

COURIER

Provoking Thought and Encouraging Dialogue on World Affairs

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Up ⁱⁿ the Air The Future of Multilateralism

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INSIDE: Climate Change Absent from UNSC | A Case for Promoting Peace | Climate of Emergency in Cape Town
Youth Programming a Cornerstone

The Good of Global Governance



Keith Porter, President



Mark Seaman, Editor and Director of Communications

Multilateral cooperation is a sign of a mature nation—one that can lead by example, influence the greater good, and be supportive of others when its resources allow. It offers the opportunity to apply a nation’s collective intellect to the world’s greatest challenges and to solve those challenges now, instead of leaving their burden to our children.

Yet increasingly, global cooperation is spun into the pejorative—as an affront to state sovereignty, a threat to national independence, an indication of political ineptitude, or a sign of weakness.

In this edition of *Courier*, we consider these starkly different views and the effects that such a shift in the paradigm is having on the international order. Our contributors also offer suggestions for systemic changes at the United Nations that could enhance its impact.

In our cover story, Mary Curtin, diplomat in residence at the University of Minnesota’s Humphrey School of Public Affairs, writes that US withdrawal from international agreements such as the Iran nuclear deal or Paris Agreement is not a new political tactic but that such actions have a deleterious effect on American relevance and leadership and are not in the national best interest.

Also in this issue, Peter Coleman, codirector of Columbia University’s Advanced Consortium on Cooperation, Conflict, and Complexity, offers a review of the UN approach to sustaining peace, finding that the body can do more in its efforts to prevent conflict and eliminate violence by promoting opportunities for trust, cooperation, and commonality—an approach that has worked on a national level in Costa Rica.

Ashley Murphy, a doctoral candidate at Keele University in the United Kingdom, examines the role the UN Security Council should play in climate change policy as one of the few international institutions capable of enforcing cooperative agreement,

and given the threat that climate change poses to peace and stability worldwide.

Stepping away from direct global governance, Munyaradzi Makoni, a freelance journalist from Zimbabwe, highlights efforts in Cape Town, South Africa, to cut greenhouse gas emissions, suggesting that cities and municipalities can contribute to a bottom-up approach in climate action policymaking that could have far-reaching implications.

And our Community Partnerships program officer at the Stanley Foundation, Jill Goldesberry, reflects on the ways our youth programs impact the future of multilateral leadership by conveying the importance of international cooperation to tomorrow’s leaders here in Iowa and around the world.

Finally, I am pleased to introduce *Courier*’s new editor, Mark Seaman, who has already begun curating content for our next issue. Mark joined the Stanley Foundation in June as director of communications and, in that role, will be responsible for motivating action, telling our story, and sharing our vision with concerned global citizens like you. Mark comes to the foundation with more than a decade of experience in strategic communications, issue advocacy, policy research, and humanitarian causes in the United States, Africa, and the Middle East. More about him can be found on our website.

As we consider transitions in *Courier*’s format and content, we hope to hear what you like and what can be enhanced. Call, e-mail, or write to us anytime.

Keith Porter
President

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US President Donald Trump looks the other way while European leaders watch a flyover of military helicopters on July 11, 2018, during the opening ceremony of the NATO Summit in Brussels, Belgium. Trump has signaled he is against multilateralism in a way that goes beyond Bush-era rhetoric and has created friction with allies. (Sean Gallup/Getty Images)

Dangerous Territory

We Should Be Alert to Signs of Further Erosion
of the US Commitment to Multilateralism

By Mary Curtin

Is the US withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal or Paris climate pact really big news? After all, the United States has a long history of failing to ratify treaties. But the full picture is more complex and the current climate more serious. The United States often tacitly supports agreements it hasn't ratified. But now it has not only pulled out of several accords, it is threatening to undermine the purpose of those agreements and the spirit of multilateral cooperation that underlies them.

Even worse, President Donald Trump seems intent on destroying relations with key allies that form the fabric of cooperation.

Many countries, including allies, have long resented the contradictory role the United States plays in multilateral efforts. Nearly 100 years ago, President Woodrow Wilson drove the creation of the League of Nations. And yet he could not persuade the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, fatally wounding the league. This was later compounded by tariff wars that worsened the Great Depression and fueled the nationalism that launched World War II. The catastrophic horrors of the war convinced US leaders that strong multilateral institutions—economic and political—would be good for global peace, security, and prosperity, and for the United States.

That view held for decades, under Democratic and Republican presidents and Senate majorities, as the United States drove the negotiation and implementation of accords creating the United Nations, world trade and finance arrangements, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, regional defense treaties like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and arms control agreements like the Non-Proliferation Treaty. These actions were spurred by the belief that multilateral cooperation could promote security and prosperity, lessons derived from the failure of the League of Nations and the ruin caused by

destructive trade wars, and by a desire to show US moral leadership. That approach continued after the Cold War's end, as the United States led the creation of the World Trade Organization, numerous trade accords, and the expansion of NATO as a security guarantor for Europe. The United States also supported and often ran (or tried to run) treaty implementation organizations and became—and remains—the leading funder of the entire UN system.

Many ask whether our current situation is worse than in the early years of the administration of George W. Bush, who formally "unsigned" the Kyoto Protocol on climate change and the Rome Treaty creating the International Criminal Court (ICC) and then threatened friendly nations with assistance cuts if they stayed in the court. (In both cases, the Clinton administration had negotiated hard for changes that would meet US demands before ultimately signing the treaties.) The invasion of Iraq without UN approval and open disdain for the UN role in sanctioning the use of military force further hurt US multilateral leadership.

But while the early Bush policies of attacking and sidelining multilateral institutions did serious damage to America's global leadership, the United States never completely abandoned its important role in or support for a wide array of multilateral instruments, treaty bodies, and organizations—including some to which the United States never belonged. The United States remained an active, if sometimes difficult,



An environmental activist from Greenpeace, wearing a George W. Bush mask and carrying a sign that translates to “Kyoto Protocol=Renewable Energy,” protests February 1, 2015, outside the US Embassy in Mexico City. During the Bush administration, the United States withdrew from several international agreements, including the Kyoto Protocol on climate change and the Rome Treaty creating the International Criminal Court. (Jose Luis Magana/AP)

member of the United Nations and most of its subsidiary organs, continued to be the leading financial supporter of UN agencies across the board, remained in almost every treaty it signed, adhered in practice to many treaties it never ratified, and, significantly, participated in and financially supported treaty bodies and treaty conferences—even for some treaties it had not ratified or had even left. This complex and nuanced (and sometimes frustrating) role has been criticized as “stealth multilateralism,” but many allies accepted its contradictions as better than nothing and as an often workable patch to the US approach. Importantly, the Bush administration also worked quickly to at least try to repair some of the key frayed relationships.

