

Subject: Annual Meeting of Culture of Peace Corporation

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Dear Culture of Peace Corporation Board,

Happy New Year! I have appreciated seeing some of you in recent months, and others I hope to see in the near future. I regret that at this time we have no prospect of sufficient funds to pay for a face-to-face meeting of everyone.

This is the first round of our annual meeting. For reference, I attach the conclusions of last year's annual meeting. According to our bylaws, each of you are expected to respond to this email to all of us within two weeks.

Here is the draft agenda. These items are for discussion only, as no vote is required at this time. Please indicate in your return email to all of us if you wish to place any other questions on the agenda, in which case I will include them in a revised agenda to be sent at the end of the first round in two weeks.

ITEM 1. Responsibilities and addresses of Board Members.

All my books and websites are properties of the Corporation, and hence they are the responsibility of all Corporation Directors. However, it is best that each Director has his or her priority. Below are the primary and secondary responsibilities of Board Members, as established previously, subject to change if you so wish.

Also I am required to include your mailing addresses in the Corporation report to the State of Connecticut, so I have added the information I have to each of your names. Please tell me if it needs to be corrected.

Isabelle Legare – primary responsibility: books already published, secondary: books in process --- 1612 York Avenue apt 5A, New York, NY 10028

Jo Lofgren – primary: books and plays in process, secondary: books already published, secretary --- 87 St George's Drive, Flat 27, London SW1V 4DB, UK

Joe Yannielli – primary: SFR, secondary: culture-of-peace.info, assistant treasurer --- 1674 Ella T. Grasso Blvd., New Haven, CT 06511

Marcos Estrada - primary: culture-peace.info, secondary: SFR --- 2
Whoberley Avenue, Coventry, CV5 8EP -UK

Lillian Solheim - primary: CPNN, secondary: bulletin --- Darres gate
30, 0175 Oslo, Norway

Meg Villanueva - primary: bulletin, secondary: CPNN --- PlaÁa del Mar
B, 3f-1^m, Barcelona 08003, Catalonia, Spain

Diana Tashkova- primary: blog, secondary: relations with other
organizations --- Novi Iskar- Kymarica 1281, Vurbovka 4, entrance A,
floor 3,app.8, SOFIA, BULGARIA

Oliver Rizzi-Carlson - primary: relations with other organizations,
secondary: blog --- Chemin de la Caracole 68, CH-1294 Genthod, Geneva,
Switzerland

Gwenaelle Beauvais - primary: facebook of CPNN, secondary: CPNN ---
n69 avenue Paul vaillant couturier, 91700 Sainte Genevieve des Bois,
France.

ITEM 2. Backup of websites

As part of your responsibilities, please download regularly from the Spideroak website the updated information for the website or mailing list relevant to your responsibility. If you have not already registered, please register at <http://spideroak.com> . To get your data go to https://spideroak.com/browse/share/CoPCorporation/Joe2015_Marcos2015_Jo2015_Isabelle2013_Meg_2013_Lillian2013 and download the data for your responsibility as follows:

Joe and Marcos: Joe and Marcos: data-sfr and data-CoP-info

Lillian and Meg: data-cpnn-ftp, data-portable-cpnn-sql, and data-bulletin-mailing-lists. Please note that I have removed the passwords for the php and cgi files and replaced them with xyzxyz. I will send the passwords to the two of you in a separate mail.

Oliver and Gwenaelle and Diana: data-portable-blog

Jo and Isabelle: Although the websites of the culture of peace game and the decade report are "frozen", I would appreciate if you would each make a one-time download of their data from data-game and data-decade.

ITEM 3 - Technical know-how

As you know, I do all of the technical maintenance of the websites, as I can program in html, perl and php. Joe Yannielli is also a good programmer and I turn to him sometimes for advice. If any others of

you are capable of programming, please inform us.

