived to be 90. Will I make it that far? I start to imagine my own funeral. Who would come? Despite my marriages I have never had children. No, I close the curtain before seeing my corpse. To see it would be death itself.

Enough of my fears. For a long time I have been thinking about writing something about the role of file-sharing in the Transition.

It was file-sharing that overcame the Davos Coup in 2021. The Coup plotters thought they could take over control and stop opposition by shutting down the Internet. At CPNN we had switched over to our own servers several years previously, but that was not the problem. On January 23, the Internet phone lines and the satellite hookups no longer worked. Only a few multinational corporations with their own dedicated satellites were able to keep functioning (the Culture of Peace Tourism Board was not among them). We had no way to get their cooperation and even if we had, there would have been no audience to listen.

But what the Coup plotters didn't understand was that the Internet has become more than just a technical device. Global communication has become

part of human consciousness, a new kind of power. When people woke up on the morning of January 23 and discovered the Blackout, the complete absence of Internet connections, they set to work immediately to find other ways to accomplish the same thing. Especially the young people. No one imagined that you could bring 20 million people into the street to confront the tanks across Europe and North America on January 30. And certainly no one imagined that it could be done without the Internet and without control of the mass media. And yet it was done through file-sharing. We are still learning how the coup was defeated as more and more inside accounts get published. We didn't see it at the time since all the major television studies were sabotaged, but now it is coming out since many people filmed the events as they took place.

Since 2021, there remains a profound sense of people-power, the confidence that having once overcome the Coup by mobilizing people in the streets, we can always do it again if the occasion demands.

The Porto Alegre Declaration was written later in 2021, but it still suffered from the same media blackout, and there was the risk that nobody would know about it. It wasn't spectacular like the People-Power Movement, but some people understood its importance, especially the youth who already had the experience with file-sharing. Being of the older generation I did not fully understand all of the methods that the kids used to share their files. But CPNN, like other initiatives, were disseminated by the

youth, and most importantly our stories about the Porto Alegre Declaration, and the Declaration itself. The fact that the file-sharing was done primarily by youth in their teens and twenties meant that they were taking the lead in the Transition. I have heard it said that this was the first time in history that the younger generation took control of history.

You could say that the file-sharing is what sets apart this moment of history from all others that have gone before. After all, this is not the first time that the state system has collapsed in chaos. There were the revolutions at the end of the 18th Century and again in 1850. There were the collapses of World War I and World War II, with their devastation and consequent Communist revolutions. There was the economic collapse of 1929 (and a bit later the Weimar Republic) which led to fascism of the 30's and World War II. And there was the collapse of the Soviet Empire in 1989. But in none of these cases was there a global network of youth who were ready and eager to pick up the pieces and start anew, not by rebuilding the states that had failed but by creating a totally new world order. Such a network would have been impossible before the arrival of the Internet and the file-sharing that substituted for it during the Blackout. And it was not so much the technology that was new. After all, at the critical moment, the technology failed. What was so new was the awareness of youth that they could and must communicate with each other on a global scale, and that they could take responsibility together for the future.

Looking back at history, I need to qualify this a bit, since it was not the first time that people-power has worked through file-sharing. We might have realized back in 1986 that the world was changing when the nonviolent revolution in the Philippines used file-sharing in order to bring a million people into the streets and overcome the Marcos coup. At that time, they called it "ipakopiya at ipasa", Tagalong for "copy and pass along."

Now that the Internet is back up and running, we can begin to see its impact on global consciousness, on global governance, and on the process of history itself. It is the youth who have transformed the Internet into a two-way venue of dialogue replacing the old one-way instruments of state propaganda. If you believe, as I do, that collective consciousness is ultimately the determining force in historical change, then we are now in the midst of one of the greatest changes in human history.

August 29

Today I am feeling better. Let me go straight to the Geneva Declaration.

The Geneva Declaration has now laid the foundation for the Second Transition at the UN in the same way that the Porto Alegre Declaration did for the First Transition. And it puts the new UN on a strong footing to lead us from the culture of war to a culture of peace.

The Geneva Declaration can be seen as a elaboration of the declaration which was issued "on the side" by the non-governmental organizations (the NGOs) at Porto Alegre, already five years ago. At the time, most of us paid little attention to it. It was overshadowed by the Porto Alegre Declaration which was, after all, the official declaration of the conference.

Now, in retrospect, I can see that the NGOs, in their declaration at Porto Alegre were doing what we had tried back in 2009 at the end of the Culture of Peace Decade. At that time, when I was organizing the Decade Report from the Civil Society to the UN General Assembly, I had tried to get all the NGOs corresponding to the eight action areas of the culture of peace to contribute to the report and to realize that their own work, whether for human rights or women's equality, etc., etc., was all part of the culture of peace. At the time, we failed. For us, too, back in 2009, the time had not yet come.

But this year in Geneva, on March 10 to be precise, the time had come. We had so many participants they had to set up rooms throughout the Palace of Nations to accommodate the overflow from the main assembly hall. The conference, originally scheduled for two days, eventually expanded to a week, and then two weeks. Fortunately, the steering committee was wise enough to realize that they needed to scrap their original plans and open the meetings to expansion. It was one of those moments that arrive only once in history. Civil society had come of age.

I was privileged to take part as representative of the Culture of Peace News Network, thanks to the work I have done over the years with the Culture of Peace Tourism Board, one of the meeting's main sponsors.

At first the meeting had been restricted to civil society organizations, but the Board and other corporate sponsors argued that multi-national corporations supporting the culture of peace deserved to be seated as equal partners. For almost a week, the steering committee was deadlocked, due to strong opposition from many NGOs, especially those with a socialist orientation. It was only after the agreement to seat an equal number of corporations and trade union representatives that the meeting could agree on its final conclusions and document. As the final Declaration states, in part:

Recalling the Declaration and Program of Action on a Culture of Peace that a global movement for a culture of peace should be comprised of the Member States, UNESCO, the United Nations and the civil society at local, regional and national levels,

As representatives of civil society, trade unions and entrepreneurial corporations, we call upon the United Nations to include us as essential voices of "We the Peoples," who are the founding basis for the United

Nations. In that spirit we request representation in United Nations governance on the basis of the eight principles of the culture of peace, as specified in the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of peace:

- *culture of peace through education
- * sustainable economic and social development
- * respect for all human rights
- *equality between women and men
- * democratic participation
- * understanding, tolerance and solidarity
- * participatory communication and free flow of information and knowledge
- * international peace and security

The Geneva Declaration was a big step forward. In the past the civil society has been fragmented among its various issues, each movement working only for its own goals, be it women's equality, sustainable development, human rights, disarmament, etc. Similarly in the past, the capitalist corporations and the trade unions have been more concerned with fighting each other than with uniting as a voice for peace, human rights and development. Now, in the Geneva Declaration, they have united around the culture of peace principles to give them a common voice.

September 20

I am writing this from the visitor's gallery of the General Assembly in New York on the historic opening of the new Assembly. This time the television cameras are here to cover a Transition event. I could have stayed home and watched, but I wanted to see it in person.

Looking out over this grand hall brings back the excitement that I have felt to see the entire world gathered under one roof to debate the great issues of the future. Rows of seats radiate out from the central podium with its huge golden backdrop with the image of the globe in its center. Right now the hall is filled with delegates some already seated, others still talking in clumps in the aisles, waiting for first session to be called to order.

Years ago we all had such grand hopes for the United Nations. Where the League of Nations had failed, we were convinced that the United Nations would succeed. But then came the Cold War and the UN was paralyzed by the struggle between East and West. After the Cold War, there was a moment of renewed hope, but quickly it was lost in the two Gulf Wars and the endless debates masking the struggle for power of the Member States. Finally, most of us gave up on the United Nations. By the time the Crash came, it seemed completely irrelevant.

But today it is different. Once again, there is renewed hope. There are no Member States in attendance. Instead the delegates now milling around on the floor come from non-governmental

organizations, multinational corporations and international trade unions.

This second transition has been as remarkable as the first in the Security Council. In fact, if the Security Council Transition not been so successful, this Second Transition would not have been possible. But once the new Security Council began to take action, it became clear that the old General Assembly had become an obstacle. At every turn, the Member States tried to use the General Assembly to block or overturn the decisions of the Transition Security Council. It became clear that the nation-state was an obstacle to progress, and had to be replaced in the General Assembly.