Across many administrations, the United States has adhered to and often set the standards for compliance with many conventions. Even though the Senate voted in 2012 against ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the United States leads the world in law and practice in disability rights. In 1992, years before the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) went into force, President George H.W. Bush made it US policy not to test nuclear weapons, and that policy remains in place. The United States stopped using landmines—except in Korea—despite never signing the 1999 Ottawa landmine treaty.

Just as importantly, the United States has often gone beyond this de facto adherence to actively support implementation of treaties to which it is not formally a party. The United States participates in and funds nearly a quarter of the operating costs of the CTBT’s nuclear test monitoring system, which detected North Korea’s tests last year. Even the George W. Bush administration eventually agreed to calls for an ICC investigation of Sudan’s president over gross human rights violations in Darfur in 2005, a practice that expanded in the Obama administration, which provided more-robust assistance to the court.

And despite criticism of the 15-nation UN Security Council from all sides, the United States has successfully led that body to adopt numerous binding resolutions that require all UN members to do things like take action to stop terrorist financing, control weapons of mass destruction, and implement sanctions on states like Iran and North Korea. The United States funds and staffs the implementing committees and looks to these multilateral efforts to advance key goals. Most observers agree that it was coordinated sanctions on Iran that led it to the negotiating table in the first place, and getting those sanctions adopted required agreement from key countries around the globe.

Throughout the years there has been a lot of valid criticism of the United States for playing by its own rules on multilateral treaties, an approach that undermined the affected instruments and the US position as a multilateral leader, and a reality that gets us back to the question of whether Trump's actions really represent anything new.

While Trump isn't the first president to pull the United States out of existing agreements, he has hammered against the very notion of multilateral action in a way that goes beyond Bush-era rhetoric to something more like that of opponents of the very idea of the United Nations or that of supporters of the destructive tariffs of the 1930s. Furthermore, Trump threatens sanctions not just on Iran but also

on those countries with whom we worked most closely to negotiate the Iran nuclear deal. He has used national security arguments to slap high tariffs on friends, left Pacific allies to negotiate a new trade agreement that ignores US interests, and created friction with allies that weakens the fabric of good relations essential to multilateral efforts and to US interests in general. And he has begun to cut US contributions to UN agencies and threatens to do more.

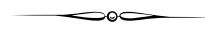
We are already in dangerous territory, and those of us who believe that multilateral action is critical to peace and security should be alert to signs of further erosion of the US commitment. Significant damage has already been done by our withdrawal from key agreements, but even more by the deliberate fraying of relations with partners like Canada and Germany, and by weakening our own institutions and undermining our values. Other danger signs to watch for would be continued fraying of relationships and of institutions like NATO and the North American Free Trade Agreement, any change in policy on issues like nuclear weapons testing or landmines, or dramatic slashing of budgets for the United Nations or treaty organizations or for the State Department (which has so far been threatened but not carried out).

The danger for the United States and for the cause of peace and security through multilateral action is real. The administration's supporters argue that the United States needs to act in its own interest and make decisions that are good for the United States. But the lessons of the past



Chinese President Xi Jinping hosts a welcoming ceremony for Russian President Vladimir Putin on May 20, 2014, in Shanghai. If the United States abandons its role in multilateral leadership, other countries like China may step in to fill the void. (Sasha Mordovets/Getty Images)

tell us that unilateral actions aren't in our own interest. The worst-case scenario is that US undermining of multilateral institutions starts a spiraling out of control that leads to war or conflagration, or just a meaner and less secure world. But it is also possible that others in the world will simply move on without us, and other countries—like China—will step up to take leadership of the political, economic, and security structures that set the rules for how countries operate in the world, imposing their norms and advancing their interests. Until now, the United States has held that leadership, and absent US engagement, rules will continue to be made that will impact us but that we will not help shape. Many Americans have stepped up to say they want to remain engaged, through local climate initiatives and action on nuclear disarmament, refugees, and trade, giving hope that the United States won't leave leadership of the world scene to others. But building a new leadership will take effort and energy from us all.



Mary Curtin, a Minnesota native, joined the Humphrey School of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota as diplomat in residence in 2013 after a 25-year career as a US Foreign Service officer. She has a Ph.D. in history from Columbia University and a B.A. from the University of Notre Dame.



A child holds up a white paper dove November 12, 2010, in San Jose, Costa Rica, during a march dubbed The Right to Live in Peace. Costa Rica has been referred to as "a model in terms of the development of a culture of peace." (Juan Carlos Ulate/Reuters)

Half the Peace

The Fear Challenge and
the Case for Promoting Peace

By Peter Coleman

January's report from UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, *Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace*, outlines different initiatives taken over the past two years in implementing sustainable peace resolutions, drawing on a variety of countries' examples of joint analysis and planning, effective partnerships, and innovative approaches to financing. But although progress has been made, there are obstacles in the road ahead.

I am an outsider to the United Nations—an academic who leads a multidisciplinary research team at Columbia University studying and modeling the dynamics of sustainably peaceful societies. Our review of the UN approach to sustaining peace has identified a few major challenges to its success—a central one being what may be called the “fear challenge.” An appreciation of this challenge can strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to support member states in sustaining peace.

The Fear Challenge

Research has long shown that humans have two fundamentally different ways of viewing the world: as a place with problems to be prevented and as a place with opportunities to be achieved. These two distinct lenses lead to profound differences in how we see, think, feel, act, and lead. Because problems are usually experienced as threats and instill fear, they have long been prioritized over opportunities in human decision making and institutions. This is evident in the dominant focus in medicine on preventing and treating illness and pathology rather than on promoting wellness and human thriving.

Similarly, much of our thinking on international relations has long been dominated by a prevention mind-set based on the Hobbesian, realist assumptions that humans and their groups are intrinsically selfish, competitive, territorial warmongers who simply need to be prevented from killing

one another.¹ This basic belief was salient at the birth of the United Nations, which was formed in the wake of the horrors of World War II, Nazi death camps, and the nuclear nightmares in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. So it is logical that the United Nations' orientation to its world peace mandate has long been focused on addressing crises and preventing problems like war and genocide—the crises are often urgent, and the problems are many and too often intractable.

