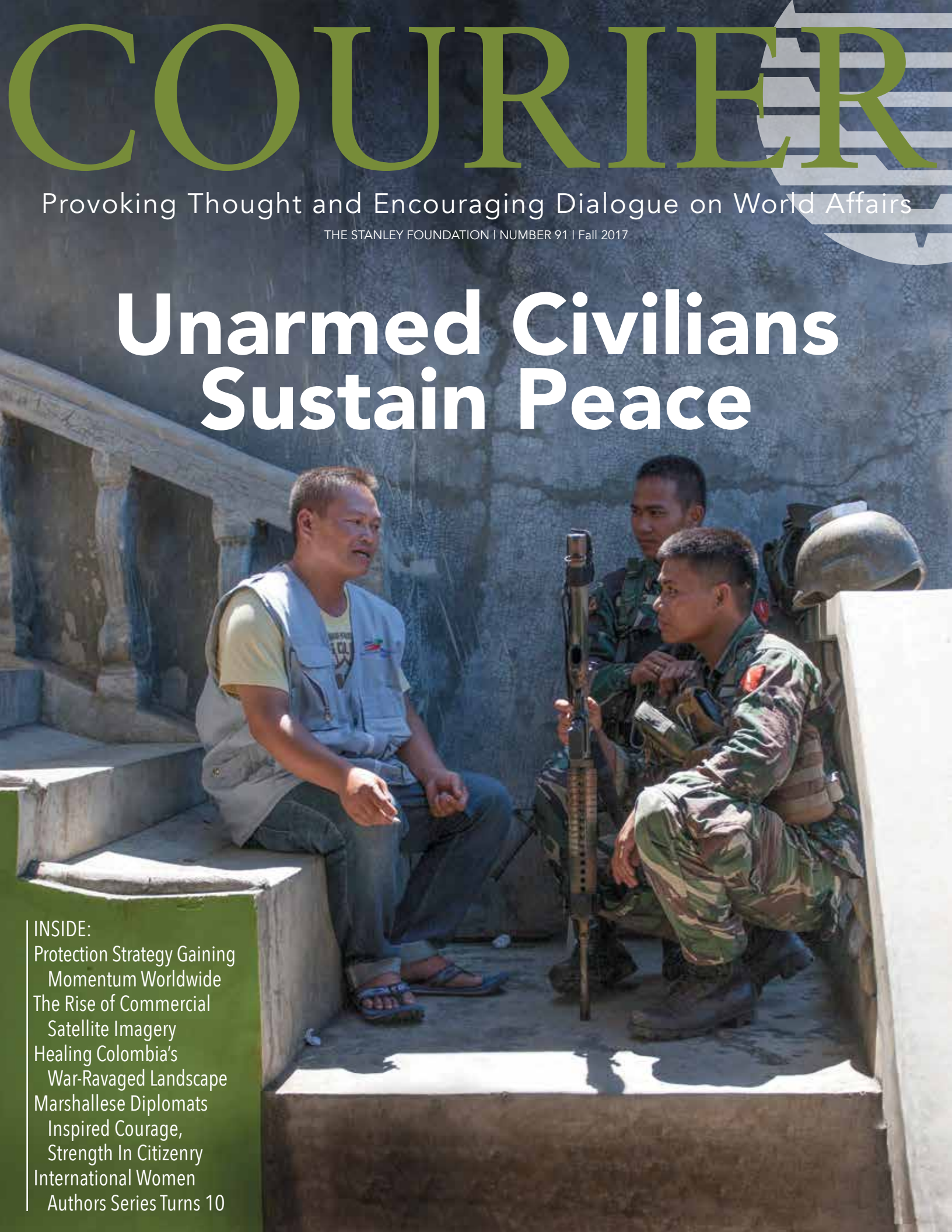
COURIER

Provoking Thought and Encouraging Dialogue on World Affairs

THE STANLEY FOUNDATION | NUMBER 91 | Fall 2017

Unarmed Civilians Sustain Peace



INSIDE:

Core Values

By Keith Porter, Editor

> All people have inherent dignity, value, and ability to contribute to building a sustainable future.
>
> All people deserve a world at peace where the causes of conflict are addressed and disputes are resolved without recourse to violence.

Both of these core values expressed in the Stanley Foundation's strategic plan are on display in this edition of *Courier*.

Our longtime friend Mel Duncan, cofounder of Nonviolent Peaceforce, explains how unarmed volunteers are saving lives in dangerous places around the world. The article powerfully exhibits Mel's belief in the inherent dignity of all people and the very real possibilities of creating peace.

Of course, one critical threat to a sustainable future for all of us is the persistent danger of nuclear war. Journalist Jeremy Hsu writes that new technology has an important role to play in stopping the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Juan Francisco Salazar, an anthropologist and documentary filmmaker who teaches at Western Sydney University, brings us news from the front lines of a fragile peace in Colombia, where a sustainable future might just be possible in a country long wracked by war. Peace in Colombia is dependent on healing not just the people but also the land on which they depend.

Finally, climate justice advocate Selina Neirok Leem, who refers to herself as the "small island girl with big dreams," calls our attention to the recent death of two environmental leaders in the Marshall Islands, Tony de Brum and my friend Mattlan Zackhras. Both men were shining examples of the ability inherent in us all to make the world a better place.

Another Stanley Foundation core value reads:

> We value our heritage and future as a family foundation and nurture sustained family involvement.

On the back cover you will see a clear example of how the foundation is still living this value after 61 years of existence. One of our founding board members, Richard H. Stanley, is stepping down from his role as board chair, a post he's held since 1984. Among Dick's many achievements and contributions to the foundation over these decades has been his concerted effort to nurture sustained family involvement in the organization's work. Dick, son of founders Max and Betty Stanley, will be succeeded by their great-nephew, Brian Hanson. And the beat goes on.