There were only two choices: either abolish the General Assembly altogether or reform its membership radically. The Geneva Declaration showed a way forward to reform. And now we have the new schema worked out by the Nobel Peace Team, and backed up by the Transition Security Council. There are 96 delegations, half NGO, a quarter trade union and a quarter private enterprise. There are eight categories, corresponding to the program areas of the culture of peace, six NGOs for each, and three trade unions and three enterprises per each. And within each category, the organizations are ranked by the old NGO evaluation methods now increased in rigor.

But will it work? That's what everyone is waiting to see! I'll write more later.

September 21

The first day was exciting for me, but the actual debate was not very interesting. Since there is no precedent for the new General Assembly, all its procedures have to be reinvented. The entire first day was spent on electing a president and setting an agenda for debates.

For me the most important thing was what will not occur over the next few weeks! For eighty years the General Assembly has been opened by speeches from the Heads of State of the member countries. This year, they are not invited. Instead, it is the delegates themselves, coming from movement such as those for ecology, peace, human rights and indigenous peoples and from multinational corporations and trade unions who will be taking the floor and debating the issues directly according to the agenda that they, themselves, will determine.

For all those observing, including the millions watching on television, the first day was confusing. It was the Brueghel Principle once again. If you didn't know the title of the painting, you would not know what it was about.

But for me, there is a title. The title is that this is a "new world." To have these delegates together under one roof, debating, listening, and dialoguing, is a refreshing and invigorating change from stagnation of the Member States in this chamber over the years. Perhaps there will be no great pronouncements like those of the Transition Security Council, but the

issues can be raised. Taboos can be broken. There is hope in the air!

Now that the tide has turned here in New York, there can be movement in all the specialized agencies. They have been paralyzed since the Crash, now when we have needed them more than ever. The World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, and others, we have needed their leadership in dealing with the epidemics and starvations. But they have remained helpless on the sidelines, stymied by lack of funds and lack of support. It is time to put them on a new footing and reinvigorate them in the same way that it is being done with the UN here in New York.

As for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, perhaps we should let them quietly die, along with the states that used to dominate them....

October 20

It's been a month now, and I went back down to see the General Assembly again. As always there was the thrill of seeing the entire world gathered under one roof to debate the issues. This time there were only a few television crews, and no longer the festive atmosphere of the opening last month.

The debate today was on global warming. The first presentation was made by the delegate from ICLEI, the International Council of Local Environmental Initiatives, a woman from Bangladesh.

She reported in great detail on the progress being made at the local and regional level to reduce carbon emissions and increase the take-up of carbon dioxide by trees and agriculture. She warned, however, that it is not enough. The rate of global warming has started to slow down, but it must be reversed, and reversed soon if we are to avoid a further rise in sea level. Already we have lost over a hundred inhabited islands, including a number of former countries.

After the ICLEI presentation came something that I never remember seeing at the UN. There was a real debate, a true dialogue. That is the good news. But there is bad news as well. There are no simple solutions. There was a long debate between the delegates representing the multinational power companies and those representing the trade unions in the power industries. How can the shift be made to renewable energy without cutting the wages and health and retirement benefits of the workers? Questions were raised that have never been discussed at the global level in previous history. In the past these questions were raised only in contract negotiations and hidden from public view, considered to be the "internal affairs" of the Member States and their corporations. Now they are the affairs of everyone. But there are no simple solutions to be proposed.

It is not in the news, and probably not evident to most of my readers, but the new structure of the General Assembly is beginning to strengthen the importance of its member organizations. This is especially true for the international trade unions. In

the past, they had no real power to confront the multi-national corporations, but now, at least, they are on the same level in the UN debates.

In the past, you could have said that debates were not what counts in power struggles. But now the culture of peace is starting to change the course of history. Looking at the Brueghel painting, it is still the soldiers and their horses that are the most evident. But lost in their midst is a new vision where dialogue is starting to replace the force of the state and its military power.

November 20

What has happened to the militaries? For many the greatest surprise has been their irrelevance. For me this has not been a surprise, because I saw it before. When the Gorbachev government collapsed in the old Soviet Union, in 1989, everyone had expected the Red Army to intervene, but instead it stayed in the barracks, waiting for orders that never came. Once the state had failed, the military had no more direction and was powerless. Of course, it is true that the Davos Coup attempted to enlist NATO in its takeover plans, but fortunately, the Coup was thwarted before it could be put into full operation, and we avoided (perhaps more narrowly than anyone wants to know) the nightmare of a global totalitarian dictatorship.

That does not mean that the state and the army are finished. Everywhere there are attempts to revive them. There is the risk that we live in a charmed

moment of history, and that the states and militaries will rise again as strong or stronger than before. Just because the Davos coup was thwarted, doesn't mean that there will not be new attempts. What should we do keep this from happening? That is one of the key questions of the day, and one that needs urgently to be addressed by the new UN. It has not proving so difficult to get rid of nuclear weapons, but it will not be so easy to get rid of armies.

It is a good thing, perhaps even the most critical fact of our times, that so many military units are now busy providing and managing humanitarian aid, especially at the city and provincial level, that it keeps them out of trouble, and provides them a useful and nonviolent role. This is the case, for example, with National Guard units at a state level here in the US where you should consider the states as the equivalent of provinces elsewhere. There is no desire to disband them at this crucial level and moment. If anything their importance has become greater as the magnitude of the refugee problem has become more and more clear. How else can you deal with the millions of people who have fled the cities with nowhere to go?

Some still believe that military units, perhaps in a decentralized form like the National Guard, need to be retained for defense. But that may not be needed. Even the elaborate plans for nonviolent defense against military invasions that have been made in recent years in many urban areas have turned out, for the most part, to be unnecessary, as there was no military to invade. And besides, the precedent of

the People-Power rejection of the Davos Coup gives us a better way to deal with future military threats of invasion or coups.

On the other hand, we should not minimize the threat posed by the criminality and armed bands roaming cities and countrysides everywhere, including here in the U.S. As it could have been predicted, many demobilized and AWOL soldiers have joined with the old criminal elements. It turns out, however, that there is no military solution to the problem, even though the armies in China and Russia are trying to combat them. If anything, the use of the military in those countries threatens to unleash civil war, and there are as many army defections as there are victories against the criminal gangs. Instead, we will have to rely on education for a culture of peace as a long-term solution. Outside of the outlaw gangs, ironically it seems that other forms of violence have been greatly reduced in the last couple of years, although sociologists tell us that this is not unusual when people are faced with the urgent problems of how to get food and shelter on a day-to-day basis.

At the University for Peace, we've been involved in the New York program for gang reduction. It's a slow and dangerous process, but I am convinced that it is the only way to go, relying on the tried and true methods of nonviolence training, conflict resolution and mediation. Fortunately, the city authorities have recognized this and are giving us full cooperation.

November 27

There were no celebrations in the streets today, not even in Africa as far as I know, but for me it is an important victory, the launch of a new CPNN website in its 19th language, and not just any language, but Swahili. That means for the first time the people of Africa will write and read Culture of Peace News in one of their own indigenous languages. Not Arabic, not English, not French, but Swahili!

And how significant it is that the first story translated from the Swahili site and available in the other 18 language sites of the Network is the story about the All-Africa online youth conference, the first of its kind on the continent.

When I think back to the days that we launched CPNN in the six UN languages while I was still at UNESCO, and the disaster that ensued. \$200,000 we spent that year back in 1998, and by the end of the year all six language sites had crashed. Not only were we ahead of our time, but we were ahead of our time by 20 years! It wasn't until 2017 that we finally achieved all 6 languages!

Yes, you cultivate peace, you don't build it! My friends in Mozambique were correct.

But eventually CPNN matured and came to fruition. Along the way, it required grafting as well as cultivating. It wasn't until the mergers with the Environmental News Network, the Arab Youth Peace Network and the Latin American Peacebuilders that

we shot up from one to ten million readers and from 200 to 3,000 articles a year. It's like the famous graph of human rights references, now reproduced by the culture of peace. Sometimes an initiative grows slowly for years and then suddenly it comes to fruit with results far greater than imagined when the seeds were planted.

December 15

This time it is with great sadness and fury that I open my computer and type these words!

Mohamed Nasser was murdered! I went down to New York to see his body at the morgue yesterday. You weren't even allowed to look at where his face had been. He had been killed by one of those automatic pistols that were issued to the US military about ten years ago. It simply blew him apart!

Yes, it was one of the gangs that killed him. Who knows how it happened? We know he was working with some of the gangs to try to bring them out of their violent lives. Was he killed by someone he knew? By a stranger? We will probably never know. The level of violence is so great now that the police are overwhelmed, and they told me he is just one of thousands of victims whose cases will probably never be investigated, let alone solved.

