

## **Early History of the Culture of Peace**

A Personal Memoire by David Adams, August 2003  
<https://www.culture-of-peace.info/history/introduction.html>

(with postscripts in 2004, 2009, 2018)

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## Introduction

Since retiring from UNESCO in 2001, I have often been asked about the history of the culture of peace. I have an especially privileged view of this history, having been the consultant who designed UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme in 1992, a senior staff member of the Programme from 1993-1997, and the Director of the International Year for the Culture of Peace from 1998 until my retirement.

Although the culture of peace began as a UNESCO programme, from the early days, we saw it becoming a global movement; see, for example the [final chapter](#) of the 1995 UNESCO monograph on a culture of peace and the chapter on the global movement in the 1996 report on the [El Salvador Culture of Peace Programme](#). This approach was later confirmed by the UN General Assembly in their Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace in 1999, and put into practice during the campaign for the Manifesto 2000 which engaged 75 million people.

As of this writing in 2003, the global movement has developed far beyond its initial scope, to such an extent that it is difficult to keep track of its myriad manifestations around the world. [Note added in 2005: The 2005 [World Report on the Culture of Peace](#) includes information from 700 organizations, but no doubt there are many more that are active for a culture of peace.] For that reason, I write here of its "early history" and confine this document those aspects of its development that I personally experienced at UNESCO, hence the subtitle, "A Personal Memoir." Each of the hundreds of people who contributed to the culture of peace at UNESCO undoubtedly has a different view of how it developed. The following account and the conclusions I draw are my own personal view, and I make no claims of objectivity or official status. Hopefully, others will also write and share their vision of the culture of peace and together they can be read with a view of strengthening the global movement for a culture of peace.

### UNESCO's Mandate

Although the phrase "culture of peace" was first elaborated for UNESCO in 1989, it is foreshadowed in the mandate of UNESCO when it was founded in 1945-1946. The motivation of its founders was eloquently expressed in the Preamble to the UNESCO Constitution: "a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world.... peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." Based on this, the preamble contains the unforgettable phrase, "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

Already in the UNESCO Constitution we find the idea that war as an institution is based upon a culture of war that is broader and deeper than the wars themselves. It's like an iceberg: war is the tip which may or may not be visible at any given moment, whereas the culture of war exists continually, supporting particular wars from below and being continually reinforced by the wars that have already occurred. As the Romans said, "Si vis pacem Para Bellum" - "If you want peace, prepare for war." For this reason, a culture of peace needs more than the absence of war. It requires a profound cultural transformation.

Culture appears in the very name of UNESCO which was established as the cultural organization of the United Nations. UNESCO is concerned with "values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life" - a phrase that opens the first article of the Declaration on a Culture of Peace eventually adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1999. From the beginning, UNESCO was not concerned with culture for its own sake, but culture for the sake of peace. Hence, the UNESCO Constitution states that the purpose of the Organization is for "advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims."

Because of its noble purpose, UNESCO has always attracted people from all over the world who shared these ideals. And it was at the preparatory meetings for a UNESCO conference that the phrase and definition of the culture of peace was brought by a Peruvian Jesuit scholar, Father Felipe MacGregor. MacGregor had headed the team that had previously published a delightfully illustrated book of peace education in Peru in 1986, named "Cultura de Paz", with careful descriptions and definitions of conflict, violence and peace (Click [here](#) for a copy of the book, which, as far as I know, is not otherwise available on the Internet). I was privileged to work with Father MacGregor at those meetings.



The author with Felipe MacGregor at the Yamoussoukro Conference in 1989

The culture of peace became the central theme of the resulting Conference, the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men, held in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire, in July 1989. Its [final declaration](#) called for the "a new vision of peace by developing a peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between women and men." The results of the Conference were then introduced into the documents of the UNESCO General Conference of November 1989: both the Declaration of Yamoussoukro with its culture of peace theme and the [Seville Statement on Violence](#) which provided a scientific underpinning that "the same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace." At this point the culture of peace was still little more than a slogan among many others at UNESCO.



Some of Seville signatories

left to right: Martin Ramirez, Paul Scott, Santiago Genoves, David Adams, Ben Ginsburg, Samir Ghosh, Robert Hinde, Jo Groebel, Ashis Nandy

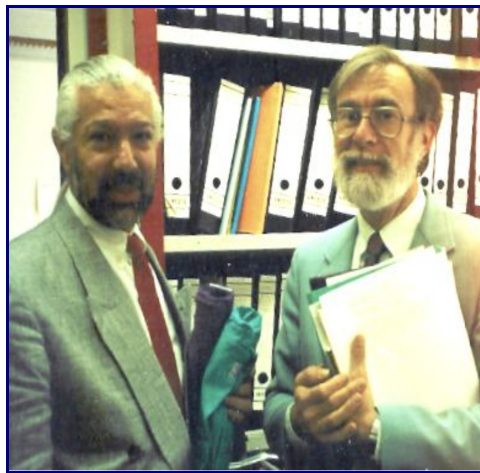
The Seville Statement, which I had represented at Yamoussoukro, laid a foundation for the culture of peace by showing scientifically that war is based on cultural not biological factors. It was not by accident that its theme came from the noted anthropologist Margaret Mead or that the original idea for the Statement came from the anthropologist Santiago Genoves. While half of the scientists who drafted and signed the Statement were social scientists, the other half came from the biological sciences, including ethology, neurophysiology, animal behavior and genetics. They agreed that there is nothing yet known in biology that would make it impossible to abolish warfare. The [brochure about the Seville Statement](#) that I wrote for UNESCO in 1991 was subtitled "Preparing the ground for the constructing of peace."

"Culture of peace" was to become an action program of UNESCO in 1992, and seven years later a program of action of the United Nations. This was due to a remarkable convergence of historical tendencies including:

- the success of national liberation movements which transformed the membership of UN organizations like UNESCO and which called into question the culture of war that had been so essential to colonialism
- the development of a scientific analysis of war and peace, such as that in the Seville Statement on Violence (1986).
- the end of the Cold War which made possible unanimous action by the UN Security Council and which led to peacekeeping operations and the document An Agenda for Peace (1992).

Federico Mayor had been elected the Director-General of UNESCO in 1987. Mayor was especially sensitive to all of the above-mentioned tendencies. He was a scientist who had signed the Seville Statement on Violence, he was committed to representing the newly free nations of the South, and he believed passionately in the Constitutional mandate of UNESCO.

In 1991 the United Nations was pushed by the United States into the Gulf War against Iraq. The United Nations was militarized, the top floor of the UN Secretariat peopled by uniformed officers on loan from the major powers, B-52 bombers flying the UN flag and bombing cities from high altitude. Profoundly troubled by what I saw as the danger of the UN becoming a global tyrant, I took a sabbatical from my university professorship and offered my services for one semester to Federico Mayor at UNESCO. My purpose: to help redirect the United Nations away from the use of military force and toward the use of peaceful means to promote peace. At first, working with Georges Kutukdjian, the UNESCO staff member who had managed the Yamoussoukro Conference, I prepared publicity materials for the Seville Statement on Violence.



With George Kutukdjian at UNESCO

Then, at a personal breakfast with the Director-General on May 13, 1992, my 53rd birthday, I presented him with the culture of peace proposal which I had previously discussed with Mr. Kutukdjian (see [Annex I](#)). Mr Mayor read the proposal carefully and made only a few suggestions for minor changes.

The proposal was complementary to UN peacekeeping operations: its objective was "to heal the social wounds of war by local operations of reconciliation and co-operation in countries where Security Council peace-keeping operations are implemented." In addition to local activities, the proposal envisaged "research and training, and documentation and information." Its philosophy was "channeling the energies of peoples into a common struggle which would benefit everyone.

To be specific, the proposal cited a January 1992 mission of UNESCO to El Salvador, "The mission proposed formal and informal education for peace, development of tolerance, co-operation, and participation at all levels, management of democratic practice and social policies at local levels, alternatives of communication, and programmes of culture with an emphasis on youth."

The proposal that I gave Mr Mayor was formalized as document 140 EX/28 and submitted to the UNESCO Executive Board by the Chairman of its Programme Committee, Ambassador Ahmed Sayyad of Yemen. It was presented as a part of UNESCO's contribution to United Nations peace-building, a task that had been given priority following the publication of *An Agenda for Peace* by Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali in June 1992. The final version of Document 140EX/28 (see [Annex II](#)) included not only the original proposal, but also a dialogue based on my answers to questions posed by the Mayor's skeptical Director of Cabinet, Mr Daniel Janicot.

The Board was enthusiastic in their discussion of 140 EX/28 and the culture of peace (see [Annex IIa](#)). In fact, at the conclusion, they stood and applauded. Over the next few years, many Board members would be closely involved with its development, including Anaisabel Prera-Flores (Guatemala), Carlos Tunnerman (Nicaragua), Attiya Inayatullah (Pakistan), Torben Krogh (Denmark), Lourdes Quisumbing (Philippines), Balla Keita (Cote d'Ivoire), Dan Haulica (Roumania), Ingrid Eide (Norway) and Ahmed Sayyad (Yemen). Noticeably absent from the debate were Germany and France, and the Japanese speaker was the only one who expressed serious reservations.

When it came time to draft a decision, the Board did not accept the proposal that it should be administered by a new United Nations institution. Instead, they adopted a decision treating it as an exclusively UNESCO project. Knowing the weaknesses of UNESCO (low budget, few qualified specialists in conflict resolution, bureaucratic heaviness, and high vulnerability to political pressures), Mr Kutukdjian and I had tried to avoid this by proposing in 140 EX/28 that the culture of peace be administered by a new UN institution with a guaranteed budget as a percentage of peacekeeping operations. Director-General Mayor appears not to have pushed for this option, but to have acquiesced in the decision to treat it as just another UNESCO project. It would be almost a decade later that the culture of peace transcended UNESCO to become the United Nations International Year for the Culture of Peace (2000), the International Decade (2001-2010) and the programme of action for the entire UN system.

In its resolution, the 140th Executive Board decided to "establish an action programme aimed at promoting a culture of peace. The Board further requested that leading experts be consulted, as well as the UN and specialized agencies, and that a programme setting out practical activities to be undertaken should be submitted to its next session in May 1993. The Director-General engaged me as a consultant to carry this out, providing some extra-budgetary funds with the help of the foundation for the Houghouet-Boigny Peace Prize, presided over by Alioune Traore. I was placed under the authority of the Social Science Sector. Unaware of UNESCO procedures, I did not realize that the due date for the new programme proposal would be 26 February 1993, less than four months after the Executive Board decision and less than two months after my consultancy would begin, since, for the first two months, I would still be lecturing at my university!

I arrived at UNESCO in January 1993 and by January 26, with the help of an assistant, Myriam Karela, I submitted to the Director-General a set of materials that provided a basic plan of action, including a timetable, paragraphs for the upcoming biennial UNESCO budget and programme, a draft action programme for the May Executive Board and budgeted pilot project based on it, draft letters to the UN Secretary-General and UN agencies, and proposed lists of experts to be consulted and eminent persons to be invited to a high-level meeting. The Director-General responded quickly (dated 9 February) with an overall comment that "the text of the drafts is excellent" and agreement to place a priority for a pilot project in El Salvador, to be followed by another one in Mozambique.

The draft action programme was based on the new concept of "cross-conflict participation" later tested in the [El Salvador project](#). In the days that followed Mayor's approval, the programme was faxed to 28 specialists drawn from the list submitted to Mayor and supplemented by additional African specialists as he had requested. By 25 February detailed replies had been received from 19 of them, and their suggestions were incorporated into the draft action programme (see [Annex III](#)). Not surprisingly, as I had chosen many of the specialists based on how their work contributed to cross-conflict participation, their comments supported and strengthened the concept.



Experts at Yamoussoukro. Among those consulted to develop the program were Thierno Bah (front center), [Elise Boulding](#), [Morton Deutsch](#), [Felipe MacGregor](#), and [Riitta Wahlstrom](#).

The draft action programme was also discussed at the first meetings of a Culture of Peace Working group, whose members Myriam and I personally solicited from the various sectors at UNESCO headquarters. The working group met five times and included the participation of a number of people who were to remain involved with culture of peace over the coming years, including Alain Modoux, Elizabeth Khawajkie and Katerina Stenou.

Reflecting the comments of the specialists and the working group, a draft 141 EX/16 was submitted to the Director-General on 23 February, with a handwritten note stating that it was the result of a meeting with the ADG/SHS (Ms Fournier) and DIR/SHS/HRS (Mr Symonides). After the Director-General responded that it was too academic and too long, a revised version was submitted on 19 March which was five pages shorter and without the previous academic reference to psychological factors. It was accepted and sent to the Board as [141 EX/16](#).

The response of Board, meeting in May 1993, was negative. There was reservation about the reliance on cross-conflict participation; the French representative (backed by Canada) indicated that it is "alien to our approach." Very few were satisfied with the specialists that had been chosen - needless to say, they were not the specialists that they already knew and supported and they did not represent every region and point of view. Already a conflict was emerging between the Board and the Director-General as some members of the Board felt that he was by-passing the sectors and establishing parallel structures - a conflict that would only deepen over the next few years especially concerning the culture of peace. In the end, they requested a revised document for their next meeting in October.

Early in 1993, with the help of the Culture of Peace Working Group, I had begun preparations for pilot projects in El Salvador and Mozambique. After extensive discussions throughout UNESCO, I engaged two people to join the Working Group for these pilot projects, Luis Barriga, a collaborator with Gonzalo Abad for the El Salvador project, and Luis Tiburcio, a Portuguese staff member working with Leslie Atherley in the Education sector for the Mozambique project. Luis Barriga went on mission to El Salvador from 13-24 March using funds from our budget, and I later went on mission myself from 27 May to 2 June.

In El Salvador, the National Forum of Reflection on Peace Education and Culture on 28 April 1993 resulted in a Memorandum of Understanding signed by Director-General Mayor, the Minister of Foreign Relations and the Minister of Education of El Salvador to launch a national culture of peace programme. It also adopted the [San Salvador Appeal](#) that was presented by the Director-General "to promote the apprenticeship and practice of the Culture of Peace."

