TO GIVE PEACE A SEAT

STUDY ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PEACE MINISTRY IN NORWAY

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Picture 1 (on the right): Erna Solberg's government in the Council of State's (*statsraad*) Hall at the Royal Palace on 16 October 2013. Up to the right of the HM King Harald V with Prime Minister Solberg at the right hand side, to the left, HKH Crown Prince Haakon. (Photo: Cornelius Poppe / NTBscanpix)[1]

Picture 2 (on the left): A little girl participating with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF-Bergen) in the First of May Parade 2018 in Bergen; she holds a placard on which is written "Who will become Norway's first Peace Minister?"

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[1] Government of Norway: "Offisiel fraa statsraadet", https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/offisielt-fra-statsrad/offisielt-fra-statsrad1/id30297/ (accessed 09.19.2018)

ABSTRACT

This study is about the importance of establishing a peace ministry in Norway. The study has been organised in seven parts, each one presenting an aspect a peace ministry would have to face, and how it would respond. The primary focus of a Norwegian peace ministry would be to help resolve conflicts and reconcile traumas through dialogue, empathy, nonviolence and creativity. But, the work generated from such a ministry would eventually broaden the scope to development and social justice. The propositions given here have been influenced by the on-going work on the promotion of ministries and infrastructures for peace that the Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace (GAMIP) initiated. Thus, this study and may concern any other state.

Methodoly:

This study follows the on-going work of the WILPF-Norway on the establishment of a peace ministry in Norway. It has been written by a French student in crisis management at the Institute of Economic and Social Development Studies (University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne) and having also taken a Master course in peace and conflict resolution studies (Centre for Peace Studies – University of Tromsoe), who did its three-months internship in the Bergen group of the WILPF-Norway, from June to September 2018, under the supervision of Susanne Urban, chairperson of the WILPF-Bergen volunteering in the organisation. Thus this study has been approached through the social sciences and does not constitute the work of an expert in political sciences specialised in designing ministries. The work has been conducted in English by a non-Norwegian speaker, to facilitate the cooperation with other initiatives on peace ministries. It has been carried out through online researches, interviews and contributions from the WILPF members. This work is not an analysis but more a presentation of how a Norwegian peace ministry could be structured in order to re-place peace and security in the centre of what the politics were made for: running a state in the name of the population and its interests – good routines to go to peace.

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INTRODUCTION

"Norway lacks good routines to go to war" is what the daily newspaper *Bergens Tidende* highlighted after the release of a state commissioned evaluation on the Norwegian participation to the bombings in Libya in 2011[2]. The document release made clear that the decision to send Norwegian fighter jets was taken without consulting the Government or the Parliament of Norway. This example shows that it is embedded in the minds of the people, especially the people living in a economy based on arms production and sales, that war is the response to violence and conflicts; their problem would be to find "a good routine to go to war". But, why don't we find a "good routine" to go to peace? In 2018, 68,5 million people fled war or persecution worldwide: 6,3 million were Syrians, 2,6 million were Afghans and 2,4 million from South Sudan[3].

Cultural, direct and structural violence

Johan Galtung[4], professor of peace studies, Dr hc mult, considered as founding figure in the academic discipline, stated that violence may be cultural, direct and structural. The violence is cultural when the "aspects of culture" like the religions, the ideologies, the languages, the arts, the sciences, are used to justify or legitimize direct and structural violence[5]. The Islamic States in Syria is killing and torturing in the name of the religion. While structural violence is a process with ups and downs, cultural violence is invariant; it is a 'permanence'. Violence is direct when it "constitutes casualties" like killing and/or maiming. It can also be direct when there are "avoidable insults to basic human needs, (...) life" like sieges, sanctions, alienations or repressions[6]. In Syria, the humanitarian campaign on the behalf of the Syrian people estimates the number of casualties to be superior to 500.000 deaths[7] besides the human rights abuses, the hard repression of the Syrian regime, the people forced to flee their country. Direct violence is an "event (which has) its roots in cultural and structural violence", and is strengthening them[8]. Violence is structural when exploitation is the "center-piece" of the

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[2] Bergens Tidende (2018): "Telefonkrigen", https://www.bt.no/btmeninger/leder/i/1k9RMJ/Telefonkrigen (accessed 09.14.2018)

[3] Beaumont P. (2018): "Record 68,5 million people fleeing war or persecution worldwide, *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/jun/19/record-68-million-people-flee-war-persecution-un (accessed 09.14.2018)

[4] Johan Galtung was born in 1930 in Oslo and is a Norwegian sociologist, mathematician, and the principal founder of the discipline of the peace and conflict studies. He was also the main founder of the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 1959, established the *Journal of Peace Research* in 1964 and the Transcend network for Peace, Development and Environment. He has served as a professor of peace studies at universities all over the world, has received many distinctions, over a dozen honorary doctorates and professorships, has mediated 150 conflicts and is author or co-author of more than 1.600 articles and over 160 books on peace and related issues.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Galtung J. (1990): "Cultural violence", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3. (Aug., 1990), pp. 291-305., Sage Publications, Ltd., http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3433%28199008%2927%3A3%3C291%3ACV%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6 (accessed 08.14.2018)

[7] IAMSYRIA: Total death count due to conflict: 500.000+, http://www.iamsyria.org/death-tolls.html (accessed 09.13.2018)

[8] Hathaway W. T. (2013): "Varieties of Violence: Strucutral, Cultural and Direct", Transcend media service: Conflict resolution - mediation, https://www.transcend.org/tms/2013/10/varieties-of-violence-structural-cultural-and-direct/ (accessed 08.15.2018)

system[9]. This means that in the structure, the "topdogs" received more than the others, the "underdogs", in terms of needs. This structural violence may lead to the death of the disadvantaged underdogs or to their "unwanted state of misery" including malnutrition and illness. In Syria, the disadvantaged civilians face the violence of the Syrian regime but also the other armed groups without being able to defend themselves. As we said, the direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence and on the contrary, the cultural and structural violence cause the direct one. It is a "vicious circle that is now threatening to destroy life on earth"[10].

Given the definitions of violence, it is important to understand that the condition of peace is not solely the absence of direct violence, but also the absence of structural violence, what we may refer to social justice and an egalitarian distribution of power and resources[11]. When the regime and other armed groups will lay down their arms, and the authoritarianism and totalitarianism of the political regime in Syria will collapse, the Syrian population will have a chance to leave in peace.

The Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace

In 1945, the United Nations (UN) were created and given the responsibility for maintaining peace and security worldwide[12]. Sixty years later, in 2005, the Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace (GAMIP) was formed with the idea of establishing national ministries and departments of peace, local, regional and national peace councils, peace academies and other effective infrastructures for peace in order to strengthen the United Nations' (UN) mission. The GAMIP is a worldwide community of civil society campaigns, organisations, committed citizens and elected and appointed government officials from over 50 countries convinced that the collaboration between governments and civil society working to establish national ministries and departments of peace and other effective infrastructures for peace contributes to develop a culture of peace[13].

A Culture of Peace

The concept of a "culture of peace" was defined by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1998, following a proposal made by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), as consisting of values, attitudes and behaviours that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by addressing their root causes with a view to solving problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations (resolution A/52/13)[14]. In

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[9] Galtung J. (1990): "Cultural violence", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3. (Aug., 1990), pp. 291-305., Sage Publications, Ltd., http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3433%28199008%2927%3A3%3C291%3ACV%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6 (accessed 08.14.2018)

[10] Ibid.