ITEM 4 – New books

I am still waiting for the publisher, Herder, in Mexico City to send me the completed book and contract for "Cultura de Paz: un utopie possible." I will keep you informed on this as, hopefully, it is completed. In the meantime, I have started working on the idea of a new book in English based more or less on the blogs that I have published over the past few years.

ITEM 5 – State of CPNN

We are now at article number 1536. At this time last year we were at number 1065. That means that we published 471 articles in 2013, well over one per day, if you count translations separately. Bulletins were sent around the first of each month to a mailing list which now exceeds 3200.

Perhaps most important a greater proportion of articles are now coming from reporters or partners such as Good News rather than from my own search of the web. Here are the recent figures:

May 15/37 from reporters and partners

June 23/41

July 18/38

August 15/46

September 15/29

October 36/58

November 14/26

December 15/41

total for 8 months: 141/316, just shy of half

ITEM 6 – Change in rules of CPNN

I propose to add the following to the rule SPECIFIC: CPNN articles must reflect actions or media events, but like the commercial media they do not have to be "breaking news." Instead, they may reflect the "slow news" of processes that develop slowly over long periods of time.

ITEM 7 – Twitter and Facebook on CPNN

A year ago, against my better judgement because I don't like social media and I don't use it, I allowed some young people to establish Facebook and Twitter pages for CPNN on the grounds that CPNN was "old-fashioned" for not using them. As for facebook page it is not well kept up, although from time to time it receives "likes" from new readers. As for the twitter page it has become a kind of wastebasket

of comments including pornography. I need your help and advice. If someone among you wants to do the upkeep of one or another, I will be pleased. If not, I want your advice as to whether I should close down one or both of them and remove the links from all the CPNN pages.

ITEM 8 – Financial report

The financial report for the Corporation for 2013 is attached. As you can see, the situation is remarkably stable.

ITEM 9 – Access to websites and domain information

All of our websites are registered in the name of the Culture of Peace Corporation.

Four of our five websites are registered with Tucows by way of the internet provider Prohosting.com. These are cpnn-world.org, culture-of-peace-game.org, decade-culture-of-peace.org and sfr-21.org.

The website culture-of-peace.info is registered with Network Solutions by way of the internet provider XO web hosting.

In their capacities as officers I am sending Joe Yannielli (Assistant Treasurer) and Jo Lofgren (Secretary) the information on how to access and, if necessary, update or change these websites and domains.

ITEM 10 – New Haven Peace Commission and State of the Culture of Peace in New Haven

During this past year I joined the New Haven Peace Commission and, as a result, the annual report on the State of the Culture of Peace in New Haven is now an official report of the Commission. I have written a first draft of the report and sent it to Commission members for their approval. It is attached to this mail.

I hope that this annual report can serve as a model for other cities, and would appreciate your help to identify possible contacts for this.

ITEM 11 – Essay on leadership versus sectarianism

I hope you had a chance to read the essay I wrote on leadership versus sectarianism, hoping that it would be relevant to the work of the corporation. The only feedback I have received is from Joe Yannielli, and I would appreciate comments from others among you.

Thank you for your consideration.

Peace through struggle, and patience,

David

Attachments:

- 1) Conclusions from annual meeting in January 2013
- 2) Financial report for Corporation – 2013
- 3) Draft of State of Culture of Peace in New Haven – 2013

Separate mails:

- 1) passwords to Lillian and Meg
- 2) website and domain access to Jo and Joe

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FINAL MAILING

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Subject: Re: Second round of Annual Meeting of Culture of Peace Corporation
Date: 30.01.2014 20:23
From: Isabelle Légaré <legare.isabelle@gmail.com>
To: Meg Villanueva <maurea8@gmail.com>
Cc: joseph.yannielli@gmail.com, david@cpnn-world.org, "Dr. Tashkova" <dr.diana.tashkova@gmail.com>, Lillian Solheim <lillian.solheim@gmail.com>, "<oloverc@gmail.com>" <oloverc@gmail.com>, "marcosresearch ." <marcosresearch@yahoo.co.uk>, josefina_lofgren@hotmail.com, Gwenaëlle Beauvais <gwenaellebeauvais@gmail.com>, "<jo@decade-culture-of-peace.org>" <jo@decade-culture-of-peace.org>

Dear Culture of Peace Corporation Board,

It has been most difficult this year to get through the first round of our meeting. We have had illnesses, deaths, missions, and emails that were never received. I only received the final reply for the first round today. Hopefully, this was just an exceptional month. However, if any of you have a suggestion for how to better organize the meeting please put it in your response.