It's hard to describe the feelings that consume me! Of course, we will miss Mohamed! Of course, it reminds us how we are all at risk living in these violent times! For me at 87, it would simply be my

time. But Mohamed was only 33. Such a tragedy! He had served in the War against Venezuela, and then turned his life around. He trained in conflict resolution. He was incredibly effective in working with gang members, especially those who were ex-soldiers, as he had been one of them.

No, what consumes me is the worry that all we have worked for, all we have dreamed for, all we have come to believe, will be nothing more than a moment of history and that we, all of humanity, will descend once more into the culture of war and violence! Is the Transition doomed to failure? Has the Crash and the Years of Chaos simply unleashed the demons within, that have come back to haunt us? Were the nay-sayers correct when they argued that a culture of peace is impossible because humans have evolved too far down the road as a violent species?

It is true that the U.S. Army is being reduced and used primarily for humanitarian aid since the new provisional government was put in place. But there are so many former military personnel who are now in these gangs, that one sometimes regrets the loss of military discipline. At least when they were killing people in Pakistan and Venezuela, they were following orders. Now they are operating at night in all our cities in a situation of almost total lawlessness.

Were the nay-sayers correct when they claimed that a strong state is necessary to keep in check the greed and violence that is our human legacy?

Normally, I do not have such dark thoughts. Ever since our work at Seville, now 30 years ago, I have been convinced that violence is not genetic but cultural and that, as we said at the time, "the same species that invented war is capable of inventing peace."

But yesterday, before the mangled remains of what was once such a beautiful and promising young man, I could only despair! Mohamed was a mediator. He had taken great risks in his life to go to South Africa and study in the great Mandela Academy, and he was making progress with the street gangs of New York. His boy friend Peter was there, reduced to sobbing. They had been lovers for over a year now and seemed very happy together. I felt helpless to give him any words of hope.

Thank goodness for the University for Peace Transition Study Group! We met last night and set aside our regular Monday agenda to talk about Mohamed's death. Jack made the point that we need to find a way to turn around our feelings and work for the culture of peace on behalf of Mohamed, to make him an inspiration to us, just as earlier generations (my own, in fact, since Jack is a generation younger than me), took the death of Martin Luther King as a call to even greater commitment to the cause he had espoused.

December 20

I am just back from the funeral service. What an inspiration!

Of course, all our friends and colleagues were there and we shared our memories and appreciation of Mohamed's life and work, but what was truly special was the presence of dozens of ex-gang members, and perhaps even some who are still in the gangs. That was a surprise!

And the words of John, one of the ex-gang members, none of us will never forget what he said! And how he said it! I wish I had his exact words because they are more eloquent than anything I could invent! I think the ceremony was taped, so I will try to get them for tomorrow.

December 21

Here is my transcription of John Dyson's remarks at the funeral:

I'd like to say a few words about Mohamed. Number one is this. He knew we were up against. He listened to us when we were down. We don't make any bones about it. We were thieves and we were toughs, OK. But we weren't out for blood, and we weren't out there to hurt nobody, at least most of us. He understood. He helped me get out of the gang world and now I've got a job and I'm back with my family. I give him credit for that. I remember once when a bunch of us met for a drink at a bar in the East

Village, and he told us about the time he was in Africa. He was a good man, trying to understand how things work. He wasn't a preacher. He was a listener, and we all of us came to appreciate it. I remember he said that's what the Africans told him, "You Americans, you've forgotten how to listen!" Well, Mohamed, if you can hear me now, I think we are starting to listen. If there was more Mohameds in the world, then it would be a better place! That's really all I want to say. Thank you for listening to me.

When you know that John had been a gang member and an ex-paratrooper, that he was decorated for the valor he had shown in the Venezuela conflict, and that now he is learning conflict resolution skills at the UPEACE center, you realize what an effect that Mohamed had and what hope there is for a culture of peace.

This week has been sobering for me, and it has made me realize what a long process it is going to be to get to a culture of peace. We have made the first great steps by transforming the UN and bypassing the state and its culture of war. But that doesn't mean that the culture of war will disappear overnight. No, like all cultures, it is built in to the way that we think and behave every day. Even if the army is no longer mobilized for war, it's the ex-soldiers who make up the gangs. In reaction, the people are still holding on to their firearms in the false belief that it will

somehow protect them. It may be generations before we can free ourselves from the gangs and from the fears that they engender. But the fact that people like John are picking up the torch when others, like Mohamed, have fallen gives me hope that we are on the right path.

January 1, 2027

I can't remember the last time that I stayed up all night for something. But that's what we did last night at the assembly hall of the University for Peace. And there were millions of others like us who did the same in their churches and their meeting halls and in their homes. The broadcast was live from Jerusalem where the hour is 7 hours ahead of us.

Jerusalem is now a City of Peace. The ceremony was incredible!

Everyone was there. The Pope, the highest rabbis of the Jewish faith, the leaders from all Islamic orders, the Copts, the Russian Orthodox, the Greek Orthodox, dozens of different Protestant leaders, the Baha'i, even the Georgian Christians, all in their colorful robes and gowns. Even Buddhists and other Eastern religions and indigenous shamans got their turn to speak. Never before in history has there been such a gathering of all religions. I did not even see a single policeman or soldier in evidence, at least not on the Internet projection screen.

For me the most amazing moment was the appearance of Desmond Tutu, now 96 years old! It

was he who first declared that the Palestinians were victims of Apartheid and that like the South Africans, they would eventually gain their freedom. Over the years he has come to symbolize, perhaps more than anyone else, the nonviolent struggle for a solution in the Middle East, and now the new Jerusalem is its shining symbol! He spoke for only a moment, but the old sparkle was still in his eye as he gave up a prayer of thanks. Around the world, our eyes were filled with tears.

Then came the dancing and singing. As if they had been dammed up over the years and now burst forth in an explosion of rhythm and color!

I was proud of the role of the Culture of Peace Tourism Board, which has worked for decades now behind the scenes to produce the agreement, understanding that Jerusalem is part of our common human heritage, regardless of religion, and that it will be the greatest of all tourist attractions now that it is shared in peace. And I am proud of the new United Nations, without which this would never have been possible!

Last night was the first time that the mass media has given priority to the culture of peace. I had thought that all the internet publicity over the past few years would have forced the media to talk about it sooner. But it took the Jerusalem accords and the ceremonies last night to finally get their full attention.

Looking back, the media have treated it by the Brueghel Principle. The Porto Alegre Declaration, the

Geneva Declaration, even the first transition at the United Nations received little or no attention at the time. Instead they were buried on the back pages of newspapers and specialized "talk shows" of the television, while the front pages and the "news programs" have been devoted to one disaster after another. And, of course, we have had no lack of disasters!

Looking forward, it is not clear if the media will continue to give attention to the culture of peace. But to me, one thing has become clear. The wheel has turned. We have turned a corner. Now, I am convinced that we will never go back to the culture of war!

January 23

I am just back from the airport where we saw John Dyson off to South Africa for a short course on conflict resolution techniques at the Mandela Academy.

At the airport, I got a chance to spend some time in the Culture of Peace Boutique. Here were souvenirs and products from cooperatives throughout New England, under the sponsorship of the Culture of Peace Tourism Board. There were at least five or six rooms, including a library and bookstore stocked with free travel brochures for culture of peace tourism, as well as books you could read or buy while waiting for a flight, ranging from inexpensive paperbacks to authoritative texts. My own book, *Psychology for*

Peace Activists, was on sale in paperback at a price cheaper than most magazines.

What was most remarkable was to see the crowds of people in the rooms of the Boutique, including many young people, and to realize that this is now happening in airports around the world, thanks to this new initiative of the Board, which promotes not only its tours, but also the culture of peace in general.

Over the years, as culture of peace tourism gradually became the motor of the global movement, involving youth and generating money for the Global Youth Solidarity Fund, we dreamed of these boutiques, but now to see it in reality is even more remarkable than we imagined in our dreams.

January 24

Last night was the inauguration of the new regional government for Landsford. I have never seen so many people in a meeting in our town. The school assembly hall was jammed, and I sat in one of many different classrooms with screen monitors to follow the event. Even our classroom was jammed!

Under the new parliamentary system of proportional governance, it's a coalition of Greens, Socialists and Libertarians who will be in charge for the next two years. They are unified around a slogan which is really culture of peace, though they said it in their own way: "From humanitarian solidarity to economic justice."