[11] Galtung J. (1969): "Violence, Peace and Peace Research", Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1969), pp. 167-191, Sage Publications, Ltd., http://www.jstor.org/stable/422690(accessed 08.15.2018)

[12] United Nations, Documents, Charter, Chapter I: Purposes and principles, Article 1, http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/index.html (accessed 09.12.2018)

[13] The Global Alliances for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace (GAMIP), http://www.gamip.org

[14] Culture of Peace Co-ordination of the Bureau of Strategic Planning United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (2002): "UNESCO-mainstreaming, the culture of peace", UNESCO, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001263/126398e.pdf (accessed 09.03.2018)

1999, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace (resolution A/53/243) asking governments, civil society, the media, parents, teachers, politicians, scientists, artists, NGOs and the UN system to take responsibilities in:

- Fostering a culture of peace through education
- Promoting sustainable economic and economic and social development
- Promoting respect for all human rights
- Ensuring equality between women and men
- Fostering democratic participation
- Advancing understanding, tolerance and solidarity
- Supporting participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge
- Promoting international peace and security.

The concept of a culture of peace was inspired by an educational initiative "*Cultura de paz*" in Peru (1986) and the Seville Statement on Violence (1986) adopted by scientists from around the world stating that war was not "a fatality determined by genes, violent brains, human nature or instincts, but is rather a social invention implying that the same species that invented war are capable of inventing peace". Since the nineteen-eighties, the concept has mobilised the international community with among others, the implementation of the UNESCO project "Toward a Culture of Peace" (1996-2001), the proclamation of the year 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace and the proclamation of the decade of 2001-2010 as International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World.

Infrastructures for Peace – some examples

Worldwide, there are examples of peace ministries and other institutionalisations of peacebuilding into state systems. The infrastructures for peace like national ministries and departments of peace, local, regional and national peace councils are mostly developed in war-torn countries and countries affected by armed violence[15]. In **Nepal**, the *Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction* was created in 2007 after the signature of the Comprehensive Peace Accord between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal to implement the Peace Agreement[16]. In **Costa Rica**, the Ministry of Justice was extended to a *Ministry of Justice and Peace* in 2009 to work on violence and crime reduction in the country. The ministry emerged after a recent increase of juvenile offenders, and is responsible for promoting a culture of peace and preventing violence[17]. We find other examples of peace infrastructure like in **Afghanistan**, the *Community Development Councils* democratically-elected at the local level to task with conflict resolution and peacebuilding among other things[18] and in

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[15] See Infrastructures for Peace, https://www.peaceportal.org/web/i4p/home (accessed 09.13.2018)
[16] See Government of Nepal - Ministry of Peace and reconstruction website:
http://www.peace.gov.np/en/index.php?pageid=182 (accessed 07/13/2018)
[17] Susie Shutts (2009): "Costa Rica Creates Department of Peace", Yes! magazine http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/costa-rica-creates-department-of-peace (accessed 07/13/2018)
[18] Infrastructure for Peace, Afghanistan, https://www.peaceportal.org/web/i4p/afghanistan (accessed 09.13.2018)

Kenya it is the *National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management* that was established in 2001 to develop a national policy on peacebuilding and conflict management[19]. An adviser with cabinet rank can also represent peace infrastructures. In **Philippines**, the *Office of the Peace Commissioner* was established under the Office of the President to advise the President on the management of the comprehensive peace process between the government and the rebel forces[20]. In the **United Kingdom**, Jeremy Corbyn (Labour), the leader of the opposition and of the Shadow Cabinet[21], appointed in 2016 a *Shadow Minister for Peace and Disarmament*[22]. The position is not a proper infrastructure for peace but a sensible example of the introduction of peacebuilding into politics. The *Shadow Minister for Peace and Disarmament* has been appointed in the Shadow Ministry of Defence to hold the 'peace doctrine' of the party, an alternative to military, and scrutinise the policies and actions of the Government (Conservative) in terms of Defence.

An infrastructure of peace for Norway

The purpose of this study is not to detail all existing initiatives and peace institutions worldwide but to find the one we could establish in Norway. As said before, most of the examples of peace infrastructures are present in countries affected by violent conflicts. These examples, most of the time, introduce tradition and indigenous aspects in their politics. Indeed, such infrastructures are usually co-owned by government, civil society and community institutions[23]. In the Western countries, attempts to institutionalise peace in ministries, state department or minister position have emerged in the United States, in Canada or in the United Kingdom for examples but have not succeeded yet. In order to facilitate the study, we've decided to compare the case of Norway with other initiatives of institutionalising peacebuilding in Western countries because the countries share similar culture of the state system, representative, bureaucratic and modern, and all initiatives come from the civil society requesting a peace institution. In Norway, the first attempts and advocacy to introduce peacebuilding in politics appeared in the nineteen-sixties. The professors Johan Galtung and Anders Bratholm[24] (1920-2010) suggested setting an advisor for peace in the Norwegian Prime Minister's Office. In 1967, the bishop Hallvard Rieber stated that Norway should establish a peace ministry[25]. At that time, the Norwegian politicians were not inclined to such proposition believing that they did not need any

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[19] Infrastructures for Peace, Kenya, https://www.peaceportal.org/web/i4p/kenya (accessed 09.13.2018)

[20] Infrastructures for Peace, Philippines, https://www.peaceportal.org/web/i4p/the-philippines (accessed 09.13.2018)

[21] The shadow cabinet is a feature of the parliamentary system of government developed in the UK. The shadow cabinet consists of a group of opposition spokespersons, under the leadership of the leader of the opposition. The shadow cabinet forms an alternative cabinet to that of the government, and whose members shadow or mirror the positions of each individual member of the government's cabinet. The shadow cabinet is responsible for scrutinising the policies and actions of the government and offering an alternative programme.

[22] James Tapsfield (2016): "Well THAT'S a relief! Jeremy Corbyn HAS appointed a 'minister for peace' with a brief to end 'violence and conflict' around the world", Mail online http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914136/EXC-S-relief-Jeremy-Corbyn-appointed-minister-peace-brief-end-violence-conflict-world.html (accessed 07/13/2018)

[23] Hans J. Giessman (Berghof Foundation) (2016): "Embedded Peace Infrastructures for Peace: Approaches and Lessons Learned", https://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Other_Resources/UNDP_21768_-_Doc_1_-_Embedded_Peace_2016.pdf (accessed 07/25/2018)

[24] Norwegian professor and legal scholar who was a prominent voice in the Norwegian public debate in defending the right of the underprivileged and weak groups.

[25] Rieber H., *Harmar Arbeiderblad*, February 4, 1967.

peace advisor in the government, and then the idea was forgotten. Later, attempts came from the civil society like in 1983 and 2007-2010 with the Norwegian section of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)[26] in cooperation with *Fredslaget*[27]. At that time, the projects did not have enough ressources to reach the goal of establishing a ministry of peace. In August 2016, was relaunched the idea of establishing a ministry of peace during Arendalsuka, the largest political gathering in Norway. The idea received great attention and positive reception, mostly among women and youth. After Arendalsuka, the leader of WILPF-Norway, Margrethe Tingstad[28], along with Ingeborg Breines[29] worked on a document on a peace ministry for Norway[30]. They presented their suggestions during the annual meeting of WILPF-Norway in 2017. Besides, the WILPF especially its group in Bergen[31], has been undertaking since 2015 actions aiming for the establishment of a peace ministry in Norway. This project has begun with the setup of 'peace ministry pop-ups' in order to inform the population and promote the establishment of a peace ministry in Norway. Then, the organisation started to initiate a contact with the politicians to talk about the creation of such ministry in Norway. Last April 2018, the WILPF-Norway met the Section of Peace and Reconciliation[32] of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During this meeting, the WILPF- Norway urged the section to undertake a feasibility study regarding the establishment of a peace ministry.

