Stanley Center
FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

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Emerging Again

"Welcome to the premiere edition of The Stanley Foundation *Courier*. The inspiration for this new periodical comes from a realization that we at the foundation are exposed to a lot of information worth sharing but have had no good means for doing so."

When our longtime chairman and president, the late Dick Stanley, wrote those words in the inaugural edition of this magazine 31 years ago, even visionaries could not have imagined the tools we have for sharing information with the world today. It would have been equally difficult to predict that after 63 years of operation, the foundation would be renamed the Stanley Center for Peace and Security—a name we believe better reflects our purpose and approach to driving progress on global policy.

Through all that time, we continue to believe that independent, accurate journalism and the role journalists and the media play build better-informed societies, more-accountable institutions, and effective global governance. Today, we live this core value through our partnerships within the journalism and media community and the opportunities we provide journalists to report effectively on critical issues of peace and security.

It is with the strategies of today and tomorrow in mind and enthusiasm for our approach to this work that we are retiring *Courier* magazine, part of ongoing efforts to align our communications more closely with our role in driving policy progress. We would like to offer special recognition of Amy Bakke, the center's creative director, who has lent her expertise and creativity to the magazine's layout and photography in most of its 96 issues. Amy has helped immensely in evolving our visual identity over the years into its new and current form, and we are excited to work with her on what lies ahead.

As Dick wrote in 1989, "we want your focus to be on the many people who are acting on their desire to make the world a better place, not on us." This farewell edition features stories and accounts from authors who have participated directly in center programming on topics at the heart of our effort to create a more safe and peaceful planet for all of humankind. "Perhaps these pages will serve to energize you a bit in the same way that we draw strength from our interactions with good people."

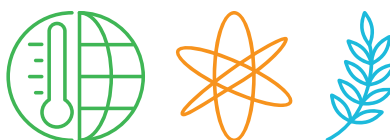Thank you for your readership—and friendship—over the many years. You
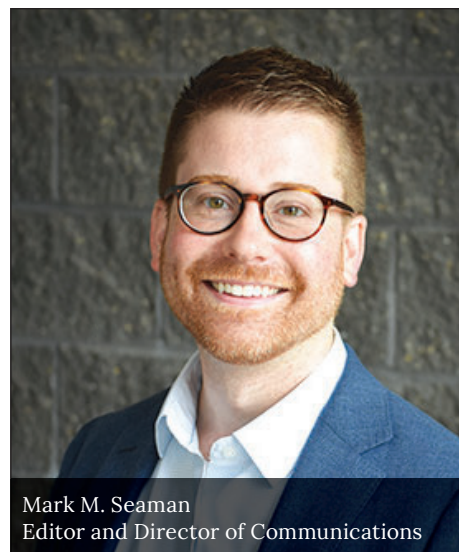
Mark M. Seaman
Editor and Director of Communications

have joined us in celebrating the value of good journalism by utilizing *Courier* to spark new conversations in your homes, schools, and communities—and we are so grateful. We look forward to connecting more than ever in the days to come.

Mark M. Seaman
Editor and Director of Communications

P.S. A full archive of each edition of *Courier* will be published on our website in July 2020. We hope you will visit and sign-up to receive our policy-focused publications and updates on our work with the journalism and media community: www.stanleycenter.org/subscribe.

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Drawing of a fighter plane and tanks by a child displaced by war in Chechnya, shared as part of the Stanley Center's March 2003 radio special, *Children of War: Fighting, Dying, Surviving.*

Coming Together

Mental Health and Psychosocial Support

## in Peacebuilding

By Friederike Bubenzer

"My

father was a soldier. He served in Tobruk, Libya, where the second South African Infantry Division was based. We weren't very rich. My father was a strange man because he came from the war and wasn't a very normal father. And he always used to tell us stories of his prisoner of war days. Sometimes he would stop because it was too traumatizing for him. He said that in Tobruk they shot people and hung the children from the windows and so on. He couldn't get over that, so then he drank. And a father that drinks is something else. We were scared of him, to tell you the truth."

—Excerpt from Maria Julius's story in *These Are the Things That Sit with Us*, ed. Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, Friederike Bubenzer, and Marietjie Oelofsen (South Africa: Jacana Media, 2019). Photo: Partially destroyed chapel outside of Tobruk, Libya, 1942. (The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images/Bob Landry)

War and violent conflict destroy so much more than infrastructure, livelihoods, and human security. War and violent conflict reach deep into the fabric of society, destroying link after link of this interconnected chain until that chain is weakened and only threads remain. If indeed a chain is as strong as its weakest link, then the individual—within relationships, families, and communities—must be regarded as the starting point for postconflict repair. That is not to say that mental health and psychosocial support efforts need to happen at the individual level. This would be contrary to the communal cultures of many conflict-affected countries such as South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria—and it would be unrealistic given the scale of the need. Focusing efforts at the individual level would also negate inherent human resilience; communal and collective psychosocial interventions can go a long way in restoring damaged social fiber, especially
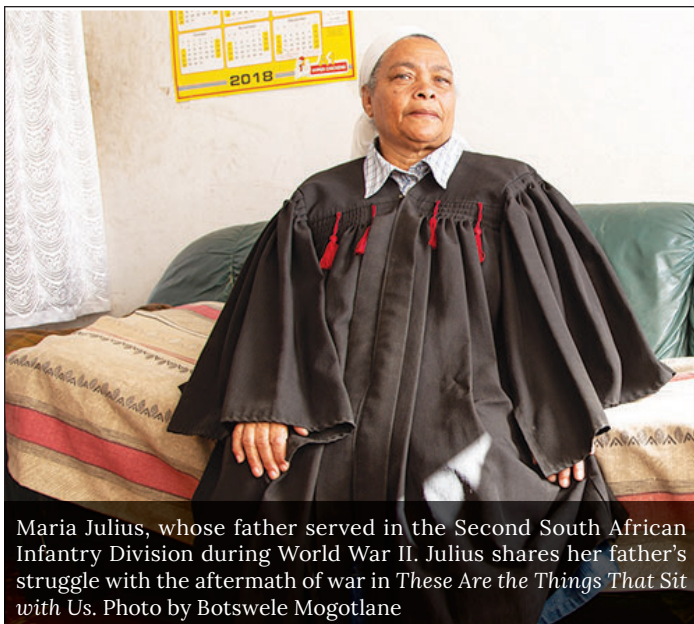
Maria Julius, whose father served in the Second South African Infantry Division during World War II. Julius shares her father's struggle with the aftermath of war in *These Are the Things That Sit with Us.* Photo by Botswele Mogotlane

when paired with economic development. What it does say is that we must recognize how witnessing and experiencing violent conflict and its vast social, economic, and political ramifications has a detrimental effect on the well-being of and the relationships among human beings. Deliberate and coordinated efforts among international humanitarian agencies, policymakers, and local institutions are essential to prevent feelings of hatred, fear, and mistrust from spiraling into deeper cycles of violence.

Narrowing the Gap

It has been just over five years since we at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) in South Africa and the War Trauma Foundation (WTF) in the Netherlands (now Arq International) joined hands on a project aimed at narrowing the gap between the fields of peacebuilding (PB) and mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS). The underlying premise of the project is that sustainable peacebuilding and mental health and well-being are interdependent and critical to effective and long-term violence prevention. What we did not know at the beginning was that the project would draw in a variety of interested people at every opportunity–whether at conferences, on webinars, or via Skype. There is no doubt in my mind that the enthusiasm we have faced during all phases of this project have been directly related to the urgency of the matter at hand.

A 2019 article published in the *Lancet* and containing data from the World Health Organization shows that 22.1 percent of people living in conflict-affected areas have depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder, bipolar disorder, or schizophrenia. These new estimates—generated by systematic reviews of vastly increased pools of data using state-of-the-art methods—are even higher than previous estimates. The authors rightly argue, "The well-established links between mental health, individual

functioning, and country development underscore the imperative to prioritise mental health care in countries affected by conflict."

Coming to Terms

We must also understand that individuals who have been affected by conflict are less likely to engage in peacebuilding, meditation, and development initiatives, especially where mental health challenges have not been addressed and relationships repaired. Therefore, it is unrealistic to expect people to participate effectively in dialogue and conflict-resolution initiatives—however creative and context-specific these may be—without first helping them come to terms with their traumatic past. Cutting-edge research conducted by TPO Uganda, a nongovernmental organization (NGO), provides important new data in this regard. Its study examined the precise relationship and intersection between postconflict trauma, peacebuilding, and economic development. The authors of the report, Marian Tankink and Ben Otto, explain, "Without exception, all (237) respondents stated that reconciliation and peacebuilding are impossible if only an individual's trauma symptoms are addressed, such as nightmares, depression, lack of trust and fear." They note that mental health problems related to their daily stressors must also be managed. Strikingly, the report quotes a male community support worker in northern Uganda as saying:

"If you do mediation but you do not address the mind of the people, that means there is a high chance that the people continue conflict, and in their livelihood they will not manage well. But by first addressing the mind of the people you are building peace and a good relationship between people and at the end of the day, the conflicts will go down. That is the best way to address peace."

A Need for Evidence and Guidance

While it bodes well for the field that studies like this one are now being conducted, very little other evidence-based research currently exists. At the time of the IJR-WTF conference in 2015, few studies were found that explored how the fields of MHPSS and peacebuilding might be brought together in theory and practice. In 2014, Brandon Hamber, Elizabeth Gallagher, and Peter Ventevogel edited a special section of the journal *Intervention* that argued that greater attention should be given to the synergies that could be created by linking psychosocial work with processes of social change and communal recovery within the context of collective violence and humanitarian emergencies. Participants at the IJR-WTF conference suggested much more research be done to develop a theory of change and an evidence base for the need to integrate the fields. The IJR and WTF followed suit: in 2017, an extensive literature review was published that revealed how few studies were linking

A Yazidi woman holds a child at a clinic inside the Sharya camp for civilians displaced by the so-called Islamic State in Iraq in 2017. Witnessing and experiencing violent conflict and its vast social, economic, and political ramifications has a detrimental effect on the well-being of and the relationships among human beings. (AP/Alice Martins)

MHPSS and PB from the outset and in an ecological way to impact society at micro, meso, and macro levels. In 2018, an IJR international mapping study of over 70 organizations from around the world working in either mental health or peacebuilding presented an interesting lay of the land: 92 percent of respondents agreed that interventions aimed at building sustainable peace would benefit from an approach that connects peacebuilding and mental health. The same respondents also said that by and large they did not have the resources or the knowledge to implement it, nor the networks to collaborate with the corresponding field.

A cursory review of the major international policy documents that guide global peacebuilding efforts in postconflict societies reveals almost no reference to or consideration of the mental health and psychosocial well-being of affected individuals and communities. This guidance is particularly lacking for African contexts, where the IJR's work is focused. For example, in 2019, the African Union adopted a Transitional Justice Policy, and while the policy is a solid document that clearly and concisely lays out the key elements, actors, processes, and implementation mechanisms necessary to contribute to rebuilding African societies torn apart by violent conflict, it makes only tangential reference to MHPSS and mostly only in reference to the needs of women and children.

