ACADEMIC SOLIDARITY AND PEACE

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Abstract

Educators treat peace as a supreme universal value. The founding fathers of UNESCO had the merit of reflecting it in its Constitution, pointing out that peace must be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind. Building bridges for peace demands a great variety of activities for strengthening dialogue and trust and finding the best modalities for conflict resolution. Academic solidarity can bring its valuable contribution to making genuine peace a reality during the irreversible process of globalization. Academics should offer visions of positive alternatives and realistic solutions, as well as sound inspiration for strategies to deal with global issues and to combat planetary vulnerability. Education for peace is a responsible, humanistic process which aims to give peace a chance.

There is a UNESCO Appeal to develop a worldwide Network called Global Mega University Net (GMUNET) to promote mutual understanding and academic solidarity and explore ways and means of cooperation between mega-universities.

The university volunteers concept is based on the belief that through the very nature of their activities and endeavours academics are driven by the spirit of academic solidarity and are ready to contribute to finding solutions to global issues facing the world today.

Universities are strongly invited to stand in academic solidarity with other academic institutions throughout the world, as well as in their own country. Programmes for peace education, conflict resolution, human rights and democracy, should be supported by academic institutions and by public and private donors.

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Solidarity is a universal value reflected in a union of interests, purposes or sympathies. It is also defined as caring for others, respecting and sharing their feelings. It exists wherever people work together towards a common goal. Solidarity is a complex concept and cannot be reduced to a reactive manifestation of vague compassion for the misfortunes of other people. It is a firm, permanent and persevering determination to commit oneself to the collective good. Moreover, “The concept of solidarity, in addition to embodying altruistic sentiments held in common, includes that of cooperation so necessary to forestall obstacles which may prejudice the maintenance of that principle, or the reestablishment of harmony when weakened or disrupted by the adoption of measures contrary to the dictates of international law and morality”. (2)

For the purposes of the present study we may define some other fundamental notions on the basis of existing international documents. In this spirit, “academic community” covers all those persons teaching, studying, researching and working at an institution of higher education. Such institutions may comprise universities, other centres of post-secondary education and centres of research and culture associated with them. The concept “academic” may also be interpreted in a more restrictive way and relates to the inputs originated only by the university community and research and does not encompass joint student activities.(3)

The Statement on Academic Freedom, University Autonomy and Social Responsibility proposed by the International Association of Universities (1998) recalls inter alia that one of the indissociable principles for which every university should stand is the obligation to promote, through teaching and research, the
principles of freedom and justice, of human dignity and solidarity. The same document emphasizes the University’s historic and abiding commitment to universalism, pluralism and humanism. It also reminds that in the context of international cooperation, the exercise of academic freedom and university autonomy by some should not lead to intellectual hegemony over others. It should, on the contrary, be a means of strengthening the principles of tolerance and academic solidarity between institutions of higher learning and between individual scholars and students. (4)

Ten years earlier, The Lima Declaration on Academic Freedom and Autonomy of Institutions of Higher Education (1988) stipulated that “All institutions of higher education shall provide solidarity to other such institutions and individual members of their academic communities when they are subject to persecution. Such solidarity may be moral or material, and include refuge and employment or education for victims of persecution.” (5) (emphasis added) The efforts undertaken in this regard cannot be dissociated from the general quest for international cooperation in which UNESCO plays a vital role.

One of the major initiatives in the field under consideration took place in 2003. In response to UNESCO’s Call for international cooperation, China hosted a two-day Global Summit of Mega-Universities in Shanghai, which involved universities with the largest enrolment of students in the world.

The main purpose of the summit as per UNESCO’s Call was to develop a worldwide network entitled Global Mega University Net (GMUNET). At the end of the Summit significant decisions were adopted, the most important being the endorsement of the 2003 Shanghai Declaration signed by the Presidents and Vice-Chancellors of Mega-Universities from world over. The document starts by announcing that “A worldwide Network called Global Mega University Net (GMUNET) should be established to promote mutual understanding and academic solidarity and explore ways and means of co-operation between mega-universities. The World Summit of Mega Universities should meet once in every two years.” (6) (emphasis added)

This initiative gives further tangibility to an earlier initiative, namely the UNESCO UNITWIN and UNESCO Chairs Programme launched in 1991 by the 26th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO. UNITWIN is the abbreviation for the university twinning and networking scheme. It was launched with the specific aim of developing inter-university cooperation, while emphasizing the transfer of knowledge between universities and the promotion of academic solidarity across the world. One of the stated objectives of the programme is to develop university networking and other linking arrangements among higher education institutions at the inter-regional, regional and sub-regional levels. The Programme is specifically based on the spirit of academic solidarity, which is needed in order to set in motion a process leading to strong and durable links amongst higher education and scientific institutions worldwide.

Sensitive to the needs of developing countries, the initiators of this programme put special emphasis on building up such links first of all among the higher education institutions between South and North and South and South in particular. The current number of the UNITWIN Networks and UNESCO Chairs
established reached around 400 with participating higher education institutions from 90 countries. There are some 40 Networks and Chairs in more than 20 countries in Asia and the Pacific region. They cover a wide category of academic fields ranging from the natural sciences to environmental and ecological issues, science and technology, social and human sciences, educational sciences, culture, communication, as well as peace, democracy and human rights.

Building partnerships with various stakeholders became an important UNESCO strategy in implementing regional understanding. Additional actions are expected to be taken with involvement of or financial support from the UNESCO Asia and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education. It is assessed that the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs Programme has developed into a truly world-wide, inter-university cooperation scheme based on interdisciplinarity, intersectoriality and networking.

In the article “Increasing demands and diminishing resources in higher education. The role of international academic cooperation” by Dumitru Chitoran, who was directly involved in the elaboration of the UNESCO UNITWIN and UNESCO Chairs Programme, it is cogently emphasized that: “While serving as an instrument to foster overall inter-university cooperation, it was aimed at giving a clear direction and goal, namely to support higher education in the developing countries. It was meant to mark a return to the spirit of international academic solidarity, through twinning, networking and other linking arrangements among universities.”

