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The Idea of Federalism as an Instrument for Peace

Dr. Wolfgang Heuer

Abstract

This talk takes as a starting point the observation, that is an error to understand federalism mostly as a mere administrative institution. Hannah Arendt, redefining politics after Totalitarianism and drawing our attention to the existential dimension of federalism, based on plurality and intersubjectivity, restores its political-philosophical dimension. Thereby, our common concepts of nation-state, sovereignty, power and law, shaped by Hobbes and Bodin, are challenged and substituted by federated states, shares sovereignty and the strengthening of power by its division. From this perspective, historical events like the discussions about the foundation of Israel and the independence of Algeria appear in another shape. Where federal solutions fail, violence and war seem to be the only solution.

Short Biography

Lecturer of political science at the Otto Suhr-Institute of the Free University of Berlin. Specialized in political philosophy, managing editor of the international online journal for political thinking "Hannah Arendt.net", visiting professor at the Universidad Federal de Paraná, Curitiba, Brasil, Universidad de São Paulo, PUCRS Porto Alegre, Brasil and the Universidad de Santiago de Chile, Since 2007 co-director of the International Summer School "European Identity between Dictatorship and Freedom in the Twentieth Century" at the Inter-University-Center Dubrovnik, Croatia, in 2006 co-curator of the internacional art exhibition *Hannah Arendt Thinking Space* in Berlin, www.wolfgang-heuer.com/denkraum. Recent publications are: (co-ed.): Hannah Arendt Handbuch 2011; Föderationen – Hannah Arendts politische Grammatik des Gründens, 2016; El mal como omnipotencia: ir más allá de los límites, in: Antonio Gómez Ramos / Cristina Sánchez Muñoz (eds.): Confrontando el mal. Ensayos sobre violencia, memoria y democracia, Madrid 2016; Verdad y narración: la lucha por la memoria en Alemania después del Holocausto, in: Camila de Gamboa / Cristina Sánchez (eds.): Cartografía del mal, Bogotá 2017.

The Rise of Nationalism as a facade of Patriotism

The new "love for my Country"

Jemimah Mangeni

Abstract

It is surprising to see the level nationalist and populist political forces are gaining support in established democracies of Europe and North America and Asia. The rise of leaders promising to build these inspirational futures for their people by referring to past national glories. Trump promised to make America great again, Putin's ambition to make Russia as influential as not once was, Turkey's Erdogan seeking to revive the Ottoman Empire, Xi Jinping vowing to lead a "great rejuvenation of the Chinese people". Shinzo Abe cites Meiji Restoration as his inspiration for making Japan a leading power again, while India's Modi leads a Hindu nationalist movement seeking to modernize India by appealing to the Hindu pride in a glorious and sometimes mythologized past.

The wave of intolerance for non-citizens, and the claim that governments are more concerned about global interests than national interests has seen leaders who support the idea that individual countries should do what is best for their sovereignty and the wellbeing of their citizens, as well as their economic interest rather than build some cooperative international relations with other countries rise to popularity. Essentially by isolating themselves and focusing on national issues and trade relations that particularly protect their national interests and not pursued with the intention of improving economic co-operation with other countries.

Presidents Xi, Erdogan and Putin have managed to suppress domestic political opposition by attacking progressive institutions and free press, and president Trump is attempting the same on a daily basis calling the media the "enemy of the people" and referring to any negative coverage of his presidency as "fake news". There is constant attack on democratic freedoms that are important for lasting peace, security, justice and prosperity. These authoritarian leaders claim globalist agendas have eroded the sense and pride of patriotism, that they are confident to challenge human rights, attack the civic spaces and as history provides, in worst case have massacred their own citizens without fear of reprisal.

This revival of nationalism is in response to globalization and the shift of political and economic power from West to Asia has left patriots appealing to the status quo enjoyed in the past. This has instigated hostility to outsiders fueled by nationalist's leaders who are much keen to focus on the wrongs committed by foreigners, rather than be honest about the ugly truths regarding their nations' histories. Bigotry is now emboldened and people are becoming less convinced that freedoms should be prioritized over promises for strong government and security. As a result, we have Britain leaving Europe, Trump's disastrous presidency, and Austria far right's victory in the recent elections.

Human rights should not be considered as obstacles to our way of life but as strengthening our societies. The problem with this nostalgic nationalism is that it leads to a less safe and less friendly

international community. If we are to look to our histories for inspirations, we should not turn a blind eye on the warning lessons our histories have to offer.

Short Biography
Jemimah Mangeni is a Kenyan American on a mission to show that differences between countries can be resolved peacefully by promotion international rule of a law. She has a Bachelor of Laws degree from the Catholic University of Eastern Africa and currently studying MA in International law and Settlement of Disputes at the UN Mandated University for Peace. She is a former intern at the Milimani Criminal Law Courts in Nairobi Kenya and a 2018 Phillip Jessup Participant. Her knowledge in conflict resolution makes her a passionate advocate of preventive diplomacy.'

Role of Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora in Sri Lankan Conflict

Pujika Rathnayake

Abstract
Sri Lanka suffered from thirty years of protracted civil war, which occurred between the Sri Lankan government and terrorist group named the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Sri Lankan military defeated the LTTE in 2009 by marking the military conflict to an end. However, the end of the conflict in 2009 emerged with many social, political, and economic changes in the country. The majority of the Sinhalese population viewed the victory over Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as the second wave of independent of the country because of the thirty years of fear of terrorism and stagnation. In contrast, most of the Tamil community deprived due to the war and it has resulted in lost over 100,000 people in North and East regions and migrating one-quarter of Tamil population from Sri Lanka.