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The Stanley Foundation

Cover photo: Civilian peacekeeper Badrodin Mananggolo of Nonviolent Peaceforce speaks with soldiers from the Armed Forces of the Philippines on March 26, 2013, in Malabang, Philippines. (Nonviolent Peaceforce photo)

Displaced women faced enormous risks each time they left the Protection of Civilians site in Bentiu, South Sudan, in August 2015. In an attempt to address the growing number of reported rapes of firewood collectors, Nonviolent Peaceforce's team in Bentiu began to accompany larger groups of women deep into the bush toward Borbor, approximately two hours northwest. Team Bentiu's aim, along with providing direct protection, was to identify which routes women typically took when they venture outside the protection site. The team could then provide GPS coordinates to the United Nations Mission in South Sudan, with the aim of getting the mission to increase its presence on those routes. (Nonviolent Peaceforce photo)

Greater Than the Tread of Mighty Armies

Unarmed Civilian Protection

Gaining Momentum Worldwide

By Mel Duncan, director of advocacy and outreach, Nonviolent Peaceforce

Panic was nowhere to be found a few years ago, as a Philippine army patrol and a patrol of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front were converging on a village on the island of Mindanao. This was not the groups' first incursion, and the people of the village had been trained in early warning/early response techniques.

As the patrols neared, the village implemented a protection strategy, which included calling on a group from my organization, Nonviolent Peaceforce, as well as the local civilian-protection team, Bantay Ceasefire, which was monitoring a nearby post.

En route to the village, the civilian-protection team called the local commanders of both armed groups. The team told the patrols they must have made a mistake getting so close to the village. The team also said it knew the armed groups didn't want to scare civilians and, furthermore, that the commanders knew such action violated the ongoing ceasefire. To assure that things would go okay, the civilian protectors said they would stay in the village. By the time the protectors arrived, the patrols had backed off, and 600 people had stayed home instead of becoming internally displaced persons.

More and more of these stories are coming from areas of violent conflict throughout the world as unarmed civilian protection (UCP) emerges as an effective strategy to directly protect civilians. According to Selkirk College's database on UCP, 39 nongovernmental organizations are nonviolently protecting civilians in 21 countries, including Myanmar, Iraq, South Sudan, and the United States.

UCP includes a series of methods for the direct protection of civilians, localized violence reduction, and support for local infrastructures for peace. While not appropriate in every situation, UCP can be employed in a number of places where armed peacekeepers cannot or will not go. For example, civilian protectors accompany women as they collect firewood in the bush of South Sudan so soldiers don't rape them. UCP teams also provide a protective presence for the widows and orphans of ISIS fighters in northern Iraq, monitor the ceasefire in Mindanao, accompany Palestinians in need of hospitalization through Israeli checkpoints, protect communities of peace in Colombia, and interrupt gang violence in Chicago.

> It is about developing workable, cost-effective methods to protect civilians that can be scaled up and undertaken by multilateral, governmental, and civil society organizations.

How Does UCP Work?

UCP is built on three pillars: nonviolence, nonpartisanship, and the primacy of local actors. By working nonviolently, civilian protectors do not bring more guns into environments already teeming with violence. By utilizing a variety of nonviolent interventions, they break cycles of retaliation.

Mel Duncan, director of advocacy and outreach for Nonviolent Peaceforce (from left); Outi Arajärvi, a board member of the organization; Aseervatham Florington, head of the group's mission in South Sudan; and civilian protector Matthew Mathiang talk during a February 2017 visit to Bentiu, South Sudan. The United Nations recognized the practice of unarmed civilian protection when it renewed its mandate in South Sudan. (Nonviolent Peaceforce photo)

Modeling nonviolent behaviors stimulates nonviolent behavior in others. Practicing active nonviolence boosts the sustainability of peace operations and builds the foundation for a lasting peace.

Almost all UCP groups work in a nonpartisan manner. This does not mean they are neutral on international humanitarian or human rights law, but it does mean they do not pick sides in a conflict. For example, this allowed Nonviolent Peaceforce to be invited by the government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front to be part of the civilian-protection component of the 2009 ceasefire agreement in Mindanao.

UCP recognizes that peace cannot be sustained without local ownership. That starts with recognizing and affirming approaches for safety and protection that already exist within communities. When violence has overwhelmed local capacities, UCP prioritizes strengthening the abilities of local groups to manage and transform their own conflicts, which increases the sustainability of local peace initiatives. Furthermore, UCP recruits strategically toward these ends; typically, at least half of civilian protectors come from the host country, with women making up more than 40 percent of the ranks. UCP also focuses on building the capacity of local civilians. For example, Nonviolent Peaceforce has trained more than 1,000 women peacekeepers in South Sudan, who prevent children from being abducted by armed groups, intervene in local conflicts, and accompany women who have been raped to receive treatment and report the assaults. These peacekeepers and their valuable work remain in communities long after international missions leave.

How Effective Is UCP?

UCP's ability to protect is based upon a mixture of encouragement and deterrence of combatant groups. Active nonviolence changes the equation with violent actors.

For example, when a militia attacked an area for internally displaced people in South Sudan, two civilian protectors, one from the United Kingdom and the other from Mexico, stood in the entrance of a hut protecting 14 women and children. On three occasions, the young militiamen pointed their AK-47s at the civilian protectors and profanely ordered them to leave. Each time the protectors calmly held up their

Children play with a basketball with a Nonviolent Peaceforce civilian peacekeeper in spring 2015 in Gansidan, Philippines. (Nonviolent Peaceforce photo)

Nonviolent Peaceforce teams meet with local female peacekeeping teams in North Bahr el Ghazal, South Sudan, in February 2017. Typically, at least half of civilian protectors come from the host country, with women making up more than 40 percent of the ranks. (Nonviolent Peaceforce photo)

Nonviolent Peaceforce identity badges and said they were unarmed, were there to protect civilians, and would not leave. After the third time, the militia left. The presence of UCP field workers can deter combatants who are susceptible to international pressures or worried about international tribunals somewhere down the line. Civilian protectors have been known to appeal to combatants' religious values or even call in their family members. Often, combatants do not want to commit brutal acts in front of others.