It was promised that this year, for the first time, the farms in our region will produce enough for everyone to have adequate food, and that we will achieve a level of new housing construction so that no one is forced to live in tents. But there are new task as well. How do we put everyone back to work? How can we revamp education so that the kids are integrated with the new economic system? And how do we guarantee economic justice, not only to those who are working, but also to those who cannot, the elderly, the handicapped, the children?

I came away with more optimism about our community than I have felt at any time since the Crash, and I think that was true for most of the people I spoke to. But I realize how slow the process of economic justice will be.

We can get rid of the culture of war, but economic justice will have to be cultivated from season to season along with the culture of peace. It is still on the other side of the mountain, in the promised land.

April 17

John Dyson is back from Africa. Following the short course at the Mandela Academy in Jo-burg, he toured by car from up to Senegal before arriving home last week. Last night he spoke at the University for Peace. It's too bad there were so few people in the audience because it was one of the most inspiring moments I have ever experienced!

From Capetown to Yaoundé, from Lagos to Dakar, a new Africa is rising! If only Dubois and Nkrumah and Mandela could have lived to see the day! The old colonial barriers and boundaries have been dismantled, and a new, united Africa, with strong roots in the village and the tribe, is emerging!

John described how the continent had been stifled, shackled, by the old state systems installed by the Europeans, and how Africa has broken free from the chains and re-invented itself as a continent that can govern itself and create a new economy of self-sufficiency and local pride. As an African-American, he described it with a poetry that I cannot possible reproduce. I will try to get a recording of it, like I did for his remarks at the funeral of Mohamed.

Yes, it is clear that John has taken up the torch that fell from Mohamed's hands five months ago. I can only describe it with my own poetry:

*Peace is a chariot of fire.
It runs in teams across the troubled
sky.
It gathers the youth of the world
into a force of change.
Its heroes fall only to rise again
in the arms of others,
holding high the torch of nonviolence.*

May 1

The news came by telephone. Dr Strahan said simply, "The tests were positive. There are cells in the lymph nodes. If you can come in at 3:00, we could talk about what the options are." I know the options already. Death with surgery or death without it. All around me, I see black.

May 2

It's a matter of weeks now, not even months. I haven't much time to finish what needs to be finished.

I read over what I have written in this diary. With the force of time bearing down on me, I see so much that needs to be done, and I am sure there will be more. It is too much for one day. I will come back to it tomorrow.

May 3

There is so much to write and so little time. The disarmament process, the Global Warming Commission, worker's education, CPNN is exploding with articles and I can't keep up with them. Every time I go to a meeting of the University for Peace, I am more surprised at how much I don't understand anymore. It is as if history itself had been dammed up and now it is rushing out and flooding everything and everywhere. And my mind will not stay focused. It flits from one thing to another, and back into my memories, back to my childhood. I have become more and more difficult for me to sit and write.

May 4

When I was about 8 or 9 years old, I read the Bible out loud with my mother. I can see us now in the old house on South Valley Street. I go to the Bible, seeking a passage that has come back to haunt me after all these years. We read it in the King James version, the language of Shakespeare:

And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan,

And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea,

And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar.

And the Lord said unto him, this is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.

So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord.

My mother, on Christmas Day of her 90th year, which was the year 2000, had a stroke and lived on, half-alive, for another week. It was at my brother's house in Minnesota. Outside all week the snow was falling. Everything was white. The sounds were muffled and soft. Inside, the family gathered around. My sister came from Massachusetts. I came from Paris. My brother played the piano. We asked Mother if she had unfinished business. If she had regrets. If she wanted to live longer. "No," she said. "It is the end of the Century, and I have had enough. I don't need to see another Century." She died 15 minutes before midnight on the last day of the 20th Century.

Now it is my turn. It is as if it has all been prophesied. Like Moses, I can see over into the land of the culture of peace, but I will never live in it, because it has not yet come to pass and my time has come to die.

May 5

In the woods today, everything was bright, like I've never seen it before. Spring has exploded into life. Each tree put forth its special leaves against a sky so blue it almost hurt my eyes. And the wood thrush sang like I've never heard. Its song was the chords of an organ, fluid, clear, flying through the trees, dancing through the tender leaves, reverberating from every cliff and stone!

There were star-flowers in the meadow by the marsh. Golden stars like little volcanoes erupting from the brown earth. And a frog sitting patiently nearby. I watched him a long time, both of us absolutely still, frozen in an eternity of time. Then he blinked.

I found tracks of the deer in the mud of the trail, and perhaps she was watching me, but did not catch a glimpse of her today.

And in the marsh the cardinal flowers were in full bloom, their scarlet red unbelievable, unmatched by anything we mortal humans could imitate. The little stream was so clear, so limpid, so cold I wanted to drink from it. So I lay down on the moist moss with my face near the water and brought up its cold taste into my mouth.

Then something happened that I have never seen before. Out of the corner of my eye I saw the grass move. I was not alone. It was a great copperhead snake who had come down to drink as well, his head raised to the same level as mine. I did not move, watching his long, strong body move through the grass and down to the water's edge. His colors, bands of diamonds, pinkish-brown, were brilliant against the green of spring grass. Then, as quickly as he had appeared, he finished drinking and disappeared once more in to the grass, moving toward the rocks at the base of the hill.

In the marsh, the first forget-me-nots were blooming, their blue trying to outdo the sky, like those

I found with my mother and transplanted and tended each spring in a little garden behind the house. Gazing at those flowers now, I felt so intensely alive! And yet, I had seen an omen from another world, and time was slipping away.

May 7

When I was 18, it was a great adventure to leave my small town in the Ozarks and go away to school at Columbia University in New York. I was lonely and I missed home. For the first few weeks, I would go down to the Hudson River and throw rocks at the river rats as if I were out hunting rabbits with a '22 or practicing my fast ball for the strike zone. But soon, I was caught up in the university and it was amazing. For example, my physics professor had been part of the Manhattan project which created the first atomic bomb. He taught us in Pupin Hall, where the Manhattan Project was first carried out in the basement. At that age, nuclear weapons were still as wonderful as the science that had invented them.

One class comes back to me now as if it were yesterday. It was a small seminar of perhaps five students, and the professor was a newly arrived immigrant from Eastern Europe, with a heavy accent and needing a temporary job on his arrival. One day he came to class and told us, "Today I will explain to you why we die when we do, and why it is very often from cancer of one of the reproductive organs, uterus, breasts, prostate or testicles."

He did not tell us about physiology or anatomy or disease; instead he spoke only about evolution. "As you know our physiological functions are determined by the genetic code. Now, keep in mind that the function of the genetic code is not static but dynamic. Its effects are continually changing, with different parts of the code functioning at different times of the cycle of life. All this is determined by natural selection. What works is retained and what does not work is lost over the course of many generations."

"But natural selection does not function beyond the age of reproduction. Once you have reproduced, your genes have been passed on. There is no more force of selection. So the dynamics of the genetic code, that take place after the age of reproduction, are random."

"Now there are two possible effects of randomness. Either you produce too many cells or you produce too few. If you produce too few cells, it is not obvious and we call it simply death from old age. If you produce too many cells, it is obvious and we call it cancer."

"Finally, what are the organs that are changing at the end of reproduction? They are the reproductive organs, of course. So that is why it is so likely that you will die of cancer of a reproductive organ."

Years later, when I studied genetics, I learned that the professor was Theodosius Dobshansky, the

greatest behavioral geneticist of his generation. And now I have learned that I am dying of prostate cancer.

I feel as if my life has been scripted and I can no longer revise the script. I can only hope that what I have done and what I have written have been worthy.

May 10

Looking in the mirror this morning, I saw the face of an old man. It was the image of a field no longer farmed, furrows overgrown with weeds, earth left fallow by those who are long since dead and gone. What have I planted? Who will remember me after I'm gone? I felt a sadness, a deep sadness, and fear. A touch from death.

I am looking in another kind of mirror this afternoon. It is the television monitor in my room with a special closed-circuit connection to the University of Peace Conference. I had wanted to go, since it was at the headquarters in New York, but I am too weak to leave home now.

Flo and Jack are leading the discussion of young people from every corner of the world who have come on scholarship to the University for Peace, thanks to the Global Youth Solidarity Fund. I think back to a dinner with the two of them many years ago when they were the same age as these students. At my age, I can see these scenes from the past even more vividly than the screen in front of me where I am sitting at the moment. I can remember the red of the Turkish wine and the colors of the appetizers in a

little restaurant. In fact, it was very near where I was today, although I suppose that the restaurant is long gone. Flo was just starting on the Global Youth Solidarity Fund, and Jack was just starting on the University for Peace Alumni Organization.