Placing peacebuilding at the centre of political decision-making

In Norwegian politics, the ministry (*departement*) is the organisational headquarters of the central government or public administration and a central part of the administration[33]. The ministries are responsible for the preparation of state budget, national budget and legislative proposals, and are also responsible for implementing the Parliament's (*Storting*) budget and legislative decisions. The Prime Minister determines the ministries, depending on the political priorities emphasized by the Government concerns. Today, Norway's central administration is divided into 16 ministries including the Prime Minister's office. The ministries are hierarchically structured with the political level represented by the minister (*minister*) at the top and the state secretary (*statssekretaer*) leading the political advisor of each state council (foreign council, *utenriksraad* and finance council, *finansraad*). At the administrative level we have the department councils with senior officials leaded by the head of division (*ekspedisjonssjef*) with the responsibility for sending out, expediting letters and official letters from the ministry, followed by the director general of the division (*avdelingsdirektoer*) and the

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[26] *Internasjonal Kvinneliga for Fred og Frihet*, http://www.ikff.no

[27] *Fredslaget*, the "Norwegian Peace Team", is an organisation that works to promote peace, culture and disarmament. See: Norges Fredslag, https://fredslaget.no

[28] Advisor for the Norwegian Institute for Nature Research (NINA) at the European Union (EU)

[29] Co-President of the International Peace Bureau (IPB), senior adviser at the Permanent Secretariat of the World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates and Director of UNESCO Women and the Culture of Peace Program

[30] Internasjonal Kvinneliga for Fred & Frihet, "Hva gjoer vi?", Fredsdepartement, http://www.ikff.no/fredsdepartement/ (accessed 09.12.2018)

[31] Internasjonal Kvinneliga for Fred & Frihet, Avdelinger, Bergen, http://www.ikff.no/bergen/ (accessed 09.12.2018)

[32] Peace and Reconciliation efforts is a section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Norway dedicated to reconciliation and conflict resolution promotion; this section is responsible for the role Norway plays as facilitator between parties to conflicts abroad

[33] Hansen T. (2018): "department", Store Norske Leksikon, https://snl.no/departement (accessed 09.12.2018)

special advisor (*spesialraadgiver*). The ministry is the "classical formula for the state system" determined by the basic concerns of a population[34].

In this study we defend the idea that Norway needs a peace ministry with its own spokesperson at the Council of State[35] (*statsraad*), its own budget, its own projects of peacebuilding in Norway like abroad, collaborating with other ministries to spread peace and conflict resolution methods among the politicians of Norway and to finish, supporting the civil society initiatives in peacebuilding. The ministry would be responsible for strengthening the UN's mission of maintaining peace and security. It is important to understand that here peace and security are defined as sustainable peace and sustainable security. The word sustainable implies that peace and security have to be maintained in a sustainable way, ensuring that the needs of the present generations are met without compromising the ones of the future generations[36]. In 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted the resolution 1325 (S/RES/1325)[37] on women, peace and security, the first requiring the respect of the women's rights and dignity during conflicts and supporting their participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction. In 2015, the United Nations member states adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)[38]. Over fifteen years, countries will work hard in order to reach those goals. They will tend to "end all forms of poverty, fight inequalities and tackle climate change, while ensuring that no one is left behind". The sixteenth goal "Peace, justice and strong institutions" focuses on ending violence and protecting individual rights. In 2016, the United Nations recognised the necessity to sustain peace. In reforming the UN Peace Architecture[39] the organisation followed the advice of a group of experts emphasizing that peace should be "understood as a goal and a process to build a common vision of a society, ensuring that the needs of all segments of the population are taken into account (...) and emphasizing that sustaining peace is a shared task and responsibility that needs to be fulfilled by the government and all other national stakeholders" (A/RES/70/262 and S/RES/2282).

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[34] Interview with Johan Galtung during the Jondal Fredssymposium, on the July 27, 2018

[35] Meetings of the Norwegian Council of State are generally held on Fridays at the Royal Palace in Oslo (see the picture on the front page). The Norwegian State Council, according to the Article 28 of the Norwegian Constitution, is gathered for matters of importance that have to be decided by Royal Decree like the appointment to senior official posts in the civil service and pardons, legislative bill, appropriation bills, reports to the Norwegian Parliament (white papers), sanctioning of legislation passed by the Parliament, provisional ordinances and matters in which the King has statutory decision-making authority.

[36] See Norwegian Constitution, Article 112, https://www.stortinget.no/globalassets/pdf/english/constitutionenglish.pdf and World Commission on Environment and Development (1987): "Our common future", http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf (accessed 09.04.2018)

[37] United Nations Security Council (2000): "Resolution 1325" on women and peace and security, http://www.un-documents.net/sr1325.htm (accessed 09.18.2018)

[38] See United Nations, Sustainable Development Goals, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/ (accessed 09.14.2018)

[39] The UN Peacebuilding Architecture represents the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, the UN Peacebuilding Fund and the UN Peacebuilding Support Office, "three bodies added in 2005-2006 to the UN system to strengthen UN's efforts to help countries to build sustainable peace and prevent relapse into violent conflict" (https://www.peaceportal.org/web/together-for-a-better-peace/un-peacebuilding-architecture)

The UN Sustainable Development Goals[40]

Sustainable security

Sustaining security is also a shared task and responsibility that needs to be fulfilled by the government and all other national stakeholders. The concept of sustainable security criticises the current approach of security commonly shared and based on the premise that "insecurity can be controlled through military force or balance of power politics and containment, thus maintaining the status quo[41]. The concept of sustainable security has been theorized in 2006 by Chris Abbott, Paul Rogers and John Sloboda in the report Global Responses to Global Threats and constitutes today a programme of research in the British Oxford Research Group[42]. The new approach of sustainable security is that one must work to resolve the causes of insecurity through "understanding integrated security trends" and "developing preventative responses". Since the dramatic event of 9/11, Western leaders have focused on international terrorism as the "greatest threat to world security" but what the concept of sustainable security highlights is that insecurity is fuelled by "four interconnected, long-term drivers" such as:

- **Climate change**: "the extreme environmental changes resulting in the loss of infrastructure, resource scarcity and the mass displacement of peoples and leading to civil unrest, intercommunal violence and international instability"
- **Competition over resources**: "the competition for increasingly scarce resources, particularly food, water and energy"
- **Marginalisation of the 'majority world'**: "the increasing socio-economic divisions (both within and between countries) and the political, economic and social marginalisation of the vast majority of the world's population"
- **Global militarisation**: "the increased use of military force as a valid instrument of foreign policy and the further spread of military technologies (including weapons of mass destruction)"

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[40] United Nations, Sustainable Development Goals, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/ (accessed 09.14.2018)

[41] Abbott C.: "Sustainable security", http://www.chrisabbott.info/sustainable-security.html (accessed 09.12.2018)

[42] Oxford Reserch Group: Sustainable Security Programme, https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/Pages/Category/sustainable-security (accessed 09.12.2018)

Good routines to go to peace

We think here that the responsibility of Norway for sustaining peace and security on its territory and globally could be taken by a Norwegian Ministry of Peace. Thus, to what extent, would the establishment of such ministry be an effective response to maintain peace and security?

We will see through this study that a Norwegian ministry of peace could be responsible for many tasks related to peace and security without overlapping with other ministries' tasks. The study is divided into seven parts representing the seven missions we would suggest a Norwegian peace ministry to take on, being: reducing violence (I), (re)conciling traumas (II), preventing hatred (III), protecting civilians (IV), building a sustainable peace (V), creating social and economic outcomes (VI), spreading peacebuilding internationally (VII).