During the time of armed conflict, the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora played a pivotal role in contributing to survive their family and kin at home while significant lobbying in their host countries to shape the course of the conflict and diplomatic relations. The approximate three million Sri Lankan diaspora represents the collective identity of the Sri Lankan Tamil community. The last phrase of the Tamil Diaspora communities led a massive campaign against Sri Lankan government in their host countries and at the UN, forcing to change their foreign relations with Sri Lanka and take coercive means against Sri Lankan government to stop the military attack against LTTE. In contrast, the consecutive governments used propaganda to undermine the diaspora and counter-attacked on the domestic and transnational political movements of the diaspora. This negative connotation has resulted in

considering diaspora as villains, betrayers and traitors of the motherland by most of the Sinhalese population.

In this context, this paper will explore how the propaganda of the government is used to shape the discourse of Tamil Diaspora in Sri Lankan parlance and the role of the Tamil Diaspora in shaping the foreign relations of the host countries towards Sri Lanka. Therefore, this study will adopt the constructivism framework to understand the collective identity of the Tamil Diaspora and their relationship with homeland politics. Constructivism theory focuses on issues of identity and proposes a way of understanding nationality, ethnicity, race and religion in terms of shaping the national and global politics. It will also propose a conceptual framework base on the "boomerang pattern" presented by Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink in Activists beyond Borders in 1998. They present how shared narratives and collective identities will lead to developing a transitional advocacy network to shape and change the direction of both international and national political context.

The proposed study will be limited to role two consecutive governments in Sri Lanka since 2005 to 2017 and will discuss diaspora activities in the UK, the US, Canada, and India. Because the given countries represent the majority of Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora population and they highly influenced on the decisions taken by the Sri Lankan government during the period of war and the aftermath of the war. This paper will argue that that the propaganda led by the government has resulted in changing the discourse of Tamil Diaspora in Sri Lankan society and shaping the diaspora politics in the host countries.

Short Biography

Pujika Harshani Rathnayake is a master student at the Ateneo De Manila University and the University of Peace in Costa Rica. She is pursuing dual MA degree in Global Politics and International Relations, and International Law and Human Rights. She received her bachelor's in International Relations from the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. She has been working in the field of peacebuilding, development, and reconciliation, especially in the areas of youth, women, and diaspora through the field of research and creative art projects since 2011.

Plurality and Hate Speech

Legal and Political aspects through Hannah Arendt

Jana Lozanoska

Abstract

The essay will explore in interdisciplinary manner (international human rights law, international criminal law and political theory of Hannah Arendt) in the development of "hate speech", which gains enormous importance with the raising xenophobia, nationalism and racism. Indeed, the inceptions of the crime could be traced back in the Rwandan Genocide where the incitement of genocide took place through the local radio. The broader legal and political implications of hate speech are unclear, and by that of crimes against humanity and genocide.

Furthermore, the legal interlink of freedom of speech and expression with hate speech is a hoax, due to the fact that they have different agency. The former concerns individuals and the latter – groups.

However, the line is thin. The latest most controversial example is the address at the "Crisis of Democracy: Thinking in Dark Times", academic conference by Marc Jongen from AfD party which gained significant seats at Bundestag in the recent elections in Germany and is affiliated with far right extreme ideology. The conference was organized by Hannah Arendt Center, at Bard College and steered many controversies within Arendentian scholarly circles and broader public, some arguing that Jongen was legitimized and some that he and party politics got exposed. However, I consider that the academic discourse this controversy should have produced is whether the phenomenon of twisting rational truths and facts along with certain theoretical justifications serves as I a main tool to advance populist agenda and ways how to deconstruct that. Therefore, the question arises what is populism nowadays and whether is an ideology based on hatred or is a book example of totalitarianism as Arendt described it in the *Origins of Totalitarianism*. Either way I consider as Arendt deemed as well that we need to understand the evil, in order to be able to address it.

In attempting to provide not only legal but broader political clarity in the complexity and interlink of legal, political aspects of hate speech and the connection to populism and racial ideologies I will use as a theoretical framework Hannah Arendt's central theory of plurality. Plurality in Arendt is elucidated in the fact of being able to belong to a political community where one is free to speak and act. This is the core of Arendt's idea on human dignity and human rights which is based on the unique distinctness of individuals who belong to a group through sharing common world, ideas and characteristics.

However, plurality for Arendt has double-edged sword meaning, and therefore is very potent. The other side of plurality is what Arendt had saw the exceptional nature of the crimes against humanity and genocide, as attacks to the human plurality and status and therefore representing extraordinary crimes which are of concern of whole humanity. The Statute of the International Criminal Court confirms in its definitions of crimes, the element of "plurality" as a required *actus reus*. No individual only is capable of committing such crimes which require state machinery reflected in the existence of bureaucracy and ideology.