But today it is not Jack and Flo who are doing most of the speaking. Instead, it is already yet another generation. The title of the conference is "The First Generation of the Culture of Peace." These young people in their twenties and thirties are achieving results that my generation, or even the generation of Jack and Flo could not even dream of.

The young woman from Sao Paulo, Mirta, is not even 30 yet she is President of the South American League of Culture of Peace Commissions. At her age she would be Lia's granddaughter, taking up the leadership role of her region, describing their hundreds of functioning Commissions and their role in the Global Movement. More and more each year the Commissions are involving the people of their region in measuring an annual "culture of peace index." Mirta describes how the index is advancing, making the culture of peace visible and workable. But even more important than the advances are the weak points that the index is able to show. Local elections have become competitions among different candidates offering to address these weak points. And they are taken up as priorities by the neighborhood meetings of participatory budgeting. It is so successful that the South American experience is serving as a model in many other continents. Mirta shows us a map of the

world with colored pins everywhere for their network of culture of peace cities.

Noel, from the Mandela Academy in Johannesburg, dressed in his brilliant blue tribal robe, describes how they are now exporting their conflict transformation training to centers throughout the world. They are already well established throughout the African continent, replacing the European justice system and going back to their ancient traditions where justice is achieved, not through force, but through listening, negotiation and compromise. Noel is able to give us more detail than we got last month from John Dyson when he got back from his African trip, and I see that John is sitting next to him in the Conference.

Olivia, from Cuba, a beautiful and dynamic young woman, is already a leader of their sustainable agriculture training institute, supplying skilled trainers to the rest of the world. Listening to her, I learn for the first time that the global networking on which they depend is based on the global association of Cuban-trained doctors. In a soft voice, understated, she lays out the solutions of global warming that have escaped the so-called leaders of my generation and even those of the generation between us.

And there are youth from the Permanent Commission of People Power in Manila, from the Eco-tourism Center of Katmandu, from the co-operative movements based in Kyoto, from Rome, from the First Nations of Canada, from Chiapas. The people-power methodology that was first

developed in the Philippines and later thwarted the Davos Coup in Europe is now being learned and used everywhere. The culture of peace tourism that used to be confined to a few centers of eco-tourism is now the leading edge of economic development. The cooperative movement, so long established in Japan, now links up with the Cuban-trained sustainable agriculture trainers and is transforming local economic development. The young women from First Nations and Chiapas spoke eloquently of the Earth Charter as the basis for a global shift in values from consumerism to stewardship for Planet Earth.

None of these great movements are new to me because I have been following their progress over the years on the Culture of Peace News Network, but what is new is to see them in the hands of this new generation, so confident and so skilled. As they speak, I realize the depth of the change. In my generation, these movements were protest movements, struggling against the dominant state power and multi-national corporations and their media and educational propaganda. But today, there is no hint of protest in their words. Instead, there is an optimism based on the confidence that they are putting into practice the goals and values of the Transition United Nations. It is they who are now in power, not a power of buildings and things, but a power of cultivation and values and harmony.

And I realize that their face-to-face dialogue today is maintained and expanded through their constant contact and networking by two-way electronic communication spanning the world,

working in many languages, in a rich, constantly growing movement. In their hands, history itself is being transformed. It is no longer just a subject for the universities and the experts, to be composed hundreds of years after the events according to the Brueghel Principle. Instead, it has become the subject of dialogue and exchange, of actions and networking, and, yes, of dreams. History is no longer the progression of wars and violent revolutions. Instead, it is the cultivation of collective consciousness, of neighborhood meetings for participatory budgeting, of capacity-building seminars for sustainable agriculture, of local elections and civil society organizations, of Internet dialogue. Yes, Noel, the culture of peace was not built, it was cultivated. And now is the first harvest season!

And it is all in the name of the culture of peace, the "First Generation of the Culture of Peace." Yes, these are my children!

May 13

Today was my birthday. A delegation came to visit me today from the University for Peace conference. I decided not to tell them about my condition.

Again, everything was in color. Flo was dressed in pink. She was beautiful! I remembered when she was refused to speak at our Advocacy presentation at the UN in 2005. She was so shy. "But you look great!" I had argued.

Jack was neat as ever, in a black suit, his tie a brilliant tapestry of metallic greens and maroons. I can remember when he spoke at the opening of the New York campus of the University of Peace. He wasn't yet 30 and yet he was making history!

John was there as well. He, too, had become beautiful. I remembered him only six months ago at the funeral, halting in speech, awkward and unsure. Now, since his return from Africa, he had become a leader. He was no longer dressed in his old army fatigues, but was wearing a new camel hair coat and was standing tall and strong like an African chief.

Some who came were the young students that I had watched at the conference, now meeting them for the first time in person.

They brought me a bouquet of flowers. How did they know? A big bouquet, blue like the sky with green and little stars of white. Forget-me-nots.

I was no longer with them, but somewhere lost in time and speaking with my mother. "Mother, I can see over into the promised land, but I will never arrive there. It is our children and grandchildren who will cross the mountains. It is they who will arrive in the promised land of the culture of peace...."

* * *

NOTES ON THE PROMISED LAND

The purpose of these notes is to explain why I chose the particular scenario in *I've Seen the Promised Land*. These notes provide readers a bridge between the fantasy account in *Promised Land* and the academic presentation that is contained in what I call the "big book," *World Peace through the Town Hall: A Strategy for the Global Movement for a Culture of Peace* as well as its companion book, *The History of the Culture of War*.

It turns out that there is not a simple bridge from one to another; instead, the bridge consists of contradictions. Like life itself! But contradictions are made to be resolved. Hence the structure of these notes: nine contradictions and the resolving powers of consciousness.

But first a couple of more mundane questions. Why 2026? And why is the writer dying?

WHY 2026?

The exact date is not terribly important. If I were to have chosen 2019 or 2039 instead of 2026, the story have been more or less the same. In any case, the message is clear, dramatic historical change is coming very soon. If we are to prepare for it, we must begin acting now!

I chose 2026 for the "present", wanting it to be several years after the "Great Crash", allowing a few

years for the "Years of Chaos" and the development of the transition to a culture of peace.

I chose 2020 for the "Great Crash" based on the only serious estimate that is now available, the estimate of John Galtung that is described in the "big book." Galtung was correct within a year when in 1980 he estimated that the Soviet empire would crash in 1989. Since, as I argue, the situation of the American empire is remarkably similar to that of the old Soviet empire, I give great weight to his estimate of 2020. Again, if the estimate is off by a few years, even decades, the effects should still be the same.

Why did I choose 6 years after the crash rather than one or more generation later when a culture of peace might be more firmly established? The reason is simply that it is easier for me to imagine. It is already difficult enough to imagine the aftermath of a global economic crash and how the transition to a culture of peace would come about. But to go beyond that and imagine how a culture of peace would grow over time is even more difficult to imagine. We have no precedent in human history to guide us. The one thing I am convinced of is that a culture of peace grows and must be cultivated, that it has its seasons of growth like spring and summer and its seasons of apparent retreat like fall and winter. Whether I were to choose 6 years, 60 years or 600 years after the transition to a culture of peace, I assume that many of the issues would be the same.

WHY IS THE WRITER DYING?

There is a simple answer: like all writers I must be somewhat autobiographical, writing from my own experience. Having been born in 1939, I would be 87 in 2026. That is a full lifetime. As I write in the beginning of the *Promised Land*, I must write now for I don't have many more years to live. If the reader is to get to know the writer, he must come to know a man who is dying.

There is also a complex answer, and it developed as I wrote the *Promised Land*. I put it in the form of the image of Moses looking out at a promised land he could never attain. The more I tried to imagine the culture of peace, the more I realized that for me and my generation, it is not fully possible. We have lived so long with the culture of war that it is impossible to fully imagine a culture of peace. It is just too different, too complicated, too distant. We can see it dimly, like the view from the top of a mountain, but we cannot see it close up or imagine living in it.

