

# **TIME FOR PEACE (sample) - Luc Reyhler**

## **Preface**

There are no good or bad wars. War is the cruel consequence of temporal misconduct and violence. Temporal politics is full of passion but also provides space for rational deliberation. It can lead to progress or disaster. Think of the regime change in Libya or the bloody repression of Gaza's ghetto revolt in 2014. Both events have drastically changed the global moral climate. Israel is trapped in a double bind, an emotionally distressing dilemma that it is not able or willing to resolve: it forces territorial expansion by means of occupation, repression of the Palestinians and military dominance in the region, while at the same time wishing to enjoy sustainable quietness or security. This is, however, impossible, and maintaining such a double bind can be its own kind of violence. To escape from these conflicting aspirations, Tel Aviv has created a delusional system based on a belief in military supremacy and of occupying the moral high ground. Too much time has been wasted and opportunities missed to build sustainable peace and wellbeing for all in the region. As with other conflicts, part of the solution is to place the problem in a broader temporal context and show the impossibility of such a no-win scenario.<sup>1</sup>

Time is the key in conflict and peace behavior. It offers a more sensitive measure of violence and makes the difference between sustainable peace and chronic violence. To deal effectively with global problems (climate change, marginalization of the majority, competition over resources, militarization and racism) and to establish the necessary conditions for global sustainable peace, we will have to change our 'temporament,'<sup>2</sup> or the way we deal with time, drastically.

There is no lack of temporal attention. The news media and the political speeches are full of temporal issues. Floyd Norris, for example, noticed that amnesia was on full view when the U.S House Financial Services Committee discussed the dangers of financial regulation.<sup>3</sup> David Brooks claims that politicians are campaigning all the time and can scarcely think beyond the news cycle. Unrepresentative lobbies have disproportionate power in primary elections.<sup>4</sup> Recently, professors from a Christian college had to agree with the statement that

Adam and Eve are historical persons created by God in a special formative act and not from previously existing life forms.<sup>5</sup> When he embraced President Vladimir Putin, former German chancellor Schröder reminded the critics of World War II, in which Germany was responsible for the deaths of 25 million people in the USSR. Calling Putin, in the context of the 2014 Ukraine dispute, a disguised Nazi is not right.<sup>6</sup>

When glancing at the temporal scene in conflict and peace behavior, two problems come to the foreground: first, the extreme fragmentation of the temporal landscape. Different professions (such as military, financial, humanitarian or diplomatic) have distinct temporal cultures and compete for attention and priority. Some people mourn the past; others mourn the future. Efforts of reactive conflict prevention dominate proactive conflict prevention. Some types of violence, such as ‘political terrorism,’ are contained in temporal bubbles. Looking for root causes is judged as inappropriate. When I explained the twin tower disaster on 9/11 as a probable spillover from Western policy in the Middle East, I was told not to say such things on television. During several years, invitations to comment on terrorism and Middle Eastern politics stopped coming. The fragmentation of and political competition for the temporal landscape prevents people from seeing the big picture and a more integrative approach to time.

The second temporal problem is the waste of time, especially the time of others. Life expectancies (quantitative and qualitative) of the majority of the world’s population are very low. In *Capital in the Twenty First Century*, Thomas Piketty claims that inequality in the world persists, undermines the legitimacy of capitalism, and could lead to great unrest and revolutionary changes.<sup>7</sup> Not only is there the waste of others’ life-times, but also the waste of time that could have been used to cope more effectively with global threats and to prevent violence proactively. All violent conflicts tell stories of missed opportunities. Mohammed Marandi, a Teheran university professor, claims that America and like-minded states made a big mistake in Syria: ‘If they had accepted the Annan plan in March 2012, which would have left Assad in place pending a ceasefire and internationally monitored elections, we would have avoided all this.’<sup>8</sup>