The final conclusion of the same author reveals a moderate optimism: “UNESCO is hoping that its efforts to revive academic solidarity and its campaign in favour of higher education in the developing countries will receive the support of the international community. More than ever before, these countries need to develop their capacity for advanced training and research in order to achieve self sustainable development. The academic community has already indicated its willingness to join forces with UNESCO in this undertaking.” (7)

At operational level, it is more and more evident that solidarity initiatives are carried out by many universities in Europe and the rest of the world. For valid reasons, these initiatives are continuously underway in those countries that most need them, and in countries that have suffered the consequences of war, as is the present case of Iraq. With reference to this conflict, the CRUE (Conferencia de Rectores de las Universidades Españolas) has supported all the initiatives in favor of peace at universities, and has committed to promoting university campuses as “spaces in which individuals and organizations that are divided and in conflict can meet and communicate, making our institutions into infrastructures that create opportunities for the achievement of peace.” (8)

That brings us to the United Nations’ (UN) mission as the main world institution created in 1945 for the maintenance of international peace and security. As UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan stated: “Every person who thinks globally has a role to play in helping their own societies develop a true sense of solidarity with peoples all over the world, and in encouraging their own leaders to work with others to tackle the challenges of our time.” (9) (emphasis added).
2. A Universal Humanistic Value

Educators treated solidarity from the very beginning as a humanistic universal value. The lessons of World War II were instructive enough for real internationalists, to such an extent that they decided to include solidarity in the main documents meant to institutionalize international cooperation in various fields after 1945. Regrettably, solidarity was not stipulated in the United Nations Charter. This was a big lacuna which was gradually solved by numerous specific references to solidarity in the immense corpus of resolutions adopted, often by consensus, under the auspices of the UN General Assembly.

As to the field of education, the founding fathers of UNESCO had the great merit of reflecting the general feelings about solidarity in the constitutive act of the organization. The preamble of the UNESCO Constitution adopted on November 16, 1945 emphasizes: “That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind” (emphasis added). UNESCO further advocated for the concept of a “culture of peace” during its International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men in 1995. UNESCO is to “construct a new vision of peace by developing a peace culture based on the universal values for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights, and equality between men and women” and to promote education and research for the vision. (10).

Opus solidaritatis pax - Peace is the fruit of solidarity. This is a vital and topical conclusion expressed with vigor by the Holy See (11) in harmony with UNESCO’s constitutive act and doctrine. Among the purposes and functions of UNESCO it is easy to identify concrete elements giving tangibility to the close relationship between higher education, peace and the promotion of solidarity. All UNESCO General Conferences and other meetings sponsored by it offered an impressive number of examples showing the total commitment of this specialized agency to promoting solidarity through the instrumentalities of education, including in all instances higher education.

The UNESCO World Congress of Youth (Barcelona, 8-15 July, 1995) made an appeal for “developing activities aimed at promoting the education of young people for peace, mutual respect, solidarity, tolerance and understanding”. The last sentence of the Barcelona Statement says “...The Barcelona Congress calls on the young of all countries to join forces in a movement of solidarity”. (12)

The Dakar Youth Empowerment Strategy, a declaration adopted by the World Youth Forum of the United Nations System on August 10 2001, in Dakar, contains cogent ideas, considerations and developments for the understanding of relationship of education and solidarity, as seen by the representatives of the younger generation. This is a very significant fact, as the Forum was dedicated to identifying and advocating for initiatives that may empower young people to have greater control over their individual and collective destinies, and their ability to effectively contribute to the advancement of the global community. In a spirit of global solidarity, the Dakar Youth Empowerment Strategy requested access to...
quality education, fostering responsible citizenship and access to human rights education. It should be recalled that there is recognition of the third “generation” of human rights, namely the rights of solidarity, including first of all the right to peace and development.

In that respect, the Dakar Declaration reminds that peace is not just an absence of war, but also a state of mind, individual or collective, a social, cultural, political and economic harmony. Peace is also described as a way of being, a way of living. Hence, to build a true culture of peace we need to develop justice, respect of human rights, to combat poverty. Intercultural dialogue should be favoured; it should be among civilizations and help fight marginalization and exclusion. (13)

There is a remarkable affinity of ideas between the documents adopted by the World Youth Forum in Dakar and by the United Nations World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related Intolerance (Durban, 31 August - 8 September 2001). In its Final Declaration, the Durban Conference re-affirmed the great importance and attention which should be paid to the values of solidarity, respect, tolerance and multiculturalism, “which constitute the moral ground and inspiration for our worldwide struggle...” (14)

The Durban Conference recognized that quality education, the elimination of illiteracy and access to free primary education for all can contribute to more inclusive societies, equity, stable and harmonious relations and friendship among nations, peoples, groups and individuals, and a culture of peace fostering mutual understanding, solidarity, social justice and respect for all human rights for all. By its very nature, the Durban Final Declaration contains an articulate body of guidelines for promoting global solidarity through specific modalities offered by quality higher education. This should be envisaged as a continuous process.

The practice followed in the area of Asia and the Pacific is quite instructive in this regard. Emphasis is normally put on the necessity to combat dangerous nationalism which spreads and provokes conflicts and violence all over the world as a counteraction to globalization. Asian countries share the view that they need to examine history in an objective way, to bring education back to people and to promote history education for peace. The aim is to work together towards creating an Asia of peace and human rights for all on the basis of trust and reconciliation.

Thailand is one of the founding fathers of ASEAN whose constitutive act (Bangkok Declaration of August 8, 1967) stipulates that its members are “Mindful of the existence of mutual interests and common problems among countries of South-East Asia and convinced of the need to strengthen further the existing bonds of regional solidarity and cooperation”. (emphasis added) (15)

It is useful to mention that the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia (Bali, February 24, 1976) stipulates in Article 1 that “The purpose of this Treaty is to promote perpetual peace, everlasting amity and cooperation among peoples which would contribute to their strength, solidarity and closer relationship.” (16)

The above ideas and commitments should be seriously considered while analyzing the best modalities for forging a culture of global
solidarity. It should be recognized that promoting global solidarity and sustainable partnerships with civil society organizations is one of the most pressing challenges for universities and academia. Education and formation are key arenas for teaching global solidarity, in particular nowadays when we witness a strong phenomenon of massification of higher education. Better communication is needed, as it is the nervous system of human solidarity. Its role is increasing during the present era of globalization.