In any case I hope that all of you will respond quickly to this second round so we can finish the meeting. It should be simple, since there is no question requiring a formal vote. However, ALL of you are expected to respond in timely fashion! That is one of your few responsibilities as Board members.

ITEM 1. Responsibilities and addresses of Board Members.

There are two address changes:

Isabelle Legare is now at:
4132 44th street apt 3E

Sunnyside, NY, 11104, USA

Jo Lofgren is now at:
56 Vincent Square
flat 7
London SW1P 2NE
United Kingdom

I suppose that it is not unrelated that both Isabelle and Jo now have young babies that need an apartment with more room!

ITEM 2. Backup of websites

Most of you replied that this worked OK, and nobody reported any problem with it.

ITEM 3. Technical know-how

Joe replies that he is only an "adequate" programmer, but for our purposes that is enough!

ITEM 4. New books

I am still waiting for the final stages of the Spanish book, but will inform you when it is published.

ITEM 5. State of CPNN

Isabelle will send articles from the Youth Solidarity Fund.

Jo asks about the rate of visitors to CPNN. I all attach the best estimate I can make.

ITEM 6. Change in rules of CPNN

Those of you who responded agreed with the change to privilege "slow news".

ITEM 7. Twitter and Facebook on CPNN

You all agree to drop the CPNN link to Twitter on the website, and to keep the Facebook. As for Facebook, you agree that it needs more work, but as I say, I personally do not like social media and I hope one of you can come forward to help with this.

ITEM 8. Financial report.

No problems indicated.

ITEM 9. Access to websites and domain information.

Joe Yannielli and Jo Lofgren are handling this, thank you!

ITEM 10. New Haven Peace Commission and State of the Culture of Peace in New Haven

Thank you for disseminating this, Oliver. I attach the finalized version.

ITEM 11. Essay on leadership versus sectarianism

I guess this was too long for most of you to find the time to read. I'd like to thank Joe Yannielli for valuable feedback on an earlier version.

I look forward to hearing from you for the second round.

Peace through struggle, and patience,

David

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Essay on leadership versus sectarianism

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World-Historic Consciousness versus Sectarianism – An Update

My most recent blog, based on the December CPNN bulletin, addresses the question of leadership. It quotes Gro Harlem Brundtland, former Prime Minister of Norway and international leader for health and sustainable development that good leadership requires one "to be bold; to have the courage of your convictions; and to think long-term, not short-term or for political expedience."

I then go back to the discussion of this subject in my 1986 book, Psychology for Peace Activists. The section of the book called "world-historic consciousness" considers the question of effective leadership as the highest stage of consciousness development, as well as the pitfalls at this stage, in particular, sectarianism. The blog is necessarily brief, so I would like to expand on it here with you.

Here is what I wrote in 1986 concerning world-historic consciousness, based upon the experiences of Eugene Victor Debs (who received one million votes for President of the US while sitting in prison for his opposition to World War I), Emily Balch (Nobel Prize for Peace), W.E.B. Dubois (architect of Pan-Africanism), and, of course, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela.

World-historic consciousness, the highest step of consciousness, is not the quality of an individual acting alone, but of a leader working in affiliation. It is the kind of leadership that enables action and affiliation for peace and justice to develop in an effective and progressive rather than a narrow and sectarian direction. It's the ability of a leader to know the mood of the people, to analyze the strengths and directions of all political forces, and to organize and broaden the political character of the movement so that it is in step with the agenda of history, which, in the present time, means the abolition of war.