The message of this book, *Time for Peace*, is to take time seriously and to radically change the ways we approach time. The first part of the book, consisting of three chapters, provides the setting of the study. It addresses the following questions: Why write about time? Should we bother about peace? What does sustainable peace mean? Chapter 1, ‘Time on the couch’

argues that time and timing are of crucial importance in the prevention of violence and sustainable peacebuilding. Diplomatic failures of peacemaking, -keeping and -building can be limited by a better understanding of temporal behavior. This chapter also describes the motivations for writing on time and the underlying assumptions and considerations of the book. Chapter 2 'Less violence – far from peace,' reviews the books and publications from Steven Pinker, Joshua Goldstein, Andrew Mack, Ted Gurr and others. They all claim, on the basis of statistical research, that from a long-term perspective, mankind has become less violent over time. Despite this progress, we are still far from the best of all possible worlds. When other variables are taken into account, the claims are not as rosy as they look. There are still several obstacles inhibiting progress. Chapter 3 casts sustainable peacebuilding as the most cost-effective way to prevent violence. It also summarizes the state of the art of the research on the topic and gives an overview of the necessary preconditions of sustainable peace: (a) communication and integrative negotiations, (b) peace enhancing security, political and economic structures, (c) the software of peace building, (d) other institutions supporting sustainable peacebuilding and (f) a supportive international environment. For the installation of these conditions, a great deal of adaptive leadership at different levels and sectors is needed.

The second and longest part of the book explores the phenomenon of time. In each of the six chapters, it addresses time from different angles. Chapter 4 surveys the news and opinions about conflicts and peace. In the daily news, temporal metaphors and aphorisms are pervasive. They shape the way we conceptualize and feel about conflict and peace processes. Temporal news comments relate to: time as a measure of violence, time as part of the context of conflict and peace, the orientation to the past, the present and the future, the (lack of) anticipation of threats and opportunities, the use of time in conflict, crises and peace processes, time as power and time and democracy. Chapter 5 explores the vast landscape of time. Before selecting the temporal features which are relevant for the theory and praxis of conflict prevention and peacebuilding, I decided to look at the big picture and explore the knowledge of time in different fields of study, focusing on: deep time; time in physics and astronomy; time in technology; ecological and biological time; medical time; psychological and psychiatric time; sociological and anthropological time; time in economy, politics, diplomacy, military and security strategies; and secular and religious time. The latter will be elaborated in chapter nine. Initially, exposure to the many temporal cultures was confusing, but it was also very useful because it raised my awareness of the cross-impact of time in

several domains on decision-making and the impact of decisions taken. A comprehensive study of time in conflict and peace processes is interdisciplinary. Chapter 6, 'The relevance of time' calls attention to the roles of time in conflict and peace processes. Time allows for a more profound analysis of violence; it is part of the context; a component of the analysis of conflict and peace behavior; it is essential in planning and implementation; it carries a moral barometer; it is an instrument of power and an essential component of democracy. Time is also an ingredient of genuine democracy. Chapter 7 distills the main dimensions of time: the appreciation of time, time perspectives, anticipation and time pressure, timing and sequencing, the manipulation and perceptions of time. Chapter 8, 'The emotions of time,' states that time cannot be fully comprehended without attending to temporal emotions. There is a great battery of emotions that can inhibit or enhance conflict transformation and peacebuilding processes: emotions when facing the past, here and now emotions, prospective emotions, change or the absence of change emotions, and emotions related to life and death. Chapter 9, 'The religion of time,' assesses the relevance of religious, sacred, divine or transcendental time. Five aspects of religious time are considered: agenda-setting, transcendental time, dealing with life and death, temporal values and temporal efficacy and responsibility.

The third part of the book (Chapter 10) summarizes the inadequacies and misconduct in the dominant temporal thinking and pleads for a more adaptive temporament. A questionnaire is developed to study the temporament of individuals as well as governmental and non-governmental agents. An adaptive temporament is characterized by: the appreciation of time, temporal inclusion, temporal empathy, the propensity for proactive conflict prevention, a balanced time orientation, appropriate temporal planning and implementation, ethical time, democratic time, engagement with sustainable development and peace and temporal efficacy.

This book is a testimony of more than forty years' research on violence and peace. I dedicate it to D. Elaine Exum, Lucas, family, friends, teachers and students, MaCSP, IPRA and all those working and struggling for sustainable peace throughout the world.