Signs of Action

Thankfully, efforts are underway to bridge these shortcomings of guidance. In an important and widely distributed 2019 *Guardian* article, Sigrid Kaag, the Dutch minister for foreign trade and development cooperation, made the case for the urgent provision of MHPSS to conflict-affected communities around the world. She argued: "Children growing up in a war become a wounded generation. They suffer the loss of human dignity. A generation that is itself unstable has trouble passing on stability to their own children. This means that a community can never move on. Trauma and severe mental distress do not just go away." Kaag is increasingly being viewed as an ambassador and advocate for MHPSS in humanitarian and postconflict settings, and it is hoped that others will join her lead in giving this critical topic enhanced political visibility and airtime, especially at a global political level.

Efforts are also underway by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs to coordinate an international-expert-group-led contribution to the 2020 regular review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture. Titled Mind the Past to Build the Future, the initiative aims to raise international political awareness of and support for the need for MHPSS as an integral part of peacebuilding and to prepare recommendations to initiate systemic changes

of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture needed to increase the ability to integrate MHPSS in its work.

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee, an interagency forum of UN and non-UN humanitarian partners founded in 1992 to strengthen humanitarian assistance, has also created a working group on this topic. Constituting more than a dozen international NGOs, the group aims to establish a high-level framework for the improved integration of MHPSS into concepts and measures addressing the prevention of violent conflicts and vice versa. While focused on MHPSS, the working group is taking into account the complexities and diversities of both the MHPSS and the PB disciplines, assuming that enhanced well-being and sustainable peace will be achieved through a coherent framework and joint approach.

Unifying the Approach

These high-level efforts, especially those taking place at a policy level, are critical but must be expanded and coordinated to ensure inclusivity and equitable representation, especially where the north-south divide is concerned. High-level efforts must also be enhanced by smaller local NGOs that collect and transfer community-level insights to policymakers. Some examples of these integrative opportunities include efforts by civil society. In 2019, the Alliance for Peacebuilding, a US-based network of organizations working to end conflict, reduce violence, and build sustainable peace, and Generations for Peace, a Jordanian NGO dedicated to peacebuilding through sustainable conflict transformation, came together to host an international advocacy webinar on the topic that was attended by hundreds of practitioners, policymakers, and academics from both the MHPSS and PB fields from around the world. While the primary aim of the webinar was to explain the need to link the fields, participants also asked for links to existing research and best practices in order to advocate for integration within their spheres of influence. Shortly thereafter, MHPSS.net—a resource and knowledge-sharing network—partnered with TPO Uganda and the IJR and hosted another webinar specifically profiling more-localized community efforts with a focus on Africa. As mental health is increasingly considered a critical component of public health, and as the psychosocial impact of violent conflict on affected communities is better researched, understood, and publicized, practitioners, academics, and policymakers around the world are realizing the importance of working together and linking the fields.

It is hugely exciting to see more and more organizations and institutions acknowledge that there is no peace without mental health and healthy relationships, and that unaddressed mental health challenges pose serious threats to violence prevention and living in peaceful coexistence. That said, a holistic approach requires that practitioners from both fields be brought together in practice to jointly imagine collaboration and, eventually, integration. Mere add-on approaches that continue a mostly siloed collaboration framework are unlikely to generate the kinds of preventative outcomes postconflict countries so urgently need. In 2019, the IJR hosted three cocreation workshops with local partners in Johannesburg, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya; and Harare, Zimbabwe. Each workshop was attended by an equal number of MHPSS and peacebuilding practitioners. As a result, significant strides were made in working together across disciplines to lay the foundation for an integrated approach based on local needs and contextual nuances. As one cocreation workshop participant said, referencing the African philosophy of compassion and humanity: "For people to completely heal, they need peace. Healing is a process and according to *ubuntu*, I am healed if my neighbor is healed. And for this, peacebuilding is necessary. Development, peacebuilding, and trauma recovery is important—like three pieces of a pot. Without one, the person is unstable." The creation of a draft handbook is underway that is anticipated to be used for a pilot training of an integrated approach to MHPSS and PB in late 2020.

Maria Julius ends her story by saying, "We did love him [our father], but I was fearful of him. At Christmas, when it was time for carols, then we marched around the table singing, all of us."

Since Maria Julius's father served in the Second World War, the world has come a long way in understanding and addressing the human cost of violent conflict. Still, we have a long way to go to ensure that the rebuilding of the human spirit is prioritized alongside other humanitarian and peacebuilding efforts.

Friederike Bubenzer is Senior Project Leader in the Peacebuilding Interventions Programme at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, South Africa.

Decades of research in peacebuilding and prevention show that certain structural conditions make societies more vulnerable— or more resilient—to mass violence. A key part of Stanley Center strategy to prevent mass violence and atrocities is to channel evidence into policymaking to foster sources of resilience within communities. Within the fields of research and practice of peacebuilding and mass violence prevention, societal and individual mental health is often overlooked, yet remains a critical area for further partnership, analysis, and evidence-based policy integration.

Housing in Caracas, Venezuela, as seen from above. Photo by Venezuelan journalist and photographer Andreina Mujica, @andreinamujica

A Venezuelan Life

The Evolution of Journalism

Under Chávez

By Milagros Socorro

"Of course! I am Bertha Mason here." That assertion and the inevitable question "Who is Bertha Mason?" both came to my mind as soon as I woke up on a chilly quarantine morning in Aarhus, Denmark.

The sudden certainty of being Bertha Mason hit me while bobbing around in the sea of sleepiness seconds before drifting off. A slow, slippery wave, as if made from an egg white, brought me the conviction before dragging it back out again, as absurd as a silver baby rattle left amid the fragments of a shipwreck on the shore. Once awake, a moment of confusion struck me: who was Bertha Mason after all?

As I sipped the last of my coffee, it dawned on me as though someone had just read me my fortune: the madwoman in the attic. Bertha Mason was Mr. Rochester's first wife in Charlotte Brontë's 1847 novel *Jane Eyre*, a book that deeply impacted me when I first read it at age 12.

So, here, I am Bertha Mason—that is to say, taking refuge from Venezuela in Scandinavia, where dawn has suddenly begun to arrive before five in the morning (considering that until recently, we lived in the empire of the night, where darkness fell at five in the afternoon and lingered well into the morning). In this country—with this damn language I'm never going to learn, and where the people speak with such trust in the authorities that at first I was confused and thought it a joke—I'm Bertha Mason. By the time I turned on the tap to run water over my mug, I already knew that my imagination was unfolding a riddle before me, not as an invitation to explore my possible insanity or any hidden desires to become an ex-wife, but to illustrate that I am Bertha Mason because I am a foreigner. More specifically, I am Caribbean, just like her.

I did not become Bertha Mason in my Danish refuge, which could not have been more comfortable and secure. The literary character came to my mind after waking up here one morning—and she has helped me connect with my reality. You see, I was Bertha Mason before the quarantine, and even before leaving my country.

Here, I am able to recognize myself as Bertha Mason. I can see clearly—and even with good humor—that in Venezuela, part of me was driven crazy (or at least labeled as such), isolated socially, declared unstable, and, therefore, considered dangerous.

And I am Bertha Mason because I am a Venezuelan journalist, trained in the democratic tradition of my country, where journalists are expected—among other things—to scrutinize those in power, to challenge them, to be their checks and balances when institutions fail to do so.

Recognizing the Truth

Almost 120 years after the publication of *Jane Eyre*, Dominican novelist Jean Rhys took Bronte's madwoman in the attic and created a story for her with background, infusing her with humanness. We learned many truths about that madwoman in the attic when she was finally given a voice by Rhys in *Wide Sargasso Sea*: that her real name was Antoinette Cosway, not Bertha Mason, and that her insanity and instability were caused by abuse, manipulation, and having her home destroyed by fire, not—as we were first led to believe—by some genetic inheritance.

Venezuelan journalists protest the government of President Hugo Chávez weeks before his reelection in May 2000. Journalists marched through the capital of Caracas alleging government pressure against the media. (Reuters/Kimberly White)

Venezuelan journalists, especially the older generation, those of us who were already journalists when Hugo Chávez came to power, witnessed the systematic, progressive, and meticulous demolition of our country, set ablaze by a regime that gained access to power thanks to the scaffolding of democracy. Chávez came to the presidency of Venezuela to annihilate it all under the pretense of erecting a utopia on ravaged land. So he said. In so many words. Journalists documented it, columnists analyzed it and tried to dismantle the discourse to unveil its perverse nature, narrators exposed it in the form of a metaphor or using stark imagery. We knew it all along. It was crystal clear to us. No Venezuelan journalist can say that they were deceived, that they were confused by some slogan, or that a gesture of the leader sparked a mythical illusion inside them.

The annihilation was reported as news, warned about as a chronicle, denounced in articles, illustrated with figures contributed by experts, and disseminated together with testimonies of the victims. However, at the same time, official sources went from opaque to impenetrable and, from there, to utterly deceitful and propagandistic. News outlets started to self-censor, and those that did not gradually decreased the number of pages in their publications until they closed down. Or until they were shut down by the regime.

By that time, everything in Venezuela had been renamed, starting with the country itself. Lieutenant Colonel Hugo Chávez came to power in early 1999, and in November that year, the National Constituent Assembly—which Chávez ran as he pleased—approved the change of name of the country to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, inevitably evoking other names such as the Islamic Republic or the Soviet Socialist Republic. Nobody changes your name if they want you to continue to be who you are. This hypothesis would be confirmed soon enough.

Mainstream Collapse

In 2001, Chávez mentioned that there was a "historic clash of forces" between the media and the power structure. This comment was a threat. A wave of persecution was launched against the media, including the imprisonment of journalists and publishers, the closing of certain media outlets, and the acquisition of others by Chávez-supporting businessmen, who transformed the newly acquired newspapers and TV stations into propaganda broadcasters.

Journalism as a profession then took another blow, one related to the quality of jobs. With the exception of some radio and television celebrities, whose income—which can be quite high in some cases—comes largely from advertising revenue rather than from their journalistic work, this profession has been historically underpaid in

Venezuela. Journalists would typically start their career paths as "street" reporters, as we refer in Venezuela to journalists looking for news stories for daily media, be they newspapers or radio and television newscasts. After completing a decade doing this type of work, a journalist would accept a managerial position in the newsroom and then, not long after that, move toward corporate communications in search of more-secure and better-paid employment. However, this prospect would soon vanish into thin air. With notably rare exceptions, the communications departments of banks and large companies lost their appeal for journalists willing to give up their journalism work in pursuit of a grown-up's salary, end-of-year bonuses, and housing benefits.

And then came the major aftershock. The main traditional media collapsed, going bankrupt as a result of the lack of advertising; changing their very nature by being excessively cautious in an effort to adjust to the restrictions imposed by the dictatorship; and becoming detached from their audience, whose skepticism grew more and more because, among other things, their credibility was raucously shattered to pieces due to polarization (we would learn the hard way that in an authoritarian regime, truth is no longer the opposite of falsehood but rather of polarization). And of course, there came a time when there was no paper or ink to print newspapers or magazines with.

We journalists became jacks of all trades, or "*mata-tigres*," a term used in Venezuela to refer to musicians who add to their salaries by taking gigs that are not part of their contracts, so they end up playing at parties, weddings, bar mitzvahs, etc. In order to make ends meet, we would juggle four or more jobs at a time. Some of us were hired to ghostwrite undergraduate degree theses by shameless students with extra cash to spare; we wrote corporate reports (for companies that had been forced to dismantle their Public Relations departments); we wrote entire magazines for medical practices; and we served as local correspondents for foreign media that snapped up tremendous talent for peanuts. I did so many things myself that when I submitted my résumé in Mexico to a potential employer, he asked me incredulously how many lives I had led to have been able to be a journalist, novelist, children's book author, TV script writer, publisher, ghostwriter, creative writing professor, translator, radio interviewer . . .