Arendt had examined the phenomenological nature of politics in the essay *Lying in Politics*, but as well throughout her all theoretical work including the groundbreaking work of *Origins of Totalitarianism*. Being aware of the destructive aspect of plurality and thus politics as result she insisted strongly on the common world and public space as guardian against the "evil". As long as public debate and public opinions exist, the danger of racial ideologies/and or populism can be reduced. However, it is puzzling that she had wrote another essay *Truth and Politics* whereby she was concerned with the role of the justice and politics, which for her are at odds with each other, if certain elements are absent such as objectivity, impartiality and understanding of the truth (factual and rational). The problem for Arendt between truth or justice and politics stems from the rational truths where we see the danger of populism, whereas the power of the common world and space for her is settled between factual truths and opinion as way of representative political thinking and enforcing the public space.

Short Biography

Jana Lozanoska is a Doctoral Candidate at the UN University for Peace, San Jose Costa. She holds LL.M degree from the University of Geneva and Graduate Institute of International Studies, Switzerland. Has ten years of experience in research and policy area, served as Director of Applied Policy Research Department – Euro-Balkan Institute, Skopje, and was external advisor to two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Macedonia. Her doctoral work is focused on framing the meaningful idea of human dignity as "new political principle on Earth" as suggested by the German-Jewish political thinker Hannah Arendt. Her doctoral work is entitled: "Human Dignity as Core of Human Rights through Hannah Arendt". Her study is an interdisciplinary involving several fields such as: international law (human rights and criminal), transitional justice, political theory and peace studies. She has been visiting research scholar in several Universities and Centers around the world: Hannah Arendt Center at Bard College, Annandale on Hudson, NY; Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany; Department of Political Philosophy, Hannah Arendt Center of the University of Verona. She had published several articles related to human rights and edited two volumes.

Bridging the Divide Against Rising Populism in Europe

Victoria Scheyer

Abstract

Populism is a rising phenomenon within the last couple of years in Europe. One of the recent events that was abused by populist parties to foster hatred and gain support for their rightwing policies was and still is the Syrian refugee crisis. The growing number of people coming from countries of conflicts towards Europe were altogether labelled as refugees - no matter of their legal status – and are framed to be a threat to European passport holders in terms of social benefits or security. Refugees are blamed for a lot of inefficiencies and shortcomings in the European social systems, which makes the integration and inclusion process harder. On top of that, people who fled have to face a lot of direct and structural violence after entering Europe. This violence is a threat to their human rights and here the question arises about who is responsible in protecting displaced people? Often, displaced people find themselves without their legal paper or passports in European countries, where they are considered "illegal" and don't know about their rights. What is an illegal human being anyway? This essay aims to discuss the missing responsibility of the European and international community of protecting refugees in Europe and the need of clarifying terms like illegal humans. By clarifying terms and misconceptions, one might steal right wing populism their thunder and prevent the creation of strong divisions and xenophobia in our societies.

This is a topic, which concerns me ever since working in different settings with forcible displaced people on their way to Central-Europe on the so called "Balkan route" and in "Auffanglager" in Germany in 2015/2016. During that work, I observed a distinction between involved groups of people, who were clearly overwhelmed by the respective challenges. Instead of working together, I often found a hostile environment against each other. Retrospectively, I believe bridging these divides is the first step in deconstructing prejudices and help the integration process from the root. To find strategies of cooperation and therefore create a more peaceful society.

Short Biography

Victoria Scheyer is currently studying her Masters Degree in International Peace Studies at the University for Peace mandated by the United Nations. One of her special fields of interest is migration and refugee politics in Europe. She not only wrote her Bachelor thesis about structural violence in German asylum policies graduating from International Cultural and Business Studies at the University in Passau, but also worked with refugees on ground at European boarders and in German so called "Auffanglagern". Moreover, she currently is a trainee at the Galtung-Institute for Peace Theory and Peace Practice, where she researches on structural violence, reconciliation and migration. In the

Friedrich-Eberst-Stiftung Office Thailand she worked on positive and negative populism concepts and engaged in local projects to feminism and social democracy.

Building Peace Through the Oceans - Creation of public spaces through activism

Salma Zulfiqar

Abstract
This presentation will explore the reasons why tensions are rising between communities and look at the possible solutions in building harmonious societies though creativity based on her project in the UK. Peace and harmony in communities is being challenged worldwide as we continue to reel from the effects of global political events such as the appointment of US President Donald Trump and the vote by the British Public to leave the EU. Tensions are rising between migrants and non migrants without much intervention from local authorities to deal with the issue on a long term basis. Social media and the media has been fuelling the 'hate debate', but is it doing more harm than good? Is the debate online giving people the answers they are looking for when it comes to feeling at ease and part of society? Why are race relations at an all time low in some European countries? How is the phenomena of hate crimes affecting people in the UK and what help is available for victims?
During this presentation we will learn about a unique project by British humanitarian artist Salma Zulfiqar who has created an educational art installation which promotes the positive impact migrants have made around the world. As part of the project, dialogue between migrants and non migrants, and women in particular is being organised in the UK, to promote integration of migrants, tackle hate crimes and prevent extremism. Experiences shared in these debates will be recalled during the presentation. Ms Zulfiqar's project comes at a time when the UK government released a new audit which shows the stark disparities between ethnic minorities and the white community in the UK, calling for more action to ensure equality:https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk

Short Biography
Salma She has worked all over the world with the United Nations for almost two decades and has documented peace building efforts in countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Chad and Yemen. Her artwork is a vehicle to raise awareness of humanitarian issues.