But there is a problem with focusing solely on preventing problems. Researchers in many areas—including medicine, psychology, education, and economics—have found that the treatment and prevention of problems like disease, ignorance, and poverty, albeit critical, are often insufficient to promoting positive states of well-being. Our group has also found this in our research on peacebuilding. In over 20 studies conducted in Israel-Palestine, we found that the motives that drive people to want to end the conflict are fundamentally distinct from those that drive people to want to work to promote peace.² They are not opposites—they are qualitatively different causes.

This essentially means that those of us who have spent our careers trying to study and promote peace have been missing half the story. This is evidenced by the fact that the vast majority of published research on peace focuses on negative peace or the elimination of overt forms of violence. Yes, preventing crises and addressing the root causes of conflict

can reduce distrust, enmity, hostility, and violence within and between communities. But alone it will not promote trust, cooperation, common bonds, harmony, and peace. So the United Nations' proposed transition toward preventing rather than reacting to conflict alone—while an important step—is not enough to achieve the goal of sustaining peace.

What is also needed is the promotion, measurement, and tracking of those factors that foster peacefulness in societies—the positive elements. However, positive measures of intergroup trust, harmony, cooperation, and social integration are simply much less common, and it is harder to find existing state-level data. It is also true that states of positive peace are harder to measure than incidents of conflict, violence, and war, because they are more nuanced, multidimensional, and less salient, and therefore less observable at any point in time. In other words, it is easier to see acts of violence and war than states of positive peace.

Nevertheless, we do know what to measure. As our research has shown, the study of peaceful societies teaches us that a few basic factors are associated with sustaining peace, including an overarching identity that unites groups across their differences; interconnections among subgroups through trade, intermarriage, sports teams, or associations; cooperative forms of interdependence due to mutual ecological or economic dependencies or common security interests; socialization of nonwarring values and taboos

against violence in homes, schools, and communities; symbolism and ceremonies that reinforce and celebrate peace; and the physical safety of women, which is a better predictor of state peacefulness than levels of democracy, wealth, or religious fundamentalism. At the international level, research suggests that the emergence of territorial norms against conquest and violent succession, and supporting peaceful decolonization, combined with an increase in the availability and use of conflict-management processes like mediation, are associated with the movement of many bilateral state relationships in the direction of positive peace. So the positive indicators are increasingly clear.

Nonetheless, our capacities to formulate policies that are conflict sensitive and peace promotive, to conduct conflict analyses and peace opportunity assessments on the ground, and to develop measures of and collect data on factors mitigating destructive conflict and promoting positive peace are sorely lacking. For example, the Global Peace Index (GPI), produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace, was launched in 2007 as an attempt to measure and rank the relative positions of member states' levels of peacefulness. Once the developers of the scale realized it only measured negative peace, they launched a Positive Peace Index (PPI) to measure the factors that can improve a country's positive peacefulness. However, even the PPI primarily measures the absence of problems. Our recent analysis of the 2017 PPI suggests that 57 percent of the



Students hold paper cranes September 21, 2017, during a ceremony in Ahmedabad, India, to mark International Peace Day. Research from the Institute of Economics and Peace has shown that a few basic factors are associated with sustaining peace. (Amit Dave/Reuters)

current indices measure the presence or absence of problems such as discrimination, crime, intergroup disparities, civil disorder, and riots. This is also true for most indices used to measure UN Sustainable Development Goal 16 on promoting peace, justice, and strong institutions, which currently evidence a 3-to-1 ratio of problems to solutions.³

This suggests that even with a growing evidence base of the factors that promote positive peace, our narrow, negative view of what constitutes societal and international peace continues to constrain our capacity to build more-robust and therefore sustainable combinations of positive and negative peace. Accordingly, the systematic development and implementation of positive peace practices, goals, and indices should be a priority of the international community. Without them we will continue to focus on only “half the peace.”

What Does This Mean for the United Nations?

In light of this challenge, the United Nations should incentivize and support the systematic study of sustainably peaceful societies and international peace systems. Doing so would further develop the evidence base for promoting sustainable peace. Furthermore, it should take measures that will develop its capacities to formulate policies that are conflict sensitive and peace promotive, to conduct conflict analyses and peace opportunity assessments on the ground, and to develop measures of and collect data on factors mitigating destructive conflict and promoting positive peace.



A version of this article originally was published March 19, 2018, in the International Peace Institute's Global Observatory.

Peter Coleman is a professor of psychology and education at Columbia University, where he is the codirector of the Advanced Consortium on Cooperation, Conflict, and Complexity (AC4).

Endnotes

¹ This myth has been roundly refuted by archaeological evidence finding that war is a relatively new invention and humans lived in peace for millions of years prior to the onset of the scourge of war. Archaeologist Jonathan Haas sums up the situation: “There is negligible evidence for any kind of warfare anywhere in the world before about 10,000 years ago.” J. Haas, *The Anthropology of War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

² P. T. Coleman, H. Moskowitz, T. Harel-Marian, N. El Zohm, J. Kaminskaia, S. Onufrey, and M. Braun, “Mining the Motives for Peace: Investigating Distinct Mind Types for Promoting Peace in Israel-Palestine (working paper).

³ The recent development of indices such as the Gross National Happiness Index and the Harmony Index speak to the potential to better understand the conditions promoting positive relations.

Costa Rica: Choosing a Path to Peace

By Peter Coleman and Jaclyn Donahue

Almost 70 years ago, Costa Rica emerged from a bloody civil war to become one of the only nations in the world to disband its military and redirect national resources toward education, health, and the environment. Today, Costa Rica is ranked high on the Global Peace Index, very high on the Positive Peace Index, and No. 13 (of 156 nations) in the 2018 World Happiness Report. Costa Rica has been referred to as “a model in terms of the development of a culture of peace.”¹

How is this possible? Let us count the ways.