Perhaps this reflects a deep biological truth. Is it not more efficient for evolution that organisms should die and be replaced by others who are different, rather than hanging around with the same old prejudices and approaches? The time comes when it is the turn of the young. My generation has done what we could, and now it is time for a new generation to take charge. This was a question that we asked Dobzhansky after he explained us why we would die of cancer of the reproductive organs. Why,

we asked, did reproduction stop at a certain age, hence putting a limit to how long one could live? Why not keep reproducing for hundreds or even thousands of years? It's a good question, he replied. But you can probably answer it yourself. How would the young be able to grow and evolve if the old were still in their place? Wouldn't that reduce the ability of the species to change, to evolve, and wouldn't that jeopardize the very survival of the species itself?

CONTRADICTION ONE: THE UNITED NATIONS

It turns out I am writing these pages from a sofa behind the Vienna Café at the UN in New York, with diplomats and NGO representatives all around me in the usual hubbub of UN activities, all under the effective control of the "big powers." Across from me two diplomats are speaking. The man, evidently from Brussels, is explaining to the woman (who turns out to be from Sweden but with Italian ancestry) how they should deal with a particular resolution: "We can support this paragraph proposed by the Americans, but we must not allow this other one because its results would be very dangerous." It's business as usual here in the Vienna Café. And if it weren't the Americans who were dominating, it would be the Europeans, or the Russians, or the Chinese! Not the people of these countries, but their national governments.

My relation to the United Nations has always been a "love-hate affair." On the one hand, I remain

convinced that we need a democratic organization that represents all people on the planet and their hopes and dreams for a culture of peace. In fact I cannot imagine achieving a global culture of peace in the absence of a United Nations or its equivalent. If we did not have it, we would need to invent it. A culture of peace in just one region of the world would not be sustainable, and to make it global we would need a global organization with some governing powers. And I am not the only one with this opinion. The UN is like a beacon of hope that draws people from all over the world who share this common dream. I have met the most wonderful people and my dearest friends through the UN. On the other hand, as I explain in the "big book", to work at the UN is frustrating because "when push comes to shove", the United Nations always comes down on the side of the culture of war.

If, by chance, you have read my other books first, you might be surprised that I would deal with the United Nations at all in the *Promised Land*. After all, in *The History of the Culture of War*, I argue that the UN is incapable of promoting the changes that are necessary for a transition to a culture of peace because it is under the control of its Member States, and its Member States, in turn, are so much involved in the culture of war that they are incapable of promoting a culture of peace.

On the other hand, in the *Promised Land*, much of the story revolves around the transition at the United Nations. Why the contradiction?

In fact, there is a good reason for the contradiction. Let me explain. As I argue in the "big book", the UN will remain incapable of promoting a culture of peace *unless and until it is freed from the control by the Member States*. Since the UN was conceived by the powerful states after World War II, it has been under their careful control through the Security Council and its veto provisions, not to mention the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Although there have been many efforts at reform, they have been superficial. The nation-states have not wanted to see a world government that would challenge their own powers. A radical reform of the United Nations cannot occur until the present world order is radically changed.

Change is the one thing in history that we can be sure of. And radical change at that. With that in mind, I ask the reader to suspend judgment and imagine that the world has changed so much that the UN can be reformed and re-established on a different basis than the nation-state. Imagine that the power of the nation-states is so reduced that the UN can be removed from their control and their places taken by representatives directly linked to the peoples of the world.

Given the preceding, should we imagine a reform of the UN or should we imagine its demise and replacement by an entirely new world organization? History give us precedent for the latter, as the League of Nations was not reformed into the United Nations, but was abandoned and replaced by a new United Nations organization. One could imagine either

scenario, but for purposes of the *Promised land*, it is easier to imagine a process of reform than the invention of a completely new organization. In either case, the challenges and possibilities would still be the same.

Now let me return to the contradiction between the “big book” and the *Promised Land*. In the “big book” the view is looking forwards from 2008, what my psychologist friends call “prospective memory.” In the scenario of *Promised Land*, the view is looking backwards from 2026, imagining what had happened as if it were ordinary retrospective memory. Between the two, as I imagine in the *Promised Land*., there is a global economic crash, years of chaos, a thwarted fascist coup, and the filling of the resulting power vacuum by international organizations of cities, civil society, trade unions, and certain capitalist enterprises. Because of the enormity of the historical changes assumed to have occurred between the two perspectives, they are separated by an enormous gap. The potential for reform of the United Nations falls into that “time gap.”

CONTRADICTION TWO: THE CITY

It is a major contradiction that the city, which is the solid foundation on which the culture of peace should be built according to the “big book”, is the institution that will be most directly and terribly destroyed by a crash of the world economy.

For hundreds of years, there has been a migration of people from rural areas into the cities of the world. This is true in every continent. The basis of this migration has been the ability of the city, as an integral part of the global economy to attract people by offering them employment and by feeding and housing them once they arrive.

But when the global economy crashes, the migration will reverse. There will be no employment and no food. City-dwellers will flee to the countryside in search of food, leaving empty skyscrapers, uncollected garbage, uncontrollable fires and fearful crime.

Why, then, should I base the transition to a culture of peace on an institution that is so fragile and so endangered?

The first, and most important reason, is that the city, along with the village, town and province, are the basic units of democratic participation, which is essential to the culture of peace. As pointed out in the "big book," other structures such as the NGOs, the trade unions and the capitalist enterprise also have important roles to play, but they cannot provide the democratic participation of the entire population, and without this it is not possible to conceive a culture of peace.

Second, it is possible for cities to foresee the crash of the global economy and begin making preparations now to survive a future disaster. As I suggest in the "big book" it is important for cities, as

soon as possible, to begin working with the regions surrounding them on plans for food and other services if and when the global economy fails. In fact, this is already occurring, as many communities have become aware of the need for a sustainable local economy.

Third, it is possible for some regions of the world to foresee the crash and to make preparations to survive on a regional basis. The first region to do so is South America where the Mercosur market and the new Bank of the South are creating an economic zone which is much more likely to survive the crash of the global economy than other regions of the world.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, the cities will recover themselves without help from the state. Recall how the national government of the United States failed to help New Orleans after the Hurricane Katrina disaster, and it was up to the people of New Orleans to work with their neighbors, their region and other cities in order to survive. Then imagine what it would have been like if ALL cities had crashed. Clearly, national governments will be overwhelmed in such a crisis. The cities will have to lift themselves up "by their own bootstraps" and by their relations with their regions and other cities. And once they have done this, they will look back at the national government and say "Who needs you?"

And the cities will recover, eventually. I remember arriving to work for UNESCO in Maputo, Mozambique, a few years after the Portuguese abandoned their former colony. When leaving, some of the Portuguese had poured concrete into the

elevator shafts of the tall buildings in order to sabotage them. To visit my friends for dinner, I had to walk up 30 flights! The streets were filled with garbage that had not been collected for years. The hospital had no supplies. There were a million refugees in the bairros without sanitation or running water or police. And yet, somehow, the city survived and was still the center, the capital of the country.

CONTRADICTION THREE: THE NATION-STATE

It is not reasonable to believe the nation-state will simply fold up its tent after 5,000 years of world dominance, and depart from the world scene.

On the other hand, I am convinced that the nation-state is so involved with the culture of war that it cannot be reformed and must be replaced in order to move toward a culture of peace.

So, how could I deal with this contradiction in the scenario of the *Promised Land*?

Before answering the preceding question, let me review the evidence presented in the "big book" that the nation-state cannot be reformed to promote a culture of peace.

Much of the argument in the "big book" is rather obvious. As we go through every aspect of the culture of war, one by one, we see that the culture of war, in every one of its aspects, is supported by the

nation-state: authoritarian governance, secrecy and propaganda, preparations for war, fostering of enemy images, exploitation, both of human labor and of the environment, male supremacy, and education to believe that power is ultimately based on violence. Furthermore, when we go back through world history to the origin of the state 5,000 years ago, we see why the state is so involved with the culture of war. The state was born out of war. Over the 5,000 years of history, the state has maintained a monopoly on war, forbidding or crushing any attempt by others within its boundaries to challenge its monopoly, whether through armed revolutionary movements, local warlords, armed criminal gangs, or private armies. As the great sociologist Max Weber stated, the very definition of the state is based on war: "the state is the organization that maintains a monopoly of force within its borders." And as the United Nations puts it, a failed state is a state that has lost the monopoly of force within its borders.

But this is only part of the argument. We must go further into arguments that are not so obvious because they involve taboos, topics that are not usually discussed. Principal among these is the internal culture of war, the internal use or threat of armed intervention by the state against its own people. It is OK to discuss this topic when talking about so-called "totalitarian" regimes, but it is a taboo topic when it comes to "democracies", even though they also maintain their power through the threat or implementation of internal military intervention. Part of the evidence I site comes from the article on Internal Military Intervention in the United States

which I published in the Journal of Peace Research in 1995. In the U.S. over the past 120 years, the rate of internal intervention has remained stable averaging 18 interventions and 12,000 troops per year. These are the figures (when they were available) during the period 1886-1990 against American Indians, striking workers, urban riots, etc. No doubt, if we could obtain the relevant data, they would be similar for other "democratic" countries.