I.   REDUCING VIOLENCE

In our societies, the common view is still based on the old adage: *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, "if you wish peace, prepare for war". The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), a world's leading think tank dedicated to developing metrics to analyse peace and to quantify its economic value, stated that in 2015 global military expenditure, represented 45% of the economic impact of violence and was the largest contributor before internal security expenditures or costs of homicide and violent crime (medical costs, lost earnings and damages to the victim and the perpetrator)[43]. Global military expenditure appears to be a response to violence and conflict outbreak from the states, mainly the richest ones like the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the largest exporters and producers of weapons[44]. But in producing and selling arms they provide actors of on-going wars in the Middle East or Africa for example. Thus, they contribute in conflict escalation instead of peace worldwide.
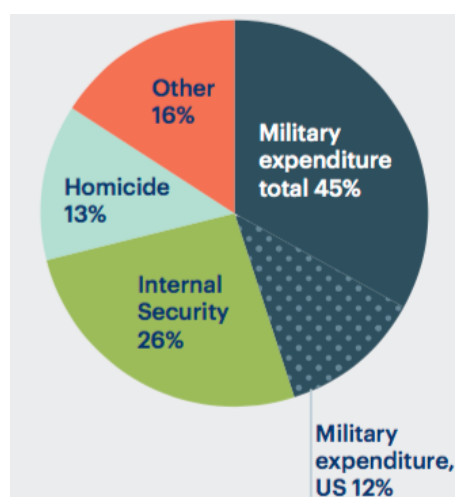
Economic impact of violence, 2015[45]

Norway has been following this trend. Indeed, the country has a total planned expenditure dedicated to Defence about $ 6,7 billion (NOK 55 billion) for 2018. The budget of the Ministry of Defence (*Forsvarsdepartementet*) is in fact the biggest of the Government[46]. Norway was ranked fifteenth of the largest arms exporters worldwide in 2017[47] and has increased its military capacities for several years. Defence and arms production have become the main focus of the state while it has shown a strong commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)[48] since its foundation. Besides, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) reveals that in 2016, costs for

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[43] Institute for Economics and Peace (2016): "The economic value of peace", http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/02/The-Economic-Value-of-Peace-2016-WEB.pdf (accessed 08.17.2018)
[44] SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers, SIPRI Arms Industry Database, https://www.sipri.org/databases/armsindustry (accessed 08.17.2018)
[45] Institute for Economics and Peace (2016): "The economic value of peace", http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/02/The-Economic-Value-of-Peace-2016-WEB.pdf (accessed 08.17.2018)
[46] Norwegian Ministry of Defence (2018): "Budget 2018", https://www.statsbudsjettet.no/Upload/Statsbudsjett_2018/dokumenter/pdf/budget_2018.pdf (accessed 08.16.2018)
[47] SIPRI Arms Transfer Database (2017), https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers (accessed 08.16.2018)
[48] NATO is a political and military alliance of twenty nine states including Norway

refugees in Norway represented $ 813 million (NOK 6,7 billion), about 18,3% of the total aid. These costs were the direct consequence to armed conflicts and were not negligible for Norway, without forgetting about the considerable costs and the psychological traumas the refugees have to pay themselves. In 2017, the Norwegian aid was more dedicated to emergency assistance to "countries in conflict-ridden regions" and amounted to $ 537 million (NOK 4,43 billion), 13% of the total development aid and directed to Syria principally, Lebanon and Yemen and also South Sudan, Somalia and Nigeria[49].

Even for a state like Norway waging wars in other countries, the military expenditure is a short-term "solution". It is very expensive in terms of equipment and personnel and generates other costs like refugees' and veterans' care. The case of the Western military intervention in Afghanistan is a concrete example of that: Norwegian soldiers have died and Afghanistan was left to a real disorder. What is the cost-effectiveness of military? Is there another way of solving conflicts? In this part, we discuss about distargeting and arms control as one of the solution to solve conflicts and we present an alternative to military in this vein.

A. Distargeting and arms control

One of the alternatives to military is distargeting and arms control. Disarmament consists in reducing, limiting or abolishing arms. Arms control is usually the international agreements aiming for the restriction of development, production, stockpiling, proliferation and usage of arms (small, conventional weapons, weapons of mass destruction). Since 1945, the United Nations has been adopting numbers of treaties regarding the arms control. The latest, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) was adopted in 2017 and "includes a comprehensive set of prohibitions on participating in any nuclear weapon activities"[50]. Solely sixty states signed the Treaty[51]. None of the largest arms producers and exporters and no NATO-country including Norway have agreed on such a text.

Although arms industry remains strong and profitable, the civil societies start to protest against such economy. As discussed in the introduction, in the United Kingdom, the Labour political party proposes to create a Minister for Peace and Disarmament position. At the moment, the Shadow Cabinet is under Jeremy Corbyn (Labour), a strong anti-war and anti-nuclear campaigner who has appointed, within the Shadow Ministry of Defence a Shadow Minister for Peace and Disarmament in 2016. Indeed, Fabian Hamilton (Member of Parliament for Leeds North East) has been appointed Shadow Minister for Peace and Disarmament to hold the 'peace doctrine' of the party. The Minister

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[49] Norad (2018): "More Norwegian aid for crisis and conflict", https://norad.no/en/front/about-norad/news/2018/norwegian-development-aid-in-2017/ (accessed 08.20.2018)
[50] United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs: "Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons", https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/tpnw/ (accessed 08.17.2018)
[51] UNODA: "Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons", status of the Treaty, http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/tpnw (accessed 08.17.2018)

for Peace and Disarmament work would primarily focus on international nuclear disarmament and arms export controls and he would have to face the highly contested position of Jeremy Corbyn casted as "a threat to national security by the Conservative party"[52]. Here, we see an obvious example of the common thinking about security strictly opposed to the concept of sustainable security given in the introduction. The United Kingdom and many of our societies are supporting the *Si vis pacem, para bellum* doctrine and the idea that security is controlling insecurity through military force. But, military is not sustainable and it is avoidable. Indeed, twenty-two countries do not have an army like Costa Rica, Andorra, Liechtenstein, the Solomon Islands for example[53] and they are not waging a war. Costa Rica and the Solomon Islands have on the other side developed infrastructures for peace to fight the violence within the country. Some examples show that the countries decided to abolish their military after a violent event like the civil war in Costa Rica, an attempted army coup like in Dominica. Liechtenstein has no standing army since 1868 for financial reasons, not being to afford the cost of maintaining an army at that time.

Considering those points, we would suggest that a Norwegian ministry of peace work on the military debate first. We also consider that in our militarised societies, total disarmament sounds utopian at the moment. As a first step, we've taken the interesting idea of Johan Galtung proposed distargeting instead of disarmament[54]. Even if he is definitely in favour of demilitarisation and thinks that it is possible in some cases, regarding the current state of mind of our societies, he thinks that the question now is to withdraw the long-range weapons[55]. We have short-range and long-range weapons depending on the distance between the weapon and the target. Short-range weapons are used to defend oneself and defence is here defensive. Long-range weapons are used to "destroy enemies' capacities". The long-range weapons are mostly used to threaten the enemy and Johan Galtung added: "the enemy will judge you according to your capabilities". More inhuman and oversized weapons the state have, more threat it represents to other states, which might misunderstand its intentions.

According to Johan Galtung, in our societies ruled by law there is the idea that if somebody infringes this law, he should be punished. This means that our societies are ruled by violence. In taking the explanation of Johan Galtung, there is the problem in this endless system of punishing the outlaws, of the survival of the fittest. In other words, Johan Galtung wondered "who will punish United States?" The system would need a state strong enough to punish the United States and this

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[52] Street T. (2018): "The Minister for Peace and Disarmament: An Assessment", Conscience, http://www.conscienceonline.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Full-report-01-07-2018-SiR-FINAL-FOR-PRINTING.pdf (accessed 08.17.2018)
[53] Abir Gupta (2016): "22 countries in the world that do not have an army", Storypick, https://www.storypick.com/country-no-army/ (accessed 08.17.2018)
[54] Interview with Johan Galtung during the Jondal Fredssymposium, on the July 27, 2018
[55] The ranged weapons are used to attack the enemy physically far by the way of a projectile or a missile. The ranged weapons have two ranges (long and short)

means that every state will try to have sophisticated military capacities to succeed. And, they will go into an "arms race" always leaded by the strongest countries.