One. But then again, this is the life of a Venezuelan.

The "Other"

We Venezuelan journalists have had to battle against many adversaries at once: censorship, government persecution, job precariousness, hyperinflation, lack of social security, dreadful internet service, closing of official sources.

Many saw no other way out but exile. And some opted for entrepreneurship. They created online media that have become a reference point for information thanks to their integrity and credibility. There is even an offline media, called Bus TV, based on an idea that is so simple it has to be explained: journalists board a public transportation bus, and while one of them holds a TV-shaped cardboard frame, another peeks through it and delivers news bulletins, which have been researched and written based on the editorial concept of this community-focused media. They had to form alliances to resist and survive because, as Director of Bus TV Laura Helena Castillo puts it, "alone, we are crushed."

Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez (waving) exits the Teatro Municipal opera house in Caracas, May 2002. Photo by @andreinamujica

Photo of the author, Milagros Socorro (left), by @andreinamujica. Inset: Socorro speaks on challenges faced by journalists in Venezuela with the Latin American and Caribbean Civil Society Forum for the Prevention of Mass Violence during an April 2019 workshop in Cúcuta, Colombia, co-organized by the Stanley Center.

For my part, I accepted the temporary safe haven offered to me by this generous city, where I have discovered what it is like to live without fear and, indeed, to wake up to foreign ideas, perhaps favored by a frightless night's sleep.

But the limitations and adversaries Venezuelan journalists live under have certainly left broad segments of the Venezuelan population devoid of information. Certain sectors have access to nothing but official propaganda. However, all in all, Venezuelan journalism has been strengthened; proof of this is the abundance of international awards it has reaped against all odds.

Meanwhile, the spokespeople of the dictatorship, as well as the army of trolls at their service, have continued to harass, threaten, and beat journalists and steal their cell phones and professional equipment. All of this has escalated. For my part, almost from day one I was subjected to the Chavismo wrath, which, at least at the beginning, was targeted more fiercely against women. Against dissident women. Our reluctance to worship Chávez could only be understood as some severe psychological condition on our part, both to Chávez and to his followers, so they wasted no time before labeling us mad. Mad and "unpatriotic," a term foisted by Chavismo on the opposition and relentlessly used by Chávez.

The country had been physically devastated, and our aspirations to advance democracy and complete the long-sought modernity project had been mired. Under an authoritarian regime, like in the colonial England of the novel *Jane Eyre*, the "other" must be confined and silenced. What the "other" says makes no sense. They are not logical arguments but desperate cries. And if—on top of it all—the "other" is a woman who dares to rise up against the supreme leader, she cannot be anything other than a madwoman.

Milagros Socorro is a renowned Venezuelan journalist, writer, and university professor. She is the winner of the 1999 Venezuelan National Journalism Prize. In 2018, she received the Oxfam Novib/PEN Award for Freedom of Expression, given to journalists who have been persecuted for their work and continue working despite the consequences.

The current humanitarian, political, and economic crisis in Venezuela has escalated the incidence of violence, acute shortage of food and essential goods, and violation of human rights—including the right to information provided by a free and independent press. As part of our commitment to fostering regional collaboration on critical issues, the center works with La Coordinadora Regional de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales (CRIES) to convene the Latin American and Caribbean Civil Society Forum for the Prevention of Mass Violence. The author's firsthand accounts of the challenges faced by Venezuelan journalists informed the forum's April 2019 workshop in Cúcuta, Colombia—a border city with Venezuela and focal point for the migration crisis.

Ethics in the Age of OSINT Innocence

By Melissa Hanham and Jaewoo Shin

I ncreased availability and lower cost of satellite imagery has made it accessible to civil society in recent years. While universities, think tanks, and nongovernmental organizations are racing ahead to incorporate this form of open-source intelligence (OSINT) into their regular research work, there are a number of unexamined areas that our team at the Open Nuclear Network (ONN) wanted to explore.

Are open-source analysts facing ethical dilemmas? If they are, how are they resolved? What resources exist to support them to make such decisions?

Difficult Decisions

In 2017, North Korea released a series of photos of a silver, round device—a purported nuclear warhead. Melissa was gripped with the desire to understand everything in the photo. On the one hand, she wanted to determine if the silver orb was credible. Had North Korea now demonstrated a device small and light enough to put on the tip of not one but several of its missiles? Using the missile in the background, Kim Jong Un's height, and photos of the inside of the building from several angles, she made some realistic guesses on the size of the object and closely examined each wire, hexagon, and pentagon on the surface.

After Melissa got over how much she was able to learn, she became worried about how much she should share about weapons design. She chose not to publish her measurements or her analysis of the object in comparison to other images of warheads. Even today, both of us grapple with the weightier dilemmas of this case. Given that we want the public to understand and make good decisions about nuclear weapons, how do we weigh (1) proliferating information that could enable the design of future weapons, and (2) lending credibility to a propaganda campaign that threatened the region?

Thus, ONN joined the Stanley Center for Peace and Security to embark on a joint project to better understand the landscape of ethics in the field of open-source informational analysis of nuclear weapons. As researchers ourselves, we constantly face small, medium, and large dilemmas. Weighing proof and privacy is just one example.

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un meets nuclear scientists and technicians in this undated photo released by North Korea's Korean Central News Agency. (Reuters) A similar photo served as an important reference for author Melissa Hanham.

Appetite for Guidance

Our mission at our new organization, ONN, is to reduce the risk of the use of nuclear weapons in response to error, uncertainty, or misdirection, particularly in the context of escalating conflict. This requires us to not only be accurate but trustworthy as well. We cannot hope to have a positive impact without building ethical best practices from the start. We are conscious of how questions about ethics are intricately linked with power dynamics. This is particularly true in a field dealing with complex national and international security issues, (big) data analytics, and mass media. We believe that such power should be guided by an adaptive body of community norms, best practices, and collaborative peer review.

To this end, ONN and the Stanley Center convened a workshop in Boulder, Colorado, that brought together representatives of major research institutions in the field, individual consultants, journalists, and representatives of satellite companies. We sought balanced representation, thus identifying our first red flag. Open-source geospatial analysis is primarily driven by North America and Europe, with little representation from Asia, Africa, or South America.

As we convened the meeting with the facilitation of the Markkula Center, it was apparent that the attendees were all eager to participate. We had anticipated some competitiveness and insularity in the group, but everyone came with an open mind, and many came with a list of concerns that they had already put together. Even those who could not attend sent input and feedback. The publication of *The Gray Spectrum: Ethical Decision Making with Geospatial and Open Source Analysis*[1] in January 2020 led to even more input, making it clear there is a hunger for resources such as frameworks and peer-consultations on ethical decision making.

While the workshop was held under the Chatham House Rule to facilitate more-open dialogue, we made several overarching observations we can share. First, analysts worry a great deal about the consequences of their work. In addition to their desire to positively contribute to international security, they also feel pressure to always be accurate, fast, and newsworthy. These pressures can pull them in different directions. Second, there are almost no resources for them to consult, and what few there are generally target journalists, human rights activists, and/or scientists. Finally, while participants recognized that poor ethical decision making by one could affect the
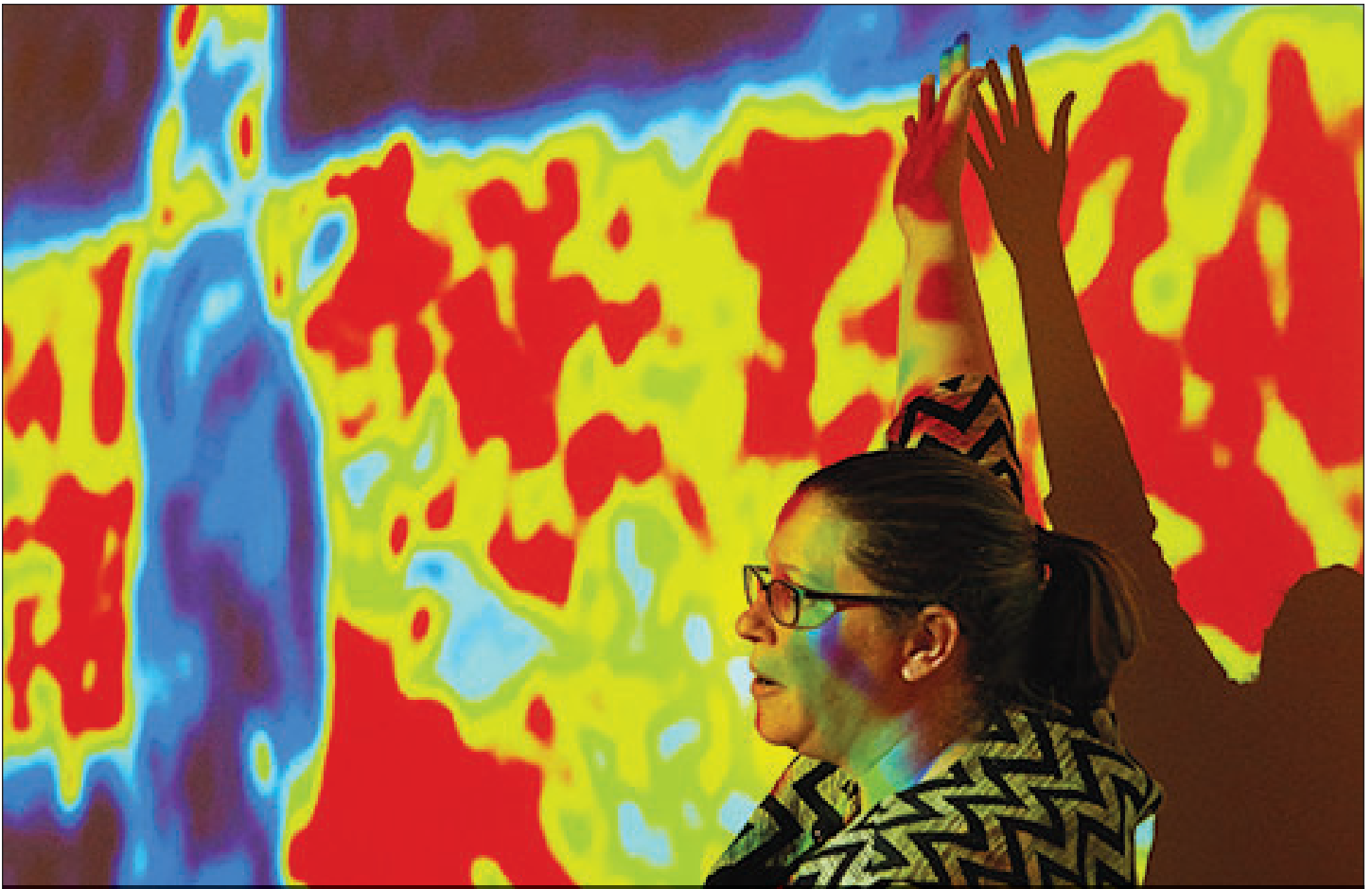
Melissa Hanham points to imagery during a lecture on North Korea's nuclear weapons development and missile tests. Photo courtesy Middlebury Institute's James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies/Todd Balfour

A rocket launched at an undisclosed location in North Korea is shown in this undated photo released by North Korea's Korean Central News Agency. Interpreting such open-source information while applying explicit ethical standards can contribute to more-accurate and legitimate intelligence. (AP)

reputation of the whole, few had the time or finances to develop the resources, procedures, or interorganizational peer reviews they wanted.