# **Chapter 1**

## **Time on the couch**

This chapter points out the great potential of time, explains the reasons for writing about it, and lists several considerations and assumptions underlying the study of time in conflict and peace behavior.

The title ‘Time on the couch’ is inspired by a school in psychiatry, represented by Eugène Minkowski and Frederick Melges, who treat psychiatric disorders through an understanding of temporal disorders. Confronted with foreign policy failures and diplomatic follies, temporal psychiatry seems an appropriate metaphor. The thesis of the book is that diplomatic thinking and praxis can be improved through an understanding temporal dysfunctions.

Time and timing is immensely important. It can make the difference between the successful and unsuccessful prevention of violence and peacebuilding. It is the essence of the art of diplomacy. People have always been attentive to time and timing. For Henry VIII, time was most precious because it is limited and nonrenewable; for Zhan Wang, time implies great potential; and for Steve Jobs we should live our own lives at this very time given.

In the TV series *The Tudors*,<sup>1</sup> Henry VIII, who had been pondering loss, asks the Duke of Suffolk what loss is most irrecoverable to humans? The Duke answers ‘virtue’, but the king disagrees since virtue can be redeemed by one’s actions. He then suggests ‘honor’, but Henry counters that honor, like fortune, can also be recovered. The answer is time! Time, of all losses is the most irreparable: it can never be redeemed. Henry’s statement is today more than ever valid. The contrast between today’s obsession over time and the waste of time is stark, invoking an uncomfortable feeling of dissonance and anxiety. I assume that Henry’s question not only referred to personal time but also to time in politics. Time is a key variable in the transformation of conflicts and the building of sustainable peace. The diplomatic landscape of the Middle East and North Africa since 9/11, for example, has become a wasteland of misspent diplomatic time, missed opportunities, chronic tensions and violence. The diplomacy

of the West against ‘unfriendly regimes’ transformed itself into coercive diplomacy, isolation, threats, direct and indirect military interventions and economic sanctions. In order to clamp down on terrorism, it makes use of drones for targeted killing, enhanced interrogation, rendition torture, listens in on private conversations and locks people up behind eight meter-high concrete walls. Recently, the Egyptian government applied ‘anti-terrorism’ in an ecologically friendly way, by flooding the tunnels to Gaza with sewage water. The military-industrial complex, the intelligence and secret services, lobbies and short-term thinking set the tone for the foreign policy of the West. The consequences for the people in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Libya, Syria and Iran have been detrimental. These are stories of failed foreign policy.<sup>2</sup> Roger Cohen goes further and declaring diplomacy dead.<sup>3</sup> Constructive diplomacy relies on reality checks, patience, perseverance, empathy, discretion, boldness and the willingness to talk with the enemy. Consider the European Community’s negotiations after the Second World War, the opening of relations with China by Nixon and Kissinger, the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, the unification of Germany, the Good Friday agreement in Northern Ireland, and the regime change in Myanmar. Successful diplomacy allocates ample time to build trust, cooperation, good neighborliness, sustainable security and peace. From this point of view, Israel’s foreign policy is becoming a temporal disaster. In *The Gatekeepers*, a controversial documentary, six former chiefs of Shin Bet, Israel’s hyper-secret internal security service, criticize Israeli policy towards the West Bank. The message is to retreat from that part of Palestine to insure the future of a Jewish democracy. The film also conveys that the godlike power to kill is unnatural.<sup>4</sup>

Zhan Wang, one of the most important contemporary Chinese artists, born in Beijing in 1962, stresses the pursuit of the eternal and the great potential of time. In one of his latest works (2011) ‘My personal universe’, he tried to experience the occurrence of the Big Bang by exploding a gigantic boulder and capturing the event on high-speed film. His interviews and comments are full of temporal reflections.