UCP is increasingly being evaluated. Dr. Rachel Julian of Leeds Beckett University in the United Kingdom has reviewed evaluations, case studies, reports, interviews, and observations of nine UCP organizations. Her review showed that under UCP:

- Lives are saved.
- Communities are able to stay at home.
- Peace and human rights work is more possible and involves more people, in a wider area.
- Relationships are reestablished in divided communities.
- Behaviors of armed actors change.
- Unarmed trained civilians can tackle violence and threats of violence.
- It takes time.

In his policy analysis of peaceful means in the third pillar of the Responsibility to Protect, commissioned by the Stanley Foundation, Dr. Alex Bellamy of Australia's Queensland University observed that UCP "functions by utilizing physical presence and moral pressure, peer pressure, and economic, political and legal leverage to influence would-be perpetrators of atrocity crimes."

What Others Think of UCP

UCP is gaining momentum. The High-Level Independent Panel on UN Peace Operations (HIPPO) recommended that unarmed strategies be at the forefront of UN efforts to protect civilians. The Global Review of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (on women, peace, and security) found: "Unarmed civilian protection (UCP) is a methodology for the direct protection of civilians and violence reduction that has grown in practice and recognition. In the last few years, it has especially proven its effectiveness to protect women and girls." A synthesis report by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs of HIPPO, the 1325 review, and the 2015 review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture found that "all three reports offer a critique of the current privileging of huge, military-heavy peace operations" and that "privileging of militarized solutions by UN peacekeeping operations to violent conflict is counter-productive." The report went on to note that "militarized solutions, and the resulting militarization of society, are detrimental to women's security."

UCP also is seeping into public policy. The UN Security Council recognized the practice in the mandate renewal

for its Mission in South Sudan. In 2017, UCP was included in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the UN Department of Field Support's policy guidelines for child protection and police. The German government supported UCP in its *Guidelines for Crisis Prevention and Peacebuilding* issued earlier this year.

Such progress, however, is not enough. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported in its 2016 Global Report that "war, violence and persecution have uprooted more men, women and children around the world than at any time in the seven-decade history of UNHCR." Growing climate disruption is expected to escalate violent conflicts in the coming years, further exacerbating threats to human security. All current efforts to protect civilians, armed and unarmed, by multilateral organizations, governments, and civil society combined cannot keep pace with the growing need.

Nonviolent Peaceforce has initiated a four-stage, good-practice process to identify and validate practices that are especially effective in protecting civilians, under what conditions they work, and which practices can be replicated and scaled up. The good practices will not only improve field-work of UCP groups but will also be made widely available.

At the end of the day, this work is not about Nonviolent Peaceforce or the other 38 organizations practicing UCP. It is about developing workable, cost-effective methods to protect civilians that can be scaled up and undertaken by multilateral, governmental, and civil society organizations. It is about learning to deal with violent conflict in ways that don't escalate and promote more violence but rather sustain peace. As Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. proclaimed in his "Beyond Vietnam" speech 50 years ago, "We still have a choice today: Nonviolent coexistence or violent co-annihilation." Let us embrace those methods and approaches that promote nonviolent coexistence.

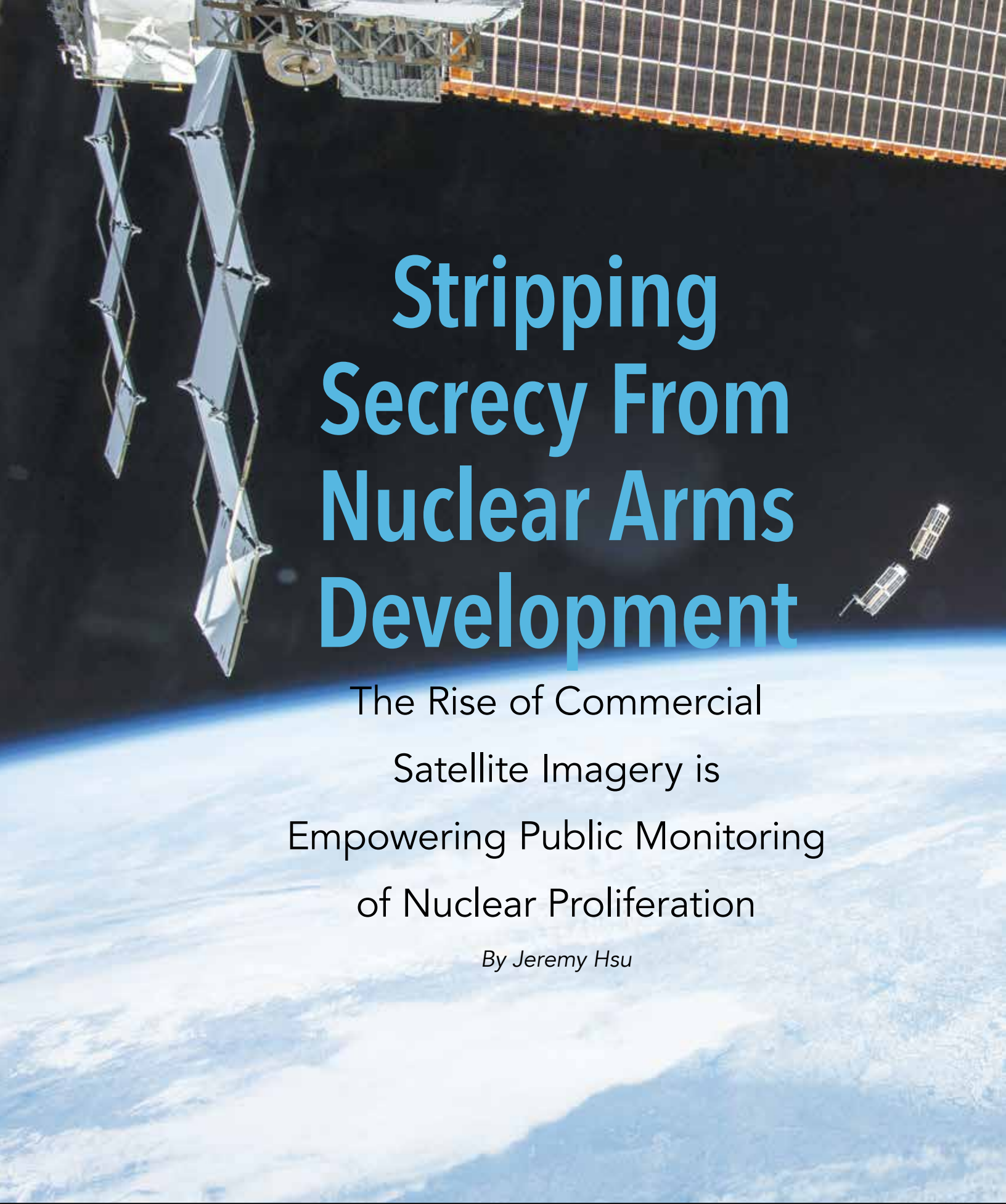
Mel Duncan is co-founder and past executive director of Nonviolent Peaceforce. He also founded and directed Minnesota Jobs With Peace, Advocating Change Together (a self-advocacy organization of people with developmental disabilities), and the Minnesota Alliance for Progressive Action.