3. Present and Perspectives

At the age of global politics there is a dramatic risk for the community of nations to be fractured between those included and those excluded from the fruits of globalization. A multilateral approach to solidarity will be very useful to avoid such a risk. That would help solidarity’s eventual codification and progressive development, in particular if a genuine consensus is achieved in this regard, including a clear understanding concerning the legal component of the whole objective. This will demand a lot of complex negotiations at various levels. Negotiating a culture of global solidarity is an endeavor of great significance which may take a long period of time.

Permanent efforts and responsible negotiations are needed in order to give more substance and vitality to universal values requested by the emerging global order. Solidarity is, without doubt, such a value and the UN Millennium Summit of September 8, 2000 was right to proclaim solidarity as a fundamental value essential to international relations in the twenty-first century. The devastating natural disasters in many countries, including the apocalyptic catastrophe of December 26, 2004, and the reactions to those events, as well as the world-wide reactions to the tragic events on September 11, 2001 in the USA are pathetic reminders of the duty of solidarity as an imperative prerequisite of globalization.

The tragedies provoked by the tsunami in 12 countries have given further impetus to the movement of solidarity in case of natural disasters, demonstrating that nations are able to show the best of human nature. Diplomacy can be instrumental in this regard, thus contributing to giving new dimensions to the process of authentic humanism which must inspire international cooperation during our era of global perplexities and vulnerability.

An Asian head of state cogently said that “international solidarity has become an imperative; in its absence we might not survive this millennium.” (17) At the Davos World Economic Forum in 2001, Jean Francois Rischard, vice-president for Europe of the World Bank, asserted inter alia: “(...) the solidarity concept that is at the heart of European identity is precisely the concept that can inspire new approaches in global problem-solving” (18), in spite of its unexplained theoretical status.

The minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland stated in 2000 at the United Nations: “Si vis pacem, para solidaritatem”. Further reflecting on it, in 2004 Poland added that “For us, solidarity is more than just assisting the poor and underdeveloped. Solidarity is an operational principle, which should generate cooperative attitudes for countries in need, including those plagued by terrorism, natural and man-made disasters and calamities, weak state structures, etc.” (19)
The UN General Assembly was instrumental in its efforts aimed at the strengthening of the value of global solidarity in fighting international terrorism. It should be recalled that under the auspices of the UN, all Member States strongly condemned on September 12, 2001, by a consensus resolution, the terrorist acts of September 11. The UN General Assembly expressed not only its condolences, but also its “solidarity with the people and government of the United States in these sad and tragic circumstances”. (20) India was right in stating that “The welcome transformation that has come after September 11 is the sudden emergence of an international solidarity to meet an international threat.” (21)

The UN resolution of solidarity with the United States has a high educational significance. The reference to universal solidarity was formulated by the most legitimate and representative organization of the contemporary world. In this context, solidarity, as a universal value should be considered and treated as an imperative prerequisite for ensuring the success of collective efforts of all nations to eradicate terrorism in all its forms of manifestation. In fact, learning to know, learning to do, learning to be, and learning to live together, as proposed by UNESCO, is a pathetic appeal for global solidarity. Learning to live together epitomizes both a cardinal objective and a formidable challenge.

Schools/universities may be dynamic and catalytic factors in promoting solidarity as a universal value under the UN programme of Dialogue among Civilizations. On October 3 2001, the Philippines stated: “We must take this opportunity to forge religious understanding, ecumenism and solidarity.” (22) This position was reaffirmed by many countries at the 59th session of the UN General Assembly, whose deliberations started on 14 September 2004, with a provisional agenda of 158 items, many of them having a direct relationship with global solidarity and with a potential impact on the activities of both governmental and non-governmental organizations.

The galaxy of knowledge is visible on all continents. In Asia, in a spirit of solidarity the Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning (ASAIHL) has been helping more than 150 member institutions in 14 countries achieve international distinction in teaching, research and public service for the past 48 years. Intellectually, the concept of global solidarity demands specific responses and imaginative initiatives. The pioneer role of ASAIHL in that endeavor is highly appreciated. The analysis of the actual and potential role played by academics should not be seen as a simple “academic exercise”, but should be situated in its proper specific context at national and international levels.

An ASAIHL conference was held in Manila in November 2004, under the theme “The Role of Universities in the quest for Peace”. The subject matter was very timely, given the proliferation of conflicts around this region and the world. The main objectives of the conference were to encourage inter-institutional cooperation for peace, integrate peace concepts into the university curricula to address present-day threats against peace, and to promote the culture of peace through an action plan of cooperation among ASAIHL institutions.

During the ASAIHL Conference in Manila, references were made to the topicality of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful
Settlement of International Disputes (adopted by the UN in 1982) which states inter alia that all states shall act in good faith and in conformity with the purposes and principles enshrined in the UN Charter with a view to avoiding disputes among themselves likely to affect friendly relations among states, thus contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security. All countries shall live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and strive for the adoption of meaningful measures for strengthening international peace and security. Every state shall settle its international disputes exclusively by peaceful means in such a manner that peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

This is an imperative duty as reality shows that the cult of violence is spreading globally, while the opportunity to build a culture of peace is receding. In this context, it was pointed out that universities are the last bastion for the maintenance and preservation of universal human values. Many participants asserted that universities can bring hope to a hopeless world. Education is expected to develop within a culture of peace and learning that is holistic, academic, cultural, spiritual, vocational, traditional and to be founded on values that are both national and universal.

As demonstrated by some specific/cases research, academics may have an important practical role in the peace pre-negotiation stage as pioneers or initiators, during the actual negotiations as advisers and opinion makers, and in the post-negotiation period they may contribute to strengthening reconciliation among peoples.

Academics may help prepare professional negotiators. They may recommend flexibility in the way negotiations are conducted and may contribute to increasing the interactions between social, academic, professional, and intellectual groups.

A vibrant civil society can serve as a major vehicle for promoting the cause of peace. Academics may be instrumental in helping civil society to focus on peace-building, as they reject the use of violence. By practicing dialogue, they may advance constructive arguments leading to pragmatic peaceful options which may facilitate the main task of negotiators of arriving to win-win situations.