A series of projects involving both sides of the El Salvador conflict were developed by workshops held involving representatives of the two sides of the previous civil war, the Government of El Salvador on one hand and the NGOs associated with the FMLN revolutionaries on the other hand. This process, literally cross-conflict participation in practice, was under the direction of Francisco Lacayo who had been engaged by Juan Chong, the UNESCO representative for Central America based in San Jose. Francisco had been responsible for the great literacy project of the Sandanistas in Nicaragua after the revolution. The El Salvador projects included democratic citizenship, training of local leadership for project management, education for sustainable development, scientific development, youth programmes, support for popular culture and crafts production, book production, community museums, a national center for culture, library services support for indigenous populations, basic education, citizenship training, human rights education, radio for rural women, special projects for rehabilitation of children hurt by the war, and training of peace promoters for cross-conflict participation. Project documents were prepared to be submitted for international funding. These project documents, prepared by Chong, Lacayo and other consultants were bound into the "[Blue Book](#)" and published in September 1993.



Participants in El Salvador Project  
May 1993 at UNESCO office in San Jose,  
Juan Chong at left, author in center flanked by Gonsalo Abad (left) and Francisco Lacayo (right)

I had requested funds in our original budget for a round table of eminent experts, and by July the meeting took shape. It was supposed to raise the profile of a culture of peace by engaging famous and influential participants, and I especially saw it as an opportunity to engage the United Nations in New York.

Although the original idea of establishing a new UN institution for a culture of peace had not supported by the Executive Board in 1992, and the Director-General did not raise the question again, I hoped that culture of peace projects could be included in UN-brokered peace accords. This could help guarantee political agreement and international financing. Unfortunately, the issue was not specifically raised in the letters of 13 February and 28 May that I drafted from the Director-General to the UN Secretary-General or in the latter's response of 30 March 1993. However, I tried to put this on the agenda of the Round Table of Eminent Experts that was convened in July 1993. In this regard, we needed high-level representation of the Secretary-General at the Round Table, and I was initially delighted to learn that it would be Alvaro de Soto who had been central to the El Salvador peace accords. Also, it was important to obtain support from the United States for a culture of peace and to this end I traveled to Washington at my personal expense to meet with Edmund Muskie, former Secretary of State and candidate for President of the US. He agreed to come if invited to take part in the Round Table.

Unfortunately, the Round Table was a disaster! Because of conflicts with the Social Science Sector, a visa could not be obtained to fix the meeting agenda, and, as a result, on 2 July, less than a week before the event, Senator Muskie sent word that he would not come to a meeting that could not even provide him with an agenda. Perez de Cuellar had fallen ill. Graca Machel lost her son to an automobile accident and could not come. Alvaro de Soto came, but when the Director-General failed to remain after giving his opening remarks, Mr. de Soto felt slighted and left early. I had a brief chance to speak with him and found that he was bitter about his experience with the Salvador peace accords that he had been responsible for. The US and European donors had failed to make good on their promise to pay for land reform and judicial reform which were key points of the peace accords. "Why?" he asked pointedly, "should we expect they will pay for a culture of peace?"

One bright point was the participation of the veteran diplomat Mohamed Sahnoun, who continued to promote the culture of peace in the years to follow, as advisor to Director-General Mayor and later to Secretary-General Kofi Annan.



Mohamed Sahnoun (left) at conference of Somali intellectuals



In preparation for the 1993 General Conference of UNESCO, we had submitted a revised culture of peace programme (142 EX/13) to the Executive Board which would meet just beforehand. The new proposal, unlike its predecessor, 141 EX/16, was not academic but it was practical, based on the Blue Book of project documents that had been prepared in El Salvador.

This time the debate by the Programme Commission of the Executive Board was almost unanimously favourable. The delegate from Italy started the debate by proposing to strengthen the draft decision so that the Board would "welcome favorably" the Programme and "submit it for approval" by the General Conference. The Chairman of the Commission was Mr Ahmed Sayyad, in whose name the culture of peace had been submitted one year previously and who was expected to be elected as President of the upcoming General Conference. However, one person opposed such a draft decision. Ms Nina Sibal, sitting at the Board on behalf of the Indian delegation, objected that this was not a true "action programme" and therefore could not be submitted to the General Conference for approval. Instead, the Board should just "take note" of the document and "transmit" it to the General Conference. This position prevailed and as a result document 142 EX/13 was passed on without comment to the General Conference as [document 27 C/126](#) of 27 October 1993.

As it turned out, there was no need for Executive Board comment because there was overwhelming support for the culture of peace by the Member States at the General Conference. Provision for the culture of peace was therefore entered into the programme and budget for 1994-1995.

The culture of peace was strongly supported in the debate that took place in Commission V of the General Conference. Many States (Japan, Norway, India, Brazil, Cote d'Ivoire, Peru, Norway, Switzerland, Sudan, France, Morocco) emphasized that the Culture of Peace Programme should be constructed on the basis of the past practices of UNESCO in its fields of competence, including culture of democracy and respect for human rights, as well as development and the eradication of poverty. It was emphasized by Sudan, Jordan, Mozambique, and China that a culture of peace cannot be imposed but is a process that evolves constantly out of particular traditions, cultures, and situations and the will of the people involved. The importance of the research agenda for a culture of peace was discussed by Japan, Jordan, Mozambique, Senegal, Spain, Netherlands, Sudan, Canada, Peru, France and Norway. Other Member states (Austria, Brazil, Switzerland, Mozambique, El Salvador, Saudi Arabia, Canada) emphasized that the Culture of Peace Programme must be one of action and practice as well as theory and research.

The pilot project in El Salvador was praised by many Member States, including Brazil, Sudan, Togo, Argentina, Kenya, Portugal, Philippines, Senegal and Switzerland. El Salvador described the project as dynamic and participatory, developing a new reality in that country. Mozambique thanked the Director-General for supporting a pilot project for the culture of peace in that country and indicated their desire to contribute actively to its development. It was stressed by the delegates from Germany and Norway that in addition to concentrating on specific pilot projects coordinated with United Nations peace-keeping operations, the programme should continue the comprehensive, long-term development of a culture of peace to prevent future conflicts. This could include the elaboration of specific indicators for a culture of peace, according to Kenya.

Several states, including Mozambique and Thailand proposed a much greater allocation of UNESCO's resources to culture of peace.

Perhaps most important of all, when he was re-elected to another 6-year term by the General Conference, Director-General Mayor used the occasion in [his acceptance speech](#) to state that "I intend to devote myself personally, in the coming years, to the culture of peace."

The initial pilot project for a culture of peace, launched in 1993 in El Salvador, was evaluated in the [First International Forum on the Culture of Peace](#) held a year later in San Salvador 16-18 February 1994. I was told by those who attended that it was a remarkable political event in which the conflicts of those who had been enemies during the long civil war were constantly revisited, but effectively channeled into constructive engagement. The final report included a valuable summary of the principles for a culture of peace (reprinted in the culture of peace [monograph](#)).

Under the effective direction of Francisco Lacayo, the [El Salvador Culture of Peace Programme](#) became a successful model of what can be accomplished. Along with Mirta Lourenço, who was responsible for the project at headquarters, we published a report from the project in 1996 in the International Journal of Peace Studies, which is available [on line](#). A formal internal evaluation of the project, carried out for UNESCO by Ansgar Eusner in April 1998, confirmed the conclusions provided in the published report. When the UN peacekeeping forces withdrew from El Salvador, a ceremony was held at UN headquarters in San Salvador to pass the responsibility for peace to the culture of peace programme.

However, in the long run, the international funding for culture of peace in El Salvador was not continued, and the programme was discontinued by the end of the decade.

Meanwhile, other pilot projects had been undertaken, beginning with Mozambique.

As mentioned earlier, I had engaged Luis Tiburcio in early 1993 to help develop a pilot project in Mozambique. On his advice, I sent a personal note to the Director-General on 1 July 1993 suggesting that he discuss a pilot project with Mozambican President Chissano during his visit to Paris. At the July Round Table, Graça Machel was unable to attend, but the presentation given in her place by Ms Afonso, the Secretary General of the National Commission, strongly affirmed the need for culture of peace in Mozambique.

Along with Luis Tiburcio, I went on mission to Mozambique at the end of September and came back with a proposal for a pilot project that would be launched as part of the United Nations demobilization project (ONUMOZ). The mission was received and greatly supported by the Mozambique National Commission for UNESCO. Graça Machel, its President, assigned her education officer, Mr Noel Chicuecue, to work with me. Thanks to the extensive experience and wide contacts he had gained as a provincial education director, we were able to develop the initial lines of a project very quickly, which was submitted to the Director-General on 15 October 1993 along with my mission report.

In response to the recommendation in my mission report, the Director-General made available \$120,000 from the Social Science budget to be used for the Mozambique pilot project, and I went back with that money in my mission to Mozambique of April 1994 and followed up with another mission in October 1994.



Graca Machel at the Women's Day Celebrations in Mozambique. As President of the National Commission for UNESCO, she presided over development of the Mozambican Culture of Peace Programm.

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The project in Mozambique did not develop to the same extent as the project in El Salvador. An elaborate project proposal was prepared for funding ([original full version](#) dated October 1994, later revised in February 1995). Although funding was never obtained for the project, Noel Chicuecue, who was hired as the culture of peace officer in Mozambique, went on to accomplish many important initiatives. He organized a parliamentary visit to neighboring parliaments in Southern Africa (initiated by Director-General and me in Paris) which broke the deadlock following the initial national elections when the rival FRELIMO and RENAMO legislatures initially refused to work together. Also, Noel helped organize several regional meetings on a culture of peace hosted by Mozambique, including one in September 1997 for which I had the responsibility at headquarters. Another conference planned for Mozambique in 1996 on demobilized soldiers had also been under my responsibility but was canceled at the last minute by the government.

National programmes were formally recognized in the Director-General's Green Note 94/50 of 9 August 1994, and an internal consultation of those responsible for these programmes was held in Paris on 28-29 September 1995. The state of national programmes as of 1995 is described in the culture of peace [monograph](#).

Many other national projects were initiated or considered in 1994-1995, for which documentation is available as indicated:

- \* Burundi: 22 August 1994, Memo from Adams to Leslie Atherley for Burundi training seminar; 14-17 December 1994, Colloque national pour une culture de paix au Burundi: Actes du colloque (see also report of activities 1994-1998 dated July 1998) and section on [Burundi](#) in the culture of peace monograph.
- \* Kenya: 23 August - Note from Adams to Leslie Atherley and Mohamed Sahnoun for culture of peace project in Kenya
- \* South Africa: 12 September 1994, Note from Adams to Leslie Atherley for South Africa programme
- \* Congo-Brazzaville: 19-23 December 1994, [Forum National pour la Culture de la Paix au Congo](#): document de synthese.
- \* Sudan: 11 April 1995 - [The Khartoum Declaration](#); 23 September 1995 - Barcelona Symposium on the fundamental problems of the Sudan
- \* Somalia: 17-20 April 1995 - Mission report (Adams) from Symposium on the Culture of Peace in Somalia held in Sana'a, Yemen (see section on [Somalia](#) in culture of peace monograph)
- \* Philippines: 26-30 November 1995, Second International Forum on the Culture of Peace (The Manila Forum): Final Report (See section on [Philippines](#) in culture of peace monograph)
- \* Bosnia: 18 July 1996, Bosnia CPP Project by Dr Manuel Carballo

By the end of 1996 it had become evident to me that, for the most part, the national programmes for a culture of peace could not succeed. There was neither the political will nor the financial backing of the Member States for most of the national programmes, and lacking these, the ineptness of the UNESCO secretariat became a determining factor. I analyzed the failures in a paper written in December 1996, but did not distribute it. As far as I could tell, there was no one who wanted to hear the bad news.

(Note : Mention should be made here of the National Program for the Culture of Peace in Russia in 1997-2001 which is described on [page 13](#).

As a consultant, I had always argued that the culture of peace should be considered as an inter-sectoral project. But this was not the point of view of the Social Science Sector and finally on 27 May 1993, I received a formal memo from the ADG/SHS stating "In order to ensure a proper coordination of the Sector's activities related to Culture of Peace, I would ask you to report directly to Mr. Symonides, Director SHS/HRS, who is responsible for the whole programme in this field." My relations with the Social Science Sector went from bad to worse, resulting among other things, in the disastrous consequences for the Round Table of Eminent Experts described above. At one point I was shown a private telephone message from the office of the ADG of Social Sciences saying, "Be careful with Adams; he is working with the enemy." The enemy, in this case, was the UNESCO Education Sector.

Waiting until after the General Conference of 1993 had given firm support to the culture of peace, the Director-General issued an official note to establish the Unit for a Culture of Peace on 11 February 1994. It put the Unit under the direct authority of the Director-General and named Leslie Atherley as its Director. I had previously suggested Mr Atherley to the Director-General back in July 1993 in a note about administrative authority for the Mozambique pilot project.

The Director-General gave the new Unit extraordinary authority: "I have decided that this Unit will have the authority to operate house-wide in carrying out its tasks. In particular, the Director of the Unit has the authority to deal directly with ADGs and, through them, with other Directors and Chiefs of Units concerned." The Unit was given seven responsibilities:

- \* National programmes
- \* Fund raising for the programmes
- \* Development and refinement of methodology for culture of peace
- \* Integration of ongoing UNESCO activities for a culture of peace
- \* Data bank on UNESCO activities for a culture of peace
- \* Coordination with UN, IGOs and NGOs
- \* Decentralization as much as possible of activities

As for my own role, I had previously gone to see the Director-General on 3 September stating that I would like a staff position. He advised me against this, saying that I could remain his counselor. He would propose for me a UNESCO Chair in the culture of peace. "You can be the head of an advisory board for the culture of peace. I will propose you to receive a medal of honour. In that way, you will be better paid, and you will have direct access to me. If, instead, you insist on a staff position in the organizational structure, you can no longer see me, for it will mean that you have gone over the head of your superior officer." Not fully realizing what awaited me, I continued to insist on a staff position, and in December 1993, only a few days before the final ultimatum from my university to return or be fired, I received notice of a P5 post beginning in January 1994.

As a result, I went to work under Leslie Atherley and together we determined the priorities for 1994, which are reflected in reports that were provided to the Director-General for meetings with him on 20 June and 28 July 1994:

\* National programmes - not only El Salvador and Mozambique, but now explorations for programmes in Guatemala, Burundi, Congo and the Philippines (much of the work on this expansion was carried out by two new staff members added during 1994, Mirta Lourenço and Edouard Matoko).