Resources

Nonviolent Peaceforce, *www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/*.

Selkirk College's database on UCP, *http://selkirk.ca/mir-centre-for-peace/unarmed-civilian-peacekeeping-database*.

Civilian protectors Matthew Mathiang and Alona Bermejo (in orange), Aseervatham Florington the Nonviolent Peaceforce Head of Mission in South Sudan, and Mel Duncan walk with children near the Bentiu Protection of Civilians Area. (Nonviolent Peaceforce photo)

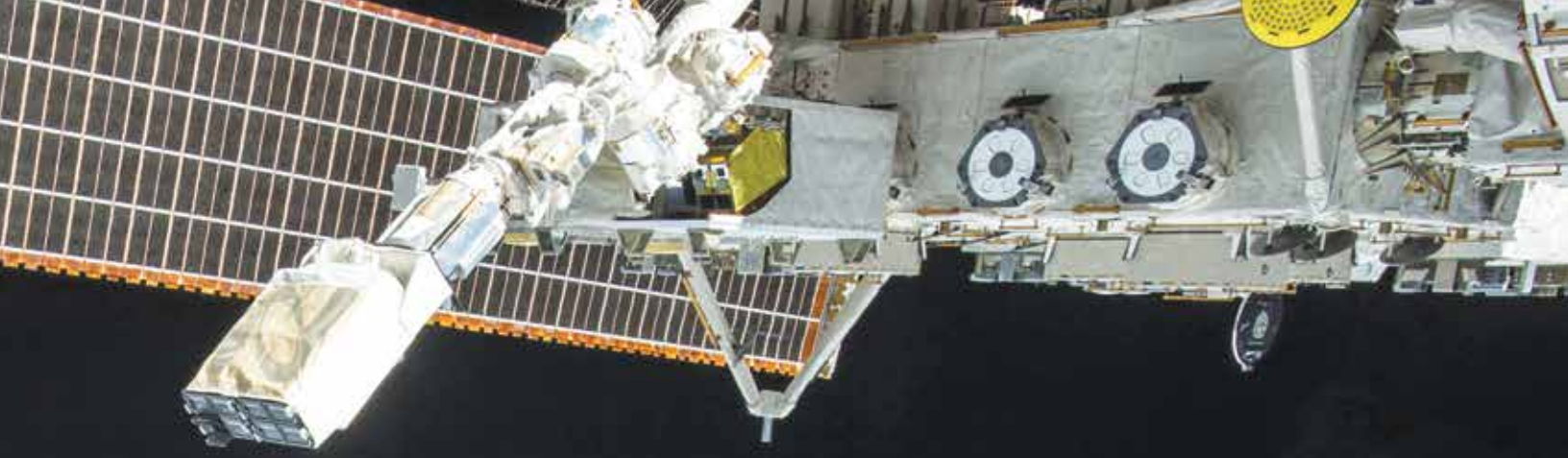


Stripping Secrecy From Nuclear Arms Development

The Rise of Commercial Satellite Imagery is Empowering Public Monitoring of Nuclear Proliferation

By Jeremy Hsu

A set of Planet's Dove satellites, photographed by an Expedition 38 crew member, after being deployed by the NanoRacks Launcher attached to the end of the Japanese robotic arm on the International Space Station. (NASA photo)



The nuclear arms race between the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War motivated both sides to launch spy satellites to monitor each other's nuclear activities. But since the late 1990s, the space domain of government spy satellites has increasingly opened up to swarms of commercial satellites that provide new opportunities to peek at possible sites of nuclear weapons development worldwide.

With the rise of commercial satellite imagery, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and journalists no longer need to rely solely upon scraps of declassified information or spy satellite images from the intelligence community. Instead, an avalanche of image data from commercial satellite companies has empowered a diverse array of experts to help monitor the latest developments involving North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile tests or Iran's civilian nuclear energy facilities. However, this trend toward more sharing of open-source satellite data related to nuclear proliferation is not without its own complications.

"The fact that companies are putting up their own imaging satellites means that for a price—but for an increasingly lower price—other countries, other civil society organizations, and academics like me can corroborate or dispute intelligence estimates and make our own decisions," says Melissa Hanham, senior research associate at the East Asia Nonproliferation Program in the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey in California.

The Upside

Commercial satellite imagery forms a crucial foundation for open-source fact-checking of claims about nuclear proliferation. In 2011, independent analysts worked together with journalists to help debunk suspicions about satellite images of a textile mill complex that was believed to have possible connections to Syria's suspected nuclear program. Similarly, daily satellite images have helped analysts to create 3-D maps of the sites where North Korea has conducted its underground nuclear testing and to develop upper-range yield estimates for the nuclear weapons that could be contained within the mountain sites.

Having more commercial satellite imagery that can be publicly shared and discussed can potentially make the world much safer when it comes to nuclear weapons. The availability and frequency of such images makes it harder than ever for a country to pursue nuclear weapons development in secret defiance of international scrutiny or treaties.

The new reality means that the international community can also more easily fact-check any given country's claims about another country's possession of weapons of mass destruction. The added layer of verification could reduce the likelihood of starting a new conflict over bad intelligence. And having multiple groups fact-checking the claims of the intelligence community could go a long way toward encouraging more public confidence in the policymaker decisions that follow from intelligence gathering.