Peace should not be interpreted in a simplistic way as offering only the cessation of violence. Academics may constructively demonstrate that there is more to be done, focusing on the further need for establishing a common ground of cooperation based on shared values and interests. Academics may play an active role in shaping the understanding of core values by their students with the full respect of academic freedom.

Building bridges for peace demands a great variety of activities for strengthening trust and finding the best modalities for conflict resolution. Relevant positive work is needed at the grass-roots level to infuse more efficiency to peace-oriented activities as a cumulative process. In this field, there is a clear recognition that innovative approaches are necessary to make the contribution of academics to peace more effective. To continue with “business as usual” is not enough and increasing academic solidarity for the cause of peace remains an imperative and urgent objective. (23)

The starting point for future work, for additional recommendations and their adequate
In accordance with UNESCO’s philosophy the higher education systems should enhance their capacity to live with uncertainty, to change and bring about changes, and to address social needs, to promote solidarity and equity, to preserve and exercise scientific rigor and originality in a spirit of impartiality for attaining and sustaining an indispensable level of quality.

Students should enjoy the centrality of these concerns within a lifelong perspective, so as to allow their full integration into the global knowledge society. A United Nations Decade for Youth and Solidarity may be envisaged as a major initiative to be promoted under the motto Opus Solidaritatis Pax. The proclamation of such a decade might develop an organic linkage between the younger generation and the universal value of solidarity through specific national, regional and international/global programmes of action. That would constitute a strong contribution to the development of a culture of solidarity, functional in its manifestations and universal by its capacity of attraction. An initiative of this nature would be in perfect harmony with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Millennium Declaration of September 8, 2000.

The objectives stipulated in the Millennium Declaration and in other relevant documents relating to education and solidarity are well understood by academics. Summarizing some collective conclusions formulated earlier on the matter, professor Raymond Chappuis asserted that it is in the family and in the school that solidarity can develop harmoniously. Outside these two universes, the economic environment does not favor the implementation of the psychological conditions necessary for social and human progress. The same author

Higher education has the permanent duty in its relevant sectors to actively contribute to the creation of a new society - non-violent and non-exploitative - consisting of highly cultivated, motivated and integrated individuals, inspired by love for humanity and guided by wisdom. That wisdom cannot be separated from the duty of solidarity. French professor Marcel Ruby asserted with vigor that the requirement of solidarity is essential in contemporary societies. It must be a permanent preoccupation, in particular during the globalization process which modifies all the structures and all the prospects of our world. (25)

It is a fact of life that the substance, the method and the reach of international relations have radically changed. We face a maze of new complexities. At this writing and in permanence, quality education is vital in preparing national societies to achieve such a noble objective, as the love for humanity. It has the capacity of shaping events. As estimated by French professor Raymond Chappuis, whatever the option, the problem of training for the practice of solidarity remains the fundamental problem to which all the citizens of the world are confronted. Solidarity can become a customary way of being. (26)
believes that “solidarity remains the incomparable expression of the human conscience”. (27)

To what extent solidarity is already an expression of the human conscience should be evaluated and demonstrated by facts. The tragic events of September 11, 2001 opened a new chapter in the history of solidarity. The expected success of the coalition for the elimination of terrorism in all its forms of manifestation depends on the existence of an authentic global solidarity. That may be a gradual process, but its tangibility should be situated on energetic actions beyond any doubt. That would be the practical test of solidarity at global level. From the legal point of view that would mean that international solidarity derives its hierarchic superiority from the law which gives it substance within the framework of the national law. As reminded in January 2005 by Swiss President Samuel Schmid at the Davos World Economic Forum, “the horror of the tsunami showed us the limits of what we imagined we could achieve. But it also showed us - for the first time in the history of the world - that global solidarity is possible. And that is a cause for hope: things are moving in the right direction. Humankind is moving towards humanity.” (28)

However, the law of solidarity is as far from its codification as the globalization with a human face is far from its actual implementation. Consequently, we may share the realistic assessment and legitimate interrogation of Rachid Sfar of Tunisia, who wrote that the present world which is globalizing economically and which is split up politically does not have yet any universally accepted institutions and rules of procedure for governance and control. What exists in this field is in fact only at the embryo stage. Will humankind be able to rule over these contradictions while setting up, in particular, international solidarity as a cardinal virtue? (29) The answer is on the waiting list.

The UN system, including UNESCO, will certainly continue to play a fundamental role in formulating the guidelines for promoting global solidarity in an international environment totally different by its nature and modified in its very substance, if compared with the prevailing situation during the 20th century. The debates in the UN General Assembly in 2001-2005 about the measures to eliminate terrorism have been encouraging for the chances of a better understanding of the urgency of collective endeavors to promote global solidarity. Expressions used by various delegations during debates are most significant as verbal testimony of the existence of a visible trend to strengthening the value of global solidarity in fighting international terrorism. Instinctive solidarity, unlimited solidarity, the most heartfelt sense of solidarity are not only political and diplomatic evidences of a developing terminology, but also a proof that Member States really care about a universal value whose topicality is dramatized by current events, devastating natural disasters and by the anguishing dilemmas of security on the whole planet.

Under the present difficult circumstances, the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan formulated in a convincing way the emerging trend by stating: “The task now is to build on that wave of human solidarity - to ensure that the momentum is not lost, to develop a broad, comprehensive and above all sustained strategy to combat terrorism and eradicate it from our world.” (30) The United Nations should be in the avant-garde of that combat. It
is the embodiment of institutionalized solidarity. It is the highest situated school of global solidarity. It is the most legitimate and representative forum of multilateralism. And as Thailand stated before the UN General Assembly, “In this globalized world, there is simply no better alternative than multilateralism”. (31) Indeed, institutionalized multilateral diplomacy is a response to the needs for cooperation, while being at the same time a potential instrument of change of the international community. (32)

Teaching multilateralism is not only a great diplomatic endeavor. It is also a complex educational and academic objective. It is generally recognized that education is pivotal to the social, cultural and economic welfare of all societies. It is contributing to the development and modernization of national institutions, including those involved in promoting multilateral diplomacy. The increasing interdependence of all nations in a globalizing world brings new dimensions and gives a major significance to the process of cooperation in tertiary education. The topical and urgent challenge is to harmonize the considerable global heterogeneity of existing practices with the imperative of quality higher education.