Although, our societies are convinced that military are needed to secure its population it is obvious that long-range weapons and the arms race, that most of the rich countries are running, are not a matter of security. **Taken from the model a the Shadow Minister for Peace and Disarmament, we suggest here that the Norwegian Peace Ministry would have a special advisor scrutinising the policies and actions of the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and would offer an alternative programme to security and conflict resolution.**

B. Conflict resolution alternative: the Transcend method

There are plenty of methods to solve a conflict without violence. **The task of the Norwegian Peace Ministry would be to develop such alternatives, create new ones and follow up, improve them.** Here, we've decided to take the example of the Transcend method developed by Johan Galtung. Indeed, we've decided to take this method because it may be apply in all types of conflict, it is solely a matter of will. The method needs specific attention to be used efficiently by "peace workers". The method is summarised and explained in the training manual from the United Nations Disaster Management Training Programme (DMTP)[56]. This method is based on dialogue, empathy, nonviolence and creativity. Its process is the following:

1. Map the conflict formation: all parties, all goals, and all issues;
2. Bring in forgotten parties with important stakes in conflict;
3. Have highly empathic dialogues with all parties singly;
4. Each conflict worker may specialize on one conflict party;
5. In these dialogues identify acceptable goals in all parties;
6. Bring in forgotten goals that may open new perspectives;
7. Arrive at over-arching goals acceptable to all parties;
8. Arrive at short, evocative, goal-formulations;
9. Help define the tasks for all parties with that goal in mind;
   disembedding the conflict from where it was,
   embedding it elsewhere,
   bringing in forgotten parties, goals;
10. Verify how realizing that goal would realize parties' goals;
11. Help parties meet "at the table" for self-sustaining process;
12. Withdraw from the conflict, go on to the next, being on call.

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[56] Galtung J. (2000): "Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (the Transcend Method)", Participants' Manual, Trainers' Manual, United Nations Disaster Management Training Programme,
https://www.transcend.org/pctrcluj2004/TRANSCEND_manual.pdf (accessed 08.18.2018)

Given the process, we find in the training manual the example of the Lima hostage crisis transformed through the Transcend method. The Japanese embassy hostage crisis happened on December 17, 1996 in Lima (Peru). Fourteen members of the Peruvian Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) took hostage hundreds of diplomats, government and military officials and business executives attending a celebration party of the Japanese Emperor Akihito 63rd birthday. Following is the Transcend method applied to the case:

1 Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, MRTA (14 guerrillas);
- release of up to 450 MRTA prisoners (ultimately reduced to 30)
- to continue the armed struggle, "from the jungle".

2 The remaining 72 Captives (the others were released),
- to be released, unharmed.

3 The Peruvian Government (President Fujimori),
- not to yield to terrorism, not releasing prisoners,
- release of the captives, unharmed.

4 The MRTA prisoners,
- to be released,
- to continue the struggle.

5 The US Government,
- that Peru's government, in fact nobody,
- yields to terrorism,
- release of the captives, unharmed.

6 The Japanese Government,
- release of the captives, unharmed,
- respect for Japanese extraterritorial rights,
- no violence.

Forgotten Actors,
- "Peruvian society" in search of ways to abolish misery,
- "World public opinion" in favor of all the above.

The overarching goal could be reducing/abolishing misery, and if all parties yield a little they could all find their place:

1 Tupac Amaru MRTA disarms, joins the political process in a democratic society, with access to media and elections.

2 The captives are released, finding ways in which they could contribute to misery abolition.

3 The Peruvian Government improves prison conditions and shortens sentences, giving training in village/social work, accepts MRTA as a nonviolent movement, and steps up misery abolition.

4 The MRTA prisoners accept training in the prisons as village workers/social workers, and pledge to disarm.

5 The US Government makes funding/expertise available for misery abolition projects.

6 The Japanese Government makes funding/expertise available for misery abolition projects, and holds future Emperor's Birthday receptions at multi-exit hotels.

To achieve this four bilateral talks would also be useful:

A Direct negotiations between MRTA and Peruvian government.

B Direct negotiations between Prisoners and the Government.

C Captives and Prisoners meet and form joint pressure group.

D MRTA and Captives conduct dialogues on Peruvian society.

And mediators trusted by the parties (Fidel Castro, the Pope).
And pressure from "Peruvian society" and "World Public Opinion".

The purpose of the Transcend method is to transcend a conflict. We have a conflict when actors are in pursuit of incompatible goals. A conflict can lead to violence when a party potential cannot be realised due to the confrontation with the others. Thus, the Transcend method will try to find the way for each party to realise its legitimate goals and transcend the conflict by fixing the causes underlying the conflict and therefore preventing the confrontation to reappear.

Such method doesn't implies many and expensive costs, principally the wages and training of the "peace workers". In the contrary, if the method is used for all kind of conflict the money saved can be reinvested to more sensible projects. For example, in our Western societies, it is a common way to use justice to solve conflicts with high intensity (a murder) but also low intensity (a dispute between neighbours). Anyways, the justice is expensive: the wages of the judges and the lawyers, the costs of the buildings, the costs of the large quantity of printed papers etc. With the Transcend method, the conflicting parties would find a better and long-lasting agreement; they will save their money and the state as well. This money saved could be invested then in social care, education or peacebuilding for example.

Violence is rooted in our societies ruled by law. As mentioned before, in the idea of rule of law there is the idea that if somebody infringes this law, he/she should be punished (violence is cultural). In this system, there is the idea that each state will go for an arms race to be the one who punishes and not the one being punished. In this international system, only the rich will win this arms race (violence is structural). Cultural and structural violence pervade every stage of the societies and civilian populations would want to punish the ones who hamper its own realisations through justice courts or direct violence. **The task of a peace ministry will be to work on the reversal of the culture of violence and the development a culture of peace.**

II.   (RE)CONCILING TRAUMAS

During our interview with Johan Galtung[57], the professor suggested a Norwegian peace ministry divided into "the Conflicts solution section and the Traumas (re)conciliation[58] section". Above, we've suggested the Conflicts solution prerogatives. Here, we will study on the treatment of the traumas by a Norwegian ministry of peace.

Trauma has a broad definition. The common definition would be that a trauma is an "emotional shock following a stressful event or a physical injury, which may lead to a long-term neurosis"[59]. A trauma may be subjective but also collective and transmitted from generation to generation. A trauma may follow domestic violence, sexual abuse, bullying, exclusion — and may be transmitted from a parent to its child or by a whole community.

"(Re)conciling traumas" means justice for all the citizens of a country. When the gaps among a population are reduced (misunderstandings, unequal treatments), the society will be disposed to accept and overcome past traumas and to be active in the current development of the society. **In this vein, we would suggest that a Norwegian peace ministry work in close collaboration with the ministries of Justice and Public Security, and Health and Care Services to heal traumas.**

A. Reconciliation and empathy for all

In 1998, Louis Kriesberg referred the term reconciliation "to the process of developing a mutual conciliatory accommodation between antagonistic or formerly antagonistic persons or groups to a relatively amicable relationship, typically established after a rupture in the relationship involving one-sided or mutual infliction of extreme injury"[60]. In 1993, Joseph V. Montville defined reconciliation as the "acknowledgment and (repent) from the 'perpetrators', and forgiveness from the 'victims'" and argued that it was essential for the victims to be sure that what happened to them wouldn't happen again and that the relationship between victims and perpetrators becomes positive. This reconciliation takes place though "'workshops' (...) where participants from both sides feel secure, and trained neutral third parties conduct various therapeutic exercises such as 'walks through history'". Ronald Fisher in 1999 termed "Interactive Conflict Resolution (ICR) the process of "mutual and interactive" dialogue and conflict analysis by the conflicting groups.