First of all, a leader must know the mood of the people. This can come only from long and direct experience working among them. The leadership of Eugene Victor Debs came from such experience:

I had fired an engine and been stung by the exposure and hardship of the rail. I was with the boys in their weary watches, at the broken engine's side and often helped to bear their bruised and bleeding bodies back to wife and child again. How could I but feel the burden of their wrongs? How could the seed of agitation fail to take deep root in my heart?

Second, a leader must understand the strengths and directions of all political forces in a systemic, not a superficial way. Such understanding must be "radical" - it must go to the roots of things - their economic and social causes. It must not be content with talk of superficial change, but must recognize that peace requires fundamental economic and political changes in society.

In the words of Emily Balch:

When war came in 1914 I felt this at first mainly as a senseless interruption of social-economic progress. I felt that war must be got rid of so that the threat of war might not interrupt and distort the course of this progress. Only gradually I came to understand at least partly how deeply war is intertwined with our whole economic and social system, our scale of values, our ideas of what is right and of supreme importance. I see no chance of social progress apart from fundamental changes on both the economic and the political side, replacing national anarchy by organized cooperation of all peoples to further their common interest, and replacing economic anarchy, based on

the search for personal profit, by a great development of the cooperative spirit.

In the development of a world-historic consciousness, one important factor is world travel in which the travel is used as a means to study and reflect both upon the direction of world events and the means of achieving social change at home. As DuBois recalls:

The most important work of the decade as I now look back upon it was my travel. Before 1918 I had made three trips to Europe; but now between 1918 and 1928 I made four trips of extraordinary meaning: to France directly after the close of the war and during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva in the earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; and to Germany, Russia and Constantinople in 1926. I could scarcely have encompassed a more vital part of the modern world picture than in those stirring journeys. They gave me a depth of knowledge and a breath of view which was of incalculable value for realizing and judging modern conditions, and above all the problem of race in America.

World-historic consciousness is a result of struggle on ever-widening planes of significance, as the development of the individual becomes increasingly enmeshed with the development of all humanity. In describing the development of Martin Luther King Jr., his wife, Coretta, compares it to a scroll unfolding:

When Martin got the Nobel Prize...then, when he made the statement on Vietnam, I had the strong feeling that this was the beginning of a larger work for him which would develop into something greater than we could conceive at the time. All along in our struggle one phase had led to another. As the years unfolded, it was like watching a scroll unfolding, you see more and more as you unroll it. There was a pattern and a process at work for the development of mankind.

For King, there was a progression from one plane of work on civil rights on behalf of Afro-Americans, to a broader plane for justice for the working class (he was killed in Memphis where he was speaking on behalf of the garbage workers strike which he characterized as "not a race war, it is now a class war"), to the broadest plane of all, his opposition to the Vietnam War and advocacy of peace and freedom for

all the peoples of the world. . .

For DuBois, the journey towards world-historic consciousness led him from one plane of action to another. He overcame a narrow, sectarian view confined to the question of race relations (he supported World War I because it was a chance to advance Afro-Americans as military officers), and he achieved a mature consciousness that included the entire world and all races within its scope. Within this context, he put forward the concept of "Pan-Africa" which has inspired generations of activists during the ensuing century.

....Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight for settling European quarrels....should try to build a socialism founded on old African communal life...in peaceful cooperation and without presuming to dictate as to how Socialism must or can be attained at particular times and places.

As DuBois progressed in the development of his world-historic consciousness, he was forced to leave the organization that he had founded 25 years earlier, the National Association for Advancement of Colored People:

No sooner had I come to this conclusion [the necessity of socialism] than I saw that I was out of touch with my organization and that the question of leaving it was only a matter of time.

World-historic consciousness brings history and psychology together into an inseparable unity. In contrast to the individualist approach that consider freedom as "freedom from the constraints of history," this approach to consciousness development sees true freedom as the freedom that comes when individuals take part in shaping the history that, in turn, shapes them. In other words, world-historic consciousness is "freedom through history."