On the global agenda exchanges of views and permanent dialogue about the substance of authentic global solidarity might crystallize in a creative way a new modus vivendi in the current century. Its final success means lasting peace. Its failure would lead to catastrophe. Consequently, we should profoundly meditate on the thoughts of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., as quoted in the UN General Assembly: “We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools.” (33) This is a strong appeal to fraternity whose secular name is solidarity.

In accordance with the Holy See’s doctrine “Authentic solidarity represents the sure path for overcoming ethnic animosities, religious intolerance, class divisions and other prejudices that strike at the very heart of human dignity often giving rise to division, enmity, oppression and violence.” With this pro-active interpretation of solidarity, the Holy See believes “it must ever guide economic assistance, political cooperation and even peace-keeping military operations in whatever part of the globe they may occur and between whatever parties they may take place.” (34)

4. A 21st Century Pillar

In an address at Harvard University, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan emphasized that the current world is threatened, among other things, by a crisis of global solidarity. (35) A crisis is a situational change which creates a threat to fundamental values. This seems to be a profound crisis, as at present the very concept of solidarity has lost much of its original meaning. The UN’s pathetic appeals for global solidarity are too often ignored, in spite of the fact that the world organization with its 191 members is an embodiment of institutionalized solidarity which is affected itself by this crisis.

The necessity of global solidarity is more than obvious in a world where one-fifth of the population survives on less than $1 per day, where some 20 countries are involved in armed conflicts, and where poverty brings untold suffering to millions of people. Is it possible to remain indifferent while witnessing these negative phenomena? To fight the crisis of global solidarity means overcoming today’s predominant individualistic mentality, formulating specific commitments to bind all peoples together as
members of a common family and make it unconceivable for wealthy nations to look with indifference upon the hunger, misery and poverty of other nations. A lasting peace cannot be preserved so long as flagrant economic and social divides persist. There can be no real progress towards true world peace without the simultaneous development of all humanity in the spirit of global solidarity, rooted in foundations of democracy, dignity, sustainability, and cooperation.

The world is passing through a chaotic phase, filled with both risks and promises. Yet, the most vulnerable groups in the midst of turbulences are often the most ignored. Consequently, genuine solidarity requires common action to address the fundamental causes of injustice and the sources of violence in our era.

In spite of a vicious cycle of material poverty in the least developed countries, there is a paradoxical absence of imagination among many developed countries leading to a failure of empathy and generating an inability to recognize in practical terms the multifaceted consequences of underdevelopment.

The challenges that confront all countries are massive. The forces ranged against global progress are formidable. Therefore it is not enough to respond to them with scattered resistance and by adopting resolutions in international conferences. It is necessary to act in a spirit of pro-active solidarity. This must, certainly, go beyond the academic field, be more sustained, more coherent, more organized in all its forms of manifestation. It is this kind of solidarity that the developing countries are trying to promote by using the instruments of multilateralism to combat apathy and indifference.

In the Ministerial Declaration of the Group of 77 adopted in Sao Paulo on June 12, 2004, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Group, it is emphasized: “The main strengths of the Group of 77 have been its unity and solidarity, its vision of fair and equitable multilateral relations, the commitment of its member States to the well being of the peoples of the South as well as their commitment to mutually beneficial cooperation.” (36)

Meanwhile, the duty of solidarity as an imperative prerequisite of globalization was considered by the Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Durban, South Africa, on August 17-19, 2004. (37) In 2005 NAM will celebrate half a century of existence. It has stood out as a movement for solidarity among developing countries. After the Cold War, NAM’s activities were afflicted by stagnation. According to some opinions, NAM’s role as a solidarity movement had come to an end. In reality, NAM now needs more solidarity and mutual assistance among its 116 members than ever before.

Solidarity is required to defend their rights and interests. The more their solidarity is strengthened, the more NAM members would be in a position to play a truly leading role in shaping world politics. For that, solidarity should not be limited merely to defending political objectives, but should be extended to economic, social, cultural and academic areas. That would also contribute to overcoming the current crisis of global solidarity which is in full visibility for all.

Making global solidarity an integral part of world politics is an urgent task. For that, constructive leadership is essential in the UN
If solidarity is needed everywhere, useful nuances about its chances are also necessary in any objective assessment of the situation. The current picture of reality in universities cannot be ignored. As mentioned by a professor from South Africa, “The destructive logic of the situation is clear. Universities compete with one another for State support and for other types of income. Academics compete with one another for jobs, and with other components of the university for funds. Administrative staff struggle under new and increased workloads, and find themselves under the direct control of management that restructures their jobs. Support service workers compete for jobs and bite the bullet of low-wage, no-benefit work in preference to the invisible prison of unemployment.”

Solidarity is a universal concept and connotes protection and security for all. Yet, the world community has not been able to establish a globalization process based on solidarity, which might lead to viable solutions. Lack of solidarity is the major cause of difficulties we are facing today. No lasting success can be expected in fighting terrorism, addressing poverty, climate change, biodiversity, HIV/AIDS, good governance, protection of human rights, etc., without global solidarity. This must be one of the founding pillars upon which the 21st century is built, and academics may help in consolidating it.

If we expect improvement, “international solidarity is crucial”, asserts the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan. In his view “Solidarity is partly intangible. The knowledge that someone’s plight is not forgotten by the world at large, or that somewhere, one’s cause has an influential champion, can bring hope. But if there are to be real improvements on the ground, solidarity must also be given tangible expression.” (39)

If solidarity is needed everywhere, useful nuances about its chances are also necessary in any objective assessment of the situation. The current picture of reality in universities cannot be ignored. As mentioned by a professor from South Africa, “The destructive logic of the situation is clear. Universities compete with one another for State support and for other types of income. Academics compete with one another for jobs, and with other components of the university for funds. Administrative staff struggle under new and increased workloads, and find themselves under the direct control of management that restructures their jobs. Support service workers compete for jobs and bite the bullet of low-wage, no-benefit work in preference to the invisible prison of unemployment.”