In reality we know that life is limited, and that in the murkier depths of our understanding it seems we are able to deduce that the stars and universe are likewise not without end, and that this is why we seek the eternal. The true value of art is the pursuit of the eternal art. It’s through the awareness of time that mankind can attain everything.<sup>5</sup>

These observations evoke, in a fascinating and poetic way, the vast potential of time. When looking back at the end of the Soviet Union or the enormous changes in China, don't we also feel as if we've experienced a relatively peaceful implosion and explosion?<sup>6</sup>

In his commencement speech 'How to live before you die', Steve Jobs, the CEO and co-founder of Apple and Pixar Animation Studios, shared his thoughts and feelings about death and life with the 2005 graduates at Stanford.<sup>7</sup>

No one wants to die. Even people who want to go to heaven don't want to die to get there. And yet death is the destination we all share. No one has ever escaped it. And that is as it should be, because death is very likely the single best invention of Life. It is Life's change agent. It clears out the old to make way for the new. Right now the new is you, but someday not too long from now, you will gradually become the old and be cleared away. Sorry to be so dramatic, but it is quite true. Your time is limited, so don't waste it living someone else's life. Don't be trapped by dogma — which is living with the results of other people's thinking. Don't let the noise of others' opinions drown out your own inner voice. And most important, have the courage to follow your heart and intuition. They somehow already know what you truly want to become. Everything else is secondary.<sup>8</sup>

I share Steve Jobs' relationship to death. Since I was a university student, key decisions have been shaped by what I wanted to feel the last day of my life. I don't want to spoil the closure of my lifetime with regret: 'I should have done that and that...'. Is Steve Jobs's plea for living your own life an expression of his sense of liberalism or is it also promoting the democratization of time for all? In temporal democracies, everybody's time is considered equally valuable.

## **Motivations for writing about time**

*Time for peace* researches how and to what extent time positively and/or negatively impacts conflict dynamics and peacebuilding. The purpose is a practical one, namely to prevent political violence and create conditions for sustainable peace. The focus on time has been jolted by four experiences.

First, after the Cold War, the initial aspirations for more effective, proactive conflict prevention were rapidly replaced by reactive conflict prevention measures and coercive diplomacy. The world welcomed the surprising ending of the Cold War (or the Cold Peace), which lasted nearly half a century, from 1947 to 1992. The Cold War meant sustained

hostility just short of a Third World War; the Cold Peace sustained a truce without a settlement.<sup>9</sup> It was a period of political and military tension between the Western block, dominated by America and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (the fifteen) and the Eastern bloc led by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact (the seven). The superpowers deterred each other with mutually assured nuclear destruction (MAD) and engaged in psychological warfare and indirect military confrontations through proxy wars. The US and the USSR intervened in political and military conflicts Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. We may still remember the toppling of the democratically elected government in Iran, headed by Mohammad Mossadegh, in 1953 by the American and British secret services; the bombing of La Moneda, the seat of president Salvador Allende of Chile on September 11th in 1973 by the junta; the televised Vietnam War (1959-1975) and bloody spillovers in Laos and Cambodia; the Soviet War in Afghanistan (1979-1989) and the Western support of 'mujahedeen' Afghan anti-Soviet fighters; the support of reactionary regimes during the civil war in Guatemala (1944-1996), and the long neglect of apartheid. Although the United States joined the international community in 1986 in imposing economic sanctions against South Africa, earlier American diplomacy was largely driven by the aim to reduce Soviet influence in Southern Africa. The Cold War was expensive, very destructive in the rest of the world and it inhibited the democratization process. American military expenditures during the Cold War years have been estimated at \$8 trillion.<sup>10</sup> The Kirkpatrick Doctrine, construed by the US Ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick, justified American support of pro-Western dictatorships and authoritarian regimes. In contrast to communist regimes, which were considered totalitarian and difficult to eradicate, authoritarian regimes were seen as more amenable to gradual democratic reform. Everything was done to prevent new communist regimes. However, the premise that totalitarian regimes were stable and irreversible came under scrutiny after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In addition, Kirkpatrick did not mention that a great number of friendly authoritarian regimes came to power by overthrowing democracies.<sup>11</sup> After the Cold War, the political climate was euphoric. People expected and demanded peace dividends. Conflict prevention and peace building became a priority in the foreign and security policy of many countries in the West. However, when looking at practice, proactive conflict prevention was quickly transformed into reactive conflict management, otherwise called crisis management, anti-terrorism, humanitarian intervention and pre-emptive and preventive military interference.