Creation of public spaces through activism

József Veress

Abstract

The civil society continuously (re-)creates public spaces, moreover in a sense 'embodies them' at macro-sectorial level. The civil society is domain and outcome of mass activism which enables continuously promoting putting in practice such fundamental principles as freedom, equality, fraternity (today solidarity). Gradual practical implementation of the "glorious triad" was historically both precondition and enabler of the intertwined emergence of both the industrial society and the civil society. The industrialization bringing about rapidly increasing productivity enabled providing more products (and services) to fulfil various and broadening range of human needs.

The activism of civil society (players) created, established and institutionalized new legislative norms and social standards enabling to shorten worktime, alter dominant patterns of (re-)distribution, and facilitate voluntary activities. It generates feed backing multidimensional changes liberating more and more time from wage work and enabling to spend (a growing part of) it for voluntary activities carried out in various self-organizing organizations of emerging and self-empowering civil society. The latter is interlinked with altered patterns and dialectics of enhanced cooperation and can facilitate the emergence of a cooperative knowledge-driven society. This constellation enables and presupposes overcoming mass alienation and consciously re-establishing enhanced harmony among human activities and (processes of) nature. Robust transformations are interlinked with association-prone patterns of mutual approximation among market and public sectors and self-empowering civil society. Cooperative patterns of macro-sectorial convergence are shaped by association-prone dynamism of emerging robust digitalization, interplay with shortening of 'standard work time' and alterations of (re-)distribution by enabling and catalysing (mass)emancipation. Such constellation enables to re-enact very significant (volumes of) creativity and soft resources that association-prone patterns of digitalization can liberate from wage work.

These tendencies require and presuppose the enhanced mass activism of civil society players unfolding in frame of ongoing global participative revolution and facilitating to bring cooperation into competitive environments. The spread of voluntary activities taking place in diverse forms including self-organizing mass collaboration and peer production (re-)enact creativity together with other non-

depletable and non-rivalrous soft resources similar to information, knowledge, cognitive, relational, emotional, and psychological energies. The mobilization of soft resources facilitates to extend and upgrade the collective resource base and contributes to self-empowerment of civil society capable and willing to operate as function system of society. Its role "...is the provision of stability for joint collective action for something greater than just individual benefits...for the common good and social coherence …[by enabling] to solve…[also wicked] problems that are not solved by any other part of society". Consequently, the civil activism facilitating to re-claim and create public spaces capitalizes on and contributes to self-empowerment of civil society and its capability to carry out social agency. It enables to prevent and recover social and environmental damages that 'externalities' of current capital accumulation patterns generate by "fuelling" accelerating emergence of the Anthropocene.

Short Biography

József Veress has MSc in international relations from the Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO) (1984) and PhD in organization and management from the Aalto University in Helsinki (2016). He worked as diplomat in the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and in the Tirana and Moscow embassies (1984-1992). He was the head of the Moscow and CIS office of the HFT Corp., a US-Hungarian joint venture. As deputy state secretary he worked as the deputy head of staff of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Mr Gyula Horn between 1994 and 1998. After being strategic consultant for companies, local authorities, information society and local development projects (1998-2002) he became responsible for the preparation and Chief Negotiator of the National Development Plan of Hungary, the document enabling to disburse Cohesion and Structural Funds of the European Union. He was State Secretary responsible for EU and development policies (2004-2006) and member of the Hungarian Parliament (2006-2010). He worked in the European Court of Auditors as Head of Cabinet of the Court's Hungarian Member (2011-2016). From 2006 he was guest-lecturer in King Sigismund College (Budapest) and visiting researcher in Centre for Knowledge and Innovation Research of the Aalto University (Helsinki) and from 2010 researcher in the Corvinus University (Budapest). His research activity covered the multilateral cooperation among Balkan countries (1987-1991), information and knowledge society developments and EU Structural and Regional funds (2001-2007), open innovation and living Laboratories (2006-2010), transformational dynamism of the civil society organizations, sharing and platform economies (2010-).

Probing transformative justice - A case study on access to security and justice in posttransition South Africa

Vera Paulina Riffler

Abstract

Post-transition countries are often challenged by increasing levels of violence and crime, inequality, and weak institutions. In consequence, calls have been made for a holistic model that addresses broader transformation in post-transition societies through the use of transformative justice. By addressing socio-economic and local needs, and establishing effective channels for genuine participation, transformative justice aims to contribute to a social, more positive form of peace; that is, through tackling the structural causes of conflict and the entrenched systems of inequality. However, transformative justice is a fairly new concept and lacks empirical research and practice.

The paper aims to advance the conceptualisation of transformative justice through making both empirical and theoretical contributions. To explore this major lacuna Khayelitsha – a South African township – has been chosen as location for the case study. South Africa and in particular township life is challenged by violence, crime and vigilantism while at the same time it is being celebrated as the Ubuntu nation that achieved reconciliation through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The paper probes and applies transformative justice's main elements in the case study researching the state of post-transition South Africa with a particular focus on structural inequalities, the impact of violence and crime and lack of access to security and justice, and civil society responses. Moving on from a case study of local needs and responses to violence and crime in Khayelitsha, the research interrogates transformative justice's claim to contribute to the tackling of the structural causes of violence and crime, that is, through the use of local, civil society and needs-based participatory processes.