\* The First Consultative Meeting on a Culture of Peace involving experts to take place 27-29 September 1994 in El Salvador. In addition to participants from national programmes, participants were invited from key NGO partners.

\* Networking with major external partners was also assured through my participation at the International Peace Research Association meetings in Malta and the International Peace Academy in Vienna and by Mr Atherley at the annual meeting of NGOs of DPI in New York.

\* A series of children's festivals for a culture of peace, undertaken with the Associated Schools Programme and coordinated by Myriam Karela who had been my assistant prior to establishment of the Unit.

\* Working relations with the Bureau of Extra-budgetary Resources headed by Mr Keller in order to find funding for the national programmes, in particular through donors meetings for El Salvador and Mozambique.

By the time of the 29th General Conference of UNESCO in November 1995, the priorities established at the beginning of 1994 had been put into place. National programmes were underway in all regions of the South (Latin America, Africa and Asia). The First International Forum on the Culture of Peace (San Salvador, February 1994) and the First Consultative Meeting on a Culture of Peace (Paris, September 1994) was followed by the Second International Symposium on a Culture of Peace hosted by the Philippines in November 1995. Networking was underway with a wide variety of partners, much of this accomplished through missions to meetings around the world. The Children's festivals had laid a basis for involvement of the Associated Schools Network in the culture of peace. Only fund-raising was unsuccessful: only one of the 23 El Salvador projects was funded (radio for rural women) and none of the Mozambique projects. A comprehensive overview of the Project was provided in the monograph that I had prepared, [The Culture of Peace: Towards a Global Movement](#) (October 1995) which the Director-General distributed to delegations who visited him during the General Conference. Some indication of the activities of the Culture of Peace Unit may be found in periodic reports from Leslie Atherley (DIR/PPP) to the Director-General (3 October and 10 December 1994 and 3 July 1995), as well as two newsletters of the Unit published on [2 December 1996](#) and in [April 1997](#).



The Culture of Peace Unit in 1997. Back row left to right, Ali Moussa, Manuel Caldera, David Adams, Ingeborg Breines, Leslie Atherley, Omar Kane, Maria Pia Misiti. Front row left to right, Mirta Lourenco, Miriam Karela, Josette Gainche, Mischa Mills, Vicky Moorhead, Edouard Matoko.

Concerned with the failure of fund-raising for national programmes, I undertook a search for partners at a higher level than UNESCO. I took part in a series of international meetings with major donors, for which detailed information was provided to the Director-General in my mission reports.

- \* 1994 (12-14 July) - Vienna Seminar on Peacekeeping,
- \* 1994 (30 November - 2 December) - Berlin Seminar on Intercultural Conflict Management
- \* 1995 (31 March - 4 April) - International Conference on Conflict Mediation and Consolidation of Peace (Bonn),
- \* 1996 (19 February) - OECD Ad Hoc Working Group on Participatory Development and Good Governance (Paris)
- \* 1996 (9-12 April) - International Roundtable on Development Cooperation as Preventive Peace Policy (Berlin)
- \* 1996 (4-5 June) - UNRISD War-Torn Societies Donor Consultation (Geneva)

At the meetings in Bonn and Berlin, I had the very valuable collegueship of the special advisor for the culture of peace Mohamed Sahnoun. Through these meetings I also came to know Mr Klemens van de Sand at OECD whose 1995 article, *The Socio-political System and Development*, suggested "allowing NGOs in the South to assume responsibility in part for the planning and implementation of development projects." Together, we developed a plan by which our national programmes could enter into the OECD framework. Unfortunately, Mr van de Sand left OECD before this could be seriously tested and we were unable to find a successor who would work with us in the same spirit.

As indicated in my recommendations in various documents throughout this period, I also was looking for a way to institutionalize the training of peace promoters, but without any major success.

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Of special importance was the launching of a national culture of peace programme in the North. Otherwise, we risked identifying the culture of peace exclusively with the South, an approach which masks the true nature of the culture of war. This was pointed out by African ambassadors, Noureini Tidjani-Serpos of Benin and Bakary Tio-Toure of Cote d'Ivoire among others, when we held meetings with the Member States by region in March 1998. They stated that one should not look to the South for the causes of the culture of war, and they posed three questions. From where do the weapons come? From where do the violent television programmes come? And where are the terms of trade decided that impoverish the people of the South which leads to violence?

The country in the North chosen for concentration was Russia, one which I knew well and for which I could speak the language. A series of discussions on this matter were held in 1995 and 1996 with members of the Russian Delegation to UNESCO. Having begun collaborating with Sema Tanguiane at the time, the Russian retiree who had been ADG of Education at UNESCO, I was able to meet and, in one case draw up a small contract, with his Russian academic friends. Other Russian contacts were made through Sasha Sannikov and Vladimir Lomeiko who were, respectively, a staff member and advisor to the Director-General. In February 1997, I accompanied the Director-General to Moscow and organized a roundtable of Russian academics to establish a Russian National Culture of Peace Programme. Later, 8-9 December 1997, this was formally launched at a national meeting prepared with the Ministry for the Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities at which I represented UNESCO.

A breakthrough for the Russia project came when the Director-General named Wolfgang Reuther as the UNESCO representative. Mr Reuther had been an early proponent of the culture of peace from his days with the German National Commission for UNESCO. In December 1997 in Moscow, where I was attending the meeting organized by the Ministry, and Reuther had arrived for his briefing, we drew up a project which was presented to the Director-General in January 1998, along with a request for \$200,000 for its financing. Over the succeeding several years, this project would be carried out with the cooperation of the Russian National Commission for UNESCO, as described in correspondence and report of [5 May 1998](#), reports of my missions [18-28 April 2000](#) and [2 March 2001](#), as well as colorful booklets produced for [1999](#) and for [2001](#) by the Moscow office of UNESCO. A version of the latter [in Russian](#) is also available.

The Russian project included many programmes in schools, at all levels from elementary schools to advanced university chairs, but perhaps the most important programme was the quest of a peaceful resolution of the conflict between Russia and Tatarstan. Like Chechnya, Tatarstan was a Muslim region that declared its independence from Russia after the break-up of the Soviet Union. But unlike Chechnya the conflict was resolved peacefully. As pointed out in the mission report by Mr. Reuther and myself following our visit to Kazan in April 2000, "After declaring its independence from Russia in 1990, Tatarstan remained in dialogue with the Moscow authorities in the search for a peaceful resolution of their conflict until a treaty could be signed in 1994. During that time, the number of schools teaching in the Tatar language in Kazan was increased from 1 to 50, showing how important is the right to education in the national language (Tatars make up a majority of the population). The establishment of the Institute for a Culture of Peace in Tatarstan reflects their commitment to peaceful conflict resolution."

The last big meeting for the Russian program, before the program and its sponsoring ministry were abolished, took place in Moscow on 2 March 2001: the All-Russian Conference: "Culture of Peace in Russia: Results and Prospects". The Conference included participants from two Government Ministries (Education and Federation Affairs and Nationalities), Moscow City Government, and a wide range of organizations from the civil society. Many of these organizations received diplomas for their participation in the National Project, as listed [here](#). The Conference was opened by representatives of the sponsoring organizations, the UNESCO Culture of Peace Chair at the Russian State University for the Humanities, the Chairman of the Commission of the Russian Federation for UNESCO, the UNESCO representative in the Russian Federation and myself, on behalf of the International Year for the Culture of Peace. My remarks, delivered in Russian, are available [here](#).

The culture of peace had come of age. The 28th General Conference on 13 November 1995 adopted the [six-year Medium-Term Strategy](#) for UNESCO with the culture of peace as its major theme, stating that "the major challenge at the close of the twentieth century is to begin the transition from a culture of war to this culture of peace".



At the launch of the Culture of Peace Center in Elabuga, Tatarstan, Russian Federation in April 2000. From left to right: Ekaterina Saliagina; Wolfgang Reuther head of UNESCO office in Moscow; the author; Engel Tagirov Director of Tatarstan Institute for the Culture of Peace

In three main ways Director-General Mayor implemented the decision of the 1995 General Conference that the culture of peace should be the priority for UNESCO. First, he undertook intensive personal diplomacy with Heads of State and leaders of intergovernmental organizations and the civil society, engaging his newly appointed personal advisors in this effort. Second, he established the Transdisciplinary Project "Towards a Culture of Peace" by which he mobilized the UNESCO sectors in a series of coordinated activities contributing to this theme. And third, he proposed an additional human right, the "human right to peace".

The intensive personal diplomacy of the Director-General for the culture of peace is beyond the documentation available to me. Traces are presumably contained in the official notes taken during his numerous meetings (perhaps thousands) with visitors and on missions throughout the world during the years 1996-1999. In addition, there were many off-the-record discussions and diplomacy undertaken by his personal advisors. Another kind of documentation consists of the many declarations by international organizations that were inspired by this diplomacy (see list contained in [Appendix 2](#) of General Assembly Document A/53/370 which is included here as Annex VI). Another source of information is the body of letters written in support of the International Year for the Culture of Peace to governmental and non-governmental leaders throughout the world as called for in the strategy documents of Anaisabel Prera-Flores such as that of 18 July 1998 (see the list of letters in the [publicity campaign](#) below).

Despite the lack of documentation for much of this campaign, there should be no doubt about the remarkable dynamism and charisma of Mr Mayor's advocacy and its mobilizing effect for the culture of peace.

The Transdisciplinary Project "Towards a Culture of Peace" was built on previous initiatives to involve the different sectoral programmes of UNESCO, as described in the document for the General Conference 28 C/123 (20 September 1995), which mentioned the International Conference on Education, the Associated Schools Project, the Tolerance programme, violence in the media, UNESCO clubs, projects in field offices and meetings with religions for a culture of peace. We proposed, during 1996, a Blue Note of the Director-General for management of the project but this was not forthcoming until 16 June 1997. Meantime, meetings with the sectors were held on 9, 16 and 17 December 1996. As always, however, the lines of authority at UNESCO remained hierarchical and did not lend themselves easily to coordination on a horizontal level.



Director-General Mayor (right) with Anaisabel Prera-Flores at Meeting of Culture of Peace Advisory Group in 1999

The Director-General assigned responsibility for the management of the Transdisciplinary Project to his advisor for Latin America, Anaisabel Prera Flores. Ms Prera Flores had been the delegate of Guatemala on the Executive Board when the culture of peace was first received by the Board in 1992. Her responsibility was eventually formalized in the Director-General's Blue Note of 16 June 1997, but had begun informally well before then. Following the first meeting of the Internal Co-ordinating Group for the Transdisciplinary Project on 12 September 1997, she and her team prepared a series of documents and meetings, including those of 9 and 12 February 1998, 4 June 1998, 17 July 1998 and 16 February 1999 that attempted to mobilize the full strength of UNESCO behind the Culture of Peace Project.

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I had the responsibility (except for the evaluation reports) to document the development of the Transdisciplinary Project in a series of Executive Board documents and General Conference documents. These were in addition to the reports I prepared regularly for the United Nations, which also included detailed descriptions of the Transdisciplinary Project (documents A/51/395, A/52/292 and A/53/370 - the latter available here as [Annex VI](#)). Hardly a year went by without a formal report, a fact which indicates, with hindsight, less the advancement of the programme and more the increasing skepticism of the ruling bodies of UNESCO and some members of the Secretariat. The UNESCO reports included the following:

- \* 1994 (18 August), [145 EX/15](#): The culture of peace programme: from national programmes to a project of global scope
- \* 1995 (20 September), [28 C/123](#): Report on the action of the culture of peace programme
- \* 1997 (23 April), [151 EX/43](#): Report on the implementation of the transdisciplinary project "Towards a culture of peace"
- \* 1998 (14 September), 155 EX/48: Evaluation report on the transdisciplinary project Towards a culture of peace available [on-line](#).
- \* 1999 (24 September), 157 EX/39: Evaluation report on the transdisciplinary project; Towards a culture of peace available [on-line](#).
- \* 2000 (4 May), 159 EX/37: Strategy paper by the Director-General on the place of UNESCO in the United Nations system-wide actions on the culture of peace available [on-line](#)

The Advisory Group, established by the Note of 16 June 1997, was convened only once - on March 5, 1999 - at Paris, for which I have seen the agenda and list of participants but no account of the discussion.

The "Human Right to Peace" was announced by Director-General Mayor in his New Year's message of January 1997. Already 23-25 February 1997, an Experts Meeting on the Human Right to Peace was convened in the Canary Islands. During the next ten months, this initiative was to create a veritable "firestorm" of controversy, culminating in a remarkable [debate during the 29th General Conference](#) on 6 November 1997.

The opposition to the Human Right to Peace, particularly by the European Member States, was linked to their concern that the Director-General was overstepping the domains of competence of the Organization and taking on initiatives that belonged instead with the United Nations Security Council which, of course, is more easily controlled by the major powers. This concern had surfaced earlier in a surprising debate on 29 April 1996 when the Executive Board rejected a draft decision to assist the United Nations in its educational initiatives for disarmament that had been proposed in document 149 EX/23 of 28 March 1996. Behind that debate lay European concern that UNESCO was going beyond its mandate in a series of meetings that the Director-General and his regional advisors were organizing with military establishments in Latin America (26-27 June 1996) and Europe (12 June 1996), as well as meetings to try to achieve a diplomatic settlement in the Sudan (11 April and 23-26 September 1995).

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The debate was sharp on 6 November at Commission V of the 1997 General Conference where the Human Right to Peace was on the Agenda (See synopsis in [Annex V](#). Following a policy decision of the European Union, one European country after another expressed reservations about the Human Right to Peace, often couched in legalistic language. And countries from the South struck back, even accusing the North of wanting to protect their arms industries. At the end, Paraguay stated that "this rich discussion shows that the culture of peace is the central issue of this General Conference and that the Human Right to Peace is needed for individuals and states." Noting that the debate split North and South, Paraguay stated, "Perhaps peace is a greater concern in the South where scarce resources are being diverted to war." In the end, failing to achieve a consensus, the Director-General did not press further with the issue.