In the opinion of the same author “That is why it is imperative for the unions to organise to defend university workers - all university workers - and to replace the divisions between the staff components with unity and solidarity...it is important to unify, to move away from being victims, to becoming masters of our own destiny. That is why campaigns and actions, university solidarity and solidarity between the staff and the students within and between the universities is so vital. It is only with solidarity that the neo-liberal offensive can be halted, and the outlines of a new world - for a “new world is possible” - will become visible.” (40)

5. Facing New Challenges

Peace as a concept cannot be reduced to a simple absence of war. It also encompasses a state of mind, individual or collective, a social, cultural, political and economic harmony. Peace may also be described as a way of being, a way of living.
Hence, for building a true culture of peace it is necessary to develop justice, respect of human rights, including the right to peace and development, to combat violence and poverty. Intercultural and interreligious dialogue should also be favoured.

As cogently reminded by Carlos Filipe Xímenes Belo, Titular Bishop of Lorium and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate in 1996, “In this respect, a sense of coexistence, solidarity, and cooperation among the people can only appear in a mind of a heart rooted in a culture of peace and respect for human rights”. (41)

Proposals were made during the ASAIHL Manila Conference in November 2004 for joint Muslim-Christian educational collaboration, for research in multiculturalism and on the validity of the harmony and balance among the spiritual, social and natural environments of man. Building bridges for peace demands a great variety of activities for strengthening dialogue and trust and finding the best modalities for conflict resolution. (42)

Academic communities may have far-reaching initiatives. A recent example is quite illustrative. On behalf of a group of nomination initiators from the Ukrainian academic community, several Ukrainian rectors proposed President Viktor Yushchenko for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize. They invited all interested people and academic institutions to show academic and human solidarity with the young Ukrainian democracy and lend support to their initiative by sending letters of nomination to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee 2005. In their opinion, Viktor Yushchenko emerged as a compelling champion of peace and social justice whose actions served to prevent the use of force by the authorities.

If the above example relates to the field of high policy, it should be acknowledged that relevant positive work must be accomplished at the grass-roots level, including community projects for peace, to infuse more efficiency to peace oriented activities as a cumulative process. In this field, there is a clear necessity of innovative approaches and creativity to make the contributions of academics to peace more effective. Joint ventures efforts between governments and universities on peace initiatives may be productive. Universities may serve as a forum to brainstorm and exchange ideas to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts through peace-building. (43)

In the Statement of the Fifth Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates adopted on November 12, 2004, in Rome, it is recalled: “We believe that to solve the problems that challenge the world today politicians need to interact with an empowered civil society and strong mass movements. This is the way towards globalization with a human face and a new international order that rejects brute force, respects ethnic, cultural and political diversity and affirms justice, compassion and human solidarity.” (44)

The starting point at universal level for future work in promoting academic solidarity for peace may be offered by the UN and UNESCO’s documents which specify that institutes of higher education and their personnel and students should exercise their intellectual capacity and moral prestige to defend and actively disseminate universally accepted values.

Peace education must receive higher visibility in curricula as a result of the energetic efforts of all peace-loving forces, including,
certainly, educators. Education for peace is a responsible, humanistic process which aims to give peace a chance. (45)

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted Recommendation 1123 (1990) on practical educational assistance to Central and Eastern Europe. The document emphasizes that the rapid moves towards democracy throughout Central and Eastern Europe have brought about fundamental changes at all levels of education in these countries, including out-of-school education and professional training. In this context, the Assembly decided that “full support should be given to the parallel initiatives of other international bodies, for example the European Inter-University Solidarity Campaign launched (with special reference to Romania) by the Conference of European Rectors (CRE), UNESCO’s European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES) and the International Association of Universities (IAU), as well as the programmes being proposed by the European Communities (Foundation and TEMPUS). (46)

Globalization and solidarity must go permanently hand in hand. Competitiveness and solidarity should not be artificially opposed to each other. Indeed, while competition goes on, only an ethic of authentic solidarity can lead to a fully human form of globalization. There is a universal need for a more profound interpretation of the complex concept of global solidarity which must become a driving principle of international relations in all fields.

It is hard to imagine real success in world affairs without diplomacy, as it is the first line of defence for all nations. On December 26, 2004 solidarity entered a new and critical test as a result of the worst ever natural disasters of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. The unprecedented earthquake in Sumatra and the subsequent gigantic tsunami struck 12 countries across Asia and Africa with a total death toll of over 300,000 people, half of them children. Citizens from over 50 countries perished in the tragedy. (47)

The devastating tsunami profoundly affected human security at global level. It made no distinction as to the nationality, race, religion, age or gender of the victims. The scale of the destruction and losses is a dramatic reminder of the fragility of humankind and of the duty to promote respect for nature as a fundamental value of international relations during the current century.

By creatively performing its functions, bilateral and multilateral diplomacy successfully contributed to a prompt and muscular response, by facilitating immediate support, generous contributions and assistance from the international community, by governments, civil society, the private sector and individuals, universities and schools, in the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts.

An example from the academic field which is available on the Web is quite instructive. On January 7, 2005 the University of Groningen, Netherlands, sent a letter to partner universities to raise solidarity to support and assist in rebuilding higher education in the stricken areas of Indonesia. The letter is cogently entitled Academic solidarity for Indonesia. Its content is relevant for the present study. The text starts by reminding that similar to the whole world, academics in Europe were shocked by the impact of the earthquake and tsunami in Asia. The University of Groningen
has close and long-standing partnerships with universities in South-East Asia. Indonesia is the one country of which a large university was, at least partly, destroyed, the Syah Kuala University in Banda Aceh. For this reason, the University of Groningen has taken the initiative to find a way to support and assist in rebuilding higher education in the stricken areas of Indonesia. Education in general is necessary for rebuilding and strengthening a country. The hope was expressed that the academic community worldwide will be able to help build up higher education again, and in this way support Aceh and Indonesia in the long term.

The idea was welcomed with enthusiasm. Activities arising from this initiative were expected to be discussed in cooperation with the Indonesian universities and other national institutions and coordinated from the Indonesian side.

The University of Groningen has set aside 20,000 euros to be donated to the initiative. Besides, staff and infrastructure will be at the disposal of Indonesia as soon as it is requested. The University Library has also offered substantial help.