An Environmental Approach

ONN's own code of ethics immensely benefited from the collaborative effort at the joint workshop with the Stanley Center and the broader community.[2] Many of the existing frameworks[3] rely on either agentic responsibility ethics (process and impact focused) or rights-based patient evaluation (consent and harm focused), whereas the digital and data-centric nature of our work requires some combination of the two. This comes closest to what has been called an "environmental approach to the digital divide" in academic literature[4] and puts the focus on assuming responsibility over an informational environment as the moral patient of ethical conduct.

While the appeal to ethics in research is typically perceived to be a conservative act, in hindrance to scientific progress,[5] we argue that explicit ethical standards and codes can contribute to ultimately more-accurate and legitimate intelligence. Credibility is of primary importance to independent nongovernmental actors operating in the open-source field, and being able to demonstrate that there is a clear concern over possible dilemmas and deliberate processes in place to navigate them is a powerful demonstration of an organization's commitment to its declared mission.

In our view, an ideal code of ethics should start from an internal translation of an organization's values and mission to principles guiding the more-specific quandaries that analysts—particularly analysts from different backgrounds—face throughout the stages of the research process. Am I putting an individual's security at risk? Am I biased in a way that significantly undermines the independence of my analysis? Am I providing enough context so as not to misrepresent or oversimplify developments?

Collaborating within the Community

We suggest investing appropriate time and collaborative space in developing any code to make the process as inclusive and nonhierarchical as feasible. This can then naturally result in a consensus decision to adopt a code by all staff, which is important for internal and external reasons. We wish to assure the public of our intentions while giving analysts safe haven for creativity in their work before the arduous task of vetting for publication. Such a code should not, however, be intended to serve as an "ethical checklist" ensuring that analysts will no longer have to deal with the case-by-case complexity of ethical decision making. Organizations should expect commonly used notions, such as reasonable expectation and harm, to be interpreted in more-contextually and culturally appropriate ways through continued practice and regular self-reflection, both individually and as a team.
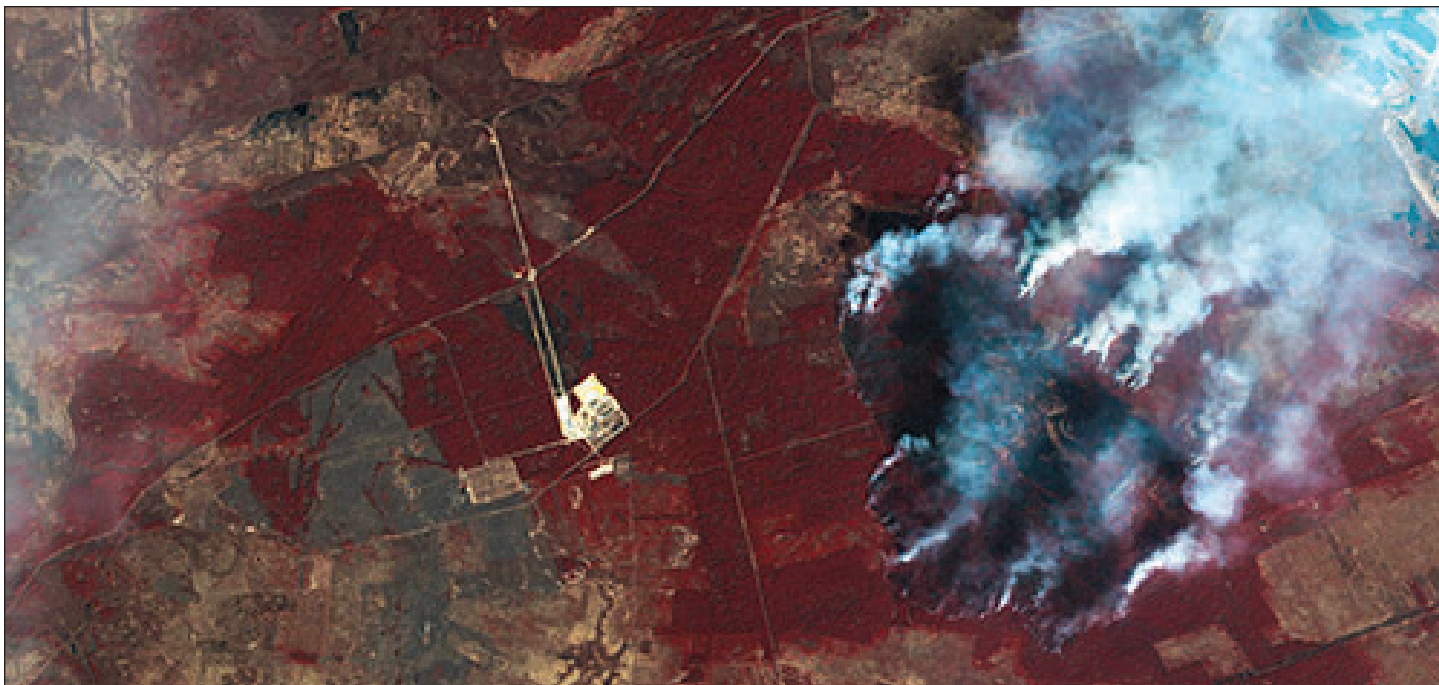
Satellite imagery shows forest fires just south of the shuttered Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine, April 8, 2020. Increased availability of satellite imagery has made it accessible to civil society in recent years. Image courtesy of Planet Labs, Inc.

ONN's own code relies on internal processes, ensuring that there is at all times a consideration for weighing social good and possible harm, independence, accountability, and transparency. Primary responsibilities of paramount importance include the principle to serve the global good, and to uphold transparency, accuracy, and independence. Analysts shall defend freedom of and respect for information, and factual information ought to be distinguished from commentary, criticism, and advocacy.

Accompanying our code, we will provide training and resources to our staff not only for technical but for ethical capacity building as well. We have begun training on structural analytical techniques that have been shown to reduce the risk of biases and mistaken assumptions. ONN will continue to train with other frameworks, such as the one introduced by the Markkula Center.[6] Even as we seek to improve the speed of our analysis, we do not want to reduce accuracy or risk harm. ONN is also beginning to organize a structured process of internal peer review and red teaming with outside consultation of trusted third parties. This method will allow us to test and validate our analyses before publishing. We are preparing processes for handling differences of opinions within our team, and for the quick, public, and rigorous correction of any errors in our work.

Ultimately, the broader community of open-source analysts still needs toolkits. We hope our experience and collaboration with the Stanley Center leads to a strong foundation for the community to identify what is needed next. These resources cost time and money, and the foundations and governments that fund civil society should take heed that they need to invest in these ethical capabilities in addition to technical ones. We must remember that neither the legal access to information nor the technical capability to interpret it translates into an ethical justification to publish. Like doctors, we must first do no harm.

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Melissa Hanham is the Deputy Director of Open Nuclear Network (ONN), a program of One Earth Future, and also directs its Datayo Project. She is an expert on open-source intelligence, incorporating satellite and aerial imagery and other remote sensing data, large data sets, social media, 3D modeling, and GIS mapping for her research on North Korea and China's weapons of mass destruction and delivery devices.

Jaewoo Shin is an Analyst for ONN, where he focuses on developments on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, with particular attention to nuclear risk reduction and regional nuclear and missile programs. He has a special focus on text analysis to understand related trends.

The pace at which technologies emerge and evolve often outstrips the pace at which institutions and bureaucracies can respond. These technologies could pose opportunities or risks for avoiding the use of nuclear weapons. As part of our work in the field, the Stanley Center partnered with Open Nuclear Network as a leader in the geospatial and open-source analysis communities to explore how ethics could help govern open-source intelligence and safely extend the critical contributions it makes to creating a safer world.

Left to Right: The Stanley Center's 2019 Accelerator Initiative participants Jen Spindel, Kathryn Dura, Grace Liu, Sylvia Mishra, and Chantell Murphy share their work and take questions during a panel discussion in November 2019, in Washington, DC.

Next Gen on Nukes and Tech

A Conversation with Five Emerging Experts

By Luisa Kenausis

The nuclear weapons field has long suffered from a lack of diversity in its top ranks, and in recent years, a growing number of organizations have taken on the challenge of cultivating a more diverse community of experts.

For our part, the Stanley Center for Peace and Security launched the Accelerator Initiative in 2019, offering a unique professional development opportunity to a small group of early career women working in nuclear, technology, or international security policy.

From a pool of highly qualified nominees, five women were selected to participate in the 2019 Accelerator Initiative. As the first cohort of participants, these women contributed to high-level discussions on a range of topics. Each participant is also working on a policy research paper on a topic of her choice relating to nuclear weapons and emerging technology. The Stanley Center will publish these papers in summer 2020.

We took a few minutes to speak with them about their experiences as part of the initiative and to get an update on their careers more broadly. The following excerpts are edited for length and clarity. The full interviews are available on our website.

Sylvia Mishra

Sylvia Mishra is pursuing doctoral studies in political science at the Schar School of Public Policy and Government at George Mason University. Her research focuses on nuclear strategy and nonproliferation, Southern Asian security, and emerging and disruptive technologies. She was an India-US Fellow at New America, a Scoville Fellow at the Nuclear Threat Initiative, Visiting Fellow at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies,

Nuclear Scholar at CSIS, and Carnegie New Leader at the Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs. Mishra holds a BA in political science from Hindu College, University of Delhi; an MSc in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science; and an MA in nonproliferation and terrorism studies from the Middlebury Institute of International Studies.

What got you interested in nuclear policy? When did you decide to make it your career?

In the past, I worked at a think-tank in New Delhi on India-US defense and security cooperation and US policy in South Asia. When I received an opportunity to participate in a conference on nuclear weapons issues in Vienna, I was told that nuclear weapons issues are hard security topics dominated by men and a technical subject beyond my ability to grasp or present a paper on. I was asked to pass on the opportunity to a male colleague. I refused to do so and instead prepared well for the conference in Vienna. Eventually, I was selected to join the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies as a visiting fellow to work on nuclear dynamics in South Asia and emerging technologies—specifically underwater drones. Since that day, I work doubly hard to hone my craft in the nuclear and emerging technologies field while advocating for the need for greater diversity of gender and thoughts on national security issues.

Tell us about your research paper.

The research paper, "Emerging Technologies and Strategic Stability in South Asia," aims to research the integration

Military vehicles carrying underwater drones travel past Tiananmen Square during a military parade on October 1, 2019, in Beijing, China. (Reuters/Jason Lee) Accelerator Sylvia Mishra works on nuclear dynamics in South Asia and emerging technologies like the drones seen here.

of emerging technologies with strategic weapons and its impact on the balance of power in conflictual dyads like China-India and India-Pakistan. The research paper showcases causation: integration of emerging technologies with strategic weapons can lower the nuclear threshold, shorten decision-making timelines, and will create cascading strategic competition and security dilemmas in China, India, and Pakistan.

What are you working on now apart from the paper?

I am completing a project on the impact of social media on crisis escalation during the Pulwama-Balakot crisis. The thrust of the report, "High Stress, High Stakes: Information War and Its Impact on Crisis Escalation during the Pulwama-Balakot Crisis," is to examine how digital media platforms augment crisis escalation and to investigate whether social media can act as a voice of restraint and reason or instead push countries to the brink of war.