Skepticism about the Human Right to Peace continued to echo for years after the 1997 debate. In the informal discussions at the United Nations on 6 May 1999 concerning the Draft Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, the US delegate stated that "peace should not be elevated to the category of human right, otherwise it will be very difficult to start a war." The European Union, at the same session, while not expressing their objections as starkly, required the elimination of all reference to the culture of war.

I was also growing skeptical of the culture of peace, but for the opposite reason. While certain Member States were afraid it would be so effective that it might interfere with their "right" to make war, I was frustrated at its lack of effectiveness, at UNESCO's inability to have a real impact for peace at a grass roots or national level. As mentioned earlier, in my opinion the national programmes were failing, and they were not being replaced by anything more effective.

Given that UNESCO's priority is education, I tried another approach which was the launching of a global project for culture of peace and non-violence in schools. This got off to a good start at the International Forum in Sintra, Portugal, in May 1996 (See the [Sintra Declaration](#)). However, when it came time to follow-up, we encountered the same problems as those of national programmes; the staff position that had been established for direction of the project was "given away" at the very last moment by the Director-General for political considerations and the agency that had promised funds for the project did not make good on its promises.



Some participants at Sintra meeting (Morton Deutsch at right)

I felt it was time for another approach, and an opportunity was provided by the United Nations International Year for the Culture of Peace, the UN Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, and development of the Internet. To take this new approach could not be done without a break with the past, which was rather painful - which is normal in a hierarchical structure like that of UNESCO. I used to say that the only thing we lacked to be a military structure was the requirement to salute our superior officers when we passed them in the hall.

On 12 June 1997, I presented the new approach to my chief, the Director of the Culture of Peace Programme, Leslie Atherley, putting it in the form of a memo entitled "Importance of Information/Networking for Culture of Peace" and proposing that I be given the full-time job of its implementation. For two weeks we argued and debated. He convened a meeting of the senior professionals so I could present the case, but they would not agree with the idea that 90% of the information in an effective information/networking system should come from partners outside of UNESCO proper. Instead they insisted that the Internet should be used to show off the work of UNESCO. In the end, Leslie urged me to give up the idea and wait until he retired at the end of 1998, at which point I would presumably become Director and could do what I wanted. I told him frankly and openly that I would not wait, but take the proposal to the Director-General.

The conflict worsened over the course of the next few months, as members of the Unit realized that I had presented my idea to the Director-General despite opposition by the senior staff. This culminated in a remarkable theatrical scene in the chamber of the Direction Generale where the Director General normally "held court" with his top staff. We occupied the chamber on the evening of 2 April 1998 for a session of mediation. Professional mediator Jacqueline Morineau and two of her colleagues sat with Director Leslie Atherley in the chairs usually reserved for the Director-General and his top staff. The rest of us, at least a dozen in number, sat in the semi-circle facing them. For almost three hours, the mediators mirrored the attacks by several members of the Unit staff who condemned me for what they considered to be my betrayal of the Unit. A majority of the staff members looked on in silence, perhaps intimidated by the vehemence of the attacks and no one spoke in my defense. In the days that followed, although I requested Atherley to continue the mediation process, he refused.

In the months following the initial confrontation in June 1997, I developed the proposal, called a "[Global Culture of Peace Info-Net](#)": "a globally accessible and comprehensive, participatory in format, constantly updated information service on the Internet in everyday and local languages concerning culture of peace activities." A description was given at the end of July 1997 to the Director-General, and he asked me to prepare a draft note that would establish a new unit to carry it out and that could be implemented for the first meeting of the Internal Advisory Group planned for 12 September. However, the meeting of 12 September came and went and the Director-General took no decision on the note. Instead, he was pre-occupied with the general strategy of the transdisciplinary project and the human right to peace, as indicated in his notes on the strategy paper of Anaisabel Prera Flores of 5 December 1997.

In November, however, the situation changed with the decision of the UN General Assembly to make UNESCO the focal point for the International Year for the Culture of Peace (for details see the following section that concerns UN General Assembly resolutions). I presented my proposal once again in a personal note to the Director-General on 13 December 1997. This time, however, I requested that I be put in charge of an independent unit for the International Year for the Culture of Peace, and I provided a timetable and proposal for staffing and budget. On 25 March 1998 the Director-General issued the needed administrative note, and with the help of my secretary, Saida Doumbia-Gall, who was the backbone of the team throughout the years to come, we launched the work for the International Year.

I never did really convince the Director-General of the Internet project (originally called "info-net" and later called the Culture of Peace News Network - CPNN). However, he accepted my proposal in October 1997 to include it in the funding package for the funds received from the United Kingdom on rejoining UNESCO, and the \$100,000 was made available in 1998 to launch CPNN.

Starting with resolution [A/50/173](#) adopted 22 December 1995, at the same time as the UNESCO General Conference gave priority to a culture of peace, the United Nations General Assembly began considering and adopting resolutions on the culture of peace. The 1995 resolution, as described in the memos from the Director of the New York office of 20 November and 1 December, was proposed by Peru and backed especially by other Latin countries. This resolution - as well as those in subsequent years - was aided by the involvement of Ms Anita Amorim, a UNESCO staff member whose father was the Brazilian ambassador to the UN and formerly Foreign Minister. In 1995 she was working under the Director of the New York Office, Jorge Werthein, who would later become Director of the Brazil office of UNESCO and mobilize that country during the International Year for the Culture of Peace. Then, beginning in 1996, the New York Office was directed by Nina Sibal, who brought to the office a passionate involvement.

Ironically, Nina Sibal as a member of the Indian delegation to the UNESCO Executive Board had objected to the proposed resolution for the culture of peace in October 1993. The Director-General later offered her the key position of the Director's post of the UNESCO office at the United Nations. Then, it was Ms Sibal, in the name of the non-aligned movement, who became the major proponent of the culture of peace at the United Nations in New York and played an important role in the formulation and informal lobbying for the culture of peace resolutions of the General Assembly.



Nina Sibal with Anwarul Chowdhury (left) and Nobel Laureate Desmond Tutu (right)  
*photo from UNESCO News, Sept 20, 1997*

A key moment was the adoption 12 December 1996 by the General Assembly of resolution [A/51/101](#) requesting UNESCO to prepare and submit "elements for a draft provisional declaration and programme of action on a culture of peace" for its 52nd session in the fall of 1997. The 1996 resolution was based on the 1995 resolution [A/50/173](#) that had requested a report but not a declaration and programme of action. The major point of contention among the Member States during the debate from 25-27 November was whether the culture of peace should be considered as an agenda item in itself or as part of the debate on human rights.

The Year 1997 was to be the most important year in the development of UN initiatives. Three separate initiatives would converge: the proposal for the International Year for the Culture of Peace (2000); the proposal for the UN Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace; and the initiative of the Nobel Peace Laureates "Campaign for the Children of the World" that would eventually become the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010). These initiatives are considered separately in the following pages.

Although it was not yet called the International Year for the Culture of Peace, the idea for an international year came from Mr Pierre Marchand, who was the founder and Executive Director of the NGO "Partage avec les Enfants du Monde", based in Compiègne, France, and a member of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the oldest of the major international pacifist organizations. He wrote to all Nobel Peace Laureates on 28 February 1997, asking them to sign a [letter to all Heads of State](#) calling for an International Year of Education for Nonviolence for the Year 2000 and an International Decade for a Culture of Nonviolence from 2000-2010. Learning of this initiative, I went to visit Mr Marchand in April 1997, promised my support and suggested that he seek the support of Director-General Mayor.

In response to the appeal of Mr Marchand (at that time supported by 14 Nobel Laureates), the Director-General wrote a letter of support on 25 April 1997 to Secretary-General Kofi Annan as well as to Mr Marchand. Meanwhile, Mr Marchand continued to gather signatures of Nobel Peace Laureates until he obtained all of them (the first time in history that all of them had supported a single initiative) and he sent their signatures, as promised, to all Heads of State and to the Secretary-General. At a press conference at UNESCO on 1 July 1997 the initiative was presented by Nobel Laureates Adolfo Perez Esquivel and Mairead Maguire, along with Pierre Marchand, and Director-General Mayor publicly offered his support.

Meanwhile, the publishers and editors of Latin American newspapers meeting with the Director-General in Mexico, called for an International Year for the Culture of Peace in their [Declaration of Puebla](#), 17 May 1997.

At the ECOSOC meeting in Geneva in July 1997 the International Year for the Culture of Peace for the Year 2000 was formally proposed by the Foreign Minister of Cote D'Ivoire with strong backing by Latin American delegations. It was incorporated in resolution [E/1997/47](#) on 22 July. No doubt the Nobel Peace Laureate initiative helped develop the support received from the Member States at ECOSOC and again at the UN General Assembly in November 1997 when the International Year for the Culture of Peace was formally adopted. The Nobel laureate initiative was mentioned by Panama in the General Assembly debate on November 20 and by Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury of Bangladesh in his presentation of the resolution.

The road to adoption of the Year had not been completely smooth, however. In letters of 31 July and 24 August 1997 to Ms Sibal, Director of the New York office of UNESCO, Mr Marchand asked that the name of the International Year be changed to "International Year of Education for Peace and Non-Violence", corresponding more closely to the original petition of the Nobel Peace Laureates. As indicated in the memo of 27 August 1997 from Ms Sibal to Director-General Mayor, this change could not be accepted because the name of the International Year had already been established by ECOSOC. A compromise was found and presented at a press conference at the UN on 4 September 1997: Mr Marchand would support the International Year for the Culture of Peace, while UNESCO would support an International Decade for the Culture of Non-Violence (to be discussed below).

At the UN General Assembly on November 20 the resolution for the International Year was presented by the Ambassador from Cote d'Ivoire, Youssoufou Bamba in an eloquent speech. He listed the 43 sponsors (more added later), mostly from Latin America and Africa. The countries of the North were not sponsors and, but they did not oppose the resolution for the International Year. Instead, most of the debate centred on another resolution, concerning a Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, as discussed below. The [resolution for the International Year](#), along with a general [resolution on the culture of peace](#), was adopted on 20 November.

Beginning in the spring of 1997, I had been working to prepare the "elements for a draft provisional declaration and programme of action on a culture of peace" that had been requested by the UN General Assembly in their 12 December 1996 resolution. I worked on the draft declaration with Mr Sema Tanguiane who had already assisted the Director-General on the definition of a culture of peace presented to the International Conference on Education 3-8 October 1994. The Declaration was conceived as an ethical document in the long tradition of such documents adopted by the UN General Assembly and the UNESCO General Conference. The draft programme of action was my responsibility. On 9 April (see [Annex IV](#)) and 4 June 1997 drafts were sent to the sectors with requests for their inputs and were expanded to accommodate substantial inputs from Ingeborg Breines in the CPP Unit, Doudou Diene in the Culture Sector and Alain Modoux and Choy Arnaldo in the Communication sector. [The completed document](#) was sent to the UN Secretary-General who forwarded it on 19 September to the 52nd session of the General Assembly as UN document [A/52/292](#).

In the fall of 1997, there was strong opposition to the draft declaration and programme of action by the rich Member States which they tried to block by procedural arguments. In September in New York the European Union objected to the culture of peace being included in the General Assembly plenary. Ambassador Chowdhury resisted. He responded on 2 October to a letter from the EU representative insisting that the issue must be taken up in the General Assembly. Then, in Paris, at the PX Commission of the 152nd Executive Board on 10 October the Europeans, joined by Japan, argued that discussion should not be allowed of the report contained in document [152 EX/50](#) (dated 26 August 1997) because "the report was submitted to the United Nations without having been considered by the Executive Board." Although this proposed decision was later rejected in the plenary session of the Board on 17 October due to pressure from countries of the South, there was no discussion of the report. In his reply to the debate, UNESCO Director-General Mayor complained bitterly about the Board's resistance and apparent lack of trust in his initiatives. Later, when the document (A/52/292 dated 19 September) was discussed in New York at the General Assembly on 31 October, the European Union continued their attempts to block it. They argued that the document had not been debated at UNESCO and therefore it could not be debated at the UN. They demanded a delay in the vote which led to an informal consultation on 18 November that was, according to the Nina Sibal's note, "one of the most interesting [discussions] on the subject that I have heard." The European Union continued to express reservations at the General Assembly plenary, but in the end the resolution was adopted on 20 November, requesting a draft declaration and programme of action on a culture of peace at its 53rd session "taking into account the debate in the General Assembly, the specific suggestions of Member States and the comments, if any, of member States in the General Conference of UNESCO at its 29th session."

In preparation of the Programme of Action, the Director General wrote on 20 December 1997 to the UN Secretary-General, and then he wrote to all UN specialized agencies and other Inter Governmental Organizations on 14 February 1998 to request their inputs. As reported to the Director-General on 6 March 1998, the Director of the New York office, with back-up from me at headquarters, engaged the main UN Executive Committees to provide their inputs. In May the Executive Board, pleased this time to be consulted prior to the United Nations, expressed support for a preliminary version of the document ([154 EX/42](#)), with the exception of the mention of the Human Right to Peace. We received contributions from many of the agencies and departments of the United Nations, and I incorporated them into the final version sent to the Secretary-General (available here as [Annex VI](#)) and acknowledged by Director-General Mayor in a letter dated 9 September 1998. The list of contributions is included in this version of the report which corresponds to document [155 EX/49](#) dated 11 August and [A/53/370](#) dated 2 September. At the last minute, thanks to the insistence of Nina Sibal, Director of the New York office, I had revised the final version of the document to make it briefer and more to the point. At the Executive Board and General Conference on October 30, 1998, attention was not focused on the Declaration and Programme of Action, but instead on the proposal for the Human Right to Peace, as described in an earlier section. The Executive Board, meeting in Tashkent, Uzbekistan on 6 November 1998, adopted a general decision of support for the culture of peace and the International Year for the Culture of Peace.

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The birth process of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace was long and arduous (See [Adoption](#)) - a nine month series of "informals" that coincided with the War in Kosovo and that had to overcome opposition from the European Union and the United States. Already at the first informal of 2 December 1998, as described in the report from Ms Sibal at the New York office, the European Union tried to send the document back to UNESCO. However, this was overcome, thanks to the strong leadership of Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury and the presence of at least 45 countries, mostly from the South, in the small crowded room. Later, at the informals of 6 May 1999, as mentioned above, the US delegate stated that peace should not be elevated to the category of human right, otherwise it will be very difficult to start a war, while the European Union required the elimination of all reference to the culture of war. Further changes were demanded at the informals of 8-14 July.