"If you want to have confidence in [intelligence community] institutions, it helps to have other outside groups confirm or dispute the facts in a way that is healthy for the American public to understand intelligence gathering," Hanham says.

Even the normally tight-lipped US intelligence community can more readily share public open-source intelligence using commercial satellite images without having concerns about revealing classified intelligence sources or methods, Hanham pointed out. The US State Department also previously sought outside help from NGOs in verifying that certain nuclear arms treaties have not been violated.

When it comes to technology, the US government has the most "exquisite" satellite imaging capabilities beyond anything in the commercial sector, says Brian Weeden, director of program planning for the Secure World Foundation and a former US Air Force officer under the US Strategic Command's Joint Space Operations Center. But the US intelligence community is still eager to leverage commercial satellite imaging capabilities through contracts issued by the US National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, which is responsible for collecting and managing geospatial intelligence for all government agencies. Commercial satellite constellations complement government satellite capabilities and ease the surveillance burden on the limited number of expensive spy satellites.

Companies such as DigitalGlobe and Airbus have satellites capable of providing high-resolution images of ground objects as small as a third of a meter per pixel for commercial customers (meaning an NFL football would fit within a pixel). More recent startups such as Planet have deployed constellations involving dozens of smaller satellites. Those small satellites have lower resolution capabilities—around 3 meters per pixel (enough to count cars)—but can capture more frequent images of certain locations where suspected nuclear activities might take place. Consistent daily satellite coverage of the same areas enables analysts to better understand a site's normal pattern of life—and potentially spot suspicious activity related to nuclear or missile testing.

The Obstacles

Government interests can still hinder open-source sharing of commercial satellite imagery. The US government sometimes demands exclusivity rights that prevent others from accessing the same images it purchases. Various governments place certain legal restrictions on the resolution of satellite imagery that can be sold or deem certain geographic areas off-limits due to national security. On the other hand, researchers interested in tracking nuclear activities worldwide can often bypass any one government's restrictions by going through another country's commercial satellite services, says Hans Kristensen, director of the

Technicians work at Planet's Dove satellite manufacturing facility in San Francisco. (Planet photo)

Dove satellites, known as Flock 2K, are prepped for launch. (Planet photo)

Nuclear Information Project at the Federation of American Scientists in Washington, DC.

Independent analysts can also sometimes feel frozen out by governments that are happy to leverage outside help and commercial satellite images without reciprocating, says David Albright, a physicist and nuclear issues expert who is founder and president of the Institute for Science and International Security in Washington, DC. "The US intelligence community welcomes us and commercial satellite imagery," Albright says. "But they will not work with us in any substantive way in interpreting the imagery."

Still, experts agree that commercial satellites have generally made much more open-source data available. Commercial satellite companies have sometimes offered low-cost or free services to NGOs or members of the media interested in monitoring nuclear arms development. DigitalGlobe has a foundation that invites independent researchers to apply for "imagery grants" in using its commercial satellite images. Planet has courted new customers by offering free services to academic researchers, NGOs, think tank analysts, and journalists.

Such company initiatives can be great for improving access to commercial satellite images that might otherwise cost too much for independent analysts. But larger NGOs that track nuclear proliferation issues can still have an advantage over their smaller rivals in negotiating access to commercial satellite imagery. "The ability to maintain diversity among the NGO world on these issues matters," Kristensen says. "Commercial satellite imagery shouldn't just be something for the rich guys."

One possible complication of having more accessible satellite imagery is that any armchair analyst can spread intentional or unintentional misinformation by publishing and publicizing their findings online. But the show-your-work transparency of public open-source intelligence could go a long way toward mitigating this kind of confusion, because less legitimate analyses can be openly critiqued and discussed by more knowledgeable experts.

News Cycle Pressures

Offers of free satellite imagery generally enable a win-win situation in any case—analysts access treasure troves of new image data in exchange for putting the spotlight on a satellite company's brand by attracting media publicity. Many NGOs share a similar interest in leveraging media publicity by becoming first to provide breaking news analyses of satellite images related to missile launch sites or secret nuclear plants. Attention from mainstream news stories may provide a huge boost for NGOs in attracting new sources of funding and attention from donors.

But the publicity contest can sometimes sacrifice accuracy in NGO and media reporting on satellite images related to nuclear proliferation. For example, satellite imaging analysts can feel pressure to prioritize speed in breaking news about nuclear arms developments, says Joseph Bermudez Jr., CEO and cofounder of KPA Associates LLC and an analyst

Left: These satellite photos of the Kalma Ballistic Missile Test Site in North Korea were taken March 28, 2017. The range of these satellites captures the evidence of a failed missile test at the Kalma International Airport. (DigitalGlobe/38 North/ Getty Images)

Below: A close-up of the explosion scar shows debris. (DigitalGlobe/38 North/Getty Images)

focused on North Korea's defense and intelligence affairs. "You have to balance speed with accuracy, and this is a challenge," he says. "I might not be the first, but I'll certainly be more accurate than the first."

Beyond encouraging possible misinterpretations of satellite images, the desire to dominate the news cycle could also be harmful if it leads analysts to dwell too much on known sites and potentially miss others, says Albright. He said that his institute has even been "backing away from publishing on North Korea" because of a similar tendency among some journalists to "scour for the scariest, worst-case scenarios they could find."

Despite such concerns, experts generally agree that the rise of commercial satellite imaging represents a net positive for transparent and accurate reporting on nuclear proliferation. The growing commercial satellite imagery market may even defuse some of the potential issues related to unequal access and misinterpretation of imagery, says Tamara Patton, a PhD candidate at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. She previously authored a report on how emerging satellite technologies can support verification measures for nuclear arms control and disarmament.

"What's changing and I hope helping to alleviate this danger is the growing body of imagery due to the expanding capabilities of commercial companies and the growing number of companies overall," Patton says. "I think this provides more viewing options for any given site, as well as a larger historical archive that allows an analyst to more carefully assess developments over time."