It is not just by habit and by history that the modern nation-state promotes the culture of war, but the internal culture of war is very basis of its power! It is possible to imagine some states giving up external military defense by ceding power to a world government, but it is impossible to imagine the state giving up its "right" to military intervention against its own people. It insists on retaining this option as its option of last resort in case all other means of preserving its political power are exhausted.

I don't expect that the brief review in the preceding three paragraphs to be convincing by itself, so I invite the inquiring reader to read and study the detailed arguments in the "big book" about the intrinsic relation of the state to the culture of war, and why I think that the state cannot be reformed.

Now back to the *Promised Land* scenario.

It is true that we cannot expect the nation-state to suddenly disappear or, to use the old Marxist expression, "to wither away." On the other hand, there is plenty of historical precedent to imagine that

there will again be times when the world order of states is greatly weakened by war and/or economic depression and/or loss of political legitimacy in the eyes of its citizenry. Consider the end of the 18th Century, the middle of the 19th Century, World War I, the Crash of 1929, World War II, and the fall of the Soviet Empire as six pertinent examples.

One possible scenario would have been like that of World Wars I and II. Imagine that World War III has occurred and people are trying to rebuild afterwards. This time, we should assume that it would have been a global nuclear war. Frankly, although the scenario is plausible, it is too horrible for me to imagine, and so I have chosen not to attempt an illustration of it. But just to remind the reader that such a scenario is possible, I suppose that there has been a limited nuclear war, which I confine to India and Pakistan. Is this a racist decision to choose this part of the world for a nuclear war? I prefer to think not. In any case, I find it easier to write a scenario about the world that I know, that of Europe and the United States, New York and the United Nations. If I were to imagine a nuclear war involving Europe and the United States, I would have to imagine a world that is, for me at least, unimaginable.

The scenario I have chosen is based on a combination of the 1929 stock market crash and the 1989 fall of the Soviet empire. The former was before my time, but the latter was something I lived through and experienced first hand. I worked in the Soviet Union as a laboratory scientist, speaking Russian, in 1976 and 1980 and visited the country

many other times from 1973 until its collapse. I watched from inside as an empire collapsed. As explain in more detail in the "big book", the same factors that led to collapse of the Soviet Union are now quite evident in the American empire, particularly the foreign trade imbalance, and the loss of confidence and legitimacy among the citizenry. In both cases they are the direct result of the state's culture of war. The Soviet empire was a culture of war. The American empire is a culture of war. As with other cultures of war in history, these empires have been unstable and it is just a matter of time before the American empire, like the Soviet before it, collapses under its own weight. Because of the globalization of the world economy, the collapse of the American empire will produce a global depression at least as bad as that of the Great Depression of the 1930s. In fact, it will be worse in one sense, that now a much higher proportion of the world's population lives in cities, where there is no way to find food when the economy collapses.

Would a global economic crash necessarily weaken the state? The answer is, "not necessarily." The crash of the stock markets in 1929 and the Weimar Republic soon after weakened the nation-states temporarily, but in the long run it led to the "super-states" of fascism, the ultimate exaggeration of the culture of war.

I had a choice of two scenarios. I could have imagined that a global crash leads to fascist states around the world. Or I could have imagined that it led to the transition from a culture of war to a culture of

peace. Obviously the first, a kind of update of Orwell's *1984*, was not of interest to me, while the second was a challenge that I was pleased to undertake.

Instead of describing a fascist solution to the global economic crash, I simply mention the failure of what I call the "Davos Coup," indicating that for many in the old ruling class, a fascist solution will always be seen as an alternative preferable to loss of power and wealth. You, the reader, will see that I spend no time on this imagined coup, and you will correctly surmise that I have no taste to write about fascism. It is bad enough that I have to go into all the terrible details of the culture of war in the "big book", without imagining new extremes of fascism in my fantasy account.

CONTRADICTION FOUR: CAPITALISM

Here is a contradiction that I have not really dealt with: capitalism has traditionally been associated with the culture of war, in particular with its use of violence to enforce its exploitation of labor and of the environment. Can capitalism be reformed and survive under a culture of peace?

I don't try to answer the question in the *Promised Land*. I have thought about it, but I don't find an easy answer. Perhaps capitalism will evolve and reform itself to survive. Or perhaps, no longer having support of the state and its culture of war, it will be replaced by some form of socialism. I don't

think the answer will be known for a long time, perhaps as long as a century.

I give a place to culture of peace tourism as an important contribution to the development of culture of peace consciousness, and as a potential source of support for important meetings and initiatives. In fact, if you include all its aspects, tourism is the largest capitalist industry of the world and tourism depends on peace, on the one hand, and has a potential to contribute to a culture of peace, on the other.

Also, I am convinced that in the crisis following the crash of the global economy, capitalist enterprises will be called upon to help feed and house the people who flee the cities looking for a way to survive. And they will be called upon by the city authorities to help reconstruct the cities and make them habitable again. To some extent, I am convinced that they will answer the call, even if the work is not as profitable as what they had been engaged in before the crash.

The telephones and Internet may fail for a time. Airlines may be grounded. Shipping may come to a standstill. But over time, there will be great pressures, and profits once again for those capitalist enterprises that can put the people and the systems back to work again.

If fascism wins out, there may be state control of many enterprises, but I am betting against the fascist solution.

I have given a role to the capitalists in a revised "Transition United Nations." But I see it balanced by a role to the trade unions. Certainly, in a culture of peace and without the dominance of the nation-state, the capitalists will no longer be able to dominate their workers as they have been able to with state support in the past.

We may expect that some enterprises will be taken over by the workers, much as we saw happening in Russia after the fall of the Soviet government in 1990. But this will not proceed smoothly, for workers need education before they reasonably elect their own management. As for local government, no doubt socialists will be elected in many local and regional elections. Where worker control and socialist governments coincide, a kind of socialism like that of Cuba may emerge, socialist governments with worker-owned enterprises and a certain amount of tolerated capitalist enterprise on a small scale. If this model is more successful, it may spread around the world. But success, in the chaotic world that survives a global economic crash, may take some time to measure. And the spread of socialism will not be without its own contradictions.

The contradictions in this case are not likely to be resolved quickly or simply.

CONTRADICTION FIVE: THE MILITARY

In the "big book" the military is largely ignored. After all, the military is central to the culture

of war, and the whole point of the book is that the culture of war is bankrupt and will be replaced.

But in the *Promised Land*. I am forced to be more pragmatic. The military is still very much present, for better and for worse, as we make the Transition to a culture of peace.

For better, it is fully engaged in the humanitarian relief that is essential for the millions, perhaps hundreds of millions of refugees that will be forced to flee their homes after the crash of the global economy. With its discipline and its equipment, it is better equipped than any other organization to deal with many aspects of the humanitarian crisis.

For worse, we can imagine the temptation of the old ruling class to try to recover their power through military coups. For this reason I refer often to what I call the "Davos coup" and, for the sake of the story, I say that it failed. If it had succeeded, it would have been a very different story!

And for worse, we can imagine that many ex-soldiers, AWOL soldiers, and perhaps entire military units, will abandon the army and join up with criminal elements in a resurgence of gangland violence and plunder.

Although many would believe that gangland violence requires "tough law enforcement" and the militarization of the police, to fight violence with violence, history has shown that this is not an effective tactic in the long term. Instead, there will be

a great challenge in the new era of a culture of peace, to deal with criminality and gang violence through economic justice, culture of peace education and reconciliation.

We can see this in the example of South Africa where the transition from Apartheid to democracy unleashed an increase in criminal violence. But at the same time, the African traditions that were expressed in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission have provided an approach to justice that promises, in the long run, to be a more effective response.

But education and social justice are not enough, as we have seen in South Africa. There must be economic justice.

CONTRADICTION SIX: ECONOMIC JUSTICE

For a culture of peace to fully succeed, no doubt there must be economic justice.

There was a time, a century ago, when socialists and communists convinced many that economic justice would have a single turning point: the workers would seize control of the state and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" would bring about economic justice.