The research confirms the importance of transformative justice for understanding and addressing structural inequality. Yet, the paper also challenges transformative justice's assumptions as to how this may be achieved. It elaborates on how inequality, in terms of accessing justice and security, is a result of the structural inequalities that impact people's needs and responses in relation to violence and crime. These findings are based on the impact of structural inequality on security and justice as experienced by people living in marginalised settings like Khayelitsha, their continued discrimination to accessing justice and security, and the way the state shifts responsibility for security onto the community. In consequence, local security and justice approaches range from the preventive to the punitive and even to violent measures. More so, the paper finds that there is a continued divide between the world of rights and retribution in Khayelitsha. Finally, the research shows how the heterogeneous landscape of local civil society actors, active in the field of justice and security, both pose limits and provide opportunities for the implementation of a successful transformative justice approach. In

particular, because the state is not the only important actor for security and justice responses in Khayelitsha.

Short Biography

Vera Riffler studied a M.A. in Politics and Management in both Germany (Universität Konstanz) and Spain (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona). She was able to gather experience in the respective areas of international coordination and development cooperation during research and work stays in Namibia, Mexico, South Africa, Ecuador and Germany, amongst others with the German Development Cooperation (GIZ) and the think tank German Development Institute (GDI-DIE). Vera is currently a PhD candidate at the Centre for Applied Human Rights, University of York, UK.

The People's Fear of 'Communism' in Indonesia:
The Consequence of the Absence of State Accountability in 1965/1966 Mass Killings

Rei Firdha Amalia

Abstract

One-sided narrative of 1965/66 mass killings tragedy and communism as a dangerous ideology has been created relentlessly by the New Order regime for thirty two years, while its excesses such as excessive fear and sentiments towards this issue remains until today. Under New Order regime, Soeharto- the former Indonesian President controlled almost every dimensions of everyday life, from politics to education system, in order to make sure that communism as ideology and all of its manifestation is strictly prohibited in Indonesian society. Even after the fall of authoritarian regime in 1998 where there is more freedom of information, the tension in society remains the same on this issue, where excessive fear towards communism are manifested in violent acts by the extremist group. Currently, any activities such meetings of 1965/66 survivors, any events related to the tragedy of 1965 past abuses, and any books related to it have been feared and abused by the government authorities, while the extremist group also took part.

The author believes this excessive fear is resulted from the lack of accountability of the government towards 1965/66 mass killings where the truth revealing process, the legal process towards the abuses,

and compensation for the victims and survivors have not been done. For more than three decades public had familiar with the fear and dark image of communism and people related to it, which intentionally established by the people in power at that time. From abolishing the communist related political party, issuing discriminative laws and regulations towards people accused as part of Communist Party, as well as screening the government self-produced-movie regarding the cruelty of the communist party people who are accused to kill six military generals in 1965 all over the country. At the other hand, the case of mass killings of the people who were accused as communist is stuck without any progress. It is ironic that even the actual number of victims is not discovered yet due to lack of investigation, while the predicted numbers are around three hundred thousands to two million victims.

This paper will see the excess of the Indonesian government' failure to be accountable for the truth of past abuses in 1965/66 that creates fear in society nowadays. This paper uses the concept of state accountability and supported by Hannah Arendt's perspective on the importance of truth revealing process in democratic society. Arendt believes governments react in an excessive fear in some cases for the reason that it fears that they are unable to monopolize the truth coercively anymore. Monopolizing the truth is a way for government to maintain power, thus the testimony from witnesses and survivors never been considered. Furthermore, other elements of state accountability; legal processes and reparation are also been neglected.

The scope for this study is limited to the government and public responses towards any activities related to the tragedy of 1965/66 and communism as an ideology in the year 2015 to mid 2017 considering the availability of the data. This paper concludes that hiding the factual truth and the absence of other elements of state accountability are the main root cause of the people's excessive fear against communism in today's political situation.

Short Biography

Rei Firdha Amalia has four years experience working in human rights field. In the beginning of her career, she devoted herself to work at a leading human rights non-governmental organization based in Jakarta, The Commission for the Enforced Disappearances and Victims of Violence (KontraS), handled international advocacy for human rights violation cases occurred in Indonesia such as past abuses, enforced disappearances, death penalty and several others for two and half years. Afterward, she joined the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as Protection Associate in Surabaya, Indonesia. Currently, she is pursuing her Master of Arts Program on International Law and Human Rights in University for Peace, Costa Rica. She is very much interested in human rights issue, development issue and refugee policy.

Politics, Responsibility and Peace: Unattainable Goals within the War on Terror

Dr. Miriam Estrada-Castillo

Abstract

Contemporary world society lives a situation that is more than dangerous than any other by previously experienced by Humanity. A world where a global economic crisis shows people such ugliest horrors as poverty, hunger, underdevelopment, organized international crime, unstoppable arms race -- including trafficking and weapons of mass destruction—and, of course, corruption. A world where pandemics as HIV and AIDS grow freely denying treatment and killing all those who have no economic means to buy the medications that could save their lives. A world where the destruction of the environment, including global warming, is denied by those who cause them, for the sake of their economic interests. A world where for the first time after the Second World War, the most brutal refugee crisis is being lived daily under the hypocrite sight of powers which dare to teach and impose over other countries their so-called model of politics, responsibility, democracy and human rights, while tens of thousands of terrorists are fighting as result to the invasions carried out circumventing the United Nations and International Law rules.