Reconciliation is a large term. The concept is subjective and belongs to individuals. Conciliating a group of persons is not an easy task. Reconciliation programs have to face the realities of each and its main problem is justice. To have a successful reconciliation between groups we need true

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[57] Interview with Johan Galtung during the Jondal Fredssymposium, on the July 27, 2018
[58] He explained during the interview that he didn't use the words "resolve" and "reconcile" because the "re" preceding the words would mean that some had done it (solving conflicts and healing traumas) before.
[59] Oxford Dictionaries, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/trauma (accessed 09.20.2018)
[60] Lerche C. (2000): "Peace building through reconciliation", in The International Journal of Peace Studies, Autumn/Winter 2000, ISSN 1085-7494, Volume 5, Number 2, http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol5_2/lerche.htm (accessed 08.20.2018)

understanding of each other and accurate equality between those groups and full recognition of misbehaviour by perpetrators.

The Sami people are an indigenous people, who have been inhabiting the north parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the north-west Russia since the prehistoric times. In Norway, these people have been recognised lately as indigenous. During the seventeenth century, the Norwegians have made efforts to assimilate the Sami population to the Norwegian one and to discriminate their differences (language, culture). The Sami have pursued coastal fishing, fur trapping and sheep and reindeer herding. From 1979 and 1981, the Sami protested along with Norwegian ecologists against the construction of a hydroelectric dam on the Alta River running through the reindeer herding ground of the indigenous Sami people. This dam was to submerge the Sami village of Masi and interrupt reindeer migration routes[61]. Although this project has been carried out by the Norwegian authorities, the mobilisation of the Sami people have led to a review of their rights, autonomy and political representation in Norway. Today, the Sami people have their own Parliament in Finnamrk county representing and dealing with Sami matters in Norway and acting as an institution of cultural autonomy for the indigenous Sami people. Nowadays, efforts have been made to reconcile the Sami population with the Norwegian one but traumas remain in both sides.

The persons traumatised in Norway that need a special treatment are also veterans and their families, refugees[62], victims of terrorist attacks, people and their family still affected by the German occupation of Norway from 1940 to 1945 for examples.

In collaboration with Ministry of Health and Care Services and the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, but also in supporting the initiatives of the civil society, the task of a Norwegian peace ministry would be to find the way to reconcile traumas in the Norwegian society, first in recognising the traumas of the population, in facilitating dialogue for the people and groups traumatised and in facilitating the analysis and the understanding of their traumas.

B. Restorative justice

As aforementioned, in our system based on rule of law, we focus on the punishment of the ones who do not respect the law and the judicial system was created for this purpose. Howard Zehr in the nineteen-seventies has theorised the restorative justice. As he explained on the website of its Institute for restorative justice[63]:

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[61] Global nonviolent Action Database: "Saami and Norwegians protest construction of Alta Dam, Norway, 1979-1981", https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/saami-and-norwegians-protest-construction-alta-dam-norway-1979-1981 (accessed 09.18.2018)

[62] The refugees here are understood as the people who have been recognised refugee according to the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees' status but also the immigrants who came in Norway to find better life than the one they had in their country.

[63] Zehr H.: "Restorative justice? What's that?", http://zehr-institute.org/what-is-rj/ (accessed 08.20.2018)

"Restorative justice emerged in the 1970s as an effort to correct some of the weaknesses of the western legal system while building on its strengths. An area of special concern has been the neglect of victims and their needs; legal justice is largely about what to do with offenders. It has also been driven by a desire to hold offenders truly accountable. Recognizing that punishment is often ineffective, restorative justice aims at helping offenders to recognize the harm they have caused and encouraging them to repair the harm, to the extent it is possible. Rather than obsessing about whether offenders get what they deserve, restorative justice focuses on repairing the harm of crime and engaging individuals and community members in the process."

Indeed, this restorative justice helps analysing an offense, crime, wrong in order to help the victims "to be able to grieve their losses, (...) tell their stories, to have their questions answered" in order to feel their harms addressed while have "those who have done wrong accept their responsibility and take steps to repair the harm to the extent it is possible". There are many examples of restorative justice programs for victims and offenders all over the world in criminal justice systems, schools or religious bodies. In 2002, the United Nations Social and Economic Council incited states through the E/2002/30 resolution, to develop restorative approach[64].

In Canada, restorative justice has been part of the criminal justice system for 40 years. In the nineteen-seventies, the indigenous people in Canada claimed their rights to restore their traditional justice in some cases. Indeed, the sentencing and healing circles were renewed and adopted. Meanwhile, the Canadian system of justice was criticised and at that time the first diversion programs[65] were employed for the youthful offenders. Restorative programs were developed and became the alternative offered to juvenile delinquent. Today, the federal, provincial and territorial governments support such programs. They are hold principally by community organisations or faith-based organisations[66]. The restorative justice programs in Canada showed achievements. In 2002, the Canadian Public Security stated in a report that the restorative justice programs might reduce the recidivism and that they must be considered in the drafting of criminal justice politics[67].

In Canada, the conferences, the victim-offender mediation and the circles were the most commonly used restorative justice models in 2016[68]. The victim-offender mediation program is[69]:

"In essence, VOMs involve a meeting between the victim and offender facilitated by a trained mediator. With the assistance of the mediator, the victim and offender begin to resolve the conflict and to construct their own approach to achieving justice in the face of their particular crime. Both are given

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[64] Ducré L. and Hemmerich (2016): "Il y a le procès, la condamnation...et puis plus rien", Le Monde diplomatique, December 2016

[65] The diversion program is form of sentence in which the criminal offender joins a rehabilitation program, which will help to remedy the behaviour leading to the original arrest, and avoid conviction and a criminal record.

[66] Ducré L. and Hemmerich M. (2016): "Le rôle-clé des bénévoles au Canada", Le Monde diplomatique, December 2016

[67] James Bonta, Kevin Mcanoy, Jennifer Rooney et Suzanne Wallace-Capretta, "An outcome evaluation of a restorative justice alternative to incarceration", Contemporary Justice Review, vol. 5, n° 4, Abingdon-on-Thames, 2002

[68] Correctional Service Canada (2016): "Restorative Justice in the Canadian Criminal Justice Sector", http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/restorative-justice/003005-4012-eng.shtml (accessed 08.20.2018)

[69] Center for Justice and Reconciliation: Victim Offender Mediation, http://restorativejustice.org/restorative-justice/about-restorative-justice/tutorial-intro-to-restorative-justice/lesson-3-programs/victim-offender-mediation/#sthash.foobuoJn.dpbs (accessed 08.20.2018)

the opportunity to express their feelings and perceptions of the offence (which often dispels misconceptions they may have had of one another before entering mediation). The meetings conclude with an attempt to reach agreement on steps the offender will take to repair the harm suffered by the victim and in other ways to "make things right".

Within this program, the victim participation is voluntary, contrary to the offender's participation, which depends on onerous outcomes imposed otherwise. The mediator intervenes to facilitate the dialogue between the parties, which will proactively achieve "an outcome that is perceived as fair by both". The conferencing programmes are close to the victim-offender mediation[70]:

> "they involve the victim and offender in an extended conversation about the crime and its consequences. However, conferencing programmes also include the participation of families, community support groups, police, social welfare officials and attorneys in addition to the victim and offender. (...)