The objective of the above letter is clearly explained: to show solidarity with the people in Indonesia and those involved in higher education in Aceh in particular. An appeal is launched to support this initiative in any way that seems appropriate and possible for relevant institutions. It is not just money which will be beneficial in the long run. The expertise of staff, books and equipment, and institutional support for rebuilding higher education in Aceh will help the area recover from this terrible disaster.

Money, which will be set aside by various institutions, may at a later stage be donated to a fund and used by Indonesia according to their plans and strategy for the area. The interested institutions could support them in developing and implementing their plans, in close cooperation with partner-universities in Indonesia and Indonesian students and staff members worldwide. At the same time, European universities could also welcome young researchers in case it should be decided to offer scholarships. Indonesian universities themselves are already now offering relief by receiving students and staff from Syah Kuala University and other institutions for higher education from Aceh.

In first instance the University of Groningen requested a response from other universities whether or not they would want to support the initiative and in what way they would like to do so. Indonesian partners and contact persons will be informed about reactions from other universities. In due time, the Indonesian partner university or ministry will contact interested universities on their offer and on how to proceed from there. Among the signatories and destinations of this letter mention may be made about: the University of Groningen; Coimbra Group partner universities; partner universities in Germany; partner universities in the EU Tuning project; the Rectors’ Conference in the Netherlands; Dutch universities participating in the Netherlands Education Centre Indonesia; ASEA-UNINET members, etc. (48)

From the perspective of academic solidarity there are important lessons to be derived from the terrible catastrophe of December 26, 2004. It has been demonstrated at planetary level that all countries and citizens can be affected by natural disasters. It has become obvious that international, regional and
national organizations have an imperative duty to enhance their coordination efforts to minimize the casualties and to work together as efficiently as possible to respond quickly to urgent humanitarian needs.

Students may have valuable initiatives in this field. The way the Miami University Solidarity Network is functioning in the USA offers an interesting example. This is a coalition of student groups and individuals who in light of the current global state of affairs seek progressive responses to current social, ethical, and environmental issues, both locally and globally. Through education, advocacy, and direct action, MU Solidarity strives to work towards the resolution of the myriad inequities of the current time. The participants share the vision of a world based on values of love, community, equality, justice, freedom, and respect. While this vision is admittedly removed from the present reality, their conscience and their humanity nonetheless demand them to act towards its eventual realization. (49)

By stimulating the large outpouring of generosity from all corners of the world, bilateral and multilateral diplomacy helps giving tangibility to the legitimate expectation that planetary awareness is possible. The United Nations (UN) General Assembly, the most representative diplomatic forum, was sensitive to this vital requirement and adopted by consensus on January 19, 2005 a resolution initiated by ASEAN countries which has the merit of conveying topical recommendations on behalf of 191 Member States. Indeed, there is an undisputable need for the international community to maintain its focus beyond the present emergency relief, in order to sustain the political will to support the medium and long-term rehabilitation, reconstruction and risk reduction efforts led by the governments of the affected countries at all levels. The resolution encouraged regional cooperation in this regard and urged donor countries and international organizations as well as other relevant institutions to provide financial and technical assistance.

The largest UN diplomatic forum emphasized the need for the establishment of a regional early warning system, particularly for tsunamis, in the Indian Ocean and South-East Asian regions. (50) This is a capital necessity in the light of the most pressing question: are countries really prepared for future natural disasters, irrespective of their probability?

There is no definitive answer to this vital and challenging question. However, there seems to be consensus on two crucial necessities: promotion of solidarity and active regional and global cooperation. Yet, a most pragmatic question is how to achieve permanent, proactive solidarity and collaboration at a global level in order to reduce as much as possible the tragic consequences of current and future natural disasters.

Thailand made significant contributions to finding valid answers to these questions by its active involvement in the implementation of decisions to establish regional mechanisms for disaster prevention and mitigation as well as in giving tangibility to the recommendations adopted by 168 countries at the World Conference on Disaster Reduction (January 18-22, 2005, Kobe, Japan). These recommendations are meant to increase the international profile of disaster-risk-reduction and to strengthen local and national capacities to more effectively address natural catastrophes. The Kobe Conference adopted
a declaration stipulating that a “culture of disaster prevention and resilience” must be fostered at all levels and recognized the relationship between disaster reduction, sustainable development and poverty alleviation. (51)

In a similar spirit, the Ministerial Declaration on Regional Cooperation on Tsunami Early Warning Arrangements released at the end of the Phuket Ministerial Conference (28-29 January 2005), attended by 43 countries and 16 international organizations, recognized the Asian Disaster Preparedness Centre (ADPC) as a focal point for a multi-node tsunami early warning arrangement in the region, working together with relevant national and regional institutions. That postulates further diplomatic consultations and negotiations. The whole project shall be developed within the relevant UN international strategy coordinated by the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Organisation (IOC) under UNESCO. As emphasized by Thailand, an early warning arrangement cannot be based on hardware and technology alone. A holistic approach is necessary, integrating awareness building, education and training, of experts and of ordinary citizens, into the system. This requires an active participation of universities in the whole process. (52)

There are strong reasons to believe that all UN members will continue to show solidarity and generosity with the victims of natural disasters. States, individuals and peoples may prove that promoting the duty of solidarity and humanitarian cooperation takes precedence over geo-politics. This will be a hard test not only for the humanitarian agencies working in the field, but also for all mechanisms of multilateral diplomacy which must help avoid chaotic modalities of action.

The UN initiatives can be cemented by global solidarity. All developed countries are being urged never to lose sight of the pressure of the so-called “silent tsunamis” - poverty, hunger, inadequate access to clean water, elementary sanitation and health care. Important initiatives can be mentioned in this regard.