What lies beyond this dreadful panorama? Obviously, the confrontation between a unilateral world and a multilateral one. And the weapon used for this battle is the war on terror.

This fact was already identified on 2006 by the International Commission of Jurists, which warned humanity stating: "The world faces the gravest challenge to the rule of law and human rights. Previously well-established and accepted legal principles are being called into question in all regions of the world through ill-conceived responses to Terrorism. Many of the achievements in the legal protection of human rights are under attack". The Interpretation made by the Security Council through its Executive Directorate about the UN counter terrorism activities have changed completely universal principles of human rights and have impacted in the Penal and Criminal Justice of countries all over the world".

The only possible path for all of us, human beings, for "we the people", is to strive for creating a space of equal and indivisible security which is not for the select few, but for everyone. Therefore, never before the words of Angel Zuleta, a Colombian diplomat and the Chairman of the UN General Assembly gathered for its first time in London on 10 January 1946, have resounded more firmly: "Only peace via free will, sovereignty, defiance of scheming and trickery, and a spirit of cooperation could carry out the huge potential of the United Nations for helping us avoid a new global confrontation" Politics and Responsibility, yes. But in a multipolar world able to live in Peace if eliminating the ultimate weapon to get the unipolar world power: the war on terror. This is the most crucial challenge for all Humanity regardless of our origins, race, religion or any other status.

Short Biography

Dr. Miriam Estrada-Castillo (Ecuador) is a Professor in the Department of International Law.

Before joining UPEACE, Dr Estrada-Castillo she was a Visiting Professor and the Director of the Master Degree Courses on Gender and the Law and Children in Armed Conflict, at Lund University, Sweden and the senior leading Expert on Gender and Human Rights of the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (RWI). She has taught courses as a Visiting Professor at the Australian National University, the Istanbul University, Turkey; Mandalay University, Myanmar; Mahidol University, Thailand; Belarus State University (BSU), Belarus National Technical University (BNTU), the Royal University of Law and Economics and the Royal Judicial Academy in Cambodia; and at the Faculty of International Law of Hanoi University, Vietnam.

Her last position at the United Nations was as Senior legal and political officer in the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED).

Dr Estrada has contributed to advance human rights on the world on the following capacities, amongst others: as the International Prosecutor General, UN Peacekeeping Mission for East-Timor (DPKO), Expert and Vice-Chairperson of the Monitoring Committee of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Chief of Field of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the Latin America Regional Adviser on Gender, Human Rights and Culture of Peace for UNESCO. She has also worked as the President of the Ecuadorian Supreme Court of Juvenile Justice and as the Minister of Social Affairs in Ecuador.

She is the author of the Ecuadorian Law on Violence against Women and of the first Legislation for Minors and Family in the country.

From the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to the Human Rights Council - Placing UN institutional reform in the human rights movement

Lena Muhs

Abstract

The aspiration to 'never again' let people suffer from mass atrocities as had happened during the Second World War informed not only creation of the United Nations but also played a particularly important role in the formation of the Commission on Human Rights. However, throughout the history of the UN and its human rights bodies conflicts between the national interests of states and a genuine commitment to this promise have surfaced repeatedly. The struggle with this conflict has resulted in many deficiencies and disappointments with the Commission on Human Rights. The loss of credibility

associated with the Commission on Human Rights becoming a shield for human rights violators rather than a protection mechanism for their victims has led to its replacement by the Human Rights Council in 2006. While the Human Rights Council aims to resolve the deficiencies of the Commission on Human Rights through structural reforms, many of the former's shortcomings were founded in the very nature of the body as a political forum of state representatives. This paper therefore engages with the fundamental contradictions of tasking state representatives with the development of an international human rights system. By doing so it considers the necessity of an interstate human rights body due to the requirement of state's consent in formulating binding human rights standards. It furthermore analyzes the role of NGOs, treaty bodies and regional human rights mechanisms within the broader human rights movement towards universally accepted rights and effective protection mechanisms.

Short Biography
Lena Muhs is currently pursuing her Master's degree in International Law and Human Rights at University for Peace. Prior to this she has been working as a human rights observer in the Philippines for two years. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Liberal Arts and Science with a focus on International Law, Transitional Justice and Philosophy from University College Maastricht and has been active in the human rights movement for almost 10 years.

Ancient Ways for the (R)evolution: The Just and Peaceful World of the Grassroots

Javney Mohr

Abstract
Though some claim the global community is more connected than ever before, ruthless repressions, decaying societies, disappearing languages, fracked ecosystems, and decimated bodies aver instead that our relationships with each other and the Natural World are at their weakest. The chasm between the geopolitical elite and those they impoverish is widening; educational systems strip our children of their sincerest questions with knowledge bereft of indigenous histories; state politics fail to our profoundest hopes, let alone fundamental human rights; vitriolic discourse normalizes for the

maintenance of the imperial global order. The distances between us are increasing. Each day, we are losing sight. No longer do we know each other as *kin*.