Within these programs, "all the parties must agree to the plan for reparation". Through these programs, "the community denounces the offender's conduct as unacceptable but affirms their commitment to the offender and their active desire to reintegrate him/her back into society". This method is used when the offender admits its guilt but he may choose to "bring the conference to a halt and proceed to court for a traditional determination of guilt or innocence". To finish with the explanation of some restorative programs of justice we have also the organisation of circles, which are defined as[71]:

> "a space for encounter between the victim and the offender, but it moves beyond that to involve the community in the decision making process. (...)
>
> Everyone present, the victim, victim's family, the offender, offender's family, and community representatives are given a voice in the proceedings. Participants typically speak as they pass a 'talking piece' around the circle."

Within the circles, the participation is voluntary and a "keeper" is leading the circle. Through this process, the offender can explain why he/she committed the crime and the others can explain the various impacts of the crime they suffered from. The participants may develop a strategy for addressing the crime and its causes.

We would suggest here that the Norwegian Peace Ministry works in close collaboration with the Ministry of Justice and Public Security to introduce in Norwegian judicial system programs of restorative justice in its broader work for reconciliation between people and the healing of traumas.

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[70] Center for Justice and Reconciliation: Conferencing, http://restorativejustice.org/restorative-justice/about-restorative-justice/tutorial-intro-to-restorative-justice/lesson-3-programs/victim-offender-mediation/#sthash.foobuoJn.dpbs (accessed 08.20.2018)

[71] Center for Justice and Reconciliation: Circles, http://restorativejustice.org/restorative-justice/about-restorative-justice/tutorial-intro-to-restorative-justice/lesson-3-programs/victim-offender-mediation/#sthash.foobuoJn.dpbs (accessed 08.20.2018)

III. PREVENTING HATRED

The task of a Norwegian peace ministry would be to (re)concile the traumas but in parallel to prevent crimes and hatred. In July 2011, Anders Behring Breivik was responsible of two terrorist attacks in Norway that would come to traumatise the whole society: a car-bomb exploded next to the Norwegian government quarter in Oslo while the author of the attack opened fire to the Norwegian Young Labour (AUF)[72] organising a summer camp on the Utoeya Island[73]. In total, 77 people were killed and around 90 injured[74]. We can read on a BBC article[75] that Anders Behring Breivik, a Norwegian with "radical right-wing views" about thirty years old, was convinced of a "Islamisation of western Europe" through immigration and European liberal policies. After its arrest he described the attacks as "atrocious, but necessary" to defeat immigration. The murderer explained that "the Labour Party[76] has failed the country and the people and the price of their treason is what they had to pay". One found its motivations in its manifesto, "2083: A European Declaration of Independence", within which he also explained its macabre plan. As told Ian Stephen, forensic clinical psychologist to the BBC, within this manifesto "(He) formulated this absolute policy of hatred of anything that is non-Nordic".

Extremism and hatred may be a consequence of the fear of the others. One dislikes and is afraid of what is different. The case of Anders Behring Breivik is extreme but unfortunately his view is not isolated. To prevent such hatred, a Norwegian ministry of peace would have to find non-violent ways to do it. Here, we've made two suggestions: first preventing such bloody and violent events through an early warning system; second, help people to know and to tolerate each other by facilitating their communication and meeting.

A. Early warning system

Early warning means "the provision of information on emerging dangerous circumstances where that information can enable action in advance to reduce the risks involved"[77]. Early warning systems have been used to prevent and respond to natural geophysical and biological hazards, complex socio-political emergencies, industrial hazards, personal health risks etc. As we find in the work of Reid Basher, the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UN-ISDR) defines early warning as "the provision of timely and effective information through identified institutions, that allows individuals exposed to a hazard to take action to avoid or reduce their risk and prepare for effective response" and that to be effective and complete, the early warning would need to comprise

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[72] The youth division of the Norwegian Labour Party (AP)
[73] The Utoeya Island is northwest of Oslo, about thirty kilometres.
[74] Pieter Wijnen (2018): "July 22nd national memorial in Oslo", Norway today, http://norwaytoday.info/news/memorial-july-22nd-government-quarter/ (accessed 08.21.2018)
[75] BBC News (2012): "Profile: Anders Behring Breivik", https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14259989 (accessed 08.21.2018)
[76] The Labour Party was running the Government at that time.
[77] Basher R. (2006): "Global early warning systems for natural hazards: systematic and people-centred", https://www.unisdr.org/2006/ppew/info-resources/docs/RSTA20061819p.pdf (accessed 08.24.2018)

risk knowledge, monitoring and warning-service, dissemination and communication and response capability. As Reid Basher explained in its article those systems depend on humans and most of the problems appear in the communication and preparedness processes. Indeed, to have the systems working, he advises to have strong political commitment and durable institutional capacities, public awareness and appreciation of the effectiveness of warning systems. Even if the work of Reid Basher concerned the natural risks, early warning systems are also about conflict risks.

The Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael" have studied on the issue of the existence of early warning mechanisms in various security organisations and the relation between early warning and conflict prevention[78]. It defines early waning as "an instrument of conflict preventive strategies that should help to ascertain whether and when violent conflicts can be expected to occur, with the object to prevent this from happening by way of a so-called 'early response'". The early response could be military and non-military intervention by third actors (states, international organisations or individuals). Since the release of "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping" in 1992 by United Nations' Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, within which the secretary general requested to strengthen peacekeeping, there have been attempts in the UN to develop a coordinated early warning system regarding violent conflicts. Conflict early warning systems have become the concern of other international organisations. As it is explained in the work of the Clingendael, the notion of early warning has been interchangeable with conflict prevention and remains vaguely defined. Nevertheless, the United Nations has shown an increase in fact-finding activities relevant to conflict prevention and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has an early warning system embodied by the High Commissioner on National Minorities focusing on inter-ethnic relations. In order to face the repeated violent conflicts, the African Union (AU) created in 2004 the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) "responsible for data collection and analysis to advice the Peace and Security Council on potential conflicts and threats to peace and security in Africa and recommend the best courses of action"[79].

Lately, the University of Uppsala's (Sweden) Department of Peace and Conflict Research launched in January 2017 a project of Violence Early Warning System (ViEWS) focusing on African continent[80]. This database coordinates numerous conflict research programs and provides early warnings for armed conflict involving states and rebel groups, armed conflict between non-state actors, violence against civilians and forced population displacement[81] on geographical and country level. This system

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[78] Clingendael (1996): "Conflict prevention and early warning in the political practice of international organisations", https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/19960000_cru_paper.pdf (accessed 08.24.2018)

[79] African Union (2018): The Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/28-continental-early-warning (accessed 08.27.2018)

[80] Department of Peace and Conflict Research, ViEWS, https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/views/ (accessed 08.27.2018)

[81] The classification has been made by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program of the same Department of Peace and Conflict Research, http://ucdp.uu.se (accessed 09.18.2018)

has been published monthly forecasts of violent conflicts to the public, the researchers and the international community since June 2018.

Too much violence and armed conflicts still pervade our societies. The international community is aware that it is time to prevent further violence and give an effective response to it. Early warning systems have been discussed for several years. The international community has tried to implement and make them effective but it seems that it often lacks coordination between actors and/or resources. **We expect from a Norwegian peace ministry that it initiate a work on the implementation of an early warning system and capacities of response inside Norway and exportable abroad.** For this the experts in charge of such implementation would have to facilitate the communication between actors like the police, the military and the intelligence service with the conflict research community and the public and to design effective responses. **We also expect from a Norwegian peace ministry that it prevent such conflicts to grow through the development of dialogue facilitations within the society.** Indeed, if we offer the possibility for people to communicate across dividing lines and to better know each other, we reduce the chance of violence between them.