Jeremy Hsu is a New York-based science and technology journalist contributing to publications such as Scientific American, Backchannel, Wired.com, Discover Magazine, *and* IEEE Spectrum. *He has also written for P*opular Science, Scientific American Mind, Undark Magazine, Motherboard, *and* Mosaic, *and was previously a senior staff writer with* TechMediaNetwork *(now* Purch*), where he wrote hundreds of news articles for* LiveScience *and* SPACE.com.

Resources

Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., "Possible Evidence of the Failed March 22 Missile Test," 38 North, US-Korea Institute at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, April 3, 2017, *www.38north.org/2017/04/jbermudez040317/.*

This hundred-year-old ceiba tree in the village of La Cansona still displays the scars of gunfire. Survivors of Colombia's long conflict have seen how war fractures relationships between humans and their habitat. (Photo by Juan Salazar)

Healing Colombia's War-Ravaged Landscapes

Environmental Problems Threaten Country's Fragile Peace

By Juan Francisco Salazar

The Stanley Foundation has recently begun exploring the links between environmental stressors and conflict resilience. In this piece, Juan Francisco Salazar of Western Sydney University discusses how the people of Colombia, recovering from decades of violence, also are facing a degraded natural habitat. For more on the Stanley Foundation's Mass Violence and Atrocity program, visit *www.stanleyfoundation.org/programs.cfm?id=27*.

'The armed conflict took so much from us,' one young farmer and communications activist told us, motioning at photographs of devastated avocado plantations on a sweltering July morning on Colombia's Caribbean north coast.

Our group of international researchers was in El Carmen de Bolívar, the largest town in the Montes de María region, to meet with local media groups that are working to integrate environmental restoration into the peace process of this war-torn nation.

This area, long a Colombian hotbed for organized activism for the rights of small farmers, or *campesinos*, has also seen horrific violence. Since the 1970s, Montes de María has been host to numerous guerrilla groups and, later, paramilitary organizations.

Bombings, cross fire, and bloody massacres forced thousands to flee. According to the nongovernmental organization Oxfam, armed violence uprooted 269,000 Colombians annually from 2002 to 2010. At present, one in ten remains displaced.

Humans weren't the only victims of Colombia's five-decade armed conflict. In Caribbean Colombia, one of the most biodiverse regions in the world, nature was also deeply affected.

Nature in Danger

We could rattle off grim statistics like the fact that 46 percent of Colombia's ecosystems are now at risk of collapse and

Colombian Peace Commissioner Luis Carlos Restrepo (left) receives a weapon from a member of the right-wing paramilitary group United Self Defenses of Colombia on June 15, 2005, in Valencia, Colombia. One in 10 Colombians remains displaced as peace begins to take hold in the country. But humans weren't the only victims of the five-decade armed conflict. (Luis Acosta/AFP/Getty Images)

The wild population of cotton-top Tamarin monkeys that resides in northern Colombia is critically endangered but conservation practices to bring the species back are slowly becoming effective. (D. Piddy/Flickr photo/creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/2.0/legalcode)

that 92 percent of the tropical dry forests that are typical of the Montes de María region have already disappeared.

But survivors' tales speak of deeper truths about how war fractures relationships between humans and their habitats. Farmers told us about a hundred-year-old ceiba tree in the village of La Cansona that still displays the scars of gunfire.

Soraya Bayuelo, the respected director of Línea 21 Communication Collective, recalled a large tamarind tree in Las Brisas to which a dozen men were tied and then decapitated in March 2000. The tree dried up after that, other activists added, and it only started blooming again after a government ceasefire with guerrillas went into effect.

The young farmers turned activists also remembered stories of how avocados—long the economic engine of the region—came down from the mountains speckled in blood.

Conflict hurt agricultural production, too. An analysis by the Centre for Regional Economic Studies of the Banco de la República, Colombia's central bank, found that avocado production in war-torn 1992 was fully 88.6 percent lower than in 2012, when the conflict had begun to cool.

More recently, a fungus has taken its toll. Over the past five years, as farmers began returning home from wherever they'd scattered, they found that a phytophthora pathogen had begun devastating the area's avocado plantations.

Can a country heal if its land remains scarred? The farmers and activists we met in Montes de María said no, arguing that without environmental restoration there can be no social reparation.

The New Environmental Activism

Things are, however, slowly improving for Montes de María.

The *mochuelo* bird and the cotton-top Tamarin monkey, both of which had retreated or disappeared from the area, are also coming back, if slowly, much like the people displaced from their land.

During our visit, El Carmen de Bolívar, birthplace of one of Colombia's most celebrated musicians and composers, Lucho Bermudez, was preparing for a traditional music festival. Across town we heard strains of folk melodies—*cumbia, porro, vallenato* and *fandango viejo*—and saw people dancing in public squares.

That's a sign of change. It's been almost a year since Colombia first signed a peace agreement, and people are no longer afraid to be out and about.

Farmers in the Alta Montaña region have vociferously protested environmentally damaging infrastructure developments. Here, they prepare to march to protect their homesteads. (Photo by Anna Vogt/Sembrandopaz)

Still, tensions have not totally disappeared. In the post-war period, environmental conflicts are emerging as the latest threat to the country's fragile peace.

The young farmers' collectives we met here, who are part of the community group Jóvenes Provocadores de Paz (Young Peacemakers), are testament to Colombia's long tradition of citizen-media initiatives.

During the late stages of the conflict, such groups worked to restitch the country's social fabric, developing a community-media network to keep people informed and reclaiming public spaces from guerrilla and paramilitary forces.

Today, organizations like Sembrandopaz (literally "sowing peace"), whose members are all conflict survivors, have turned their attention to the environment.

This group of farmers in their late teens and 20s has been photographically documenting various ecological restoration initiatives under way here, visually demonstrating why the Colombian peace process can only succeed if rural livelihoods are transformed and secured.

Land of Conflict

Their focus reflects increasing local concern that *campesinos* previously exiled by violence will soon find themselves displaced by new threats: climate-change-induced drought, palm oil monoculture, and development.

From the Caribbean coast to the Amazon forests, massive infrastructure projects are afoot in Colombia, bringing gold and coal mining, dams and highways to areas once too violent and remote for government investment.