Recently, I coauthored a report, *Breaking Barriers: Best Practices for the Advancement and Inclusion of Women in STEMM and National Security*, published by CRDF Global. The report makes the case that organizational policies need to be expanded and new policies implemented to revitalize focus on inclusion and diversity of gender, color, culture, and thoughts. It identifies six barriers that stymie the advancement and inclusion of women in STEMM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics, and Medicine) and security. The report highlights a few best practices for understanding and combating these barriers.

Kathryn Dura

Kathryn Dura is an intelligence analyst for the US Navy. She graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 2018 with a double major in international relations and modern Middle Eastern studies and a minor in mathematics. As a student, she conducted research with Dr. Michael Horowitz on national cruise missile, fighter aircraft, unmanned vehicle, and ballistic missile capabilities. After graduating, she worked as a Joseph S. Nye Jr. Technology and National Security Research Intern at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), where she researched trends and applications of artificial intelligence, machine learning, and cyberbased disinformation campaigns to develop policy recommendations for the US government and industry leaders.

What were you working on when you decided to apply for the Accelerator Initiative?

In the nine months prior to applying to the Accelerator Initiative, I completed undergrad, moved to a new city, interned at the Center for a New American Security, and started a new position as an analyst for the US Navy. During my time in undergrad and at CNAS, I was immersed in the academic, think-tank, policy-oriented communities, where I had many opportunities to conduct research and pursue personal projects. It was a large adjustment to leave the familiarity with academia and enter the world of federal government and the military. At the time of application, I was still learning the ropes of my new position, not the least of which was learning the necessary acronyms! Therefore, I was thrilled at the
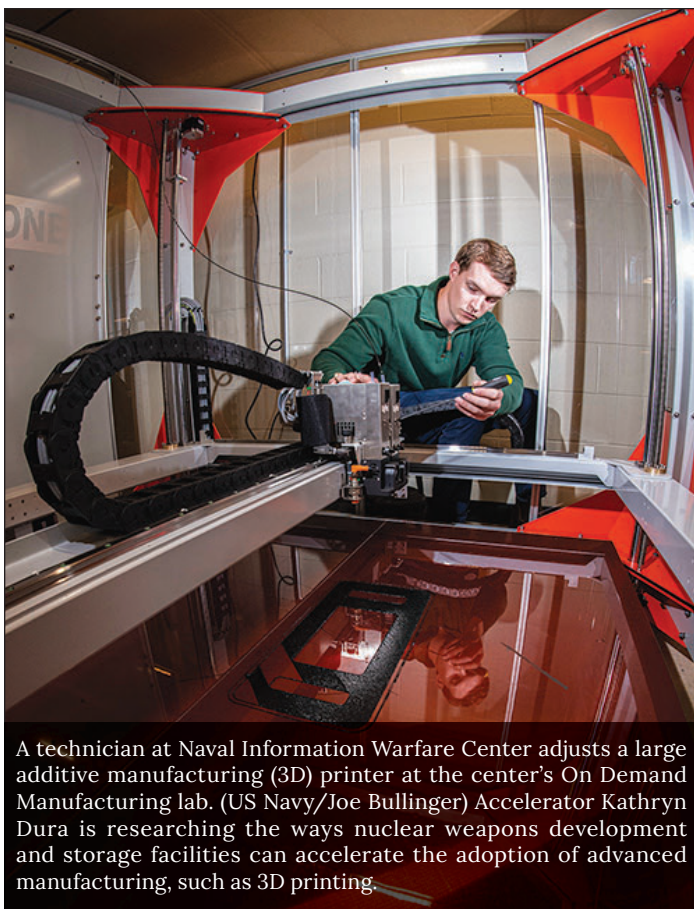
A technician at Naval Information Warfare Center adjusts a large additive manufacturing (3D) printer at the center's On Demand Manufacturing lab. (US Navy/Joe Bullinger) Accelerator Kathryn Dura is researching the ways nuclear weapons development and storage facilities can accelerate the adoption of advanced manufacturing, such as 3D printing.

opportunity to apply for the Accelerator Initiative since it would allow me to keep a foot in the academic realm while allowing me to pursue a policy research project.

What question does your research paper look to answer?
My research paper asks: how can the nuclear weapons development and storage facilities efficiently implement a holistic approach toward advanced manufacturing to meet increased nuclear demand? In other words, my research provides actionable recommendations to accelerate the adoption of advanced manufacturing within the US nuclear enterprise. Over the course of the paper, I examine the current state of US nuclear infrastructure, define advanced manufacturing, and provide background on advanced manufacturing support and implementation across the public and private sectors. My proposal recommends looking beyond US borders to leverage international collaboration opportunities.

Do you have any advice for those starting out in the field?
For those like me, starting out in the field, I recommend seeking out every opportunity to develop as a professional, whether that means applying for jobs that you are unsure you are qualified for or voicing a comment during a meeting. When contemplating whether or not to apply for this Accelerator Initiative, I was doubtful that I would be accepted given my minimal professional experience and knowledge of nuclear policy. Even once accepted, these doubts surfaced prior to each Accelerator Initiative

event—but over the year, I came to realize that my experiences, analysis, and voice matter. By sharing my thoughts at the roundtables and presenting my research topic at the cohort panel, I gained professional and personal confidence in my abilities.

As an analyst who gets into the weeds of research and strives to provide policymakers with the most informed analysis possible, I found the Accelerator Initiative to be wholly complementary to my day job. While there are definite hurdles such as international travel, reporting requirements, and prepublication review, the development opportunity is undoubtedly worth every effort. Professionally, I was able to learn about perspectives outside of the military; personally, I was able to find my voice.

Chantell Murphy

Chantell Murphy is a Program Manager for nonproliferation and arms control research and development at Y-12 National Security Complex. Dr. Murphy has a PhD in nuclear engineering that focused on nuclear safeguards concerns for pyroprocessing. Prior to working at Y-12, she was a Nuclear Security Postdoctoral Fellow at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation. She worked at Los Alamos National Laboratory on international safeguards for advanced fuel cycle technologies and national security policy. Currently she is an N Square Innovator Network Fellow and an engineering consultant for Guide Star Engineering LLC. She earned her PhD from the University of New Mexico in 2018 and holds an MS in health physics from Georgetown University and a BS in physics from Florida State University.

How did you become interested in nuclear policy as a career?
While I was getting my master's in health physics, one of the requirements was to do an internship in nuclear nonproliferation. I did not know what that meant at the time, but through great connections and luck, I ended up working on the Project on Nuclear Issues at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. This internship provided a deep dive into all things related to nuclear weapons policy and technology. I made it my career when I realized there is a space for science, technology, and policy to commingle and produce applicable solutions to big problems.

When you decided to apply for the Accelerator Initiative, what were you working on?
I was working as a nuclear security postdoctoral fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation looking at a wide array of issues at the intersection of nuclear technology and policy, such as nonproliferation concerns for new nuclear fuel cycle processes and working with Russian nuclear scientists on the future of

nuclear energy. I was also interested in expanding my network to include underrepresented groups working on nuclear issues and work on more-forward-thinking ideas. The Accelerator Initiative provided an excellent opportunity for both!

Did you meet anyone or attend any events that influenced your interests, or helped solidify them?

Definitely. I enjoyed the workshops on applying an ethical framework for decision making in open-source analysis and journalism, specifically for geospatial imaging. There are so many nuances about the way technology is changing our access to and relationship with data and information that it is difficult to really understand the societal implications. This is an important dialogue to have, and I am grateful to have been invited to participate in the early stages.

What is your research paper about?

My research paper is about the democratization of disruptive technologies and the impacts on nuclear nonproliferation. Specifically, in the geospatial imaging community, information and analysis techniques that were tightly held by the intelligence community are now available to the public. The gut reaction may be this is a good thing since more information leads to better decision making and creates a more equal playing field, but in many cases the "public" includes a small privileged subset of people predominately from Western society who are not vetted and are only accountable to themselves.

What would you say to someone new to the field?

My advice is to build a strong network of supportive friends whom you admire and respect, to question everything, and to make sure that what you are working on is in line with your core values; don't compromise your fundamental belief structure.
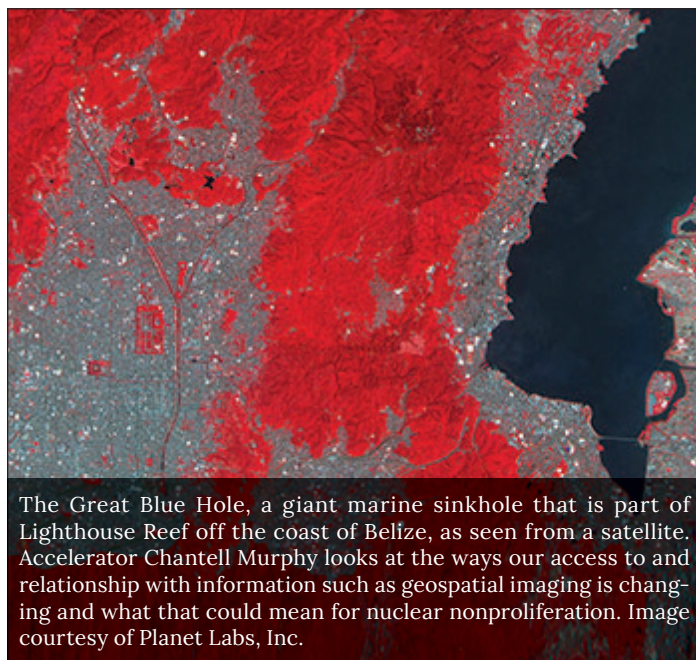
The Great Blue Hole, a giant marine sinkhole that is part of Lighthouse Reef off the coast of Belize, as seen from a satellite. Accelerator Chantell Murphy looks at the ways our access to and relationship with information such as geospatial imaging is changing and what that could mean for nuclear nonproliferation. Image courtesy of Planet Labs, Inc.

Jen Spindel

Jen Spindel is an Assistant Professor of international security at the University of Oklahoma and a Research Fellow at Dartmouth College. Her research focuses on national security, foreign policy, and the conventional weapons trade. Dr. Spindel received her PhD in political science from the University of Minnesota and her BA from Colgate University. She has been awarded the Kenneth Waltz Dissertation Prize from the American Political Science Association for the best doctoral dissertation nationally in the area of security studies.

What got you interested in nuclear policy? When did you decide to make it your career?

I have always been interested in international affairs and conflict, and after spending a year substitute teaching, I decided to go to graduate school for a PhD in political science. I was really interested in the earlier works on nuclear coercion and deterrence—work by Thomas Schelling and Robert Jervis—and wanted to figure out how to understand many of those dynamics in the conventional weapons world. While writing my dissertation, I kept seeing similarities and overlaps between conventional and nuclear strategy, deterrence, perceptions—pretty much everything. I was unable to tackle the nuclear side in my dissertation, but that interest has always been there for me, and I knew at some point in my career I would want to focus more directly on nuclear arms and technology.

Did any of the events you attended solidify or influence your interests?

All of the events! I feel like I learned so much from all of the Accelerator Initiative events that I will be processing through it for a long time. One of the events that most surprised me was the one about using distributed ledger technology (DLT) for nuclear safeguards. I went into that event thinking that bitcoin—as the example of DLT I was more familiar with—was kind of pointless and could not be scaled up to a point where it would actually be useful. I received a crash course in what DLT is, how it works, and the ways that it could revolutionize nuclear monitoring and safeguards. That sort of sparked my interest in perceptions of cybercapabilities, and how those perceptions will affect nuclear stability. How much misperception is really out there, and how does misperception create differing incentives for action?