1. It defines itself as a peaceful nation. In 1948, Costa Rica's president, Jose Figueres Ferrer, the former leader of an armed revolution, chose peace. After being in power for only 18 months, Figueres granted women and blacks the right to vote, preserved and expanded the country's social welfare system, and completely demilitarized. The absence of a military and the centrality of peace now are a pivotal part of the Costa Rican identity.
2. It shares a well-developed vision of what peacefulness entails. Due to the absence of a military, the country has been able to direct resources into social welfare policies, including education, which has a constitutionally mandated spending minimum, has been made free and compulsory, and has been credited for the active involvement by citizens in policy debates. Costa Rica's democratic tradition has ensured the continuous holding of free and fair elections since 1948. The Supreme Court also acknowledged peace as a human right.
3. It emulates peaceful leaders and elites who model a commitment to peace and nonviolence. Since Figueres, Costa Rica's leaders have been models of demilitarization, diplomacy, and neutrality and have promoted human rights throughout Central America. Notably, in 1987, then-President Oscar Arias received the Nobel Peace Prize for being the driving force behind the Esquipulas agreement, a regional peace plan signed by five Central American countries.
4. It is motivated by cooperative forms of interdependence between groups and with other nations due to



Students gather on the grounds of the University for Peace in San Jose, Costa Rica. The UN General Assembly established the university in 1980. It offers master's and doctoral degrees in peace and conflict studies. (University for Peace)

mutual dependencies or interests. Costa Rica has led arrangements for regional nuclear disarmament and is a party to the Central American Common Market, aimed at facilitating regional economic development.

5. It supports integrative methods of governance that seek to create unity through participation of all citizens. Costa Rica's government has sought the expertise of civil society and the private sector to inform policy. Legislation that changed the name of the country's justice ministry to the Ministry of Justice and Peace and moved the ministry into peace promotion was an initiative of a nongovernment organization.
6. It socializes its children and newcomers with peaceful values and taboos against violence. Since 1997, Costa Rica has required peace education in schools, which has developed the skills and knowledge that contribute to the country's culture of peace. Costa Rica is also the site for the UN-mandated University of Peace.
7. It promotes gender equality. Costa Rica ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and passed equal rights legislation. In comparison to the region and other developing countries, Costa Rican women have higher levels of education, social status, and political participation.

8. It has institutionalized formal and informal conflict-management processes to handle grievances between groups and with nations. The law that mandated peace education included a commitment to peaceful conflict resolution, endorsing mediation whenever possible, and Costa Rica has established such practices in areas of its foreign affairs.
9. It respects and enforces territorial norms against conquest and violent succession, and it supports peaceful decolonization. The Declaration of Perpetual, Active, and Unarmed Neutrality (1983) has informed Costa Rica's international relations policy to not become involved in other nations' conflicts. Costa Rica has also been active in the Organization of American States, founded to promote peace, justice, solidarity, and collaboration among its members.

No state is perfect, and Costa Rica has been criticized for racial and economic inequalities, in particular toward immigrants, and rising rates of violence against women. Nevertheless, the authors selected Costa Rica as an example of a nation promoting opportunities for trust, cooperation, and commonality within its borders.

¹ B.A. Peters, "Costa Rica," in P. Joseph, ed., *The SAGE Encyclopedia of War: Social Science Perspectives* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2017), p. 401.



Somali women wait to collect water February 25, 2018, at the New Kabasa internally displaced camp in Dollow, Somalia. The UN Security Council, in its resolution last March to extend the mandate of the UN mission in Somalia, included a rare reference to climate change. (Baz Ratner/Reuters)

A Cold Shoulder on Turtle Bay

Climate Change Is a Security Threat,
So Where Is the UN Security Council?

By Ashley Murphy

Due to a warming world, conflicts will become more common. Scientists, think tanks, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), militaries, and even the White House (albeit under President Barack Obama) all agree that climate change threatens human safety and well-being. Yet the organization charged with global security has remained relatively silent.

The UN Security Council, responsible for maintaining international peace and security, is made up of 15 countries. Five seats are reserved for permanent members with veto powers (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) while the other 10 members are elected to represent their region (Africa, Asia-Pacific, etc.) for two-year terms.

Together, this semirotating group of 15 makes binding decisions for all 193 UN members. This alone makes the Security Council a very powerful institution, but combined with its capacity to sanction and intervene in the affairs of states, it has an influence far exceeding that of any other international body. It is, in many respects, the executive body of the international system.

For this reason, the council has considered contemporary security challenges such as international terrorism, nuclear weapons proliferation, and transnational crime. Positive results include an international crackdown on the financing of terrorism, the sharing of information to tackle various criminal problems, stronger border controls for nuclear materials, and the global mobilization of experts to address a health epidemic.

The fact that the Security Council has helped combat these varied and largely unrelated challenges shows its potential to do good things. So why hasn't the council engaged climate change in any meaningful way?

Sanctions pursuant to Article 41 of the UN Charter would be available to the council in the event of states not meeting their Paris Agreement obligations. Economic sanctions could also be placed on corporations, which currently operate with relatively little international scrutiny. What the council brings is an ability to coerce—something currently lacking throughout international climate law.

Global Challenge Versus State Sovereignty

The council hasn't entirely ignored climate change. In 2007, the first open debate on the matter took place, though it was based on the unofficial proviso that no binding output would follow. Similar discussions were held in 2011 and 2013, but stark divides among the members prevented any meaningful outputs.

What this represents is a lack of unity over whether climate change really belongs on the agenda. While most states now agree climate change is a priority—as exhibited by the success of the Paris conference in 2015—there is no consensus on what role, if any, the Security Council should play.

From one perspective, countries like New Zealand and Germany view climate change as a security issue of immense proportions and worthy of the council's attention. On the other hand, states such as China and South Africa argue that if the council engages with climate change, it will undermine the sovereignty of states, fracturing the international system.

These positions are entrenched, reflecting vastly opposing ideologies in relation to both climate change and international relations, thus precluding any meaningful intervention. Yet this does not necessarily mean the Security Council is frozen indefinitely.

Climate Change Slowly Moving Onto the Agenda

The council has a history of taking tentative steps when moving into new territory, and climate change will not be an exception. In 2011, a statement by the then-president of the Security Council (a position that rotates among member states each month) loosely linked climate change and traditional security challenges. In 2017, the council unanimously adopted Resolution 2349, which hinted that climate change had contributed to conflict and instability around Lake Chad and the wider Sahel region. And in January 2018, a second presidential statement twice referenced climate change in the context of instability in the Sahel region.

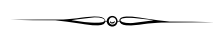
These statements fall short of finding climate change an explicit security threat, but they do show the council is steadily becoming more comfortable with the subject. And without that degree of comfort, we would likely not have seen the passing of Resolution 2408 last March 27.