Critics insist that natural resource extraction can't pay for peace, warning that it will usher in flooding, land grabs, and exploitation of protected natural areas.

Proposed hydroelectric ventures have been met by massive protests, and the farmers we spoke with promised to continue mobilizing to protect their homesteads.

The 2016 peace agreement supports the protestors' position that Colombia must rebuild both its social fabric and its environmental health, in theory at least. The accords explicitly state that a sustainable peace requires healthy ecosystems and the sustainable management of natural resources.

Under President Juan Manuel Santos, the government has earmarked significant funding for international partnerships in Montes de María and for environmental projects, particularly in the Amazon region.

But one study recently confirmed what people here already knew: these top-down projects have largely failed to integrate communities and respond to local needs, limiting their sustainability and potential for knowledge sharing.

In some ways, new environmental challenges seem as intractable as armed conflict, but community groups in Montes de María are doubling down on conservation, hoping to show Colombia a path forward.

Juan Francisco Salazar is an associate professor, School of Humanities and Communication Arts, Western Sydney University. He is an anthropologist and documentary filmmaker with interests in environmental sustainability, community media in Latin America, future studies, extreme environments, Antarctica and Outer Space. This piece was originally published on The Conversation.

Asociación Sembrando Semillas de Paz (The Sowing Seeds of Peace Association), better known as Sembrandopaz, is a non-profit community organization dedicated to facilitating the construction of a culture of peacebuilding capacity among grassroots organizations, with the goal of supporting processes of integral and sustainable human development within the populations of the Caribbean region in Colombia.

Above: Young farmers and communication activists from Sembrando Paz document various ecological restoration initiatives. Their projects visually demonstrate why the Colombian peace process can only succeed if rural livelihoods are transformed and secured. (Photo by Kristian Sanabria/ Sembrandopaz)

Right: Young communicators from Sembrando Paz present their photographic work. (Photo by Carlos Baca)

A resident walks through tidal water on March 9, 2016, on Majuro Atoll, Marshall Islands. Citizens of the small Pacific nation have been moving to the main island and the United States because of a poor economy and difficulty getting supplies to the other islands. The country also is extremely vulnerable to a changing climate. (Hilary Hosia/AFP/Getty Images)

In the Shadows of Giants

Marshallese Diplomats Inspired Courage, Strength in Citizenry

By Selina Neirok Leem

When I think about two of the greatest men in the Marshall Islands, former Ambassador for Climate Change Tony de Brum and Minister in Assistance Mattlan Zackhras, I am reminded of *iakwe* and the depth of the word. There was so much depth, an immense sense of giving, and worthy courage that brought de Brum and Zackhras this far.

Mattlan Zackhras and Tony de Brum

Editor's note: In August, the Marshall Islands lost two of its top diplomats, Tony de Brum and Mattlan Zackhras, who died at ages 72 and 47, respectively. This piece is adapted from remarks that Selina Neirok Leem of the Marshall Islands gave at an event on September 18, 2017, during Climate Week in New York. Leem was the youngest delegate at the 2015 Conference of the Parties (COP 21), where the Paris climate agreement was negotiated and where the Marshall Islands played a critical role.

They not only accomplished so much for our people, they also made their impact internationally. Minister Zackhras was closely following in Ambassador de Brum's footsteps. De Brum thought of Zackhras as his son, and Zackhras wanted to be like de Brum. Every son wants to be like his father.

In the Marshall Islands, people are moving to the main island and to the United States because of a poor economy and difficulties getting supplies to the other islands. Minister Zackhras tried to do what he could to help the people in Namdrik Atoll, such as helping to found a pearl farm there. Namdrik also became the first atoll to launch virgin coconut oil production. In 2012, Namdrik Atoll was recognized twice by the United Nations Development Programme's Equator Initiative, an incredible feat for a remote atoll.

> *Iakwe* is how Marshallese greet one another, accompanied with warm, toothy smiles. *Iakwe* also means "love" and "you are a rainbow."

When he was the minister of resources and development, Zackhras played a big role in the development of the Parties of the Nauru Agreement, which represents eight island nations that control waters where 50 percent of the world's supply of skipjack tuna is caught.

He was also a great supporter of the youth. I remember being a peer assistant at a science camp held on Majuro Atoll. We had brought in students from the neighboring islands and Majuro itself to learn about coral reefs. The end result was a Model United Nations exercise. Minister Zackhras was one of our

Left: Mattlan Zackhras (right) helps welcome the zero-emissions ship Walop to Majuro, Marshall Islands, on July 29, 2017. Zackhras, the minister in assistance to the president of the Marshall Islands, died August 8, 2017. (@MattlanZackhras photo)

Below: Selina Neirok Leem, Tony de Brum and Todd Stern, the former US special envoy for climate change, walk together during COP 21 in 2015, during negotiations on the Paris Agreement. (Photo by IISD/ENB | Kiara Worth)

guest speakers. He emphasized in his speech the importance of youth involvement and awareness of current issues. We are the future leaders, he said. Welcome and warmth radiated from him.

The same can be said about former Ambassador de Brum. During COP 21, a few of us youth were invited to join as delegates of the Marshall Islands. De Brum wanted us to be exposed to how negotiations worked in the field. He truly believed in the youth. He said we were the future leaders and it was important that we get this exposure early. When we went back home, we shared our experience with fellow youth and those around us.

De Brum was a bold leader. He did not do things by half. He gave it his all. As someone who was in the Marshall Islands when the US government detonated the Castle Bravo bomb at Bikini Atoll in 1954, he went to the International Court of Justice in 2014 and filed suit against the nine countries that currently possess nuclear weapons. It was a feat that enraged and encouraged Marshallese and foreigners alike.

Papa Tony was not only a gift to humanity, he was a gift to everyone who had the luck to love him and be loved by him. Just being in his presence was enough to give us the energy we needed to continue to fight for the future. I was blessed by his presence. I always will be.