The freedom of world-historic consciousness is also a burden, because it is the quality of leadership rather than the quality of an individual. The leader is responsible to all who look to him or her for leadership, which can be a heavy and difficult responsibility. Coretta Scott King describes the burden that the Nobel Peace Prize placed upon her husband:

What was the deeper meaning of all this - some meaning that we were

not yet able to understand? For this was not just a prize for civil rights, but for contributing to world peace. Though we were very happy, both Martin and I realized the tremendous responsibility that this placed on him. This was, of course, the greatest recognition that had come to him, but we both knew that to accomplish what the prize really implied, we still had a long way to go. It was a great tribute, but an even more awesome burden.

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Looking at these questions in a dialectical way, we need to ask what is the alternative to world-historic consciousness when someone reaches the highest stage of consciousness development.

The alternative is sectarianism. This corresponds to the short-term thinking and political expedience mentioned above from this month's bulletin and blog.

I'll begin with the description of sectarianism which I wrote in 1986. As examples of sectarianism, I took experiences from Bertrand Russell, the great British philosopher who helped found the non-violent movements after World War I, Dorothy Day, founder of the anti-war Catholic Worker, and A.J. Muste who ended up being a model to activists against the Vietnam War.

"Despite the great intellectual talents of Bertrand Russell, his temperamental inability to affiliate stunted his development and kept him from working with groups where he could have developed world-historic consciousness. Instead, the older he grew, the more cynical he became: "The way in which the world has developed during the last fifty years has brought about in me changes opposite to those which are supposed to be typical of old age. One is frequently assured by men who have no doubt of their own wisdom that old age should bring serenity and a larger vision in which seeming evils are viewed as means to ultimate good. I cannot accept any such view." It is ironic that Russell should blame "the way in which the world has developed" rather than the way in which he himself developed for the failure to achieve a "larger vision."

"Dorothy Day also failed to achieve a world-historic vision. In her preface to *The Long*

Loneliness she asks "What is man, where is he going, what is his destiny?" and answers, "It is a mystery. We are sons of God, and 'it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God.'" She concludes that in her life, "I feel that I have done nothing well." Such a conclusion is quite similar to the one that Bertrand Russell came to: "I cannot pretend that what I have done in regard to social and political problems has had any great importance." In each case, it was impossible for them to appreciate the great importance of their work because they lacked the world-historic consciousness with which to evaluate it."

"The failure of Russell and Day to achieve world-historic consciousness had serious historical consequences. Although both ended up playing progressive roles in opposing the Vietnam War, each played a reactionary role with respect to the rise of the Cold War. Bertrand Russell's anti-communism led him for several years to work for British Cold War propaganda agencies and even to publicly advocate a nuclear attack upon the Soviet Union. Later on, however, he reversed his position and the Russell-Einstein manifesto of 1955 set the stage for the first East-West scientific cooperation for peace, the Pugwash Conference of 1957 Dorothy Day became caught up in the contradictory approaches of the Catholics and communists; although she made a personal integration in her own life, she could not resolve the historical contradictions between them. As a result, she had a major negative impact on the Cold War, without even having to take a public position concerning it. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which grew out of a study group she had started at the Catholic Worker in the depression years, developed into a sectarian organization that attacked communists in the trade unions. They were largely responsible for destroying the labor involvement of the CIO in the peace movement during the critical early years of the Cold War. As I recount in *The American Peace Movements* (see footnote 3), the Association did.... "its utmost to turn the key Catholic CIO leaders.... into anti-

Communists." The Catholic attack on the labor movement was carried out by spies, informers, infiltrators, and "ACT" cells" in the CIO that were "pledged to keep Communists out" of key areas in the labor movement. Once the CIO withdrew its organized labor support, the Wallace campaign had no chance of victory. . .