This resolution, again adopted unanimously, extended the mandate of the UN mission in Somalia for another year and became the latest council resolution to include a reference to climate change. The language remains speculative, and the council is careful to only recall its 2011 statement instead of making a bolder, stand-alone declaration on climate security.

However, inclusion of the expression “grave concern” in regard to the drought and famine engulfing Somalia is proof that the council is experiencing a change of perspective. It is beginning to make discursive links between environmental realities and security, using the language often reserved for terrorism or nuclear weapon proliferation.

The resolution fails to indict “climate change” as the cause of these problems, yet it is nonetheless progress. After years of dispute, council members are starting to agree on the inclusion of the words climate change in a resolution—a big step forward for the world’s most powerful but politically polarized body.

So where are we? The Security Council has access to the tools the world so desperately needs to enforce state and private action on climate change, and although it is taking its time, there is some advancement. That does not mean climate change is about to be recognized as a security concern in its own right, but each step taken is valuable, and the council is certainly on the right path to identifying climate change as the security threat it so clearly is.



This article was originally published May 15, 2018, by The Conversation UK.

Ashley Murphy receives funding from Keele University in Keele, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, United Kingdom, to conduct a Ph.D. research project into international environmental governance through the UN Security Council. He graduated with an LL.B. with honors in law from Liverpool University and gained an LL.M. with distinction in international law from Leicester University.



Members of the UN Security Council discuss a resolution extending the mandate of the UN mission in Somalia on March 27, 2018. Council members agreed to include the words “climate change” in a resolution after years of dispute over use of the language. (UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe)



Cape Town residents line up to collect water from a spring in the suburb of Newlands on January 25, 2018, as fears over the city's water crisis grew. Climate change remains a threat to the second-largest city in South Africa. (Mike Hutchings/Reuters)

A Climate of Urgency

Cape Town, South Africa,

Aims for Net-Zero

Greenhouse Gas Emissions by 2050

By Munyaradzi Makoni

Long lines of people holding large jugs, waiting to collect clean water, were a common sight in January in Cape Town, the second-largest city in South Africa. Although the relatively affluent city of Cape Town borders the ocean, potable water was in short supply, as a continuing drought wreaked havoc on the Theewaterskloof Dam that services much of the city.

Water levels at the dam ebbed so low that there were fears Cape Town would soon be the largest municipality in history to shut off its taps, an event the city's government dubbed Day Zero.

But since city leaders imposed hefty restrictions—such as limiting water use to 50 liters per person daily and banning washing cars and filling swimming pools—Day Zero has not materialized. But if global temperatures continue to rise because of climate change, scientists say weather patterns that led to Cape Town's water challenges will grow even worse.

Even before the water crisis transpired, Cape Town announced its local government was accelerating its work

on reducing the impacts of climate change. In November 2017, the leaders of 25 international municipalities, including Patricia de Lille, the mayor of Cape Town, announced they had committed to net-zero greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 2050. Scientists agree that reducing the amount of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide, nitrogen, and methane going into the atmosphere will be key to limiting the global temperature increase to 1.5° C above preindustrial levels, the target of the 2015 Paris Agreement.

To lower emissions, significant efficiencies will need to be realized across all sectors in Cape Town. While Cape Town is not receiving any direct support from the national government toward pursuing its carbon neutrality goal, the city is



Water levels at the Theewaterskloof Dam (above, on February 20, 2018), near Vil-liersdorp, South Africa, ebbed dangerously low this year. The earth-filled dam supplies most of Cape Town's potable water. (Mike Hutchings/Reuters)



Many of the residents of the slum Enkanini, in the town of Stellenbosch, South Africa, have solar panels on their dwellings, thanks to Stellenbosch University's iShack project. The solar home systems are partly subsidized by the municipality of Stellenbosch. (iShack photo)

planning for carbon neutrality by 2050 by updating its GHG emissions inventory and energy futures modeling. The main sectors of energy, transport and urban development, water, and sanitation and solid-waste management will be prioritized, according to Cape Town City Council Member Xanthea Limberg, who serves on the Mayoral Committee for Informal Settlements, Water and Waste Services and Energy.

Clean Energy

In 2015, the city government adopted the Energy2040 plan, which includes measures to diversify Cape Town's energy supply to become more resilient and efficient in order to reduce carbon emissions through the year 2040. Many of the measures involve collaboration with residents and businesses.

Limberg said the city intends to augment its role as an electricity distributor by adding generation capacity and contracting with renewable energy independent power producers (IPPs).

"For this to happen, the national regulatory environment must be reformed. It currently does not permit municipalities to hold power purchase agreements with IPPs," she

said, adding that the city has embarked on legal action to drive this required reform. "It will be vital for the national government to liberalize the electricity-generation environment if cities are to be able to decarbonize their grid electricity through renewable power purchases," she said.

Several renewable energy initiatives already are operating in the Cape Town area, and not all of them are for the relatively affluent. In the town of Stellenbosch, which adjoins Cape Town, is the slum Enkanini, home to more than 6,000 people. Many of the residents' dwellings have solar panels, thanks to Stellenbosch University's iShack project.

Through iShack, residents receive basic electricity services. The solar home systems are partly subsidized by the Stellenbosch Municipality.

While the iShack model shows potential for solar energy to expand access to electricity across the city and country in a sustainable way, David Hees, iShack's solar utility manager, said there are a few solar projects happening in rural areas around the country with varying levels of success.



Nokwanda Sotyantya (right) speaks with Neliswa Gwetyana at the Hout Bay Recycling Cooperative in suburban Cape Town, South Africa. Sotyantya, who supports a family of 10 through her work in the waste-recycling business, said she's proud that her work helps the environment. (Photo by Themba Vilakazi)

Hees said the plan is to replicate iShack in other municipalities, adding the system is easier and cheaper to install than industrial applications. He also said the national government of South Africa needs to enact more policies to boost renewable energy in the private sector.

Mark New, director of the African Climate and Development Initiative and AXA chair in African Climate Risk at the University of Cape Town, said the use of coal will also need to be phased out.

"You think we can get zero carbon emissions in this country? We cannot if South Africa continues to get electricity from the largest carbon emitters, not until we stop having 70 percent of our primary energy consumption coming from coal," he said.