Over the centuries, hierarchical systems of domination have evolved into today's "neo-colonial white supremacist capitalist patriarchy." Armed with moral justification through the 'humanitarian' United Nations, the Western oligarchy's reach is now extending into the farthest, sacred edges of the Earth. Into the delusional paradigm of extractivism, final territories are being captured. As each decade has passed, humans have correlatedly dis-membered from local, accountable communities. Thus: our great devolution - into a globalized society that lives at the expense of each *other*, *other* communities and *other* landscapes. The Earth cries beneath us; trans youth commit suicide tonight; racialized children scratch their skin; and ignored to death, the homeless grandmother lays down to camp her last. This is a world where only some lives matter. This is a world-order that lives off its own kin. It is acutely clear that our 'solutions' and collective way of being are unjust, unsustainable, and unworthy. Disproportionately unleashed upon the most marginalized and important bodies, communities and landscapes, we face an onslaught of injustices that comprise an ecological crisis of unprecedented urgency. Its causal core: the desacralization of the Earth and all Her Relations.

Yet, there is a way. In the grasses, local persons and communities are surviving, struggling, and singing on the true unseen frontlines of justice. Despite all institutionally funded odds and realities of oppression, the radically ordinary work of building "beloved community" is the actual peace-making. This research commences in the dark crevasses of humanity to discern the origins of violence. Investigating the sociocultural dynamics of pre-WWII Germany, Arendtian analyses conclude a people "free-from-belonging" to a social-order; it was that citizens did not see themselves as *responsible* for their neighbor that so many, even the most 'educated,' submitted to Nazi authority. Then and now, the consequences are fatal when we do not know each other as *kin*. Discerning the root of injustice as the denial of global community however, so too reveals humans' remedial capacity: peace when all live in right relationship. Thus, if the source of today's ecological crisis of violence is humans' dis-membership from accountable communities of place, through the process of re-belonging to a social- and Nature-order, justice then peace become. Alas, this paper proclaims Indigenous epistemologies of kinship and IBPOC-led community as transformational power and panacea. The ancient ways of the grassroots lead us in the one shared liberation.

Short Biography

Javney Mohr is an author and social justice educator whose work lies at the intersection of critical pedagogy and indigeneity as a methodology for ecological peace. She is known for her work through La Via Campesina, Idle No More and Mining Watch Canada, a key leader of various social movements and nonviolent resistance on the front-lines of indigenous-led struggles across Pachamama and Turtle Island. Javney is the founder of Spirit of the Land, a that seeks justice through relationship between marginalized communities and those privileged by their oppression, centering IBPOC voices as leaders of the shared liberation. She is a graduate of La Universidad de Oriente (Cuba), University of

British Columbia, the Highlander Center for Social Justice Leadership, and serves as a Fellow of the Chester Ronning Center. It is her home community of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside on unceded Coast Salish territory however, whom she considers her most formidable professors about justice to whom she is indebted and accountable; the true ordinary, unseen heroes on the front-lines of peace. Her work is published by The Guardian, Onbeing and The Establishment among others. Most recently, she served as the Executive Director of a feminist, anti-colonial NGO in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

Internet platforms - erosion or enforcement of public spaces?

József Veress

Abstract

The internet potentially increases the capability of civil society to carry out "mass self-communication [which] …multiplies and diversifies the entry points in the communication process. This gives rise to unprecedented autonomy for communicative subjects to communicate at large. Yet, this potential for autonomy is shaped, controlled, and curtailed by the growing concentration and interlocking of corporate media and network operators around the world. Global multimedia business networks (including government-owned media)…integrate the networks… platforms…and channels of communication in their multilayered organizations, while setting up switches of connection to the networks of capital, politics, and cultural production…"(Castells, 2009:135).

The internet potentially provides the civil society players' capacity of enhanced autonomy by enabling empowering individuation. Their members' empowerment "[unfolds as a] multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It …fosters power in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important… To create change we must change individually to enable us to become partners in solving the complex issues facing us. In collaborations based on mutual respect, diverse perspectives, and a developing vision, people work toward creative and realistic solutions. This synthesis of individual and collective change…is …an empowerment process" - point out Page and Czuba (1999). "…There is an important distinction between…- what could be called selfish individualism - and what is sometimes referred to as individuation…Beck and Giddens…argue. Individuation is the freeing up of people from their traditional roles and deference to hierarchical authority, and their growing capacity

to draw on wider pools of information and expertise and actively chose what sort of life they lead. Individuation is…as Beck points out… about the politicization of day-to-day life; the hard choices people face…in crafting personal identities and choosing how to relate to issues such as race, gender, the environment, local culture, and diversity" - explains Grenier (2006:124-125).

However, at the same time the internet turns increasingly conducive also of the market and public sector players' growingly sophisticated and effective attempts to manipulate the users simultaneously as consumers and as voters, i.e. serves as tool of disempowerment and mass alienation pressures. The owners of various platforms providing "free access" in fact get free access to the users' - most precious - personal data and also the right to analyse, utilize, even to re-package, and sell them.

The internet continues to provide the promise and potential to serve as robust source and plaform of empowering agency facilitating personal and collective self-emancipation, on the one hand. At the same time it is used by market and public sector players to enforce the logic of capital accumulation on the public spaces by fuelling mass alienation tendencies, on the other hand. Owners of the private platforms turn the promise of sharing economy in reality into on demand economy providing them growing control and dominance over rapidly spreading gig work turning "providers" into precariat instead their own CEOs.