The second reason for researching time for peace is the existence of huge temporal blind spots in the research, theory and praxis of sustainable peacebuilding. There is growing awareness that the dominant security paradigm of the West is failing. It does not deal effectively with the interconnected global threats:<sup>12</sup>

a) *Competition over resources*. The obsession with energy security through taking control of the Middle East, especially by Persian Gulf Oil, has led to more conflict and tension.

b) *Climate change*. The unshakable belief in the capacity of technological progress operating within free markets is not enough to deal with the fact of climate change in an adequate and timely way.

c) *The marginalization of the majority world*. The denial of this problem as a security issue remains problematic. When immediate threats to ‘the homeland’ are perceived through the lenses of migration pressures, violent protests, non-violent sit-ins or marches by minorities or ‘*indignados*’, the usual response is heavy societal control in order to keep a lid on civil discontent.

d) *International terrorism*. The war on terrorism does not deal with the root causes of political terrorism, such as domestic interference, the support of repressive regimes or occupation by foreigners and colonialism. Anti-terrorism turned freedom fighters into terrorists; permitted illegal counter-terrorism measures and attacks on civil liberties, including the indefinite detention of terrorist suspects without trial, and subcontracting of torture to other countries.

e) *Global militarization*. The replacement of non-proliferation by counter-proliferation measures aims at preventing weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) from falling in the hands of terrorist or ‘rogue states’, which are blamed for aiding terrorism. When agents are perceived to have or as close to possessing WMDs, preemptive military attacks can be initiated. Since the mid-nineties, the disapproval of the dominant security policy has been expressed by the exponential growth of sustainable security and sustainable peacebuilding research. This research has been carried out under different names, such as nation-building, state-building, peacebuilding, civilizational peacebuilding, democratic peacebuilding, sustainable peacebuilding, sustainable security and global security. The result is a deeper understanding of the necessary preconditions of sustainable peace and security.<sup>13</sup> Chapter three summarizes the research on sustainable peace and security. Remarkable in this vast and rich field of study is the absence of a comprehensive and in-depth study of the role of time

and timing in the security and peacebuilding process. This is a blind spot. More research is needed to understand and deal more effectively with temporal problems, such as the best entry or exit timing, the prioritization and sequencing of interventions, the anticipation of possible negative side-effects of interventions across different sectors, levels and timeframes.

Thirdly, this book project has been jolted to life by the discomfort I felt while watching the direct and indirect military interventions of the West in the Middle East and North Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The democratic countries of the West were the only countries waging wars in the world.<sup>14</sup> These interventions, in the name of security, anti-terrorism, anti-WMDs, regime change, human rights and democratization, destabilized the region, caused unacceptable human suffering and material destruction and left behind them weak and failing states. The 2011 intervention in Libya was sold as a glorious liberating war. It resulted in 30,000 people dead and 50,000 wounded. Now Libya is divided by civil war. In Syria's three-year war, more than 140,000 people have been killed and at least 500,000 wounded; millions of citizens have been displaced and the economy is devastated.

The fourth reason to write this book is the longest protracted conflict in the region: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In 1971, as a doctoral student, I was privileged to participate in the first problem-solving workshop at Harvard University led by Prof. Herbert Kelman. During the course of a week, far from the heat of the conflict and the media, a small group of Israelis and Palestinians were invited to define the conflict, find common ground and generate mutually satisfying solutions. Every year thereafter, a conference with new participants was organized. The assumption was that better communication and the development of trust could enhance the peace process. In 1980, an overwhelming majority of Arabs and Israelis accepted the fact that Israelis and Palestinians had the right to exist as permanent actors in the region.<sup>15</sup> Most believed that there could be no peace in the Middle East unless there was a fair resolution to the Palestinian issue in all its aspects. The Oslo Accords, which Israel and Palestine signed in 1993, created the illusion that more than twenty years of track II diplomacy had paid off. The accords were supposed to end the decades-old fight between them. Reservations on both sides, however, derailed the process. Israel's pursuit of offensive and defensive dominance in the region, the territorial expansion beyond the internationally recognized boundaries and the enforcement of apartheid in the West Bank and Gaza has led to perhaps the most serious threat to the Jewish state. As a negative role model it continues to undermine the legitimacy of Western interventions for democracy and non-proliferation in the Middle East and North

Africa. The efforts of US Secretary of State, John Kerry, in 2013-14 to resume the first meaningful talks between Israel and the Palestinian Authority since 2008 deserve credit. The objective to achieve a final status agreement over the course of nine months has failed. Israel continues to colonize East Jerusalem and the West Bank. The creation of a Palestinian unity government was a step forward.