The power company Eskom says South Africa produces an average of 224 million tons of marketable coal annually, making it the fifth-largest coal-producing country in the world. There are 18 coal power stations in South Africa.

Even if transitioning away from coal proves extremely difficult, "we still need to get the idea of picking up on the targets we set for ourselves," New added.

Recycling Efforts Take Off

One of Cape Town's waste-management initiatives, intended to move the city closer to net-zero GHG emissions, has been to separately collect garden waste and turn it into compost. More than 20 drop-off facilities around the city now accept garden waste and other types of solid waste, like paper, cardboard, glass, and cans.

There are also various recycling efforts in lower income areas. The scenic suburb of Hout Bay, 20 minutes south of the Cape Town business district, is home to more than 42,000 people, even though traditional housing for only 12,000 exists. The majority of residents live in Imizamo Yethu township, a mixture of lopsided wood-and-concrete structures overlooking the sea and relatively wealthy neighborhoods.

Nokwanda Sotyantya, who has lived in Imizamo Yethu since 1993, has learned to tolerate the rotten smell of rubbish while rescuing things like a discarded but still-working television set, an old oak cabinet, or a pile of grade two children's books.

"First it was about money. Then I learned recycling was about saving the environment," said Sotyantya, who supports a

family of 10 through her work in the waste-recycling business, which she learned from her late husband, Headman.

The social and environmental nonprofit Thrive Hout Bay started the Hout Bay Recycling Cooperative, where Sotyantya works, in 2009. It has five workers but occasionally employs others depending on the load. Occasionally, Sotyantya promotes reducing waste to residents through campaigns on the importance of recycling.

The cooperative runs on property owned by the Cape Town City Council, and each winter collects approximately 55,000 pounds of solid waste, while in summer it collects about 77,000 pounds. In winter, Thrive Hout Bay earns about \$182, and in summer it earns about \$254. According to South Africa's census, most households in Imizamo Yethu have an annual income of between \$1,500 and \$3,000, mostly due to state grants.

"We are not making a lot of money, but we never go home empty-handed, we don't buy television sets or bags, we get them here. The good thing is some things we get here, we sell, we never go home empty-handed," Sotyantya said. The cooperative's biggest-ever check of \$9,000 went to buy a van the workers now use to collect waste, she added.

In addition to making money, the cooperative has prevented more than 2,000 metric tons of waste from going to the landfill, where it would have emitted methane and carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

City Electrifying Transport

Cutting energy consumption in the transport sector is critical. In 2012, the sector was responsible for 34 percent of the city's carbon emissions, according to the 2015 Cape Town State of Energy report. City Council member Limberg said making transportation more sustainable can be accomplished by reducing demand for private trips, trimming transit times and shortening routes, making high-occupancy and shared travel more user-friendly, and improving access to and affordability and safety of public transportation. The way the population is distributed across the city perpetuates long travel distances, contributing to high carbon emissions, she said.

Cape Town plans to develop charging stations for electric cars and is considering adding electric vehicles for city fleets, including 11 electric buses. City officials said the eco-friendly buses would be powered by electric batteries replacing high-emitting carbon fossil fuels, and solar will be considered for future charging stations.

On the nongovernmental side, the nonprofit Open Streets Cape Town has a program called Open Streets Days, rotating periods of time when major roads in different parts of the city are closed to vehicle traffic. Open Streets Days encourages people to make the best of the car-free space to use nonmotorized transport and to experience streets as public space.

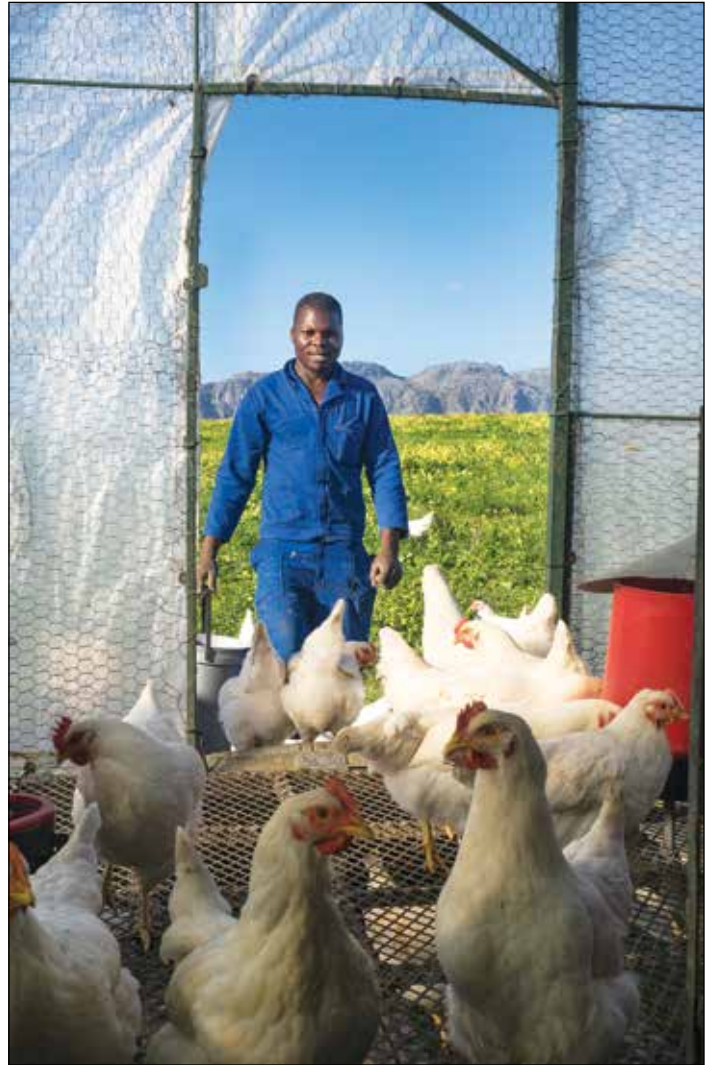
"We believe that through this type of experiential learning, behavior can change, which, in our opinion, is ultimately the



The Hout Bay Recycling Cooperative has prevented more than 2,000 metric tons of waste from going to the landfill, where it would have emitted methane and carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. (Photo by Themba Vilakazi)



Angus McIntosh, a management accountant turned organic farmer, has 200 pigs, 150 head of cattle, 4,800 laying hens, and 2,800 broiler chickens that feed on natural pasture at his Spier Farm in Stellenbosch, South Africa. (Photos by Themba Vilakazi)



most important piece in the low carbon transport puzzle,” said Sindile Mavundla, Open Streets campaigns manager.