"Taking up the cause of nonviolent opposition to U.S. racism and nuclear weapons in the 1960's, A.J. Muste remarked that: "we are not any longer a sectarian - using the term in a good sense - movement, existing apart from the main political decisions and affecting them only in a very long-range and indirect sense. We now function in mass movements."

"But Muste learned of sectarianism from bitter experience. During the 1930's, while most of the peace movement was joining together to fight against the rise of fascism, Muste took what he later called a "detour" into work with a small radical sect of Trotskyites, which, under his leadership, came to be called "Musteites." And after World War II, caught in the quagmire of anti-communism, he refused to take part in the greatest attempt to stop the Cold War, the Progressive Party campaign for Wallace in 1948, because of what he perceived as its "heavy Communist influence." Later, however, during the Vietnam War, Muste overcame sectarianism and played a major role in refusing to exclude Leftist groups and welcoming all organizations into the growing anti-war coalition."

What needs to be added to the 1986 analysis to bring it up to date?

First, the question of world-historic consciousness.

We now have a new analysis of the world situation, that of the culture of war. It is provided briefly in the initial draft of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace that was sent by UNESCO to the United Nations. In the final version, because of opposition by the US, the European Union and its allies, all reference to the culture of war were removed. The analysis of the culture of war is greatly expanded in my book, The History of the Culture of War, based on such seminal writings as those of Kwame

Nkrumah, Malcolm X, Paulo Friere, Elise Boulding, Leslie White and the UNESCO World History.

As I have written recently in my blog concerning peace education, "If you cannot talk about the culture of war, you cannot understand the dynamics of a culture of peace." This applies to one of the essential aspects of world-historic consciousness, "to analyze the strengths and directions of all political forces".

Quoting further from the blog, the "attitude of the UN and the nation-states, that there is no culture of war, is reflected in the attitudes of the commercial mass media and the various institutions of education, including most universities. Hence, as a peace educator, if you dare to speak about the culture of war, you risk to lose funding from the UN member states and from major universities."

World-historic consciousness requires the courage to stand up against the dominant culture, to be a radical activist against the culture of war and on behalf of a culture of peace.

History is moving on, even though the powerful leaders of the culture of war do not want to admit it.

The most important change since 1986 is the development of a global movement for a culture of peace. Most of you took part in the last major attempt to measure the scope of this movement, the World Reports of 2005 and 2010, and now in CPNN which attempts to follow its development on a regular basis, even every day. I try to follow its development in depth in my blog each month which I call, "Transition to a Culture of Peace: World history as it is happening".

We need to be constantly alert to new trends and initiatives, sometimes taking forms that we could not have anticipated (for examples, the Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street Movement. Following the theme of "think globally, act locally" we need to constantly update our knowledge of the major political forces at work in the world, as well as the consciousness development of each individual person. In this regard, I am struck by the recent analysis at the Triennial Meeting of the International Peace Bureau of the growing anti-war consciousness throughout the world: "The forming of international coalitions for military intervention is now much more difficult as public opinion against war has become so strong. People are weary of war and the deceit and rhetoric that go with it. They are suspicious of double speak and are tired of 'humanitarian' statements which end with actions that simply generate more human suffering." This important trend of being suspicious of government rhetoric has been greatly strengthened by the courageous whistle-blowers of our time such as Julian Assange, Bradley (Chelsea) Manning, Robert Snowden and Glenn Greenwald.

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Now, let me update the question of sectarianism in the light of two particular cases that I have encountered recently. One concerns the sect Soka Gakkai that has adopted the culture of peace as a major theme and engaged Anwarul Chowdhury in this. The other concerns the sectarian approach of Dominic Barter who dominated the Geneva meeting of the Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace. Both are examples of political expedience. It would appear that Soka Gakkai and Anwarul Chowdhury are seeking the Nobel Prize for Peace, while it seems that Dominic Barter is trying to establish a cult of personality along with his guru, Marshall Rosenberg.

