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Celebrating Moments of Sheer Human Togetherness
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This book is dedicated to the late maestro Peter Guidi who inspired so many kids to enjoy jazz music. One of his favourite lines was "Jazz is fun, serious fun". It inspired me to say "Peace is fun, serious fun"

Preface

This book is the reflection of a journey undertaken to explore what a word with a special feel could mean in concrete terms. Zygmunt Bauman writes that some words have a feel. Peace has that. It feels good (Baumann 2001, 3). The beginning of this book looked simple. I had written about communication and warmongering and media and escalating conflicts. Now I would write about the contribution of communication to peace and as specialist in global communication the theme would be how can global communication contribute to global peace.

Basic to all human societies is the question how we might live together and how we might experience togetherness as an inclusive experience. In exploring an answer to this question the word peace keeps coming back. Humanity has since long desired peace. Peace is an essential theme in human history. The longing for peace with ourselves, with our families, with others—even those we do not know—seems rooted in our hearts and goes beyond conventional interpretations of peace as the absence of war or violent conflict. In spite of the universal embracing of the word its meaning remains fuzzy. All of the conventional conceptualizations of peace in international law, philosophy, theology and in peace studies have serious shortcomings. It could be that most peace efforts have failed because of an unsatisfactory definition of the lead concept. Although peace may have always been a somewhat nebulous concept humans have throughout their history longed for peace and expressed this in poetry and literature, in

the fine arts, in music, in sculpture and in religious and spiritual texts. It seemed to me that writing on Communication and Peace would only be possible if I presented to the readers my own understanding of peace. In the textbook on Global Communication (Hamelink 2015) I wrote that we always depart from normative perspectives when studying social phenomena. Perspectivism is inevitable. These perspectives do reflect different conceptions of social reality, different ideas of what science is, different notions of what constitute valid interpretations and even different responses to the question as to what it is that we should understand. There is no universal principle that tells us which perspective is preferable. We have therefore to take a position and make a choice for a specific viewpoint. Without a viewpoint there is nothing to see. Perspectivism is thus value-laden. Science is possible only from specific theoretical positions that are essentially contestable. The core of science is the challenge to conduct a permanent open and critical dialogue in which the assumptions from where we study phenomena are articulated and thus exposed to contestability. At its core science is observation and human perception is always guided by subjective preferences, experiences and values. This biased position is only a problem as long it is obscured and denied. For this book the normative perspective was guided by a choice for Hannah Arendt's politics as "sheer human togetherness", for William Isaacs plea for "thinking together", for Barbara Ehrenreich's argument about "collective joy", for Kwame Anthony Appiah's vision on cosmopolitanism and for the painter from Siena, Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Between February 1338 and May 1339 Lorenzetti painted The Allegory of Good and Bad Government in a series of three fresco panels that are in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico. The painter of Sienna saw peace as life under good government and under prosperous economic conditions. Images in the painting that struck me were dancers and peasants going about their rituals and responsibilities in a leisurely way. Not guided by the conventional conceptions of time but by the movements of the seasons and the planets. The community depicted in Sienna suggests that peace is made by resilience, togetherness (Hannah Arendt), good governance, sound economic conditions, a creative time frame for leisure and dancing in the streets (Ehrenreich). It suggests that a peaceful world would overcome polarization and find common ground. (William Isaacs).

Longing for Peace

When the cult of Eirene (peace) was introduced to Athens and became a regular feature of the Greek religious calendar (in the fourth century BC) a bronze statute was placed in the Agora representing Eirene, the personification of peace carrying the boy Ploutos, the personification of wealth. From Hesiodus we learn that she is the daughter of Zeus and Themis. Not only was Eirene linked to Athens, but she also has roots in Corinth where she was raised along with her sisters, Dike (Order) and Eunomia (Justice).[1] Also in Rome where the idea of peace was used as propaganda for Augustus' political program of "peace and prosperity" sculptures referred to peace. An illustration is the sculpture on the southeast side of the altar Ara Pacis that was commissioned by emperor Augustus to honour and celebrate his victories in Spain and Gaul and the peace that he brought to Rome. The relief sculpture on the southeast side of the altar, Allegory of Peace, depicts three figures and several animals. Nancy Thomson de Grummond in her article, "Pax Augusta and the Horae on the Ara Pacis Augustae", argues that the figures on the relief are the three Horae with Eirene or Pax Augusta in the center.[2] Throughout the history of art the peace theme keeps coming back. In Dutch and Flemish paintings, in murals by Picasso and Diego Rivera, in the 2011 Yoko Ono exhibition that featured John & Yoko's Year of Peace or by the street art mural paintings in countries affected by conflict around the world. In September 2016 the UN International Day of Peace was marked by a series of paintings on 30 walls simultaneously which transformed walls of separation into walls of connection. Street artists worked together with local communities to produce large-scale peace-themed murals in Beirut (Lebanon), Berdyansk (Ukraine), Davao City (Philippines), Goma (Democratic Republic of Congo), Kampala (Uganda), London (UK), in Nairobi's Kibera slums, in the Bangladeshi city of Sylhet and in Mexico City.