Farming Contributes Too

Although Cape Town is prioritizing transport and urban development, water, and waste services and energy, other sectors, like agriculture, also will be important to achieving the 2050 goal for net-zero GHG emissions. In Stellenbosch, Angus McIntosh, a management accountant turned organic farmer, believes the best place for carbon to be is in the soil rather than the air or water. McIntosh has 150 head of cattle, 4,800 laying hens, 200 pigs, and 2,800 broiler chickens that feed on natural pasture at his Spier Farm.

“All that we are doing is building the carbon content of our soils through our heavy grazing of our pastures. Lots of animals feed on a small piece of land for a small period of time and leave it to recover over six weeks,” he said. In 18 months, he managed 8,000 tons of carbon sequestration on a 73-hectare piece of land.

McIntosh supports keeping carbon in the soil because it helps plants grow. He does not have to use chemicals, promoting ecological balance.

“If every farmer in Africa was focused on growing organic matter, we would not have any problems. People would eat healthy food, our rivers wouldn’t be polluted, and the society wouldn’t be sick,” he said.

The Importance of Cities

Cape Town is not alone in its effort to reduce GHG emissions. For more than a decade, cities have shown their determination and capacity to lead the world in delivering bold climate action, said Kevin Austin, deputy executive director of the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group.

C40 counts 96 cities as members, four of which are in South Africa: Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, and Tshwane. C40 is working with member cities to ensure that by the end of 2020, each will have a comprehensive, measurable climate-action plan in place to deliver low-carbon resilient development that is consistent with the ambitions of the Paris Agreement.

“To help cities deliver on those ambitious plans, we’re supporting cities to take action in the areas that have the highest emissions-reduction potential, including transportation, buildings, waste, water, and energy,” Austin said, adding cities are being supported to become more resilient to the effects of climate change, such as floods, droughts,

and extreme heat. C40 assistance comes as direct technical support, knowledge sharing, and access to expertise developed in other member cities.

“The best person to convince a mayor of the benefits of a sustainable initiative is another mayor. At the technical level, every city is a world leader in something; that is why the C40 model encourages cities to share ideas and best practices to accelerate the rollout of things that we know will work across cities worldwide,” Austin said.

C40 is working with South Africa’s National Department of Environment Affairs to ensure cities can play the fullest possible role in meeting national climate targets, Austin said. C40 plans to announce the progress already made and how cities will step up climate action in the years ahead during the Global Climate Action Summit in September in San Francisco.

“The message we can expect to hear from all involved in the summit is that cities, states, regions, businesses, and investors are serious about delivering on the Paris Agreement, and we expect nation states to pay close attention,” Austin said.

Back to Cape Town

As Cape Town’s drought continues, the city’s residents are not out of the woods. Day Zero could still happen if more measures are not taken.

But Cape Town’s deputy mayor, Ian Neilson, told a biannual Water Institute of Southern Africa meeting in June that long-term thinking about how to sustainably take care of water resources is already happening, thanks in large part to the city’s experience with extreme drought and threats to potable water.

“The city has been forced to revise its strategy on saving water as part of a broader resilience mechanism,” he said.

It remains to be seen if climate change will continue to force Cape Town’s residents to adjust their mitigation and adaptation strategies. But, Neilson, said, the focus has to cater to future growth of the city’s population and industry.



Munyaradzi Makoni is a freelance journalist from Zimbabwe who lives in Cape Town, South Africa. He writes about agriculture, climate change, environment, marine sciences, health, higher education, sustainable development, and science in general. He has written for SciDev.Net, Thomson Reuters Foundation, Physics World, Nature Index, and University World News among others.



Children have valuable experiences, thoughts, talents, and ideas. They are not clean slates, and we need to value what they bring to the programming.

An Investigation U. camper celebrates successfully navigating the zip line course at the Langwood Education Center in Louisa County, Iowa, in June 2018. The annual Investigation U. camp, which lasts nine days, is the Stanley Foundation's lengthiest program for youths.



A 2018 Investigation U. camper writes in her journal during a presentation by world traveler Dean Jacobs in Muscatine, Iowa. Jacobs spoke to the group about the seven wonders of humanity, in keeping with the camp's theme, "Wonder."

A Cornerstone of Our Mission

Teaching Youths They Can Change the World
is Imperative to Global Citizenship

By Jill Goldesberry

Photos by Amy Bakke

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people have the inherent ability to change themselves and their local and global communities.

When better to start than childhood, when one is so curious about the world and open to new experiences and perspectives?

The foundation began conducting its first programs for young people more than 35 years ago, and many activities have been added through the years. As the program officer for community partnerships, I work with a number of people in the city of Muscatine and the state of Iowa to teach youths about our interdependent world.

My mentor at the foundation taught me that the first question to ask when planning any youth program is “who are the kids?” It seems simple enough, but it is easy to be so intent on outcomes, or the content being taught, that one can forget who the audience is. Children have valuable experiences, thoughts, talents, and ideas. They are not clean slates, and we need to value what they bring to the programming.

At the beginning of some of our youth programs, we ask each staff member to direct comments to the students by completing the sentence, “By the end of this program, I want you to know...” Rarely does a staff member reply with some fact they want everyone to memorize. That’s because our instincts tell us that good character and human values will serve young people well throughout their lives. The staff members often end the sentence with remarks like, “That you are a citizen of your community,

your state, your country, and the world,” “That you can change your opinion based on new information,” “That your brain is the best computer you will ever have,” or, “That it feels good to be kind in some way on a daily basis.” Of course, the real answer is that children need to know lots of things, and we cannot teach it all.

When we teach about global issues, facts are not enough. There has to be a critical thinking component or an action component. Some refer to it as the “so what?” component. Stanley Foundation youth programs are designed to link global issues to the local community as much as possible. We could study migration of refugees on the continent of Africa and all of the contributing factors, but very little would be recalled by most seventh- and eighth-graders. However,

nearly everyone will remember a young man from the Democratic Republic of the Congo who spoke about living for ten years of his childhood in a refugee camp in Kenya. They met him; they asked questions; they heard his story.

Our goal is to stoke curiosity so students continue to learn about a topic when the program has concluded...to connect knowledge they possess to questions they still have.