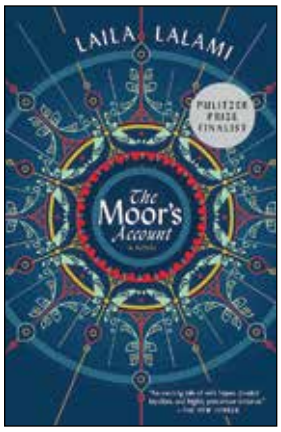
It is in the shadows of these two special men that the rest of us seek to follow. Their shoes are massive, but we are inspired by their courage and love. If we can only fill a portion of their shoes, of the giant gap they leave behind, we will accomplish much. In spite of our uphill battles, those of us from the Marshall Islands go on for them, and we encourage and invite you to join us. For we will and are continuing the fight.

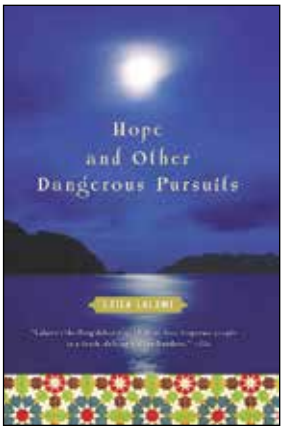
Selina Neirok Leem is a graduate of the United World Colleges Robert Bosch College in Freiburg, Germany. Until she was 16, she had lived her entire life on the atoll of Majuro, Marshall Islands.

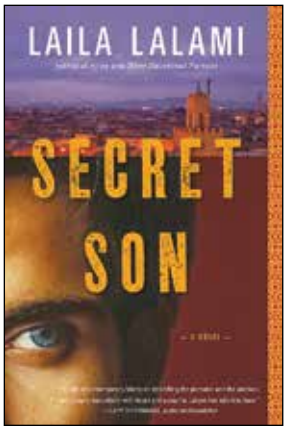
Seeing the World From a Different Perspective

International Women Authors Series Turns 10

By Francie Williamson, The Stanley Foundation







The ability to change perspective is essential to being a global citizen. Global citizenship is an integral concept within the Stanley Foundation's Vision Statement as it refers to nation-states, but global citizenship begins with individuals.

Readers have been virtually taken all over the world since the Stanley Foundation launched the International Women Authors Series a decade ago.

This year, the foundation is once more co-hosting the event with IWLC, formerly known as the Quad Cities Women's Connection, which promotes women's leadership. Pulitzer Prize finalist Laila Lalami, author of *The Moor's Account*, is this year's featured speaker at a dinner event in Rock Island, Illinois.

"I had the idea for a series featuring international authors because reading their books helps one to see the world from a different perspective," said Jill Goldesberry, program officer for community partnerships at the Stanley Foundation, who helps coordinate the series.

Community partnerships programming often melds the interests and goals of the Stanley Foundation with those of other entities, Goldesberry said. The idea for an international author series aligned with the Quad Cities Women's Connection, which wanted to start a series featuring women authors. "We discussed the advantages of collaborating, and developed the International Women Authors Series," Goldesberry said.

The target audience for the event is women's book clubs in the greater Quad Cities area, Goldesberry said.

"Many book clubs reserve a table so that their members can be seated together. Therefore, the first consideration is that we have a book, or books, to promote that appeal to this particular audience," Goldesberry said. "We invite a speaker who was born in another country and lived there for many years of her life, though several of the chosen authors now reside in the United States."

Goldesberry said all of the authors who have taken part in the series have been well received. "Many attendees return to this event year after year. And after every event, someone tells me that night's speaker was their favorite of all," Goldesberry said. "Who most resonated with listeners is subjective, of course, but I would say that Alexandra Fuller was a hit because of her humor, and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie because of the subject matter. She really made people reflect. Mariane Pearl is a personal hero of mine, so she is the standout for me."

Lalami is the third author from Africa to be featured. Others have hailed from Asia, the Middle East, Australia, North America, and Europe.

"There are many countries in South America, and we have never had an author from that area of the world," Goldesberry said. "In the future, we will give special consideration to inviting one of the many terrific woman authors from that continent."

2007-Anchee Min,
born in China
Book: *Red Azalea*

2008-Firoozeh Dumas,
from Iran
Books: *Funny in Farsi* and
Laughing Without an Accent

2009-Alexandra Fuller,
grew up in South Africa
Books: *Don't Let's Go to
the Dogs Tonight*
and *The Legend of
Colton H. Bryant*

2010-Bharati Mukherjee,
from India
Books: *Desirable Daughters*
and *The Tree Bride*

2011-Mariane Pearl,
originally from France
Books: *A Mighty Heart*
and *In Search of Hope*

2012-Geraldine Brooks,
from Australia
Books: *March, Year of
Wonders,* and *People
of the Book*

2013-Chimamanda Ngozi
Adichie, from Nigeria
Books: *Half of a Yellow
Sun* and *Americanah*

2014-Anchee Min,
from China
Books: *The Cooked Seed*
and *Pearl of China*

2015-Claire Cameron,
from Canada
Books: *The Bear* and
The Line Painter

2016-Loung Ung,
from Cambodia
Books: *First They Killed
My Father, Lucky Child,*
and *Lulu in the Sky*

2017-Laila Lalami,
from Morocco
Books: *The Moor's
Account* and *Secret Son*

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Richard H. Stanley


Brian T. Hanson

Foundation Names Successor to Richard Stanley

The Stanley Foundation Board of Directors has named Brian Hanson to succeed Richard Stanley as board chair, effective in November 2017.

Richard Stanley's involvement with the foundation began in 1956 as a founding board member along with his father, C. Maxwell Stanley; his mother, Elizabeth; his brother, David; and his sister, Jane. He was Stanley Foundation president from the time of his father's death in 1984 until 2007 and has served continuously as board chair since 1984.

Stanley previously was chair and president of the Stanley Group, vice chair of the board of the HNI Corporation, and on the boards of several for-profit and nonprofit organizations. He continues as a member of the foundation's Board of Directors.

Brian Hanson joined foundation governance in 1989 as a corporate member and became a director in 1990. Most recently he served as the board's vice chair for programming and a member of the board's governance committee. Hanson, a great-nephew of C. Maxwell and Elizabeth Stanley, is vice president for studies at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs.

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