Short Biography

József Veress has MSc in international relations from the Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO) (1984) and PhD in organization and management from the Aalto University in Helsinki (2016). He worked as diplomat in the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and in the Tirana and Moscow embassies (1984-1992). He was the head of the Moscow and CIS office of the HFT Corp., a US-Hungarian joint venture. As deputy state secretary he worked as the deputy head of staff of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Mr Gyula Horn between 1994 and 1998. After being strategic consultant for companies, local authorities, information society and local development projects (1998-2002) he became responsible for the preparation and Chief Negotiator of the National Development Plan of Hungary, the document enabling to disburse Cohesion and Structural Funds of the European Union. He was State Secretary responsible for EU and development policies (2004-2006) and member of the Hungarian Parliament (2006-2010). He worked in the European Court of Auditors as Head of Cabinet of the Court's Hungarian Member (2011-2016). From 2006 he was guest-lecturer in King Sigismund College (Budapest) and visiting researcher in Centre for Knowledge and Innovation Research of the Aalto University (Helsinki) and from 2010 researcher in the Corvinus University (Budapest). His research activity covered the multilateral cooperation among Balkan countries (1987-1991), information and knowledge society developments and EU Structural and Regional funds (2001-2007), open innovation and living Laboratories (2006-2010), transformational dynamism of the civil society organizations, sharing and platform economies (2010-).

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The influence of Venezuelan traditional media outlets in the creation of digital public spaces

Mariateresa Garrido Villareal

Abstract

For many people mass media are the mediums per excellence to have public debates. However, in this scenario, journalists are information gatekeepers and neutral informers, while audiences are just consumers of that information. Yet, because few people have controlled access to those platforms, governments from all over the world adopted several norms to regulate their activities. In Venezuela, people considered the measures adopted in the last decade as limitations to access the spaces where discussions occur.

However, this situation did not stop people from debating ideas. On the contrary, Venezuelans started looking for opportunities to create the spaces needed. Nowadays the Internet is the medium providing that space. In fact, Venezuelans have become one of the main Latin American social media users. These Internet-based platforms are utilized to discuss public matters, to present claims and to advocate for the issues that Venezuelans consider relevant. Yet, the benefits of this medium should be measured in accordance to its limitations. The digital divide excludes millions from public debates, and information is highly controlled by few actors. Actually, what occurs online is just a reflection of what occurs off-line.

Through the consideration of the ownership of the main Venezuelan mass media outlets, I explain the concept of communication hegemony and its impacts in the dissemination of information. In particular, I analyze the interaction between traditional media and digital media; I also consider the citizen journalist's phenomenon and its impacts on the uses of Internet-based platforms to have social debates. To conclude, I explain why for some Venezuelans the Internet is the best public space, while for others it will never be.

With this analysis I present a panorama that impede us from affirming that the Internet is the public space per excellence of this era. Actually, I argue that we need to continue looking at other spaces to understand how social discussions are held in the digital era.

Short Biography:

Mariateresa Garrido is a Doctoral Candidate at the United Nations mandated University for Peace. She holds two Master's Degrees; one from UPEACE in International Law and the Settlement of the Disputes and one from the Central University of Venezuela in Public International Law. Her main research area is related to the exercise of the right to freedom of expression in the digital era and the protection of journalists in Latin America. Prior to her Master's Degrees she had being working as a

lawyer in promoting and defending human rights in Venezuela with different organizations such as Transparency International and *Espacio Público*.

Latin America's Corruption Crackdown. What Now?

Mike Mcdonald

Abstract

Corruption is corrosive. It hurts people and economies and undermines peace. In recent years graft scandals have dominated headlines in Latin America, sparking massive protests, forcing presidents to resign and decimating public trust in government. Most of the countries in the region have seen deteriorating scores on Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, failing to meet even minimum standards in addressing public malfeasance. Part of this is because awareness of corruption has grown as investigators shine the spotlight on crooked officials. That's good news. But recent cases are probably only the tip of the iceberg.

Brazilian construction firm Odebrecht's admission of paying $800 million in bribes for more than 100 contracts in a dozen countries shows just how widespread the problem is. The region suffers from a culture of corruption and further reform is needed if its citizens are to regain faith in democracy.

Luckily, the timing for cleaning up the halls of power couldn't be better. Calls for reform have never been louder as citizens express growing contempt for dishonest leaders. Corruption has risen to the top of voter concerns in public opinion polls across the region. Investigators and reformists need to embrace this frustration, dig deeper to uncover more crimes and tighten oversight.

Growing access to internet and mobile phones provide people with more tools than ever to boost transparency. Civil society groups must keep pressure on governments to regularly publish spending, contracts and other public data online. Phone apps that help identify corruption like Guatemala's "Be careful with my money" and Mexico's "I paid a bribe" are another resource. The scores of jailed officials in the region sends a strong message that tolerance has run thin. This should encourage people to continue to denounce acts of corruption.

A youthful population in the region fed up with unscrupulous politicians shows promise of becoming the bedrock for a future political and business class that makes the crackdown permanent. They need to be supported. Latin America is at a critical turning point in the fight against corruption and what happens next is more important than ever. The first step to solving any problem is recognizing there is one. The problem is evident. Now it's time to fix it.

Short Biography

Mike Mcdonald is a correspondent for Bloomberg News. A former Reuters reporter, he has covered Latin America since 2009. His work has also appeared in The New York Times, America's Quarterly, and Global Post among others.