## **Underlying assumptions**

The study is influenced by six assumptions and considerations.

**1. There is still too much violence.** Humankind has made significant progress towards the constructive management of conflicts. Steven Pinker concludes an 800-page long book on the evolution of violence, *The Better Angels of our Nature*, that that today we probably experience the most peaceful era in the history of our species. He claims that several historical forces contributed to peaceful behavior by suppressing the inner demons of human psychology and stimulating our ‘better angels’. Besides good governance and trade, these angels listen to the names of feminization and cosmopolitanism.<sup>16</sup> Yes, progress has been made, but a great distance remains. There is still no we-ness feeling at the global level, nor the adequate conditions for sustainable peace on several continents. The quantitative and qualitative life expectancies of different groups of people are very unequal. Quantitative life expectancy refers the expected longitude of life whereas the qualitative life expectancy refers to a series of conditions that make up the difference between a good and a bad life. The human security concept of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), addresses the most important conditions for assessing the quality of life expectations. It measures individual security with respect to economy, food, health, ecology, personal safety, community and politics.<sup>17</sup> The overall quantitative life expectation at birth varies between countries from 89 years (Monaco) to 32 years (Swaziland). Thomas Barnett describes life in the gap countries as poor, short, brutal and solitary.<sup>18</sup> More than a billion people live in extreme poverty; there are approximately 50 failing states with low levels of human security.<sup>19</sup> Both democratic and authoritarian regimes use violence; the difference is that the latter use it against their own people and the former against other people.

**2. Time is a precious, non-renewable and non-expandable resource for preventing conflicts and for sustainable peacebuilding.** Time is money, but it also can make the difference between death and life. It is a space within which decisions can be made and

opportunities seized (or missed) to prevent or stop violence. In heart surgery, seconds determine the success or failure of an operation.<sup>20</sup> In situations of potential political violence, proactive conflict prevention can significantly reduce the chances of international wars, civil wars, genocide and terrorism. Sad reminders of failing to take timely measures to prevent or stop violent eruptions can be found in the genocidal flare-ups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda and Sudan, the ongoing violence in Eastern Congo, the civil war in Syria and the chronic violence in Afghanistan, Iraq and Sudan. Proactive conflict prevention tries to prevent dead and wounded people, unnecessary destruction and peace-inhibiting emotions, such as anger, hate and revenge. Proactive conflict prevention is more cost-effective than reactive or remedial interventions after the conflict have crossed the threshold of violence.<sup>21</sup>

**3. Temporal incompetence and misconduct cause counter-productive and failed foreign and security policies.** Interventions can be timely, but also too early or too late. Opportunities are missed. The time and money allocated for peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, compared to the time and means for the military, coercive diplomacy and secret services, is very low. Preventing war is 60 times cheaper than fighting it.<sup>22</sup> The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) estimated global military expenditure in 2013 at \$1.747 billion.<sup>23</sup> The yearly budget for peacekeeping at the United Nations is estimated at seven billion a year. The military interventions in the MENA after 9/11 did not build peace. Instead, they led to more tension, instability and weak regimes. Time for violence prevention lost to denial, neglect and the reframing of violence as legitimate. Frequently, the negative side effects of interventions are not anticipated, denied or covered up. The initial refusal by both the opposition and the West to negotiate with the Assad regime and the delivery of military training, arms and intelligence to the opposition have contributed to an escalation of the protest into a civil war. There also a tendency to neglect or pay less attention to violence committed against second- and third-class victims, structural violence, bad governance, exploitative economic systems and environmental deterioration. Finally a great deal of violence becomes more acceptable when framed as anti-terrorism, unintended consequences or collateral damage.