From the first fiction writing on peace in Aristophanes' comedy play numerous literary texts have dealt with peace, among them children's books. Peace poems were written among others by William Butler Yeats and George Herbert. In music and musical education peace has always been an important message. As Indian musician Zubin Mehta says "music only brings peace" or in the words of Daniel Barenboim "When playing music, it is possible to achieve a unique sense of peace". Throughout the years songs about peace have been created to spread the message of peace, hope and love. Among the examples are Peace Train written by

Yusuf Islam and performed by Cat Stevens, Let There Be Peace on Earth, written by Jill Jackson Miller & Sy Miller and performed by Vince Gill, Give Peace a Chance, written by John Lennon, performed by The Plastic Ono Band, Blowin'in the Wind by Bob Dylan, Where Have All the Flowers Gone? by Pete Seeger, One Love, by Bob Marley & the Wailers or Give Me Love by George Harrison.

This is all very beautiful and inspiring. Yet, I failed to get what I am looking for: a conceptualization of peace that would be productive, realistic and inclusive. With productive I mean useful in concrete policies and projects. With realist I mean an approach that is non-perfectionist and non-utopian in the sense of not aspiring towards permanence and totality. I could not see peace mainly in terms of the end of wars and violent conflicts. Apart from the utopian character of such impossible end goals I also consider this too myopic because when war ends human relations in the sense of human togetherness are not necessarily restored. Therefore, I choose to take as a realistic point of departure the fractures that characterize the present human condition and that may accumulate towards existential risks for the human species. With inclusive I mean a conceptualization that is broadly applicable—beyond the conventional statal framework—to all types of human communities and beyond cultural barriers. This helped me to arrive at a proposal for an affirmative conceptualization of peace. Peace as a moment in which we celebrate sheer human togetherness. I should add immediately I understand human togetherness not as the in-group feeling that does not include the non-group members. All individuals in societies relate to a stronger or lesser degree to groups that are essential in the development of their identity, their existential meaning and their future perspectives. Groups give answers to such questions as "where do I come from", "who am I and what is the sense of being me" and "where do I go, what is my destiny". The collective answers to such questions render people vulnerable to the manipulation of their collective identity. The more the group cohesion grows, the individual members of the group will tend to ask ever less critical questions and identify with the suggested collective identity. The more cohesive in-groups become, the greater becomes the external disconnectedness to out-groups. The self-respect of the group members is "tied to believing that their own group is better than other groups" (Pruitt and Kim 2004, 133). The intensification of feelings of responsibility for other members of the in-group in combination with the anonymity of crowds which diffuses individual responsibility towards members of the out-group is a lethal mixture.

It makes it easier to blame, dehumanize and ultimately kill members of the out-group. This is particularly so, in case groups with different religious beliefs and cultural preferences are involved. Sheer human togetherness aspires to the inclusion of the stranger, the "other". However, this should not be driven by the fear of being left out or the pressure to belong which is so characteristic of many fascist movements. Sheer human togetherness is also not meant as the inclusive togetherness of colonialism that invites the others to be together with us but on our conditions. A good descriptor for the human togetherness I have in mind is the word "cosmopolitan". This stands for the feeling that you are part of humanity and have obligations towards others who may be different from you. As Appiah formulates is "People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences" (Appiah 2006, xv). The cosmopolitan also takes the local concerns about these differences seriously. It is intellectual laziness to simply categorize people's anxieties about the loss of local preferences as xenophobia or populist fascism. We should not underestimate the importance of our local habitat in the definition of our identity. We live in localities as the places where we find the joyfulness and comfort of sociocultural (including language, customs, humour, religion) proximity. I believe we have to approach the polarized fragmentation that I will discuss in Chapter 2 from the position of a "cosmopolitan localism". We embrace the stranger but from an embeddedness in our localities.

I am inspired to think that we can do this because humans are the most communicative species on the planet. We are socially interactive creatures which makes cooperative communication central to our existence. I will suggest that we explore human togetherness through the modality of human interaction that I will call "deep dialogue". The argument in this book leads to a conceptualization of that much desired though nebulous aspiration of peace as "celebrating moments of sheer togetherness". The collective joy of celebrating needs however a qualification. Peace is not the celebrating of the pleasure that Germans describe as Schadenfreude: the guilty pleasure of enjoying the misfortunes of others. "To see others suffer does one good", wrote the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. "This is a hard saying, but a mighty, human, all-too-human principle". And in Japan there is the proverb that "The misfortune of others tastes like honey". This malevolent joy of celebrating collective damage—dancing on the dead bodies of the conquered ones—may be a joyful experience for the deranged mind and may create social cohesion but that would be a form of exclusionary togetherness. A togetherness to which some others

are not invited. It should also be recognized that there is a dark side to collective human ecstasy "as expressed in rites of human sacrifice and war" (Ehrenreich 2007, 20). I use collective joy in the sense of an inclusionary togetherness that intends to accommodate the diversity of the human species. I propose a collective joy that is inclusive, loving, caring and altruistic. This collective joy includes others and accepts their alterity. It is an essential part of our cultural history that we should reclaim today.