The changes made during the informals weakened the Declaration by politicising it and losing much of the ethical tone which had hoped would make it an enduring document. Among the provisions eliminated were the respect for democratic principles in international relations, reference to the "deep cultural roots" of war, and the reference to promotion of a "global movement for a speedy transition from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace and non-violence in the new millennium", as well as reference to the culture of peace as a "process of individual, collective and institutional transformation" and to promotion of a culture of peace as an element of UN reform. On the other hand, the Programme of Action was retained in most respects, and was even strengthened by recognizing international peace and security, including disarmament, as a legitimate domain of action. However, a few key provisions were eliminated, including "reform of management practices . . . that corresponds to the principles of a culture of peace" and "research on experiences of national truth and reconciliation commissions." Also eliminated was reference to the establishment of a voluntary fund whereby governmental and private agencies could provide financial support for the programme.

On the last possible day of the 53rd session of the General Assembly, 13 September 1999, resolution [A/53/243](#) was adopted, thanks to the patience and firmness of its "mid-wife", Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury. In presenting the document, the Ambassador said that it brought in subjects that the Assembly had rarely touched in its 50 year history: "I believe that this document is unique in more than one way. It is a universal document in the real sense, transcending boundaries, cultures, societies and nations. Unlike many other General Assembly documents, this document is action-oriented and encourages actions at all levels . . . All people from all walks of life and all sorts of backgrounds can contribute to its implementation."

Implementation on the programme of action was taken up by the UN Administrative Committee of Coordination 29-30 October 1999 responding to a UNESCO proposal for an approach based on "results-based management". However, this approach was not followed up. Implementation was again considered by the General Assembly in the UN resolution on the International Decade of 29 November 2000 (see below) with a request for reports in 2005 and [implied] at the end of the Decade in 2010. On 26-27 February 2001 the High Level Committee on Programmes of the ACC, approved a proposal that each UN agency should name a focal point to work with UNESCO during the Decade in the preparation of indicators and reports for the implementation of the Programme of Action. The eight domains of action of the Programme of Action are highlighted on the first page of the [Medium-Term Strategy for UNESCO 2002-2007](#).

Meetings to develop indicators for the Programme of Action were convened in Seoul in June 2001 and Tokyo in September 2002. The meetings were sponsored by the Peace Forum associated with the Munhwa Ilbo Daily of Seoul and joined in 2002 by the United Nations University. They planned to put up a website where countries, cities, NGOs and other organizations could construct their own index to measure progress during the Decade 2001-2010.

As described above, the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World was originally the idea of Pierre Marchand and the Nobel Peace Laureates, linked at first to the project for the an International Year of Education for Nonviolence. Mr Marchand accepted the compromise to call for the Decade as a follow-up to an International Year for the culture of Peace, and he continued to lobby intensively for the proposal throughout 1997 and 1998 and to stay in contact with UNESCO. Along with Mr Rene Wadlow, also of "Partages", he met with the Director-General on 8 January 1998, and received the assurance, expressed in a letter of 26 February, of UNESCO support. Anticipating success for the Decade, Director-General began including reference to non-violence as well as peace in his speeches. At the United Nations, Ambassador Anwaral Chowdhury, having been successful in obtaining adoption of the International Year for the Culture of Peace and in calling for a Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, gave his support as well to an International Decade as a follow-up to the Year. A key question remained, however. What should the Decade be called?

The name of the Decade came into question at the ECOSOC meetings in New York in July 1998 where a resolution was proposed on 16 July by Ambassador Chowdhury entitled "International Decade for a Culture of Non-Violence and Peace for the Children of the World". Ms Sibal, in a letter dated 21 July to Ambassador Chowdhury, argued that it should be the "International Decade of Education for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence". Although not stated, she felt that this would give UNESCO responsibility, whereas if the children were mentioned in the title, it would give UNICEF responsibility. In fact, at the urging of Ms Sibal, Director-General Mayor had already made the same suggestion to Mr Marchand in a letter dated July 1. The position of Sibal and Mayor was supported by the Latin American states during the informal discussions.

Eventually, the title of the Decade suggested by Mr Marchand was adopted as the "International Decade for a Culture of Non-Violence and Peace for the Children of the World" (see document of 28 July and ECOSOC debate described in memo of 30 July). Even then, however, some confusion remained. The official French version of the title puts non-violence before peace (similar to the original Chowdhury resolution), while the English version, which is the original, puts peace before non-violence in the title. And the matter of lead agency for the Decade was not resolved, the resolution mentioning both UNESCO and UNICEF, but without assigning responsibility. These matters were not resolved at the General Assembly debate on 10 November, where the ECOSOC version was adopted as resolution [A/53/25](#). More attention was devoted at that point to the upcoming informals on the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace which faced resistance from Europe and the United States.



Nobel Peace Laureates Adolfo Perez Esquivel and Rigoberta Menchu at the launching ceremony of the International Year for the Culture of Peace

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I expected that UNESCO would propose itself as the lead agency for the Decade, but this was not even discussed by the Director-General in his meeting with Mr. Pierre Marchand on September 25, 1998. I was quite surprised when, on 31 March 1999 in another meeting with Mr. Marchand, Director-General Mayor responded negatively when Mr Marchand stated that he assumed UNESCO should be the lead agency. In fact, as far as I know, the question of UNESCO's lead role was never dealt with during Mr Mayor's term in office. Although the Director-General replied on 23 July 1999 to a plan of action proposed by Mr Marchand for the Decade, he did not go into detail, but simply requested that it be revised to be consistent with plans already underway for the International Year. These suggestions were not taken into consideration by Mr Marchand, who continued to send out his previous version. In the spring of 2000, after Mayor's departure, I prepared a document concerning the Decade which provided for UNESCO leadership and it was submitted by the new Director-General Matsuura to the 55th General Assembly by way of Secretary-General Kofi Annan. I met with officials of UNICEF during July to further improve it for submission to the General Assembly where it arrived as document [A/55/377](#) dated 12 September 2000.



Pierre Marchand, right, at the founding of the French Committee for the Decade. Perez Esquivel left and Christian Renoux center.

A substantive approach for the Decade is detailed in document [A/55/377](#) including contents and modalities of education for a culture of peace and non-violence, an approach to promote culture of peace in the mass media, and an organizational strategy for the global movement. And, as we had written in the earlier draft, it proposed UNESCO as the lead agency.

A new source of confusion arose when, on 25 July 2000, Mr Marchand sent a letter co-signed with Nobel Peace Laureate Mairead Maguire to Secretary-General Kofi Annan proposing that the United Nations University for Peace, rather than UNESCO, should be designated as the lead agency for the International Decade. He sent copies of this letter to the Nobel Peace Laureates asking them to send letters of support, and then put all of the correspondence onto the Internet where it quickly circulated throughout the world. Eventually, on 29 August, to counter the confusion, UNESCO Director-General Matsuura sent a letter to the Secretary-General confirming UNESCO's commitment and readiness to coordinate the Decade and I sent a corresponding letter to Mr Marchand and Ms Maguire.

When the General Assembly took up the issue of the Decade on 2 November 2000, Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury of Bangladesh once again played a leadership role and a strong resolution for the Decade was adopted on 29 November ([A/55/47](#)). UNESCO was designated as lead agency. UNESCO's follow-up was begun with a letter about the Decade from the Director-General 29 December 2000 to all UNESCO National Commissions.



One other United Nations initiative that had still not been implemented as of the time of this writing in 2003 concerns a systematic initiative for culture of peace training. Training had been a key component of our plans for the culture of peace since the initial working document of December 11, 1992, the proposal of cross-conflict participation in 1993 and the 1994 background analysis that I prepared on the UNESCO literacy programmes as a precedent for the culture of peace. This is reflected in a number of notes from me to my chief, Leslie Atherley, during the early years of the culture of peace programme. A network of "local and regional centers and mechanisms for capacity-building in conflict-mediation" was included among the recommendations of the Second International Forum for a Culture of Peace in the Philippines 26-30 November 1995. Following this a proposal was included in Document [A/51/395](#) submitted to the General Assembly 23 September 1996 for a "global training effort for non-violent social change that transforms conflict into cooperation for human development" for which "UNESCO is prepared to take the lead". A year later, in the preparation of the draft UN Programme of Action for a Culture of Peace in 1997-1998, I consulted with leading proponents of training in the UN system, including the psychologist Connie Peck at UNITAR and Gay Rosenblum-Kumar at (DESA) the Department of Economic and Social Administration. Based on their advice two paragraphs concerning training were included in the draft Programme of Action in document A/53/370 (see [Annex V](#)), one of them calling for "Local and regional training centres for conflict transformation ... established within the framework of existing offices of the United Nations system throughout the world ... "



Report from Philippine Conference  
delivered by rapporteur Toh Swee-Hin

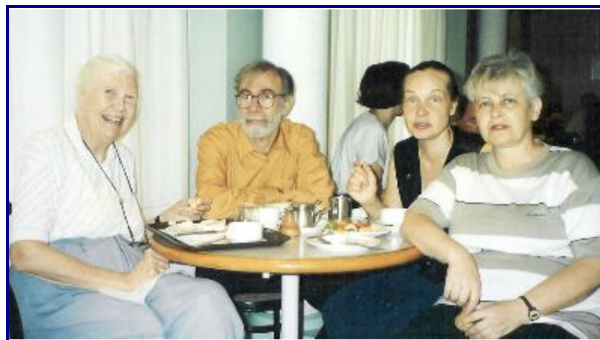
Unfortunately, the proposal for training centres was disputed by some Member States during the "informals" on the Programme of Action, in particular on 6 May 1999. The European Union replaced it with a proposal for "strengthening the ongoing efforts of the United Nations system aimed at training and education in the areas of conflict prevention, peaceful settlement of conflicts and post-conflict peace-building", presumably considering that the establishment of new centres would be too costly. The other paragraph about training was retained in the final section of [A/53/243](#) concerning international peace and security, but with strong caveats: "encouraging training in techniques for the understanding, prevention and resolution of conflict for the concerned staff of the United Nations, relevant regional organizations and Member States, upon request, where appropriate "

I tried to develop a training initiative by another means, drafting a training proposal document for the ACC (United Nations Administrative Committee of Coordination), the committee that brings together the heads of UN agencies and many of its major departments. However, the draft document, dated 7 September 1998 and following an outline presented 28 August, was never submitted to the ACC.

The idea of a global movement for a culture of peace dates from a document dated 23 September 1994 prepared in preparation for the Consultative Meeting by the "[Group of Reflection](#)" meeting in Central America. The Group included Juan Chong, Francisco Lacayo, Anaisabel Prera Flores and Augusto Ramirez Ocampo. They conceived that the culture of peace has the characteristics of a universal movement under construction, a utopia that is both viable and necessary. Although their reflections were not echoed in the final document of the Consultative Meeting, the ideas were expanded in the monograph that I prepared for the 1995 General Conference, beginning with its title: "UNESCO and the Culture of Peace: Towards a Global Movement". One may consider that this was not by accident, since my theoretical work before coming to UNESCO had focused especially on the history and psychology of social movements. Lacayo's writings on this subject were expanded over the course of the next year and used as the basis for our July 1996 article, of which he was first author.

In his preface to the October 1995 monograph the Director-General speaks of "the culture of peace movement" and in the introduction, it is stated that the culture of peace is "an emerging movement which links together with the various movements for a peaceful future." UNESCO's role is described as "catalytic": "Its role is not to construct a culture of peace by itself but to initiate and support ongoing, long-term processes in UNESCO itself and in the framework of a broad social movement. It is expected that this movement will take on a life of its own and become a self-sustaining, irreversible transformational process. . . ." [Note that the quotations are taken from the [original version of the monograph](#) rather than the later revised edition.]

Non-governmental organizations play a key role in the development of the movement. On 17 September 1994, Mr Atherley had addressed the annual DPI/NGO conference in New York. And in 1995 the role of NGOs was emphasized in the [chapter on NGOs](#) of the culture of peace monograph. Among the NGOs cited in some detail in the monograph chapter were the World Scout Movement, the International Peace Research Association and the World Council of Churches. Recognizing their importance I undertook missions to involve these organizations in the culture of peace movement in 20 May 1997, 30 October 1994 and 23 June 1998, and 15-16 June 1999, respectively.



At the Malta 1994 meeting of the International Peace Research Association. Left to right, Former Secretary-General Elise Boulding, the author, Riita Wahlstrom, Olga Skaric

The importance of NGOs in the global movement was emphasized in the 20 September 1995 report to the UNESCO General Conference [28 C/123](#): "The extent of spontaneous activities for a culture of peace by non-governmental organizations confirms the expectation that the culture of peace is becoming a global movement in which every person can find an important role to play. In order to facilitate and inform this global movement, the Culture of Peace Programme is developing an information and networking system."

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Despite the fact that there was no historic precedent for the United Nations General Assembly to promote a "movement", we included the concept of a movement at several points in the draft Declaration and the Programme of Action submitted first on 19 September 1997 and then on 2 September 1998 to the General Assembly ([A/52/292](#) and [A/53/370](#)). During the "informals" for A/53/370 (on 6 May 1999), the reference to "a global movement for a speedy transition from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace and non-violence in the new millennium" was removed from the Declaration on the insistence of the European Union. However, the following reference was retained in the paragraph 6 of the Programme of Action adopted 13 September 1999 ([A/53/243](#)) thanks to the patience and tenacity of Ambassador Chowdhury: "Partnerships between and among the various actors as set out in the Declaration should be encouraged and strengthened for a global movement for a culture of peace." The theme was repeated a year later in resolution [A/55/47](#) of 29 November 2000 (also under the leadership of Ambassador Chowdhury) which "invites civil society at the local regional and national levels to widen the scope of their activities to promote a culture of peace and non-violence, engaging in partnerships and sharing information, thus contributing to a global movement for a culture of peace."