**4. To deal effectively with the major crises of the 21 century, sustainable peace will be needed at different levels, including the global level.** Installing the necessary preconditions for sustainable peace is the most cost-effective way to prevent violence. Chapter three provides the state of the art of our knowledge and know-how about sustainable peacebuilding.

Most genuine democratic states have successfully implemented the preconditions for sustainable peace. The European Union is a successful regional role model. Problematic is the reliance of Western foreign policy, especially after 9/11, on military power to promote diplomatic, security and economic interests. The credibility of ‘democratization and human rights’ policy is weakened by several double standards (support for friendly authoritarian regimes; the disempowerment of unfriendly though democratically elected regimes and parties, and the resistance against democratizing the international system). Without an improvement in the human climate or a more constructive and integrative transformation of conflicts, the natural climate will take its course.

**5. A radical change of ‘temporament’ is urgently needed.**<sup>24</sup> The term temporament refers to the way persons or organizations deal with time in conflict management and peacebuilding situations. The predominant temporament of today’s leadership is not adaptive. Many political leaders do not look much further than the next elections; reactive conflict prevention still carries the day; the trauma of colonialism still plays a vital role in how India and China perceive the outside world<sup>25</sup>; in July 2013, the Indian government announced that it had good news. In the span of Seven years starting in 2004, nearly 138 million Indians ceased to be extremely poor, not because they died, but because they rose above Tendulkar poverty line.<sup>26</sup> The poor did not celebrate, because India’s extreme poverty line is a household expenditure of about 5000 rupees or \$83 a month for an urban family of five, and even less in rural areas.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, climate change will bring more extreme weather conditions (hotter heat waves and more extreme periods of draught and storms). However, the international community is not able to take timely measures to prevent these expected environmental disasters.<sup>28</sup> Chapter ten summarizes the temporal inadequacies observed in the research, lists the characteristics of a more adaptive temporament, and offers a questionnaire to help assess the temporaments of individuals as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations.

**6. One person’s time is as valuable as another’s.** Democratizing time should be part of a genuine democracy and a necessary condition for sustainable peace and security. Temporal democratization can be assessed according to several dimensions, such as quantitative and qualitative life expectancy for all citizens of the world; the degree of concern or lack thereof for future generations; the relative control one has of his/her past, present and future; the accounting for and accountability for the negative consequences of diplomatic, economic and military interference in others’ domestic affairs; the slow response to climate change that is

expected to have its most negative effects on Africa, Latin America and Asia; the differential commemoration the holocaust, black slavery and the native American genocide, etc. The democratization of time will be slowed by power politics and by ethnic, nationalist or other particular interests and loyalties. Those who hold power tend to represent time in ways favorable to their own interests. When national or ethnic interests are involved, most consultants, researchers and opinion-shapers fail to transcend the 'you stand where you sit' position. The lifetime of the other is considered as less valuable than one's own. Just as problematic is the paradox of the small and great wrongs. More than 2400 years ago, Mozi observed that the murder of one person is condemned as unrighteous and one must pay for this crime with one's own life. According to this reasoning, if someone kills ten people, he is accountable ten times and should pay for his crime with ten lives, or if one kills a hundred he/she is a hundred times guilty and must pay for the crimes with one hundred lives. All men and women of the world condemn these crimes and would sue the perpetrators. And yet when it comes to the even greater unrighteousness of offensive warfare against other states, they are not condemned. On the contrary, critics praise such acts and call them righteous, just. Truly they do not know what unrighteousness is'.<sup>29</sup> Globalization and the growing aspirations for more democracy on national, regional and global levels will raise awareness of temporal inequality and the demand for temporal democratization. Concepts like cosmopolitanism and a global mindset are challenging our way of thinking and seize our imaginations regarding extending democracy beyond ethnic and national boundaries, global governance, temporal inequality and sustainable peace in the construction of a cosmopolitan order.<sup>30</sup>

It is high time for building peace and changing drastically our temporament, or the way we deal with time. For building sustainable peace and security, the time is always now.<sup>31</sup>