Acknowledgments for their contributions in many pleasant encounters are due especially to the late Peter Guidi (for many hours of deep dialogue), to Hans Achterhuis (who set me on the track of Hannah Arendt), to Loek Dullaart (for our philosophical dialogues in the garden), my librarian brother Ronald Hamelink (who always finds the material I want to use), Julia Hoffmann (who made me write this book), Huib Kraayenhof (for our whispering sessions on health on the planet), Norman Perryman (for the artists' point of view), Glenn Sankatsing (for deep thinking on the future of our species) and to my Muse Gabriela Barrios Garrido (for love and friendship). I am particularly grateful to all the students (in Amsterdam, Athens, Merida, Mexico City, Puebla, Aruba, London and Friedrichshafen) who—without always realizing this—were great sounding boards for my effort to find a coherent way to talk about communication and peace. Special thanks are also due to my IAMCR sisters Marjan de Bruijn and Claudia Padovani for their support and willingness to respect my desire to escape the deadlines of "chronos" and enjoy the freedom of "kairos".

Amsterdam, The Netherlands Cees J. Hamelink
December 2019

Notes

1. Scully, S. (2015). Hesiod's theogony: From near eastern creation myths to paradise lost. Oxford University Press.
2. De Grummond, Nancy T. "Pax Augusta and the Horea on the Ara Pacis Augustae." *American Journal of Archaeology*, 94 (1990): 663–677.

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CHAPTER 1

The Concept

The United States Strategic Air Command: "Peace is our profession"
Erasmus "Peace is the mother and nurse of all that is good for humanity"

What a joy to greet your readers with peace be with you, pax vobiscum, as-salamu alaykum or shalom aleichem. The words sound wonderful. But what do these sweet words mean? And what do we want to achieve when we refer to cultures of peace, to peace mentality or peace spirituality. What do we expect that peacemakers should do? How well have we conceptualized peace? And why is this relevant? The International Day of Peace ("Peace Day") is observed around the world each year on 21 September. Established in 1981 by a unanimous United Nations resolution, Peace Day provides a globally shared date for all humanity to contribute to building a Culture of Peace. But in order to build bridge engineers need to know what a bridge is. In order to build a culture of peace we need to know what peace is. What is on our minds when we engage in peace education? What are we educating for? And could it be that many of our well-intended peace efforts have failed because we never had a clear idea of what peace really is?

It seems sensible therefore to explore whether in studies of international law, in peace studies, in theology, studies on communication and peace or modern political thought we can find a productive, realistic and inclusive conceptualization of peace.

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Peace in International Law

In international law, one finds numerous references to the strengthening of international peace but no definition of what should be strengthened. In most international legal instruments, there is no definition of peace. Most relevant texts suggest that international peace should be promoted however without demanding a commitment to concrete measures. Most of the international instruments speak in the most general way about the ideal of peace, the spirit of peace and how various means (such as mutual respect and understanding) will strengthen peace. Could it be that the beautifully worded legal texts that leave the notion of peace a nebulous target serve the political purpose of convenient ambiguity?

From its establishment the League of Nations (predecessor to the United Nations) was concerned about the relation between communication and peace, in particular the contribution of the press to peace. In 1931 the League asked the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (predecessor to UNESCO) to conduct a study on all questions related to the use of radio for good international relations. In 1933 the study "Broadcasting and Peace" was published and it recommended the drafting of a binding multilateral treaty. This treaty was concluded in September 1936 as the International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace with the signature from 28 states. The fascist states did not participate. The convention entered into force on 2 April 1938 after accession or ratification by nine countries, Brazil, the UK, Denmark, France, India, Luxembourg, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and Australia. Basic to the provisions of the convention was the recognition of the need to prevent broadcasting from being used in a manner prejudicial to good international understanding. The contracting parties agreed on the prohibition of transmissions which were likely to harm international understanding by incorrect statements (Hamelink 1994, 19). In the 1980s, several countries denounced the convention. Among them were Australia, France and the UK. In the late 1990s, the convention was still in force and had been ratified by 26 member states of the United Nations.

The complex interaction of media and peace remained on the agenda of world politics after the Second World War and did generate some important norm-setting instruments that, however, did not define peace. This lack of a concrete conceptualization of peace is found in most of the international instruments that refer to peace. Examples are the Declaration on the use of scientific and technological progress in the interests