Following an understanding between South Africa and ASEAN a decision was taken to strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity. An initiative led by South Africa and Indonesia was put in motion. After a successful meeting in Indonesia in July 2003, South Africa hosted the Africa-Asia Solidarity Regional Organisations Council (AASROC) in 2004. AASROC provided the opportunity for Asia and Africa to strengthen the bond that is developing between the two continents, which will culminate in the Asia-Africa Summit in Bandung in 2005, where the New Strategic Partnership will be launched to entrench the alliance dreamt about by some visionary leaders in Bandung in 1955. In South Africa’s view “It is up to us to ensure that the dream of our leaders for Afro-Asian solidarity becomes a reality. If we fail, future generations will not forgive us.” (53)

Non-governmental initiatives, including those promoted at academic level may prove instrumental. For example, Asia Pacific International Solidarity Conferences (APISC) became significant events, bringing together activists from the Asia-Pacific region and around the world, giving them the opportunity to discuss and debate strategy and theory and organise real solidarity and action as part of building a global opposition to war. At long last, people can sense a new wave of movement towards stronger manifestations of academic solidarity. (54)
In political, economic, social or academic fields, in view of the existing global interdependence, “solidarity of fate” is not a matter of choice. At academic level there is sufficient common ground on which to start building solidarity of thought and action. Global interdependence should be turned to the benefit of all, or it will risk turning itself into a catastrophe. Philosophers and sociologists already warned many years ago that the choice is between solidarity of common humanity and solidarity of mutual destruction. This is a crucial challenge, while dreaming about universal peace.

It is obvious that on this planet, evil, wherever it is gestated and whoever may be its intended or “collateral” victims, affects us all. Globalization itself is the source of many additional ethical challenges. Michael Lerner is appropriately quoted in this respect: “If we really want to protect ourselves, we need to create a world which no longer dehumanizes others, no longer tolerates oppression, no longer imagines that we can live our own private lives and find our own private solutions while closing our ears to the suffering of others.” As cogently observed in a relevant article, “It is not just a question of insuring ourselves against the vengeance of the disinherited”. (55) It is, indeed, a matter of survival.

This basic truth seems to be understood by the diplomatic community. It might also influence the way of thinking of academics. Consequently, the dialogue between diplomats and academics should be regarded with less skepticism. There is a need for permanent dialogue as a kind of school in action for promoting cooperation and solidarity. Diplomacy is often most effective when it pursues not an incrementalist but a “maximalist” agenda. However, there is no doubt that intensive diplomacy and international conferences alone cannot make the world a safer place in a short run. Yet, with genuine political will, trust and confidence, pragmatic optimism, diplomacy can contribute in the long run to translating into reality the predictable ideal of giving visibility and tangibility to solidarity. Humankind finally shares a common destiny which is inseparable from peace. Academic solidarity, as integral part of global solidarity, can help pave the way for more successful efforts towards that crucial objective.

NOTES

study were presented orally at that conference. See http://www.asaihl.org/seminars.


4. See the document mentioned supra in note 3.

5. The text of Lima Declaration is available at www.cepes.ro/information_services/sources/on_line/lima.htm consulted on November 11, 2004.

6. See the basic information on the matter at www.ignou.ac.in/news.htm consulted on November 11, 2004.

7. The full text of the article Increasing demands and diminishing resources in higher education. The role of international academic cooperation by Dumitru Chitoran is available in The Courier ACP-EU, No. 159, September-October, 1996: pp. 56-58.

8. See links at the Internet Solidarity Network’s University-Solidarity channel, as well as the document “In Favour of Peace” at http://www.crue.org visited on November 10, 2004.

9. The quotation is from the text of a message from Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the thirtieth Pio Manzù Conference on “Islands without an Archipelago” in Rimini, Italy, on October 18, 2004, published as Press Release SG/SM/9545.


11. See an analysis about opus solidaritatis pax at www.lilt.ilstu.edu/jguegu/social.htm


15. The Bangkok Declaration of August 8, 1967 for the establishment of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is available at www.aseansec.org/1212.htm.

16. All important ASEAN documents, including the Bali Treaty, can be consulted at www.aseansec.org/1212.htm


20. See Resolution of the UN General Assembly No. 56/1 of 12 September 2001. On January 19, 2005 the UN General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution by which, in a spirit of solidarity, the world’s nations expressed condolences to and deep sympathy with the victims, survivors and governments in the aftermath of last month’s 9.0-magnitude earthquake in the Indian Ocean that left an arc of destruction from Thailand to the Horn of Africa. The resolution invited the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to bring members of the international donor community together with the affected nations to address their immediate and future rebuilding needs in the aftermath of the disaster. See the summary of the resolution and the relevant statements at http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/ga10328.doc.htm visited on March 6, 2005.


33. www.un.org/terrorism/statements. The quotation is present in the statement made by Singapore.

34. See A Solidarity That Protects the Legitimate Freedom of Each Person. This is the text of the address of John Paul II when he met in audience the Zambian ambassador. It was released on June 3, 2004 by Zenit.org consulted on November 11, 2004. See also Building an authentic solidarity in Africa.
35. For the text of the statement and commentaries about it see http://www.news.harvard.edu/gazette/2004/06.17/01-kofi.html

36. For the full text of the statement of G77 see www.g77.org/40/commemoration.htm

37. The XIV Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was held in Durban, South Africa, on August 19, 2004. Its documents are available at www.nam.gov.za/media/040920a.htm


41. See Msrg. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Education for Peace at http://peacefoundation.net.7host.com/home.asp. This was a public conference made at Assumption University and in other institutions in January 2005. Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo is a patron of the International Peace Foundation, who received the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize together with Jose Ramos-Horta for their work towards a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor.

42. See the documents of the academic conference The Role of Universities in the Quest for Peace, Manila, 24-27 November 2004, organized and sponsored by the ASAIHL Philippine Council, in particular the message addressed by Dr. Ninnat Olanvoravuth, Secretary-General of ASAIHL. http://www.asaihl.org/seminars.

43. See http://nobelprize.org/peace/nomination/nominators.html See also An Action Plan for Peace by Jaime I. Romero, Jose Rizal University at http://www.asaihl.org/seminars

44. For the full text of the Statement see http://www.gsinstitute.org/archives/000239.shtml#000239 visited on March 5, 2005.

45. See Msrg. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Education for Peace, as indicated supra, note 41.


48. The full text of the letter can be consulted at http://acehupdate.degromiest.nl/archives/001189.php


50. See the resolution entitled Strengthening emergency relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and prevention in the aftermath of the Indian Ocean tsunami disaster, adopted without a vote on January 19, 2005, as document A/RES/59/279


55. See Zygmunt Bauman, Global Solidarity, article available at http://www.tikkun.org/magazine/index.cfm/action/tikkun/issue/tik0201/article/020111b.html visited on March 6, 2005. The quotation from Michael Lerner is also taken from this article.