I also got a lot out of the session on the militarization of AI (artificial intelligence). I felt like my role was sometimes to step back and ask about the broader societal and political implications of technological change. And I was really pleased with how receptive the technological and subject matter experts were to those questions. That experience helped convince me that there is a real need to figure out how to bring social science research and methods to

bear on pressing questions about technological change in development, in a way that tries to do justice to both the technology and the social science.

Tell us about your research paper.
My policy paper is about how perceptions of cybercapabilities can affect nuclear security. From the information environment surrounding the 2016 US election to targeted phishing emails that shut down billion-dollar companies, cybercapabilities are increasingly used to affect how people think about the world around them. I am interested in how perceptions of cybercapabilities will affect the nuclear realm. If, for example, states fear that adversaries could interfere with their nuclear command and control, does this increase incentives to use nuclear weapons? What does the general public think about risks in cyberspace, and can public opinion be a push toward conflict or a brake on escalatory processes?

What advice do you have for those starting out in the field?
It can feel kind of intimidating to break into this world, especially as a young woman. One of the hardest things for me has been making the move to claim my expertise and feel comfortable using that expertise to contribute to discussions. I have found a lot of support along the way from women (and many men) at various stages in their careers. So my biggest piece of advice is to reach out! I have found people very willing to talk and almost universally happy to share advice and support the careers of junior women. The other piece of advice is to recognize your knowledge and expertise, and start putting yourself out there, whether writing for a blog, participating in Twitter conversations, or whatever. It is a great way to get ideas out there and start becoming a known quantity.

Grace Liu

Grace Liu is a Fellow at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS). She specializes in open-source methods and geospatial analysis with a background in East Asia. Her research focuses on the intersection between emerging technology and nuclear accountability. Her publications include using emerging geospatial technology to characterize uranium production and
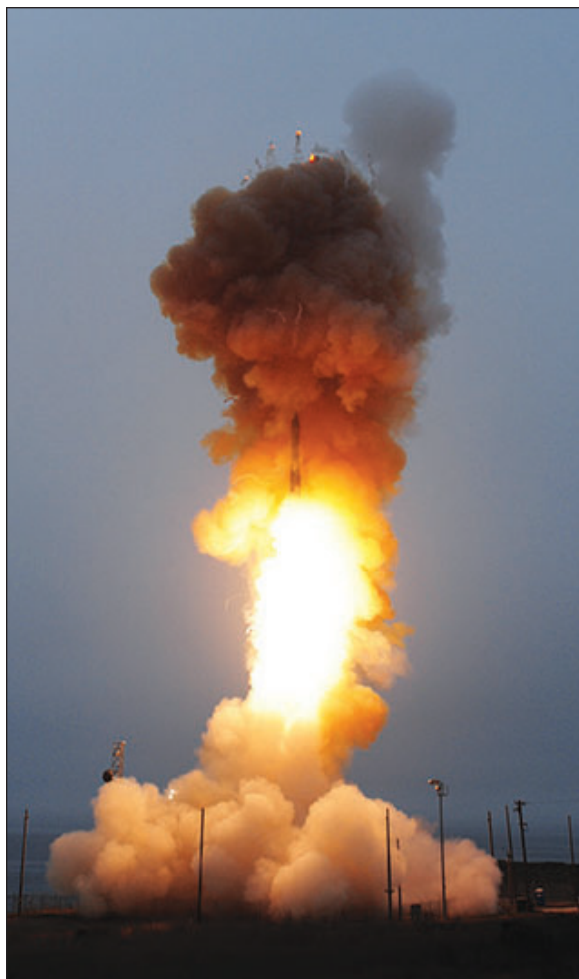
The nuclear triad is contingent on maintaining land-based, sea-based, and airborne strategic nuclear missiles, which together reduce the likelihood that a preemptive attack by an enemy could eliminate a nation's retaliatory capability—thereby increasing nuclear deterrence.

Clockwise from left: An operational test launch of an unarmed Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missile from Vandenberg Air Force Base. (US Air Force/Joe Davila) Sailors assigned to the nuclear-powered attack submarine USS Virginia stand topside. (US Navy/Steven Hoskins) A B-2 Spirit aircraft can deliver nuclear munitions anywhere on the globe. (US Air Force/Tristin English)

A missile combat crew commander performs a simulated key turn of the Minuteman III weapon system during a Simulated Electronic Launch-Minuteman test inside the launch control center at a missile alert facility in Nebraska. During such a test, crew members are responsible for sending commands to the missiles in the launch facility. (US Air Force/Christopher Ruano) Accelerator Jen Spindel asks if states fear their adversaries could interfere with their nuclear command and control, does that increase incentive to use nuclear weapons?

developing machine learning algorithms to monitor satellite imagery of weapons-of-mass-destruction sites. She previously led the Geo4Nonpro project. She holds an MA in nonproliferation and terrorism studies from the Middlebury Institute of International Studies (MIIS) and an MBA and BA from the University of New Mexico.

How did you become interested in nuclear policy as a career?

My interest in nuclear policy was a result of what I like to call a "perfect storm." Because of my family background, I focused on North Korea for some of my undergrad experience, and growing up in Los Alamos, New Mexico, made nuclear issues very familiar. I started grad school at MIIS around the time that North Korea's nuclear program really started ramping up. Thanks to my Korean-language skills and geospatial background, I was really lucky to be able to join the super OSINT team at CNS, which at the time included Jeffrey Lewis, Melissa Hanham, and Dave Schmerler. I loved being able to integrate my previous experience and skills into an incredibly active account, and especially to be able to share our work and analysis process with an engaged policy audience.

Did you meet anyone or attend any events that influenced your interests, or helped solidify them?

Absolutely! One highlight was getting to talk with Lord Des Browne, whom I had met briefly through the CTBTO (Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization) Youth Group. I ran into him one morning before one of the AI events and was lucky enough to have breakfast one on one. It was inspiring to hear about his career and perspectives on the future of nuclear policy, and he was very receptive to hearing about my projects and perspectives. It ended up being one of the most impactful mentoring experiences I have ever had.

What is your research paper about?

My paper explores the possibility for hyperspectral imagery to be used as a means to monitor uranium-production activities in the future.

Do you have any advice for those starting out in the field?

This is an incredibly small and close-knit field, so there is a big chance you will get to meet the "big wigs" and interact with colleagues who are located around the world over and over again. This is great because you will get to forge working relationships and even friendships, and probably call on some of those to collaborate on future projects or initiatives—make sure you take advantage of those opportunities.

Luisa Kenausis is Program Assistant for nuclear weapons at the Stanley Center for Peace and Security and coordinates the Accelerator Initiative. Before joining the center, Kenausis was a Scoville Fellow at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation. She received a BS in nuclear science and engineering and political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

A project of the Stanley Center for Peace and Security, the Accelerator Initiative offers a unique mentorship and career-development opportunity to a small cohort of early career women working in nuclear, international security, or technology policy. Policy papers from the 2019 Accelerator Initiative participants will be published by the Stanley Center in summer 2020.

For more information, please visit the Accelerator Initiative's web page: www.stanleycenter.org/accelerator.

Air pollution visible in Dhaka, Bangladesh, where several million cases of illness occur every year because of poor air quality. (Barcroft Media via Getty Image/Zakir Hossain Chowdhury)

Double the Risk

The Exponential Rise of Threats to Human Rights by Climate Change and Infectious Diseases

By Hiba Ghandour and Poorvaprabha Patil

Inalienable, universal, interdependent, indivisible, equal, and nondiscriminatory.

Those are the characteristics of human rights as defined in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the rights that are inherent to humans everywhere. However, multiple threats have faced human rights over the years, changing in both nature and intensity, varying from natural to man-made.

Climate change is among the most significant of these threats and is the most serious "disease" Mother Earth is facing currently. As the drivers of climate change continue to progress, its impact exponentially rises as it renders humanity at risk, putting livelihoods and the protection of basic human rights in danger.

Climate change has shifted the epidemiology and incidence of infectious diseases in a multitude of ways. One is the rising prevalence of climate-sensitive infectious diseases, such as malaria and dengue fever, which worsen as temperatures increase. Another is the impact of increased flooding and road blockages that prevent access to essential treatment needed for the management of chronic infectious diseases, like human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Prolonged periods of drought catalyze the rate at which vector-borne diseases spread as mosquitos, flies, and other such transmitters of these diseases breed more readily. The West Nile virus, for example, was associated with a positive influence on the United Kingdom's mosquito vector population following one year of drought. Other urban mosquito vectors adaptable to climate change, and which carry illnesses such as dengue and chikungunya fevers, are able to maintain their populations in the face of drought. Climate change has thus expanded the gap in access to health care, particularly for vulnerable populations such as refugees, migrant workers, and ethnic and racial minorities, in addition to populations living in low-resource settings. The baseline protection of human rights for these groups is at risk. Access to basic health care is arguably the most critical challenge such populations face. Combined with the increasing risk and impact of a rapidly changing climate and a shift in infectious-disease epidemiology, the right to an adequate standard of living as referenced in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for these vulnerable populations becomes ever-more challenging to protect.

Globally, innumerable people are being detrimentally affected by a changing climate and rapidly evolving infections that converge and reinforce one another as an astronomical threat to their human rights. Often, stories that have not been given voice are lost, especially when those stories are unfolding half a world away. Following are five such narratives that shed light on the ominous relationship between climate change, infectious diseases, and human rights. While the stories are real, the names are aliases to protect the privacy of the patients.

Rohingya refugee Mabia Khatun, 30, sits between her children in her tent at the Kutupalong refugee camp in Bangladesh, the day after the death of her husband, Najmul. Najmul died after months of suffering from tuberculosis and jaundice. (AFP via Getty Images/Ed Jones)

Surgery for Tuberculosis in Bangladesh

Abhaya is a 44-year-old widowed mother of five children and lives in northeast Bangladesh. She works daily from 6 AM until 6 PM to ensure an adequate standard of living for her children. Recently, she started waking up in the middle of the night with fever and profuse sweating. She has been coughing blood for the past few weeks; recently, she noticed loosening of her clothes, a result of rapid weight loss. Abhaya has been diagnosed with multidrug-resistant tuberculosis (MDR TB), and after a few months of failed treatment, her physician recommended surgery to remove a portion of one of her lungs.

Tuberculosis is a major global health problem, as listed by the World Health Organization (WHO); MDR TB and totally resistant drug TB (XDR TB) are on the rise as per the WHO report in 2019 and a study by Abdul Kuddus, Emma S. McBryde, and Oyelola A. Adegboye. Air quality worsened by pollution catalyzes and increases the risk of TB outbreaks. With half a million new cases of MDR TB reported each year, and almost 100 countries reporting XDR TB owing to the spread of antimicrobial resistance, resistant TB is one of the biggest current threats to human health. Combined with the low

temperature, low humidity, and low rainfall in the shifting climate of northeast Bangladesh, the incidence of TB increases. Low- and middle-income countries like Bangladesh experience 87 percent of TB deaths worldwide, according to WHO. Access to quality surgery for MDR TB is a particular challenge in these settings and, ironically, a surgical procedure that exacerbates climate change, looping together in cyclical fashion the causes and effects of disease and greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. According to Hina Gadani and Arun Vyas, the types of anesthetic gases used to maintain sedation of patients, such as halogenated ethers and nitrous oxide, are GHGs. Those that are cheaper to use (and therefore more widely used in low-resource settings) typically have more impacts on global warming than more-costly substitutes. Anesthetics that contribute to GHG emissions render surgery, which can be a treatment for a disease exacerbated by climate change, a contributor to the latter, creating a vicious cycle.