Ambassador Chowdhury expressed his commitment to the concept of a movement in speeches delivered to UNESCO on 12 January 1999 and 25 November 2000. On the second occasion, addressing the NGO Conference at UNESCO, he stated, "For the success of our movement, we need a 'grand alliance' for a culture of peace. During the on-going International Year for the Culture of Peace, we have seen such a grand alliance come together through the national committees and national focal points developed during the year, through projects implemented nationally and locally; through widespread involvement of civil society; through declaratory statements by regional organizations; through symposiums and workshops and seminars held all over the world; we are witnessing the movement gather a momentum that cannot be reversed."

The movement was expressed in terms of "partnerships" beginning with document [A/51/395](#) of 23 September 1996. As described there in paragraph 54, this was based on the approach adopted in UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy for 1996-2001 which devotes an entire section to "UNESCO's Partners." The theme of partnerships as a priority was later taken up for the United Nations as a whole in the Secretary-General's report on the role of the United Nations in the Twenty-First Century and used as the basis for the strategy for the global movement proposed for the International Decade for the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World [A/55/377](#) paragraph 16, dated 12 September 2000.

For all practical purposes, it was the International Year for the Culture of Peace that allowed us to put the energies of UNESCO behind the development of the global movement for a culture of peace. This was accomplished in a number of ways: 1) through a massive publicity campaign using television and radio spots and letters from the UNESCO Director-General - as well as the Director-General's personal diplomacy; 2) through a global organization based on a decentralized network of national focal points and national partnerships, on the one hand, and on partnerships with international NGOs and their networks, on the other; 3) through the signature campaign of the Manifesto 2000; and 4) through extensive use of the Internet. This strategy was expressed in a number of internal documents, including that of 16 April 1999 submitted to the Director-General, a memo of 1 July 1999, and [paragraph 05101](#) of the Biennial Programme and Budget adopted by the General Conference on 17 November 1999. Details are provided in the following four sections.

Director-General Mayor, himself, took a personal role at the center of the massive publicity campaign for the International Year. Following the strategy developed by SA/LAC, he signed thousands of letters to partners in the global movement. They began with his letter of July 1998 to all heads of national parliaments and his memo of 20 July to all UNESCO field offices, followed by letters in September to all National Commissions for UNESCO, on 22 October to all Nobel Peace Laureates and culminating in letters in 1999 to all Heads of State, Secretary-Generals of National Commissions for UNESCO, 1,000 mayors, thousands of University Presidents, UNESCO sectors and field offices and media professionals. Mention should also be made of his personal involvement in the preparation of a kit on the culture of peace, as well as a letter to participants in the World Conference on Higher Education held at UNESCO on 8 October 1998. In hundreds of personal meetings with Heads of State and International Organizations, both Intergovernmental and Non-governmental, he spoke of the culture of peace and the International Year. As a result, the culture of peace was featured in dozens of international declarations as listed in Appendix 2 of General Assembly Document [A/53/370](#).

A key advance came on July 21-23, 1998 when the Director-General appointed Enzo Fazzino to work with me as coordinator of public awareness strategy and approved a substantial media budget for the International Year for the Culture of Peace. Since 1993, Enzo, with his wife Antonella Verdiani, had been developing the Planet Society Project, an approach to the global movement through a project of information exchange by grass-roots organizations working for sustainable development. This was a follow-up to the mobilization of the civil society at the 1992 UN Rio Conference. The experience and methods developed in the Planet Society, as well as key members of its team (Liselotte Andersen and Micheline Boulos, in addition to Enzo), provided us a core methodology and staff for the mobilization for the International Year for the Culture of Peace.



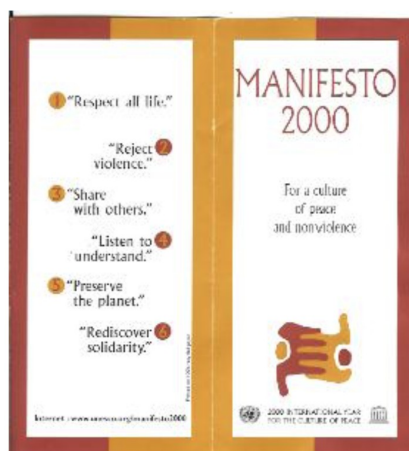
Members of Team for the International Year. Left to right. Ednyfed Tappy, Sebastian Petiot, Liselotte Andersen, Margarita Kaufmann, Enzo Fazzino, Jane Whitaker, Micheline Boulos, Ludie Perdereau, Laurent Labourmene, Saida Doumbia-Gall, Shantha Retnasingam, Zeynep Varoglu. Not shown are Bertranne Mustakim, Aurore Salina, Patricio Tupper and Jeanne Gruson.

Enzo set about quickly to produce a public awareness strategy. He set up consultations with an ad-hoc working group, with Patricio Tupper of UNESCO and with Philippe Gilleron, an outside expert, and he presented the strategy to the Director-General, via Ms Prera Flores, the advisor for the Transdisciplinary Project, on 7 October 1998. As proposed, a relationship was then established with the firm EURO-RSCG of the Havas public relations group, headed by Mr Jacques Seguela. A series of breakfast meetings were held by Director-General Mayor and Mr Seguela with leading print, radio and TV media. Although the full potential of these meetings was never completely fulfilled, they did lead to the production of television and radio spots and print [media inserts](#) that reached an audience of millions during the International Year for the Culture of Peace. Particularly effective was the 45-second [television spot](#) featuring images of the leading Nobel Peace Laureates publicizing the Manifesto 2000, which was shown throughout the world in various languages. In France alone, the media campaign provided without cost to UNESCO was evaluated, in terms of equivalent advertising space, as six million French francs. Among the projects that did not come to fruition was a major television event planned by France Television for the launch of the Year; this collapsed when there was a change in management at France Television. A culture of peace cinema award, originally planned for the Cannes Film Festival in 2000, was eventually reduced to a UNESCO event with Radio France on 19 October 2000.

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In addition to the television spot and radio messages, the team of Mr Fazzino, Mr Tupper and EURO-RSCG developed a wide range of publicity materials based on the [graphic logo](#) designed in the spring of 1999 by the German artist Barbara Blicke and the Spanish graphic designer Luis Sarda de Abreu. The logo, similar to two interlaced hands, illustrated the slogan for the campaign which was originally in French "cultivons la paix" and translated into English as "peace is in our hands." The logo was the result of a long process that included a global competition which resulted in hundreds of doves, followed by a more restricted competition among professional companies in which one of the requests was "no birds, please." I argued that the dove represents the old image of peace as the absence of war, and that we needed a new, active symbol for the cultivation of a culture of peace. Among the [publicity materials](#) featuring the new logo were posters, postcards, stickers, a flag, t-shirt designs, and a very effective leaflet for the Manifesto 2000:



Leaflet for Manifesto 2000 - click [here](#) to see or download entire leaflet.

High points in the publicity campaign, which was built around the Manifesto 2000, were the events held at the Eiffel Tower on 4 March 1999, to announce the Manifesto, on 14 September 1999, at UNESCO and then at the Eiffel Tower, to launch the International Year for the Culture of Peace, as well as a [press conference at the United Nations](#) on 19 September 2000 for presentation of 60 million signatures. The initiative for "high places for the culture of peace" (monuments, sacred places, tourist attractions, etc.), was launched at the Eiffel Tower as foreseen in the strategy, but, with the exception of initiatives in Italy, did not achieve the global scope envisaged during the Year 2000. It is being developed further during the International Decade as the project, Heritage for a Culture of Peace



(Click on image to see its full version)

Federico Mayor and Abbe Pierre at the launch of the International Year at Eiffel Tower

The formal launch of the International Year, which took place on September 14, 1999, was marked by publicity in at least 87 countries, as documented in [Annex VII](#). No doubt, the campaign was even greater in scope, however, as this was simply the information that we received at UNESCO headquarters.

The strategy of a global decentralized network was described in the programme of activities in preparation for the International Year that our team sent to the Director-General on 7 May 1998, with the help of the Task Force established for the Year.

By the time of the 30th General Conference in November 1999, the Member States were prepared to play a leading role in the International Year. More than 100 countries spoke to the culture of peace in the plenary debate on (see synopsis in [Annex VIII](#)), many speaking about the International Year. It was necessary to follow up on their commitments.

A manual for national focal points for the International Year was developed and sent on 21-27 October 1999 to National Commissions for UNESCO, UNESCO field offices and UN Resident Coordinators with the request to develop partnerships with the civil society in their countries. At the heart of the manual was a national partnership agreement form based on the one developed with the NGO-UNESCO Liaison Committee and sent to international NGOs.

One team member, Ms Jeanne Gruson, was engaged full time just to maintain relations with the national focal points (National Commissions and UNESCO field offices) during the Year and to help them use the manual and develop partnerships with the civil society. The effectiveness of this approach is indicated by [newsletter entries](#) on the IYCP Website during the Year 2000 from over 100 countries and the summary of activities during the first six months by UNESCO field offices prepared for the UNESCO Executive Board ([Annex IX](#)). Unfortunately, the Executive Board never knew the extent of the activities because much of the summary of field office activities was cut from the document that was forwarded to them by the UNESCO Central Services.



Presentation of one million Manifesto signatures from Japan. Left to right: Director-General Koichiro Matura, UNESCO Club representatives Junichiro Iwama and Kaori Kabishima

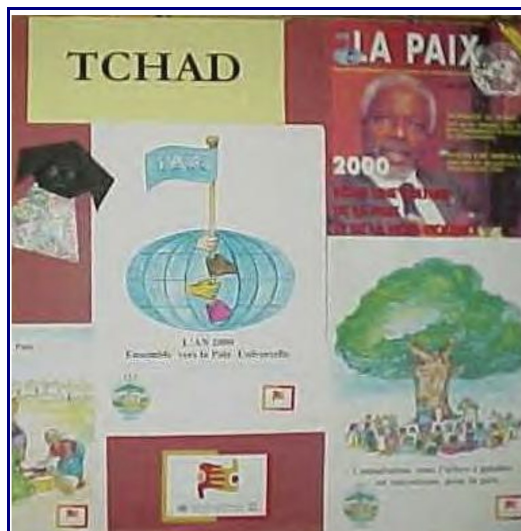
The extensive involvement of UNESCO National Commissions was especially important for the success of the Year. A [summary of their activity](#) as of March 15, 2001 provided information about the activities of 155 National Commissions. An earlier report on June 21, 2000 included printed publications from the National Commissions of Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Germany, Haiti, Iran, Maurice, Namibia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republique Democratique du Congo, Swaziland and Vietnam. Our office in Paris developed close working relations with other National Commissions in Algeria, Benin, Canada, Cape Verde, France, Guinea Bissau, India, Italy, Jamaica, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique, Netherlands Antilles, Norway, Russian Federation, Saint Lucia, Spain, Tchad, Tonga, Uganda, Uzbekistan and Zimbabwe. Detailed projects for funding were presented to the UNESCO Programme of Participation from Antigua/Barbuda, Australia, Azerbaijan, Botswana, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Emerats Arabes Unis, Gambia, India, Indonesia, Lesotho, Liberia, Mauritania, Namibia, Nicaragua, Peru, Republique Democratique du Congo, Saint Lucia, Tchad and Trinidad and Tobago. Special dossiers were provided for Brazil where the National Commission was not active but there were major engagements by national and regional parliaments and from the United Kingdom where Tony Blair recognized the United Nations Association as playing the leading role.

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The NGO-UNESCO Liaison Committee, in cooperation with our unit and the NGO department at UNESCO, developed a partnership agreement for the International Year that was sent on 30 July 1999 to all NGOs in association with UNESCO and that resulted in almost 100 partnerships to distribute the Manifesto 2000 and to develop flagship events and projects. A similar partnership was sent to NGOs associated with the United Nations in New York. The effectiveness of the agreements may be measured by the [newsletter entries](#) from more than 60 NGOs on the IYCP Website during the Year 2000 and an article in the [NGO newsletter](#) of Geneva as of September 2000.

Most of the international NGO partners came together at a Conference 24-25 November 2000, convened by the NGO-UNESCO Liaison Committee in cooperation with our unit, to review the accomplishments of the Year and to plan for the Decade. A summary of the Conference proceedings is available [here](#).



One of the many exhibits at the NGO conference in 2000  
click on the photo to go to the exhibit

Our relations with the international civil society had been initiated at the Hague Appeal for Peace Conference of 9-15 May 1999. I had taken part in the preparatory meeting for this conference one year earlier in Geneva on 8-9 May 1998. Liselotte Andersen and Micheline Boulos accompanied me to the Conference and set up a booth where they made many contacts that would prove key for the global mobilization in the Year that followed, including, as described in our mission report, the Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University that would ultimately be responsible for half of the 74 signatures on the Manifesto 2000. Later that year, Enzo Fazzino took part in a meeting with over 7,000 participants from hundreds of international NGOs in Seoul, Korea, from 10-16 October and I took part in a brainstorming at Soesterberg, Netherlands with representatives from a number of key organizations, including the International Peace Bureau, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Quaker Peace Service, the Swedish Council of Churches, Pax Christi, Education International and the European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

UNESCO's own networks of schools and clubs were mobilized for the Year. The Associated Schools Network (ASPnet) had been involved with the culture of peace since a mission that I took to their international meeting in September 1993, and the Director of ASPnet, Elizabeth Khawajkie, had been involved since 1993 when she was a member of the original culture of peace task force. For details on some of the ASPnet activities, see their [Newsletter 14](#), available on-line. The UNESCO clubs, at their global meeting in Ekaterinburg, Russia, were also engaged, as described in a detailed mission report by CPNN staff-member Micheline Boulos in July 1999.

The media strategy presented to Director-General Mayor on 21/23 July 1998 proposed a "quantitative objective" to collect the personal engagement of the largest number of individuals possible on the planet to pass from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace and non-violence. This originated in the dialogue between Enzo Fazzino and Philippe Gilleron called PLANET 2100 based on the Planet Society project and it was further elaborated in the "sensibilization strategy" that we sent the Director-General on 7 October 1998.