A major weakness of sectarianism is that it does not seek a full analysis of the strengths and directions of all political forces, but rather it provides a narrower view which makes it seem that the sect contains the entire truth in its own dogma. Its dogma is usually concentrated in the teachings of its leader or "guru". In the case of the Soka Gakkai sect, it is the leader Daisaku Ikeda, and in the case of Dominic Barter, it is himself and his teacher, Marshall Rosenberg.

Of course, there are many sects and many whose dogma is devoted largely to a vision of peace. For example, the largest number of signatures on the Manifesto 2000 was obtained by Brahma Kumaris, the sect based in India and managed by women. Over the course of history, most religions began as small sects.

Perhaps most important from the standpoint of a culture of peace, sects exploit the emotional involvement of people who are becoming activists and, by providing an over-simplified analysis, they divert their members from developing for themselves a broad and effective world-historic consciousness. In the case of the two sectarian movements mentioned here, there is an extensive emphasis on "inner peace" and rituals for exclusive, small group cohesion. This emphasis leaves the question of a broader political analysis to the sect's leaders and expects the new members to be good "followers." Either you agree with the politics of your leader, or else you are excluded from the sect. Deviance is not tolerated. Members of the group called "Global Movement for the Culture of Peace," which is dominated by Anwarul Chowdhury and his alliance with Soka Gakkai, have seen this intolerance firsthand.

One frequent aspect of sectarianism is what we may call the "groupie effect." For those who do not recall the Beatles and Rolling Stones of my generation, here is the Wikipedia definition of a groupie: "a particular kind of female fan assumed to be more interested in relationships with rock stars than in their music." This is evident in some of those who are attracted to Anwarul Chowdhury and Dominic Barter, apparently more interested in their relationship to the star than in the truth of what they are saying and doing.

In this respect, sects share with the culture of war one of its fundamental aspects, authoritarian, hierarchical authority, even though they do not necessarily share other aspects of the culture of war.

Sects usually concentrate on enlarging their membership by recruitment in a way that leads to an "us/them" distinction. An example is the willingness of the group around Anwarul Chowdhury to name their group with the pretentious title, "Global Movement for the Culture of Peace," as if a movement could be contained in a few people meeting around a table. This "us/them" distinction It is not as bad as the "us/them" enemy images of the culture of war, but it tends to narrow the focus of group members and to fail to appreciate what is happening outside of their circle.

Because of the narrowness of their analysis, sects are especially vulnerable to playing destructive roles in the course of history, whether consciously or unconsciously. This was illustrated in PPA with the examples of A.J. Muste, Bertrand Russell, and Dorothy Day (see above). In the present-day case of Soka Gakkai, it may be seen in the role of New Komeito, its political party in Japan, which plays a role in conservative coalitions that have at times supported measures which could lead to Japanese militarism and nuclear armament (See, for example, the article "Lotus politics" about the New Komeito party in the Economist of 2004).

The gurus of sects tend to distort history in order to make themselves seem more important. For example in the case of Dominic Barter, he tries to take credit for the great development of restorative justice in Brazil. However, although he was among the founders of the Restorative Justice movement in Brazil, according to what I have been told by activists in that country, he was eventually forced to leave because his approach of "non-violent communication" had become too narrow and self-centered. In this regard, see recent CPNN article on restorative justice in Brazil, and especially the following paragraph toward the end of the article which is continued into the discussion section and which indicates that the Rosenberg method has not been used by them since 2010:

Regarding the methodologies, between 2005 and 2010 we worked with Non-Violent Communication, based on Marshall Rosenberg theory. From 2010 on we have been working with Peacemaking Circles. That methodology has really enraptured us and has been widely applied. We had successive trainings with Kay Pranis in 2010 and 2012, and now in 2013 she is in Brazil again.