Abhaya had her life-saving surgery in the Central Hospital in Dhaka, unaware that her disease is partly caused by climate change or that her treatment is contributing to the same problem that made her ill.

Dengue in the Settlements of Honduras

Nadia is eight and lives in a heavily populated, low-resource settlement in Honduras. She is bright and hardworking and attends a nearby school. Recently, she started experiencing high fever, pain behind her eyes, severe headache, and joint and muscle pain. Owing to the lack of health education and the financial status of her family, she was taken to a local hospital only after her symptoms worsened and her mother started noticing rashes over her skin and blood in her vomit. She was diagnosed with complicated dengue and was immediately hospitalized. She missed three weeks of school until she recovered and could resume her education.

Dengue, a mosquito-borne infection caused by the dengue virus, is the most common arbovirus infection globally. The number of dengue cases reported to the WHO has increased more than six-fold during the last two decades, from just over 500,000 in 2000 to more than 3.3 million in 2015. The number of cases continues to rise, reaching new, previously unaffected parts of the world owing primarily to climate change.

Following a prolonged rainy season, Honduras is seeing a sharp rise in cases of dengue fever, with children particularly affected. Research indicates that the daily rainfall, mean temperature, and variation in temperature are important drivers of the current distribution and incidence of dengue. Those living in poverty and in informal settlements continue to be at a greater risk and suffer more severely because of the added barrier of limited access to health-care services and information.

Naida has almost recovered from her illness but is having a difficult time coping with the academic loss, and her family is struggling to make ends meet because of the added costs of Nadia's care and medication. Nadia's growth is slower than expected for her age as a consequence of complicated dengue.

Biodiversity and COVID-19

James was 55 and lived with his wife in New York. They had returned from a long-awaited vacation to Seoul in late February. A few days after they arrived home, James developed a cough and cold. Within four days, his illness progressed to difficulty breathing, high fever, muscle pain, and weakness, and he was shifted to a tertiary care hospital. He was diagnosed with COVID-19. His symptoms progressively worsened, and he died a week later of respiratory distress.

COVID-19 is a zoonotic respiratory disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus. Zoonotic diseases are infectious diseases caused by a pathogen that has "jumped" from nonhuman animals to humans. Human-induced destruction of biodiversity is not only a cause for loss of

Following an unusually long rainy season, Honduras is placed under a national alert for dengue fever—a deadly infection carried by the aedes aegypti mosquito. Seen here, a fumigation operation underway to combat the mosquito in a neighborhood of Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras. (AFP via Getty Images/Orlando Sierra)

Emergency medical technicians load a patient into an ambulance outside the Elmhurst Hospital Center as the spread of the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) continues, in the Queens borough of New York City, April 24, 2020. (Reuters/Lucas Jackson)

livelihoods, increased unpredictability of weather, and increased food insecurity, but is also very closely linked to zoonotic diseases. Humans venturing into closer contact with undisturbed ecosystems or disrupting these systems increases the likelihood of emergence of new zoonotic diseases. Deforestation driven by agricultural expansion, cattle breeding, meat production, mining, oil extraction, construction, rapid urbanization, and population growth is bringing people into closer and more frequent contact with animal species—making the "jump," or their transmission to humans, easier. Production of commercial meat is not only damaging the ecosystem but, along with open-air markets at which meat is often sold, is an immeasurable hazard to human health. COVID-19, which originated in bats, was found to be first transmitted to humans through one such market in Wuhan, China.

The WHO declared COVID-19 a pandemic on March 11, 2020. The disease forced several countries to enter a period of lockdown to curb its spread, created a crisis for the global economy, and disrupted human life in unprecedented ways. Scientists studying the relationship between pathogens and epidemics know it is unlikely that COVID-19 will be the last disease brought about by the destruction of nature.

There is no doubt that the drivers of biodiversity and environmental destruction, leading to negative health impacts, are also drivers of climate change by virtue of how complex interactions between these systems take place, and there is a need to address them collectively, especially during this unprecedented year for nature and biodiversity.

James unknowingly infected his wife and 312 more people, as identified by contact tracing, before he died. His wife, who soon developed symptoms, is receiving treatment for COVID-19 at a health facility in New York.

HIV in the Middle East

Amela is a 34-year-old migrant worker from South Africa who was living in the Arabian Gulf and working as a housekeeper. After 18 months of hard work and dedication, Amela requested from her employer a doctor's visit after experiencing a severe flu-like illness. After a ten-month delay caused by lack of attention from her employer and a prolonged period on a waiting list for the community health center designated for those in domestic help, Amela visited a physician. Several blood tests indicated a diagnosis of HIV, and Amela's physician discussed the need to start antiretroviral therapy (ART) immediately. Amela's employer panicked in fear for his family and opted to send her back home before she could begin an ART

regimen. Back in her home country, Amela struggled to access ART during frequent periods of extreme weather and flooding caused by climate change.

Domestic workers in many parts of the Middle East are governed by the Kafala system, an exploitative sponsorship system limited to the region. Domestic workers suffer a high incidence of physical and sexual abuse and other forms of maltreatment, such as denial of access to health care. The system attempts to protect this right of access, but it is often violated by employers, delaying diagnosis and treatment. Often, workers are returned home to their native countries without being seen by a doctor. UNAIDS has reported that vulnerable populations living with HIV are particularly impacted by climate change in certain regions, such as South Africa. Areas with rising sea levels and higher sea water temperatures see an increase in the destructive capacity of floods, cyclones, and other storms. Road blockages and severe weather prevent access to essential treatment, ART in Amela's case. ART aims to control HIV, decrease the viral load, and slow disease progression. Delaying ART allows HIV to continue to progress uncontrolled, hastening the likelihood that HIV will develop into acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS).

With help from the UNAIDS country office, Amela was eventually able to secure access to ART, but she will require frequent visits to her physician to ensure adequate control of the virus.

Suicide and Drought in India

Ramesh is a 37-year-old traditional farmer from Buldhana district in the Vibharba region of India. His wife is a homemaker, and together they have three children, ages 9, 12, and 14. Ramesh owns a small piece of land that he inherited from his father on which he cultivates soybeans. He leaves home at 6 AM each day to go to the field, where he spends 10 to 12 hours. He was recently diagnosed with malaria, which has been on the rise in his region, with farmers working outdoors being particularly susceptible. To his detriment, he has been struggling to grow crops on his land due to irregular rains and drought and has incurred huge debt and suffered extreme financial loss. Two farmers in his region have committed suicide after not being able to repay their debts.

India is an agrarian country with approximately 70 percent of its people depending on agriculture. More than 10,000 people involved in the farming sector committed suicide in 2018 according to the Indian National Crime Records Bureau. A vast proportion of those suicides can be attributed to financial loss resulting from untimely rainfall and prolonged periods of droughts. Lost opportunity for cultivation of crops translates to lost wages and increased debts unable to be repaid. There is a direct

People move their belongings from damaged houses after heavy rains caused flooding in Marianhill, South Africa. (Reuters/Rogan Ward) Extreme weather and flooding caused by climate change impede access to needed medications and treatments.

A shepherd takes rest under a tree on a dried-up lake on the outskirts of Chennai, India. (Reuters/P. Ravikumar) Lost opportunity for cultivation of crops brought on by climate change has led to lost wages and increased debt for farmers in rural India.

correlation between areas that have frequent droughts and higher rates of farmer suicide. Making matters worse, unseasonal rain has not only damaged crops but also prolonged the season for mosquito breeding, leading to a wider spread of arboviral diseases like dengue, malaria, and chikungunya fever amid a time of crisis for high-risk, vulnerable populations such as these.

With the help of the government relief scheme, Ramesh was able to procure funds to sustain the basic needs of his family and pay for his medical expenses. But he still struggles to repay a significant portion of his debt, and his attempts to grow crops on this land have been unsuccessful amid untimely rains and prolonged periods of drought. Ramesh also suffers from depression—prevalent among farmers in his region.

Climate change and its impacts are far reaching and affect human health and livelihoods in more ways than we fully appreciate in the course of our daily lives. While Abhaya, Nadia, James, Amela, and Ramesh lead very different lives and the illnesses they suffer from seem disparate, they have one pivotal thing in common—climate change is the underlying factor for their health conditions. Climate change poses a significant risk to human health and the spread of infectious diseases, and it disproportionately impacts the most vulnerable

among us. Only with concrete, multisectoral efforts will we be able to mitigate this compounded threat to human survival and well-being.

Hiba Ghandour is a medical doctor from Lebanon and a current Research Associate at Harvard Medical School's Program in Global Surgery. She is an aspiring cardiothoracic surgeon, and her research aims to improve access to timely, affordable, and quality surgical care in low- and middle-income countries.

Poorvaprabha Patil is a final-year medical student at Kasturba Medical College in Manipal, India. She is the Sustainable Development Goal 3 Regional Focal Point at the UN Major Group for Children and Youth and also serves as vice president of the Medical Students Association of India.

The scope of the threat posed by climate change demands that we work with colleagues across policy sectors to identify new solutions. The Stanley Center is currently exploring the crossroads of climate with areas such as migration, biodiversity, international security, and public health. The authors participated in a two-day workshop the center organized with partners at the United Nations Development Programme, World Health Organization, and Wellcome Trust that sought to broaden the constituencies engaged in climate change discussions and advocacy.

A view of a protest message, "We need a green new deal," written in chalk in front of the New York State Capitol and office of Governor Andrew Cuomo. (Getty Images/Rochlin)

Waiting for a Green Stimulus

By Julian Brave NoiseCat

Even before Congress passed the historic $2.2 trillion Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act, buzz began to build in Washington, DC, that lawmakers would soon return to the Capitol to hash out another deal. President Donald Trump signed the CARES Act into law on Friday, March 27.

By the following Wednesday, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi was circulating a memo outlining Democratic priorities for spending on infrastructure. But the memo was out of date by the next morning when the Department of Labor released new statistics showing more than 6.6 million Americans filed for unemployment insurance the week prior, topping an all-time record that had been set the week just before that. By Friday, April 3, more than 10 million Americans were unemployed (roughly the population of New York City and Chicago combined). The speaker, responding to the news, changed her tune: once legislators returned from recess, the House of Representatives would instead pursue another bipartisan relief bill. Infrastructure would have to wait.

"Let's do the same bill we just did, make some changes to make it current," Pelosi told reporters on Capitol Hill that day. "While I'm very much in favor of doing some things we need to do to meet the needs—clean water, more broadband, the rest of that—that may have to be for a bill beyond this right now."

An Opportunity for Leadership

Climate and environmental advocates, on the other hand, saw in the economic fallout from the coronavirus an opportunity to advance green priorities that many had assumed would be dead on arrival until the next Democratic administration and Congress. On March 9, Mark Paul, an economist at the New College of Florida, and I published a blog for Data for Progress, where I am vice president of policy and strategy, arguing that Democrats should set aside concerns about the national deficit and spend big on jobs, infrastructure, and climate. "We should think of climate policy and a Green New Deal the same way we think of other investments, as a down-payment on a safe and prosperous future," we wrote. With interest rates at historic lows, such an agenda would be cheaper to finance than ever. It might finally be time to act on climate.