But it is not so simple. Lenin saw the experiments of worker control of factories failing and he called, too late, for a cultural revolution so that workers would understand how to manage and whom

to elect as managers. Later, in the last days of the Soviet Union, workers were given the right to elect management in big factories, and they floundered, not knowing how to choose among competing candidates. There was no time for them to learn before the system crashed.

It was the socialist countries, run by communist parties, with the help of the newly liberated countries of the South, who succeeded at the United Nations in putting the economic rights into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, against the strong objections of the capitalist countries. But it has not been possible to put the economic rights into practice. Since the Declaration was written in 1948, the gap between rich and poor has continued to grow, and exploitation has continued to increase under the name of "productivity."

There is a big contradiction in the "big book" and the *Promised Land*, but the contradiction is not between them. Instead, neither one of them proposes to see the light of economic justice on the horizon.

Before economic conditions can get better, it would seem that economic suffering is likely to get much worse. The world is heading for an economic crash, not an economic boom. When economies crash, it is the poor and the helpless who suffer the most.

It will help to succeed in reforming the United Nations Organization and to base it on representation from local and regional authorities, civil society, trade

unions and corporations, but economic justice cannot flow down from above. Instead, it must be cultivated and grow from the bottom up. Hence, in the *Promised Land*. I present the issue of economic justice in the context of local governance and local economies.

For 5,000 years, the state's culture of war has aided those who would exploit and become rich at the expense of the poor. After it is overcome, the momentum of exploitation will not end suddenly. It will take a long time to build up a new economic order that can earn the name of justice.

The time of economic justice is not yet on the horizon. However, I am convinced that it can begin to grow in a culture of peace, whereas it will never grow in the culture of war of the system of nation-states.

CONTRADICTION SEVEN: THE INTERNET

I think most readers will agree with me that the Internet has changed the way history works, as more and more people, both individuals and organizations, can be in touch with each other around the world. Communication functions that once belonged to the king, the state and the military are now shared by teenagers and grandmothers, Africans and Canadians, university professors and trade unionists. Consciousness, which depends on communication as well as action and affiliation, can grow at rates that could never have been possible in

the past. History, which is based on consciousness, accelerates!

At the same time that the Internet and other new forms of IT (information technology) have accelerated history, they have also produced a certain dependence. What do we do if the Internet breaks down? Does our work come to a standstill?

I have assumed that with a global economic crash and subsequent years of chaos, that there may well be shutdowns and breakdowns, perhaps long ones, of the Internet.

But even if the technology breaks down, human consciousness does not. Once we have learned how to communicate through the Internet, we have the capacity to find other ways to accomplish the same thing. That's what I have called "file-sharing" in the scenario of the *Promised Land*..

Actually, by the year 2026, the Internet will have changed, and there will be new ways to communicate, of that I have no doubt. Since I am not able to predict exactly how the Internet will change and what new forms of communication will emerge, I have used term "file-sharing" as a kind of "catch-all" phrase that can stand for many different technical innovations. If you, the reader, have another idea of new forms of information technology, you may substitute your own idea instead.

No matter what we call it or how we describe it, the process of global communication that we have

come to know in the Internet is here to stay, and it will continue to play an important role in the development of a culture of peace.

CONTRADICTION EIGHT: RELIGION

Readers will find a great contradiction between the religious references in this book and some of those in my other books. Why, in the name of the present book, should I make reference to the "promised land," of Moses and the Bible, and why I should consider that one of the most important acts that could be undertaken by a new United Nations would be the converting of Jerusalem, the city of the monotheistic religions, into the first "city of peace?"

This will seem contradictory to the fact that in *The History of the Culture of War* I describe how the Israelites laid siege to Jericho once they arrived in the "promised land". Jericho, one of the most ancient cities known to man, going back long before the invention of the state, was taken by war. As described, after defeating Jericho, the Israelites "destroyed with the sword every living thing in it--men and women, young and old, cattle, sheep and donkeys."

Religion has always presented such a contradiction between its values of non-violence and brotherhood on the one hand, and the terrible intolerance and violence it has inspired, on the other hand, especially when it has been linked to state power.

My rationale is that we need to engage religion, just as we must engage capitalists and militaries, in the great transformations needed to arrive at a culture of peace. And religion has much to offer in its values of non-violence and brotherhood, as well as the movement for inter-religious dialogue.

CONTRADICTION NINE: CULTURE OF WAR VERSUS CULTURE OF PEACE

At this moment of history, the greatest of all contradictions is the contradiction between the culture of war and the culture of peace. In this case, there is no contradiction between the "big book" and the *Promised Land*. Both describe, in their own way, the struggle of going from one to the other. This is a contradiction that we have only begun to see in the last few years. As far as I know, the first formulation of the difference between the culture of war and the culture of peace was in the Draft Declaration on the Culture of Peace that we sent from UNESCO to the UN General Assembly in 1998. The diplomats tried to bury it by removing all reference to the culture of war, but the contradiction has refused to be buried. It walks at night, and once you have encountered it, you are changed forever.

It is the third time in human history that we have encountered such a profound contradiction.

The first was the contradiction between marriage and war. How could it be tolerated that a

woman would be forced to choose between the side of her father and brother and the side of her husband in the time of war? No doubt this contradiction took a long time to resolve, perhaps even tens of thousands of years. The story of its resolution is lost in the fogs of prehistory and the shadowy figures that live on in the myths and tales of oral traditions. All we know is that long before the beginning of history, women had already been excluded from every aspect of war.

The second time was the rise of the state and modern religion. How could it be tolerated that human existence would be reduced to the wars of emperors and pharaohs? This contradiction took thousands of years to resolve, leading to the separation of religion and the state, a compromise in which Caesar may pursue his wars, but the souls of men belong to the monks and prophets and saints. Caesar and Hitler and Stalin could kill, but only the priests could preside over the rites of birth and death.

Now we are engaged in the resolution of a new contradiction. How can we continue to tolerate the culture of war and its perpetuation by the state? A new dialectic has emerged: the contradiction between the culture of war and the culture of peace.

The culture of war and the culture of peace can be summed up in the following simple table, although the concepts themselves require complex elaboration, as I have done in the "big books", *The History of the Culture of War and World Peace through the Town Hall*.

CULTURE OF WAR AND VIOLENCE	CULTURE OF PEACE AND NON-VIOLENCE
Belief in power that is based on force	Education for a culture of peace
Having an enemy	Tolerance, solidarity and international understanding
Authoritarian governance	Democratic participation
Secrecy and propaganda	Free flow of information
Armament	Disarmament
Exploitation of people	Human rights
Exploitation of nature	Sustainable development
Male domination	Equality of women and men

THE RESOLUTION OF CONTRADICTIONS AND THE AMAZING POWERS OF HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS

The resolution of the contradiction between culture of war and culture of peace has yet to be achieved. I have imagined a resolution in my books, but they are still in my mind and in the mind of the reader.

Perhaps my books are wrong. Perhaps the state and its culture of war are more sustainable than I have assumed. Or perhaps the crash of the global economy will be followed by fascism, in which states and their culture of war become stronger than ever.

Despite all prophecies and scripts and codes, the future has yet to be written.

Of one thing I am certain. By strengthening initiatives for culture of peace at the level of local and regional authorities, and linking them to the global movements of civil society, and by strengthening the consciousness of people for a culture of peace, we make it more likely that we can achieve a transition to a culture of peace when and if the state and the culture of war are weakened. And conversely, if we do nothing to prepare, then we will achieve nothing if and when the old order crashes.

Finally I have come to understand that there are no contradictions in nature. Contradictions exist only in our minds and in our collective human consciousness. And the resolutions of contradictions are in our minds as well. We have only to look for them. Our consciousness has great powers when it is collective, greater than we can imagine. We have only to link up with each other! As 75 million people agreed during the International Year for a Culture of Peace, "Peace is in our hands."

The Dawning of Peace

*Peace is a chariot of fire.
It runs in teams across the troubled sky.
It gathers the youth of the world
into a force of change.
Its heroes fall only to rise again
in the arms of others,
holding high the torch of nonviolence.
This is no lonely flight of Icarus
into the rising sun,
no risk of falling into the headstrong sea of error.
For those who would drive the team of peace
must link arms on either side,
harness their anger against injustice,
conquer the fears of centuries.
Those who would run the course of fire
must run in waves that shift their lands
from strife to shared endeavor.
Those who would follow in steps of heroes
must heed clearly the voice of the people
and shape their dreams into visions.
For this is no journey of turning back,
no force that can be denied.
A culture of peace is dawning
and all will be changed in its light.*