Rather than trying to make an official UNESCO document, which would have had to pass through the Executive Board and General Conference and probably resulted in "heavy" diplomatic language, we worked with Pierre Marchand to develop a statement by the Nobel Peace Laureates. Mr Marchand, the founder and director of the French NGO Partage avec les Enfants du Monde, had brought a visiting group of Partage activists to UNESCO on 30 September 1998. During the course of my dialogue with them, a participant from Nepal suggested that we disseminate a simple statement that could be signed by individuals committing themselves to practice a culture of peace in their daily lives. Afterwards, Mr Marchand agreed that he would develop such a statement in coordination with the Nobel Peace Laureates and present it to UNESCO. The statement was submitted to Director-General Mayor on 20 November 1998, modified slightly, and given for its first signatures to several Nobel Laureates attending the ceremony on 8 December for the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at UNESCO. The Manifesto was deliberately kept as simple as possible (click [here](#) to read it).

The Manifesto was formally launched at a [Press Conference](#) 4 March 1999 at the Eiffel Tower in Paris, with the participation of three Nobel Prizes Laureates that first signed the text : Mairead Corrigan Maguire (Northern Ireland), Rigoberta Menchu Tum (Guatemala) and Adolfo Perez Esquivel (Argentina) in the presence of UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor and other famous personalities.

The Manifesto became the focus of activity during the International Year, in the television spot, the partnership agreements, and the manual. By May 2001, the Manifesto was available on the Internet in 44 languages,

Asia	America	Africa	Europe
<b>India 37,558,604</b>	<b>Brazil 15,508,503</b>	<b>Kenya 1,003,847</b>	<b>Italy 487,868</b>
<b>Republic of Korea 1,634,060</b>	<b>Colombia 11,820,101</b>	<b>Algeria 789,189</b>	<b>Azerbaijan 413,237</b>
<b>Japan 1,205,790</b>	<b>Mexico 277,317</b>	<b>Morocco 362,703</b>	<b>Russian Federation 144,327</b>
<b>Nepal 1,023,050</b>	<b>Argentina 174,824</b>	<b>Tunisia 188,659</b>	<b>France 136,338</b>
<b>Philippines 377,274</b>		<b>South Africa 97,846</b>	<b>Turkey 131,100</b>
<b>Thailand 182,593</b>			<b>Spain 109,693</b>

The largest number of signatures, almost half of the total, were gathered by the Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University, including 35 million in India, over 1 million in Nepal and another million from many other countries including Brazil, Malaysia and the Philippines. Details of where these signatures came from are available on the [website of the International Year](#). In recognition of their achievement, I undertook a mission to India 27 November 2000 and took part in a press conference and a public event with them along with high government officials and representatives of UNESCO and the United Nations. The method they used, one-on-one encounters to discuss the principles of the Manifesto 2000 with people in public places throughout India, can be considered as exemplary for the development of the global movement, as described in a [documentation](#) that they provided as of September 21, 2000.



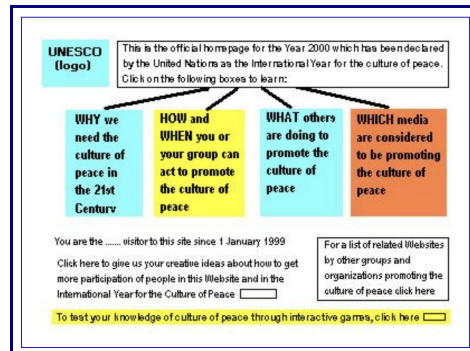
Women in India studying and signing the Manifesto 2000. Photo courtesy of Brahma Kumaris.

During the mission to India, I also visited the Maharashtra Institute in Pune, where they showed me the dozens of large filing cabinets containing over one million signatures that they had gathered on the Manifesto.



Early on, we recognized that Internet could play an important role in the development of a global movement. This was foreseen in [paragraph 92](#) of the document A/53/370 provided to the United Nations on 2 September 1998 as the basis for the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace: [The mass media's] technological advances and pervasive growth have made it possible for every person to take part in the making of history, enabling for the first time a truly global movement for a culture of peace.

Over the Christmas holidays in 1997/1998, I worked out a draft set of Internet Web pages for the Global Culture of Peace Info-Net. This included pages whereby the Internet visitor could describe a newsworthy event or write a review of a film, TV program, video game or book, along with a rating system indicating how it contributes to the culture of peace. Soon it was renamed, the Culture of Peace News Network. (CPNN).



Original design for homepage of Infonet - 1997/1998

In 1998 I devoted myself to the development of CPNN with Jan Visser who had come from Mozambique to develop Learning Without Frontiers, a UNESCO programme which also leaned heavily on the new Internet technology for its contribution to distance learning. In particular, we worked on the development of an approach that would make CPNN a "moderated" system, interposing trained moderators who would work with the visitors ("reporters") to put their reports into a form that could be put on-line on the Internet. Zeynep Varoglu, a young professional, joined the team and worked with a visiting psychologist from the United States, Katherine Stoessel, to develop a training procedure for moderators. Then, in 1999 we were joined by Di Bretherton, who accepted a contract to come work with us in Paris on sabbatical from Melbourne University in Australia, where she had established the International Conflict Resolution Center.

Using funds from the British money mentioned earlier, and some funds from the regular budget for the International Year for the Culture of Peace, as well as the participation of interns from a project funded by the Canadian government, we worked on the development of CPNN partner sites. Moderator-training was undertaken in Moscow, the Balkans, China, Jordan, Spain, Argentina, Chile, France, United States (with AARP) and Japan as well as with the World Scout Movement and with the International School of Paris. These were described briefly in the [CPNN newsletter](#) edited by Zeynep Varoglu in 2000.



CPNN training in China. Trainers Zeynep Varoglu (left) and Ekaterina Saliagina (right) in center.

Unfortunately, the network did not develop as quickly as we had hoped. Fund raising efforts, including a proposal for Microsoft via AARP, were unsuccessful. The partners were separated by language and geography without connecting links. Most of the sites were not kept up-dated and some partners began to drop out altogether. The upgrading of the Australian site, originally expected by mid-2000, was delayed by a year. Over the Christmas holiday 2000/2001, I drafted a [new proposal](#) that would further develop the Australia site as a central site, linking up all the others in a multi-lingual network. This proposal was presented at that time to Di Bretherton, who came from Australia, and to Takehiko Ito, who came from Japan and a UNESCO contract was issued for its development during 2001.

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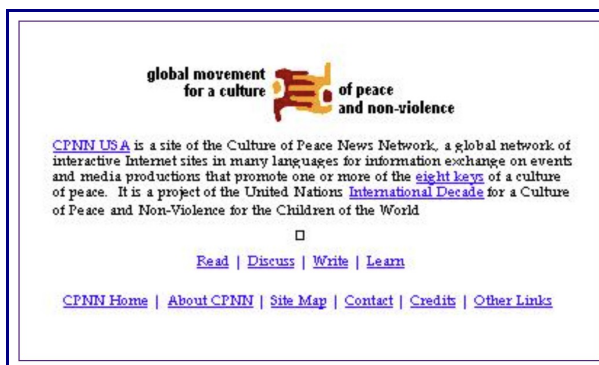
Meanwhile, in preparation for the International Year for the Culture of Peace an information exchange system was established using Internet to serve all of the participants in the global movement. This system was developed by the team that had come to the unit with Enzo Fazzino on the basis of their previous experience with the Planet Society exchange initiative. It consisted of two Websites, one a public site called [IYCP](#) and the other a limited-access site called [IYCPTEC](#). Each partner signing a partnership agreement received a unique Internet Access Code enabling them to put information about their flagship events, projects, Manifesto signatures and newsletter articles on the IYCPTEC site. The information was then automatically transferred to the public IYCP site.

As of 2003 the culture of peace website continued to be maintained by [UNESCO](#), including the Planet Society exchange system. But a few years later, UNESCO removed the website. [I have reproduced it here](#) (click on the word peace to open the website). Much of the historical material from the International Year for the Culture of Peace is available on the site, including articles written by NGOs and a listing of the signatures obtained on the Manifesto 2000 from those countries with large numbers of signatures.



Home page of UNESCO Culture of Peace Site as of 2005

This model of paired Websites, one public and the other private, by which partners could enter information, was used as the basis for two projects proposed in February 2001 for development by UNESCO in 2002 2003, one for culture of peace education materials, the other for information about the activities of all UNESCO partners. The process by which these projects were conceived involved a series of meetings and discussions by intersectoral working groups. In addition, a third project was developed by young professionals, including Zeynep Varoglu, for the further development of CPNN. UNESCO decided not to support these projects.



Home page of CPNN as of 2005  
(click on image to go to actual site)

The CPNN and Planet Society Internet systems were supported in principle by United Nations documents for the culture of peace: paragraphs 24 and 25 of UN Document [A/55/377](#) of 12 September 2000, operative paragraphs 8 and 9 of UN General Assembly Resolution [A/56/5](#) of 13 November 2001 and operative paragraphs 7 and 8 of Resolution [A/57/6](#), 27 November 2002. However, these systems remained small and without resources from the United Nations or other funding agencies. The [site of CPNN](#) has been maintained by my own resources.

From its beginning in Africa in 1989, the culture of peace was conceived as a values-based vision: The Yamoussoukro Conference called for "a new vision of peace" constructed "by developing a peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between men and women."

The definition was expanded in 1994 in a series of memos from Mr Sema Tanguiane to the UNESCO Director-General in preparation for the International Conference on Education that took place 3-8 October 1994. Mr Tanguiane, now retired, had been the Assistant Director General for Education in 1974 responsible for an important document that was a precursor of the culture of peace, the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. With some modifications his formulation was presented to the 1994 Conference and then became the centerpiece of the 1995 UNESCO General Conference which adopted the following definition:

The culture of peace may thus be defined as "all the values, attitudes and forms of behaviour, ways of life and of acting that reflect, and are inspired by, respect for life and for human beings and their dignity and rights, the rejection of violence, including terrorism in all its forms, and commitment to the principles of freedom, justice, solidarity, tolerance and understanding among peoples and between groups and individuals."

The definition is taken up and revised in the 1997 resolution of the UN General Assembly for a culture of peace (resolution A/52/13) as follows:

A culture of peace "consists of values, attitudes and behaviours that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing, based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and solidarity, that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation and that guarantee the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the development process of their society".

In my own work at UNESCO I found it necessary to develop a more concrete formulation. For this one begins from a disadvantage, because we have very little practical knowledge of a culture of peace. Instead, from the beginning of history the state has been characterized by a culture of war. In fact, Mr. Tanguiane in one of his 1994 memos to the Director-General, made reference to this problem: "tout en étant une démarche fondamentalement positive et constructive, le développement de la culture de la paix devra comporter aussi, pour réussir complètement, un effort visant à identifier et à surmonter, éliminer, combattre ce que dans la tradition et le subconscient peut contribuer à la persistance de 'la culture de la guerre'. . . Il faut du courage et de la détermination pour identifier et dénoncer ce qui dans nos cultures, dans la culture de chacun de nous participe de la culture de la guerre". This was then recognized by Director-General Mayor in his book *The New Page* (July 1994) where, on pages 6-7, he made a contrast between the culture of war and the culture of peace. And at the United Nations, the expert group meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace in December 1994 defined culture of peace as an alternative to the culture of war: "We believe that the interests of human security can best be served by an intentional transition from the culture of war, which now prevails, to a culture of peace."

I have therefore preferred to define a culture of peace in reference to the culture of war. It can be understood as the set of alternatives to the essential aspects of the culture of war, i.e. those aspects of a culture of war that are necessary for a war to be prepared and carried out as well as those which are functional and profitable to such an extent that war has continued to be practiced throughout human history. In fact, trying to enumerate the essential aspects of a culture of war, one finds that there are not very many. I have conducted this exercise with audiences from various backgrounds and from all regions of the world and we usually arrive at the same list of eight to ten aspects of the culture of war that are essential in the sense of being necessary and/or functional and profitable. By making a list of these aspects in the left column of a table, one can derive the culture of peace as the dialectical alternatives to each aspect:(continued on next page)

<b>Culture of War</b>	<b>Culture of Peace</b>
<b>power characterized as the monopoly of force</b>	<b>education for culture of peace, including management training</b>
<b>having an enemy</b>	<b>tolerance and solidarity</b>
<b>hierarchical authority</b>	<b>democratic participation</b>
<b>secrecy and propaganda</b>	<b>free flow of information</b>
<b>armament</b>	<b>disarmament</b>
<b>exploitation of people</b>	<b>human rights</b>
<b>... and nature</b>	<b>sustainable development</b>
<b>male dominance</b>	<b>equality of women and men</b>

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The United Nations Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, [A/53/243](#), adopted on 13 September 1999, recognizes eight domains of action corresponding to the right column of the above table. I prefer to use this as the definition for a culture of peace since it can be so clearly tied to the culture of war which, in turn, is quite specific. While the following definition does not appear in any document as such, it combines the provisions in the Programme of Action with the language contained in the General Assembly resolution [A/52/13](#) of 20 November 1997:

*A culture of peace is an integral approach to preventing violence and violent conflicts, and an alternative to the culture of war and violence based on education for peace, the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, respect for human rights, equality between women and men, democratic participation, tolerance, the free flow of information and disarmament.*

Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, the resolution A/53/243 contains no reference to the culture of war (thanks to the insistence of the European Union during the "informals" at the time of the Kosovo War), and hence the dialectic of culture of war/culture of peace does not figure in the Declaration on a Culture of Peace adopted by the General Assembly.

One direction for future development is the mobilizing and uniting aspect of a culture of peace, how it relates to the global movement for a culture of peace seen as a "grand alliance of existing movements for social justice." This approach was developed first by the Central American Group of Reflection, especially by Francisco Lacayo and then taken up in my monograph, [UNESCO and the Culture of Peace: Towards a Global Movement](#). With Michael True, I emphasized this aspect in an [article written for the newsletter of the International Peace Research Association](#) in April 1997. The mobilizing aspect of a culture of peace is especially important with regard to existing movements for:

- \* sustainable development
- \* human rights
- \* equality of women
- \* democratic participation
- \* disarmament

The movements of ecology, human rights, women's equality, democracy and disarmament are among the most powerful social movements of our times and their convergence in the "grand alliance" of the movements for a culture of peace is essential for success. None of these movements can fully succeed on its own - all of them need a culture of peace if they are to gain their full objective. Without peace, there can be no democracy, no universal human rights, no protection of the environment, no equality for women. This inter-dependence of its various components is one of the most important contributions of the culture of peace.