The coronavirus seemed to be toppling pillars of American ideology once as firm as Newton's laws. Amid the pandemic, Republicans appeared willing to open the public purse and spend more than any Congress in history. And so long as the federal government was allocating trillions of dollars in federal aid and economic relief, greens like Paul and I argued that at least some of those investments should help fight climate change.

The pandemic, like global warming, had bound the fates of societies around the world together like few other calamities in human history. And prior global crises offered the United States opportunities to lead on the world stage. During World War II, for example, America rose to defend Europe and democracy against fascism. After the war, our country rebuilt the continent, and back home we created the middle class. Although the United States has turned inward in the era of Make America Great Again, it's not impossible to imagine the nation reprising its historic role: leading a global community in the fight against disease, economic depression, and, yes, even climate change. But were there any champions of such a view left in Washington?

US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) speaks to the press before signing a $484 billion relief package amid the coronavirus pandemic. Representatives Maxine Waters (D-CA) (second from left), Richard Neal (D-MA), Nydia Velazquez (D-NY), and House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (D-MD) observe while social distancing at the US Capitol in Washington, DC, April 23, 2020. The House of Representatives passed the bill as US job losses due to the coronavirus soared and businesses clamored for more support. (AFP via Getty Images/Nicholas Kamm)

On March 22, Paul and I coauthored an open letter to Congress alongside nine other experts who had advised presidential campaigns, providing a menu of green stimulus proposals to policymakers. Numerous think tanks and environmental groups, including Data for Progress, began drafting and researching climate priorities that could conceivably be passed into law as Congress shifted to invest in jobs and infrastructure projects that would put Americans back to work once it was safe.

These ideas, of which there were dozens, ranged from a proposal to replace our nation's aging water infrastructure to a proposal to create a Climate Conservation Corps to requests to increase funding for existing programs such as the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program, which helps low-income households with their energy bills, to more visionary ideas like public ownership of the power sector. (Environmentalists—particularly left-leaning ones—have no shortage of big ideas these days.) It may be that these are precisely the kinds of policies that could resuscitate the economy, bolster the United States' waning global influence, and preserve a healthy climate for future generations.

Room for Negotiation

The prospects for a big green stimulus lay at the end of a legislative gauntlet that Democrats appeared unwilling to run. In the Senate, Democrats included provisions in the CARES Act that would extend tax credits for renewable energy and require bailed-out airlines to reduce their emissions. But Republicans smeared those additions as political gamesmanship. "Democrats won't let us fund hospitals or save small businesses unless they get to dust off the Green New Deal," said Majority Leader Mitch McConnell on the Senate floor as the upper chamber debated the bill. Both proposals to deploy renewable energy and reduce airline emissions were soon dropped. When the chips were down, even Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer had little appetite for a tussle with the GOP amid the pandemic. As usual in Washington, climate would have to wait.

But wait until when? That question seemed to be at the core of Pelosi's 48-hour late-March pivot from relief to infrastructure and then back again to relief. If Democrats were going to push forward a green stimulus, everyone involved agreed it would have to be done as part of a broader bipartisan infrastructure package that could win the votes of Senate Republicans. And if Congress was going to do infrastructure, that would mean lawmakers felt confident it was the right moment—in the course of the spread of the disease, the economic downturn, and trending public opinion—to shift from a framework that foregrounded relief and health care to one that centered on jobs and infrastructure.

While epidemiologists and economists are obviously the most appropriate advisers on matters of public health and the market, Data for Progress began fielding a tracker poll in April that included questions intended to gauge shifts in the views of voters. When should we start to reopen and rebuild our ailing economy? And what did the public think of America's global role amid the pandemic? Answers to both questions may define the trajectory of the United States and the world for years to come. So far, we have seen little movement, with three out of four voters polled in April believing that Congress should prioritize relief over infrastructure.

One woman's view on these questions mattered a great deal more—and in fact set the tone for the rest of the Democratic Party and much of the country—and that was Speaker Pelosi. Anyone who's watched the TV shows *The West Wing* or *Veep* knows that Capitol Hill is a place where high-stakes decisions are made in low-information environments (and occasionally, in smoke-filled parlors). As Congress haggled over the details of CARES and then set about drafting and negotiating the next round of legislation, the slow drip of information out of the speaker's office had the power to send Team Blue's legislators, lobbyists, and activists running to and fro, chasing the latest news and adjusting their approach on Capitol Hill to respond to leadership. Insiders even

began calling the two options on the table COVID Phase 3.5 and COVID Phase 4.

COVID 3.5 was shorthand for a bill that would extend and amend aid provided in the CARES Act. COVID 4 was shorthand for a bill aimed more at jobs, infrastructure, and maybe even a few climate and clean energy priorities. "I'm hearing…" became the most common words on political operatives' lips. But news was old almost as soon as it was heard. Most believed Congress would return and get to work on a COVID 3.5-style bill. But others—particularly the green stimulus crowd—had their eyes set on COVID 4 and beyond.

While Republicans appeared unusually willing to spend big, centrist Democrats had reservations. On April 2, the Blue Dog Caucus sent a letter to Pelosi, Schumer, and Democratic leadership. "Both parties are guilty of having put forward partisan legislation that, in the era of divided government, would do nothing to contain the spread of COVID-19 or deliver peace of mind to the American people," wrote the Blue Dogs. "If the partisan posturing continues in either chamber of Congress, our votes should not be taken for granted."

The nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget (CRFB), meanwhile, began raising concerns about a familiar bugaboo: the deficit. "If the President

A deserted Rue De La Loi as seen on May 1, 2020 in Brussels, Belgium—home to the European Parliament. Many countries in the EU have urged its parliament to adopt a green economic recovery plan. (NurPhoto via Getty Images/Jonathan Raa)

and Congress want to work together on a massive infrastructure package, they should do so once they've effectively addressed the immediate crisis and they should fully offset the cost over time once the economy has recovered," said CRFB President Maya MacGuineas in a statement. "Just because borrowing is cheap right now doesn't mean it's free. And just because we should borrow more to manage a crisis doesn't mean we should borrow infinitely more for every feel-good project that comes to mind."

Frontline Democrats as well as some influential economists appeared to speak to Pelosi with one voice: don't do infrastructure yet, focus on providing relief through another bipartisan bill.

A Missing Solidarity

Infrastructure week and a green stimulus were, once again, on hold. While this appeared a perfectly sensible course of action, even for some Democrats, other nations were not setting aside their climate plans in light of the pandemic. The following week, 10 European countries, including Sweden, the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain, sent an open letter to the European Union (EU), urging its parliament to adopt a green recovery plan.

"We need to send a strong political signal to the world and our citizens that the EU will lead by example even in difficult times like the present and blaze the trail to climate neutrality and the fulfillment of the Paris Agreement," they wrote. So far, however, the European Commission—the EU's executive—has not attached green stipulations to more than $1.94 trillion in aid extended to the continent's ailing nations and firms. For now, it seems, health care and the economy have taken precedence over infrastructure and the climate.

I fear lawmakers on both sides of the Atlantic may be repeating the mistakes of the 2009 financial crisis, during which legislatures and central banks around the world extended credit to polluting industries, putting the world's carbon budget even deeper in the hole at precisely the moment we need to start making unprecedented steps to decarbonize.

As lawmakers returned to Capitol Hill the week of April 20, they set to work on COVID 3.5 as Pelosi had signaled weeks before. As of this writing, it remains unclear if Congress will even come back to the table to negotiate COVID 4. Democrats will likely run on a November message attacking President Trump's refusal to heed the advice of experts on the coronavirus.

A recent Data for Progress study, corroborated by a similar survey fielded by the Center for American Progress and Global Strategies Group, showed that climate change was also a strong general election issue

for the liberal party, drawing a favorable comparison with Republicans and Trump, who has described climate change as a "hoax invented by the Chinese." I tacked a question onto a recent survey testing voters' receptiveness to a policy approach that tied together the fight against the pandemic, economic shock, and climate change. Initial results showed voters support such an approach by 62 points, with 75 percent in support and just 13 percent opposed.

In the months ahead, Democrats may well have an incentive to push forward on infrastructure. They control the lower chamber and, in theory, could leverage their votes to pass a bipartisan package that included a mix of Republican and Democratic priorities—perhaps even elements of a green stimulus. But it remains unclear if the conservative party will have any interest in coming back to the negotiating table. Climate and environmental priorities may have to wait yet again, for the next administration and Congress. Whether we will have the votes for a green stimulus by then is anyone's guess. But the stakes could not be higher.

If Congress fails to act on converging epidemiological, economic, and ecological crises, the United States' influence will likely continue to decline. In the wake of a disease that has knit together the fate of humans across the planet, politics in our country and others may turn even further inward. As we face global challenges that demand collective, international actions and solidarity, the triumph of a reactionary, nostalgic populism over the governing ideologies of both the left and right may be one of the most tragic and damaging legacies of the coronavirus. It is the responsibility of more-enlightened and compassionate leaders to resist this tendency.

Julian Brave NoiseCat is Vice President of Policy and Strategy at Data for Progress. He is also a Fellow at the Type Media Center and NDN Collective.

To limit the increase in global average temperature to 1.5°C above preindustrial levels, the most critical transformational pathways for reducing emissions need to be accelerated, and innovative ideas need further attention. Before the world experienced the COVID-19 pandemic and its accompanying impact on the global economy, the Stanley Center, E3G, and experts from the climate and finance communities were considering the ways recovery efforts from a potential global financial crisis could incorporate those kinds of systemic changes. The author shared his expertise during a roundtable dialogue that led to a playbook for action in times of economic crisis, published by the center in March 2020.

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[1] *The Gray Spectrum: Ethical Decision Making with Geospatial and Open Source Analysis*, Stanley Center for Peace and Security, 2020.

[2] In addition, we embraced existing work by the Society of Professional Journalists, the International Federation of Journalists, the Responsible Data movement, and the Berkeley Center for Human Rights, while identifying where the specificities of our field require adaptations.

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[6] See *Gray Spectrum.*

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THE STANLEY FOUNDATON → The Stanley Foundation → **Stanley Center** FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

Just six months ago we told the world that the Stanley Foundation is now the Stanley Center for Peace and Security. Somehow those six months feel more like six years. My sense of time is, no doubt, impacted by the massive changes in the world since last November, but that is only part of the story.

Our new brand, so carefully chosen to honor our history while reflecting how our approach to the world has evolved, already feels so comfortable, like it has been part of us for a long time.

In this issue, you will read more about how our communication efforts are shifting to take advantage of tools and platforms better suited to increase our impact in the world. I am so pleased with the positive reinforcement we have heard and felt from so many of you about our rebranding, the concurrent changes, and our ongoing efforts to create a world where all people share and sustain a secure and enduring peace with freedom, justice, and dignity.

Thank you.
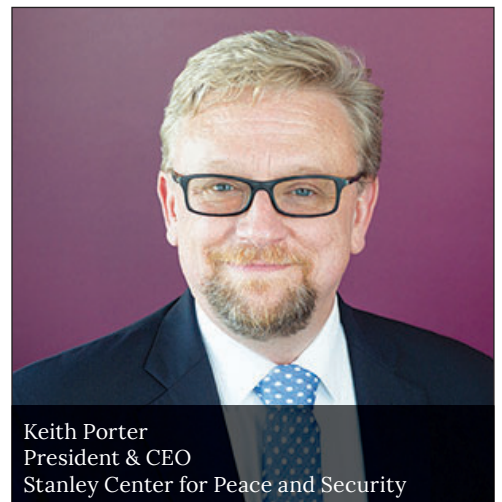
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