What Works in Our Programs

Content is important, but how we teach is equally critical. The most significant responsibility of my work is in choosing the right adults as staff or presenters for foundation youth programs—people

who will model celebration of diversity, consideration of differing opinions/perspectives, curiosity and the value of lifelong learning, commitment to peace and conflict resolution, respect for the natural environment, and belief in the human capacity to change the world for the better.

Global educators need to be role models and comfortable with experiential activities where they do not know the exact outcome but are willing to learn and participate with their students. For example, this summer during Investigation U., a day camp for middle-school-age children, two college-level rugby players visited to teach the group some basics of the sport. Together, adults and youths were challenged to practice and to support each other while learning something new.



Teacher and Investigation U. staff member Casey Edkin (right) participates in rugby exercises during the 2018 camp.

event on human rights education since 1997. International Day involves middle-school-age children, mostly from southeast Iowa. Children in this age group are really interested in human rights and want to know more about the topic. Many of them have witnessed unjust actions or policies and seek to understand these scenarios within a human rights context. Fortunately, wonderful educators and community professionals volunteer their time to lead small-group sessions at this event.

During the annual Iowa Student Global Leadership Conference (ISGLC), international exchange students attending Iowa high schools come together to form a miniglobal village, where 55 to 60 countries are represented. The attendees share perspectives on global issues and discuss social norms in various cultures, which helps foster understanding, and lasting friendships are often forged. More than 3,200 teenagers have attended ISGLC since 1995.

Stepping Into Another's Shoes

It would be wonderful if we could take all young participants on a trip to another country, but the next best thing—and a very powerful experience—is to meet and interact with

people from other countries. We do this in Investigation U. by inviting presenters who live in our local community but are originally from other countries. These are always enjoyable encounters.

I never underestimate the power of an inspiring guest. It is a real plus when performers or a speaker are from the same age group as the audience. But that should not be the only consideration. If we want children to imagine possibilities for their own lives, we can introduce them to adults who are able to articulate how they were able to do what they did. For example, it is a profound experience for young people in small-town Iowa to meet someone who grew up in their



World traveler Dean Jacobs (right) challenges Investigation U. campers to find something in nature and write about it in their journals.

town and who acted in musicals on Broadway. It gives them hope for achieving their own dreams.

When conducted well, simulations also give participants a change of perspective. A simple scenario where teams “manufacture” a product and conduct trade with other teams can teach concepts about the world economy and resource distribution in a way that allows for increased memory retention.

The foundation has served as a major sponsor to our local high school’s Model United Nations club since the 1980s. Model UN is an international program where students take part in a simulation that requires their team to play the part of an assigned country. To step into the shoes of a government official of another country requires a huge change in perspective. Students practice skills that include research, writing, debate, public speaking, interpersonal communication, and negotiation. But they also learn a great deal about topics that no one country can solve on its own. They learn how difficult consensus building is but how vital it is for world peace.

Other Ways We Work With Youths



Model UN students from across the country meet in New York to hone skills in diplomacy, negotiation, critical thinking, compromise, public speaking, writing, and research. (National Model United Nations Facebook photo)

There is nothing like spending time in nature to encourage people to care about it. If we want future leaders who will speak up for the environment then we need to nurture the natural love of nature in children. Several years ago, there was a national education movement called No Child Left Indoors with the objective of increasing teaching about and within nature. It is always amazing to me how much middle-school-age youths enjoy the simple act of fishing—and yet how few of them have ever experienced it. And this is in Iowa, where there are many lakes and streams.

Community service can be a way to teach citizenship, new skills, resource management, teamwork, regard for the natural environment, and the “think global, act local” concept. Great care needs to be taken in designing the project. If all the debris has been removed from the park but no participant wants to pick up trash ever again, then the project is a failure. It works best when the project is an idea from the students themselves. At the very least, they need to understand what problem they are addressing through their project and why they are doing what they are doing.

Global problems are overwhelming for adults, let alone



Investigation U. campers collect pond samples to take back to the classroom and study under the microscope in June 2018.

for children. There are over seven billion people in the world. If they all believe that there is nothing they can do about something, like cleaning up the oceans to provide a healthier environment, then nothing will be done. But if one billion of those people believe there is something they can do—and they take action—then their collective actions will make a difference. And imagine if half the population,



3.5 billion people, all took action to clean up the oceans.

It is imperative that children know they can make a difference and be global citizens. This is a cornerstone of global education. It is also a cornerstone of the Stanley Foundation's efforts to build multilateral cooperation. As C. Maxwell Stanley, one of the foundation's founders, said, "The problems we face are global in proportion, but their solution begins with individuals."

Global education encompasses:

- Interdependence
- Peace and conflict management
- Environment and natural resources
- Human resources, values, and culture
- Change and alternative futures

(Left) Campers assist in making seed balls that will be scattered in roadside ditches to create food and habitat for butterflies.

(Top photo) In June 2018, campers visited the Dickeyville Grotto in Dickeyville, Wisconsin, during a two-day excursion to the Dubuque, Iowa, area. Campers also spent the night at the Mississippi River Museum and Aquarium, explored a cave (bottom photo), solved puzzles and riddles in an escape room, rode the Fenelon Elevator, and toured a dredge boat and the House on the Rock museum in Dodgeville, Wisconsin.





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CONSIDER THIS...

International Women Authors Event to Feature Valeria Luiselli

Award-winning author Valeria Luiselli will be the keynote speaker at the Stanley Foundation's 12th annual International Women Authors event October 23, 2018, in Davenport, Iowa.

Luiselli, who was born in Mexico City, is a novelist and nonfiction writer who is the author of *Faces in the Crowd*, *Sidewalks*, *The Story of My Teeth*, and *Tell Me How It Ends*. She has twice been nominated for the Kirkus Prize and the NBCC Award, is the two-time winner of a Los Angeles Times Book Prize, and is a recipient of the National Book Foundation 5 under 35 award and the Bearing Witness Fellowship from the Art for Justice Fund. Her work has appeared in *The New York Times*, *Granta*, and *McSweeney's*, among other publications, and has been translated into more than 20 languages. She lives and teaches in New York City.

For the International Women Authors event, the Stanley Foundation annually invites a writer who was born and raised overseas to share her stories. Past speakers include Geraldine Brooks, Mariane Pearl, Laila Lalami, and Loung Ung.

For more information, go to www.authors-series.com.



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