A similar historical distortion is made by Anwarul Chowdhury who claims at times to have written the United Nations Declaration and Programme on a Culture of Peace. Here is an excerpt from an article by him last year published by the Inter Press Service News Agency at <http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/09/world-needs-to-build-a-culture-of-peace-says-ex-envoy/#>

The world must build a culture of peace, insists Ambassador Anwarul Karim Chowdhury, the prime mover of the 1999 General Assembly resolution that adopted the U.N. Declaration and the Programme of Action (PoA) on the Culture of Peace and the subsequent proclamation of the International Decade for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for Children of the World, 2001-2010. Asked about his role, Chowdhury told IPS, "Yes, it was my sole initiative, and that initiative was possible because at that time I was the ambassador to the United Nations, and I happened to represent Bangladesh. I chaired the General Assembly drafting committee that prepared the declaration and Programme of Action after nine-month-long complex and intense negotiations," he said.

There is no question that Ambassador Chowdhury played a vital and courageous role in getting the resolution passed by the General Assembly in 1999, but at the same time there is no question that the resolution was written at UNESCO and sent to New York. Chowdhury's role as a writer was to limit the damage done to it by the Member States, as mentioned above, although he did not (or could not?) stop the removal of the culture of war analysis.

Now, let me turn to a question of special importance for the Culture of Peace Corporation: what kind of leadership is needed and what is its relation to sectarianism?

As the founder of the corporation, I am responsible to provide effective leadership for its initial development, and to develop new leadership that will take over after I retire. Obviously, the present discussion of leadership should be taken to heart by all members of the Corporation in order to help you develop your own leadership potential.

This requires objective analysis of "the strengths and directions of all political forces" at each stage of the unfolding of history (implicit in the phrase, "world-historic consciousness"). Especially important is the keen appreciation of the strengths and weaknesses of the culture of war and the development of the Global Movement (or movements?) for a culture of peace. And the process should take place in a non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian way. You should not accept an analysis simply because it comes from me. No single person can attain an exclusive possession of "truth." To the

contrary, we must all grow and change in the course of conflict and changing circumstances and dialogue. And conflict there will be. If I could meet myself after one year, if we were to agree on everything, that would mean that I have learned nothing!

I like Gandhi's description of truth: a mountain that we are all climbing on various different paths; sometimes the paths are visible to each other and at other times hidden. A similar formulation was that of Krishnamurti in 1929 when he refused to become a 'World Teacher' of an organisation set up for him: "I maintain that Truth is a pathless land, and you cannot approach it by any path whatsoever, by any religion, by any sect. Truth being limitless, unconditioned, cannot be organised, nor should any organisation be formed to lead or coerce people along any particular path. If you first understand that, then you will see how impossible it is to organize a belief. A belief is purely an individual matter, and you cannot and must not organize it. If you do, it becomes dead, crystallised; it becomes a creed, a sect, a religion, to be imposed on others."

Although we need to avoid sectarianism, the words of Krishnamurti should never be used as an excuse for inaction. We must always be active in the cause of peace and justice, or else we become hypocritical, simply talking without acting. In order to be effective in our actions we need to work within organizational structures, and they often have a particular ideological framework, either implicit or explicit. I have found, during the course of my own activist lifetime, that in order to be effective I have often had to compromise somewhat, and work with others without fully sharing their ideology. On the other hand, I have had to quit organizations when I found that their ideological framework contradicted my own fundamental values and principles. All of this is a dynamic process that continues throughout a lifetime. We are continually changing, and organizations change as well. Sometimes we must change our organizational affiliations, or else start new ones.

Finally, with regard to recruitment, it is true that a priority needs to be put on expanding CPNN by the recruitment of additional reporters. However, unlike the recruitment by sects, the process should not be used to "indoctrinate" reporters. Aside from the CPNN "rules of the game" which have been quite explicit from the beginning, there should be no pressure or limitations on the articles that CPNN reporters can publish and discuss.

I hope that the preceding analysis will provoke a debate among Corporation Board members about the future of the Corporation. Since I realize that Board members are all very involved and busy, with limited time for the annual January meeting, we will probably need to find a way to continue the dialogue beyond the brief time of that meeting.