Another possible future for the concept is a revolutionary concept, used to transform the nation-state from its present priority of preparation for war to a radically different priority of making peace by non-violent means. In fact, the US.delegate to the informals on 6 May 1999 was not far off the mark when he complained that if a culture of peace was implemented it would be more difficult to start a war. A country (or group) cannot start a war if its people do not believe in the power of force, if they are not convinced there is an enemy, if they do not follow orders, if there is no control of information and if there is no armament. The revolutionary aspect of a culture of peace holds true whether one is speaking of external war in the traditional sense of war between nations, or if one is speaking of internal war involving armed internal intervention by the state against its own citizens (see my 1995 article in the Journal of Peace Research on [internal military interventions](#)).

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Needless to say, the transformation of the state is a monumental task, as it is resisted by the enormous vested interests of the culture of war. And unlike traditional revolutionary movements which adopted the values of the culture of war (secrecy, hierarchical structure and violence), this must be a different kind of revolution. The Global Movement for a Culture of Peace, being values-based, must be true to its fundamental values of transparency, democracy and non-violence. It must learn from the failures of previous revolutionary movements which succeeded in overthrowing one system, only to establish a new system based on the culture of war whose values it had adopted in the course of making the revolution.

When seen as a revolutionary task, the culture of peace evokes the fundamental contradiction of UNESCO in particular and the United Nations in general, since they are based on nation-states whose power derives from the culture of war. From its beginning in 1946 the UN and UNESCO were controlled by the states that had emerged victorious from World War II by virtue of having mobilized their societies for war, including economic forces, lines of authority and control of information. And some were still ruling over colonial empires that had been conquered and maintained through the culture of war. Although the liberation of colonial nations has shifted the composition of the UN and introduced a lobby for the culture of peace, the major powers are not comfortable with this. From time to time the fundamental contradiction comes into sharp focus, for example as described above in the debate on the Human Right to Peace at the General Conference 6 November 1997, or in the debate in the informals for the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace on 6 May 1999. In my opinion, the inadequate funding of UNESCO (including national culture of peace programmes) derives from this fundamental contradiction. The powerful Member States have no desire to empower agencies that call into question the historical and continuing basis of their power and wealth, the culture of war. [Note: for a somewhat more optimistic view, see the [Postscript of January 2004](#)]

The culture of peace can also provide values for everyday life. This was the purpose of the Manifesto 2000, distributed and signed during the International Year for the Culture of Peace. Shifting the level from that of the nation-state to that of the individual in everyday life was not a simple task. For example, in the process of drafting the Manifesto 2000, I argued that there should be eight points corresponding to the eight areas of the UN Programme of Action. Although I lost the argument, I succeeded in introducing the two missing areas (women's equality and democracy) into the sixth point of the Manifesto 2000 so that it read: "Contribute to the development of my community, with the full participation of women and respect for democratic principles in order to create together new forms of solidarity" (*italics added*).

In two other respects the Manifesto does not correspond to the UN Programme of Action. (1) Education for a culture of peace is not given a special point in the Manifesto, although one could easily argue that all of the Manifesto is education for a culture of peace. (2) The Manifesto divides sustainable development into two components: share with others and preserve the planet. Although it is true, as indicated by their combination in the UN Programme, that the fight on poverty needs to be linked with preservation of the environment, it is also useful to distinguish them, as in the Manifesto, since they have different implications in practical, everyday life.

The culture of peace concept is useful as a values base for specific initiatives, such as the Culture of Peace News Network (CPNN). In formulating its "peacekeys", CPNN has expanded the Manifesto 2000 from its six points to back to eight points, separating out as separate points the values of Participate in democracy and Work for women's equality and thus corresponding more closely to the UN Programme of Action.

UN PROGRAMME OF ACTION	MANIFESTO 2000	CPNN PEACEKEYS
Education for a Culture of Peace	Not included	Developing attitudes and skills for living together (content of Share with others)
Tolerance, solidarity and international understanding	Rediscover solidarity and Listen to understand	Rediscover solidarity
Democratic participation	(included in Rediscover solidarity)	Participate in democracy
Free flow of information	Listen to understand	Listen to understand
International peace and security (disarmament etc)	Reject violence	Reject violence
Human rights	Respect all life	Respect all life
Sustainable development	Share with others	Share with others (title only)
Sustainable development	Preserve the planet	Preserve the planet (title only)
Equality of women	(included in Rediscover solidarity)	Work for women's equality

As mentioned in the previous section, the role of the United Nations for a culture of peace is limited by the fact that the policies of its constituent members, the nation-states of the world, especially the most powerful of these states, give priority to the culture of war. Despite this, some ambassadors and statesmen have managed to rise above these national priorities, we owe it to them that we have obtained the United Nations programmes and resolutions, as well as the International Year and Decade devoted to a culture of peace..

The peacekeeping operations of the United Nations are seen by some people as a step toward a culture of peace; they may well continue and in some cases alleviate violence and suffering. However, peacekeeping is always undertaken by the powerful nations and directed against the poor nations. It tends to reinforce the military superiority of the powerful and mask their role in the culture of war, as pointed out by the African diplomats at UNESCO (see above in section "[From National Programmes to a Project of Global Scope.](#)"). The emphasis on the South reflects what can be called the "epidemic" analysis of violence. It assumes that violence is something that has been "caught" like a disease among the people of the South and the epidemic has to be stopped there before it traveled by contagion to the North. Ironically, one basis for this analysis came from wars started by the North. After the wars in Vietnam (for the United States) and Algeria (for the French), there was social unrest among returning Negro veterans in the US (the Black Panther Party, etc.) and from immigrants from North Africa in France. There is something inherently racist about this "epidemic" analysis. As an alternative to the "epidemic" approach, we should adopt a "public health" approach that takes into consideration the questions posed above by the African diplomats, and which identifies and addresses the underlying systemic causes of the culture of war and violence.

In order for the United Nations to play its full role in promoting a culture of peace, the priorities of its Member States must be transformed from the culture of war to the culture of peace. The only way that I can imagine this happening is at the hands of the Global Movement for a Culture of Peace that is not only struggling for a transformation of national priorities, but also living up to the principles of a culture of peace in the way it carries out the struggle. We are not likely to hear much news of this movement from the commercial mass media, since the mass media is very much in the employ of the culture of war. Instead, we need to invent and use new tools of communication such as the Internet in order to exchange ideas and information and gain inspiration from each other in the struggles to come. The [Culture of Peace News Network](#) is an example of this approach.

From the beginning the culture of peace has been conceived as an inclusive process. This was underlined in the very first formulation of the culture of peace for the UNESCO Executive Board in [document 140 EX/28](#) in 1992, which stated:

The emphasis would be on channeling the energies of peoples into a common struggle which would benefit everyone. The guiding principles would be that each person has something to learn from everyone else, and has something to give in return. New communication alternatives would help integrate and make these programmes known to everyone.

As far as I know, the resolution [A/53/243](#), the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted in 1999, is the first time that the UN Member States adopted a resolution calling for a social movement. And the resolution is quite explicit in stating that the movement includes not only the United Nations and the Member States, but also the civil society. Further, it provides a list of those playing a key role as individuals, starting with parents and teachers and ending with managers at various levels. This total inclusiveness of the movement means that no one should be labeled as the "enemy" and excluded from the movement.

Introducing the Declaration and Programme of Action before the UN General Assembly on 13 September 1999, Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury who, more than anyone else, was responsible for its passage, made the following statement: "I believe that this document is unique in more than one way. It is a universal document in the real sense, transcending boundaries, cultures, societies and nations. Unlike many other General Assembly documents, this document is action-oriented and encourages actions at all levels, be they at the level of the individual, the community, the nation or the region, or at the global and international levels. The document also brings together the various actors who have a role in advancing a culture of peace. They include States, international organizations, civil society, community leaders, parents, teachers, artists, professors, journalists, humanitarian workers - in a way, all people from all walks of life and all sorts of backgrounds can contribute to its implementation."

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Because of the broad inclusiveness of the movement, it is able to contain contradictions and to work with them. During the years of the Culture of Peace Programme and the International Year for the Culture of Peace and preparations for the Decade we were often been called upon to mediate in conflicts involving actors at different levels in the movement, for example between a Member State and a non-governmental organization or between the State and an artist. Always, the culture of peace is a readiness to listen and to dialogue.

The emphasis of the movement is on action and actors. Those who take part in the movement undertake their actions within the framework of the concept of the culture of peace and the Programme of Action adopted by the UN General Assembly. Education for a culture of peace, both formal and informal, is conceived as education through action, or to recall the phrase of the great educator John Dewey, "to learn by doing." To quote from the original draft of the programme of action presented by UNESCO to the UN in 1998 (para 59 of [A/53/370](#)):

Solidarity, creativity, civic responsibility, gender sensitivity, the ability to resolve conflicts by non-violent means and critical skills should be learned through practice which involves the educational community in activities promoting a culture of peace.

The transition from a culture of war to a culture of peace is perhaps the most profound transformation in history. As described in Chapter 10 of the October 1995 version of the [Culture of Peace Monograph](#):

The transformation of society from a culture of war to a culture of peace is perhaps more radical and far-reaching than any previous change in human history. Every aspect of social relations - having been shaped for millennia by the dominant culture of war - is open to change, from the relations among nations to those between women and men. Everyone, from the centers of power to the most remote villages, may be engaged and transformed in the process.

- [Annex I Original Proposal for Culture of Peace Programme Given to Director-General Federico Mayor 13 May 1992](#)
- [Annex II UNESCO Executive Board Document 140EX/28: Co-operation to promote a culture of peace \(1992\)](#)
- [Annex IIa Debate of UNESCO Executive Board on the culture of peace, October, 1992](#)
- [Annex III Cross-Conflict Participation: Advice of Experts. Prepared for submission to UNESCO Executive Board, 13 February 1993](#)
- [Annex IIIA The Unesco Culture of Peace Programme in El Salvador: An Initial Report, July 1996](#)
- [Annex IV Draft Outline for a Programme of Action sent to all UNESCO sectors 9 April 1997](#)
- [Annex V Notes from Commission V debate on Culture of Peace in 29th General Conference November 1997](#)
- [Annex V General Assembly Document A/53/370: Consolidated report containing a draft declaration and programme of action on a culture of peace \(1998\)](#)
- [Annex VII 14 September 1999 Events for the Launch of the International Year for the Culture of Peace](#)
- [Annex VIII 30th General Conference on Culture of Peace: Synopsis of Plenary Remarks by Member States November 1999](#)
- [Annex IX Activities by UNESCO Field Offices for the International Year for the Culture of Peace \(IYCP\) during the first six months of the Year 2000](#)
- [Annex X Draft Culture of Peace Programme in Mozambique](#)
- [Annex XI Preface to Original Proposal for Culture of Peace Programme](#)
- [Annex XII Unesco's Culture of Peace Programme: An Introduction, from International Peace Research Newsletter](#)
- [Annex XIII Declarations on a Culture of Peace: 1986-2000](#)
- [Annex XIV Report of Secretary-General on International Decade \(2000\)](#)
- [Annex XV Culture of Peace Programme in El Savador, 1993](#)

Note: Many culture of peace documents are available on the [Unesco Culture of Peace Website](#). A [full documentation](#) of the culture of peace at UNESCO and the United Nations from 1992-2001, more than 1000 documents and 10,000 pages, along with an annotated bibliography, is available for the use of scholars at the library of Wesleyan University, in Middletown, CT, USA.



As mentioned with regard to the [origins](#) of the culture of peace, it was born at a very particular moment of history, "the end of the Cold War which made possible unanimous action by the UN Security Council and which led to peacekeeping operations and the document An Agenda for Peace (1992)."

Looking back on that moment with the hindsight of twelve years, it seems that it was both a remarkable window of opportunity, and perhaps a window through which one can view the future.

It was a window of opportunity for the development of peace initiatives by the United Nations, but the window did not stay open for long. Within a very few years it was no longer possible to fund programs for a culture of peace, and the United Nations, in general, was once more dominated by the culture of war.

At the same time that moment may have provided us with a window into the future, providing us a clue as to how humankind can overcome the paradox of achieving a culture of peace despite the fact that the nation state, itself, continues to be the agent of the culture of war.

To understand this more clearly, it is worth re-reading a [preface](#) that I wrote (but did not submit) in 1992 to the UNESCO Director-General, providing an historical context for the proposal for a culture of peace programme.

As the preface describes, in 1992 there were many failed states, where the United Nations was given jurisdiction. In theory, the United Nations was in a position to rebuild the nation state along new lines on the basis of a culture of peace instead of a culture of war. Although the UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme did not state this objective very clearly, with hindsight one can see that it was an implied objective. In fact, it could be argued that the very opportunity of the United Nations at that moment to engage in "nation-building" provided a stimulus to the more explicit analysis and formulation of the culture of peace which was later expressed in the [United Nations Programme of Action](#) adopted in 1999.

As for the future, it seems likely that the world will once again go through a period of war and failed states. Once again, the revulsion to war may open a window of opportunity for the culture of peace. If so, the opportunity should be seized and the United Nations empowered to begin the establishment in these failed states of a new kind of nation state based on the principles of a culture of peace as described in the UN Programme of Action.

Note added in December 2009: My thinking has evolved in the last few years, and I have now proposed a concrete strategy for the transition to a culture of peace in my new books: [World Peace through the Town Hall](#) and [I Have Seen the Promised Land](#). Looking back 5 years to the above postscript and 17 years to the preface that I did not give to Mr Mayor, one can see clearly the direction of this evolution. In fact, it requires giving up the assumption that peace will come through reform of the state and seeking a United Nations that is based upon local governments rather than Member States.

Note added in 2018: Since these materials are not available elsewhere on the Internet, I have added the history of [the adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace](#) at the UN General Assembly in 1999, and the full text of Father Felipe MacGregor's 1986 book [Cultura de Paz](#), which preceded the adoption of the culture of peace concept by UNESCO at the Yamoussoukro Conference of 1989.

For the development of civil society initiatives for a culture of peace during the UN Decade 2001-2010, see the [World Report on the Culture of Peace 2010](#). And for recent history of the culture of peace, as it has continued to evolve since 2010, see the [Culture of Peace News Network](#) and my monthly blog, [Transition to a Culture of Peace: World history as it is happening](#).