B. Dialogue facilitation

Direct violence may be generated by fear and social constructs. As aforesaid, direct violence is a product of cultural and structural violence. We have different cultures all around the worlds. Today, people can move easily from their place to another and bring with them their traditions and customs to a place that people with other traditions and customs inhabit. People migrate for economical reasons, others flee from wars and massacres but all try to find a better future in another place. In doing so, the citizens of the hosting countries have to deal with new ways of life, cultures and traditions. And, some react with fear because they haven't been prepared for such a difference and they haven't been reassured. In this vein, people who feel threatened and will react violently. What is important today is to empower people to communicate, to meet and to understand each other. In our individualistic societies, there are few spaces for meeting and understanding. Everybody is living in its own circle with its own prejudices and no one to help to understand and know what is happening elsewhere, how people behave elsewhere, why people look different but nevertheless remain the same human beings.

Norbert Ropers in "Basics of dialogue facilitation" defined dialogue as "a conversation between two or more people characterised by openness, honesty and genuine listening"[82]. He opposed

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[82] Ropers N. (2017): "Basics of dialogue facilitation", Edited by Beatrix Austin, Anna Köhler & Anne Kruck. Berlin / Tübingen: Berghof Foundation

the "dialogue" to "debate" that entails a confrontation of ideas and then place the discussion of the participants in an argumentation, within which each party tries to affirm its own view while discredit the other's view. In dialogue there are a true mutual understanding from the parties, a readiness to expand their views thanks to others' inputs and finally a desire to "identify a common ground".

Facilitation is understood as "a way of assisting negotiations (in a peace process) between the parties to a conflict and transforming conflicts with the support of an acceptable third party"[83]. This third party may be a mediator with a "formal mandate from the parties to a conflict". He/She is engaged in the peace process and the substance of the negotiations through suggestions or proposals. It may also be a facilitator "less directive and less involved" in the peace talks. The facilitator facilitates "the communication between the parties to enhance mutual understanding and prepare joint action".

Dialogue helps to improve relation and cooperation between people in a community[84]. It results long-term solutions and further development. We can find many examples of dialogue facilitation or mediation. From March 2013 to January 2014, a large-scale dialogue, the Yemeni national Dialogue Conference was set in Yemen involving 565 participants from Yemeni political parties, movements and groups of the Yemeni society. It was organised to "re-establish consensus about the foundations of the Yemeni state and institutional system, to develop comprehensive recommendations for a new constitution and to overcome deep divisions"[85]. Plenary sessions, thematic discussion tables, parallel working groups and informal problem-solving committees were organised to discuss about "state-building, rights, development, security, transitional justice, the South, Saada, the independence of institutions and good governance". This dialogue helped to forge an agreement regarding some key elements of the Yemeni state-building process and remains a reference point for the Yemeni parties.

In Norway, the Nansen Centre for Peace and Dialogue[86] has facilitated dialogues in Skedsmo, a municipality in the suburb of Oslo with one of the highest percentage of immigrants. The Centre focuses on interethnic dialogue, conflict transformation, reconciliation, inclusive communities and democracy. As we can read on its website, it "invites people from divided communities or communities experiencing stress to its social cohesion to a structured dialogue on issues of individual and community concern" through workshops, training sessions or public meetings. The Nansen Centre has organised dialogues between women of non-governmental organisations in Skedsmo like the Norwegian Women's Public Health Association, the Kurdish Democratic Women's Union, Skedsmo Sports Club, the Pakistani Cultural Association and the Norwegian Folk Art and Craft

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[83] Greminger T. (2007): "Mediation & facilitation in today's peace processes: centrality of commitment, coordination and context", http://www.swisspeace.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/Media/Topics/Mediation/Resources/Publications/Engish_Mason__Simon_A._et_Siegfried__Matthias._Mediation_et_facilitation_dans_les_processus_de_paix_actuels.pdf (accessed 08.29.2018)
[84] Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue: Dialogue, http://www.peace.no/dialog/ (accessed 08.29.2018)
[85] Ropers N. (2017): "Basics of dialogue facilitation", Edited by Beatrix Austin, Anna Köhler & Anne Kruck. Berlin / Tübingen: Berghof Foundation
[86] Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue, Lillehammer, Norway, http://www.peace.no (accessed 09.18.2018)

Association in order to facilitate the organisations to better cooperate on common issues. The Centre runs several dialogue projects in Norway especially with schools, colleges and universities and with municipalities to raise awareness on the effectiveness of constructive dialogues and cohesion.

The Nansen Centre for Peace and Dialogue has understood that immigration has become an issue in Norway for several years. **The Norwegian Peace Ministry would have the responsibility for preventing hatred against immigrants and help Norwegians and comers to live together in mutual respect and in peace. Its experts on peace and conflict resolution would have to work on ways to stop the threat of hatred through an early warning system for example and on long-term solutions like dialogue facilitation.**

IV.   PROTECTING CIVILIANS

A. Civilian peace corps

Mohandas K. Gandhi introduced the idea of a civilian peace corps. He proposed a *Shanti Sena* (peace army) made of trained volunteers living in the Indian communities dedicated to manage conflicts through non-violent ways beside the traditional police and army forces[87]. In 1948, he was assassinated before organising such army but some years later Vinoba Bhave founded the *Shanti Sena* to deal with the riots in Indian villages[88]. As explained in an article of the solution-based media platform 'The better India', these peace soldiers (*Shanti Sainiks*) were "regular development workers from rural areas, who might have taken part in *Shanti Sena* actions when rioting broke out in nearby places"; the *Shanti Sena* was neutral, non-partisan, non-violent and worked with government. The *Sainiks* organised peace committees with Hindus and Muslims leaders to engage the opposing communities to work on ending violence. The peace soldiers also intervened in riots "dressed with their distinctive uniforms" in exhorting the rioters or "shouting peace slogans". We find later in the article that this peace army created trust among the population and although the original idea of *Shanti Sena* does not exist as a formal organisation it lives in individuals engaged in transforming riots and has inspired many other organisations like the Peace Brigades International.

The Peace Brigades International (PBI) provides "protection, support and recognition to local human right defenders who work in areas of repression and conflict and have requested (their) support"[89]. Modelled on the Gandhi-an *Shanti Sena*, the PBI was created in 1981 to "revive the idea of an international organisation committed to unarmed third party intervention in conflict situations". The

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[87] Metta center for Nonviolence: "Shanti Sena", https://mettacenter.org/definitions/gloss-concepts/shanti-sena/ (accessed 08.30.2018)
[88] Parakh R. (2017): "Here is how India's 'peace soldiers' helped prevent many communal riots in India", The better India, https://www.thebetterindia.com/113645/shanti-sena-gandhi-peacekeeping-army-communal/ (accessed 08.31.2018)
[89] Peace Brigades International: "About PBI", https://www.peacebrigades.org/en/about-pbi (accessed 08.31.2018)

organisation is non-partisan and based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the organisations they accompany. They carry out "protective accompaniment, international observation, targeted advocacy, workshops and trainings". So far, the brigade has been intervening in 14 countries and in 2016 was involved in Colombia, Kenya, Nepal and four other countries.

We can find other initiatives of civilian peace corps all around the world. For instance, in 1961, John F. Kennedy established a volunteer program run by the United States of America (USA) government, the Peace Corps[90]. This corps is opened to young US citizens who want to serve the state through the assistance of people in need, promotion of a better mutual understanding between US citizens and people helped by the volunteers for a period of two years. The youngsters deal with topics related to agriculture, community economic development, education, environment, health or youth. Through their service they are trained and skilled in relation with the field they volunteer in. Today, more than 230.000 young US citizens have served in 141 countries.

In Canada, a bill has passed first reading in the House of Commons in 2011 on the establishment of a Department of Peace. Within this bill, it is stated that the Department would have to promote a Canadian civilian peace service "aimed at preventing crisis and violence, which would involve the participation of trained citizens in all elements of peacebuilding, peacemaking and peacekeeping" through "community service in Canada and overseas"[91].

The FK Norway (*Fredskorpset*) has been modelled on the American Peace Corps[92]. It is an agency placed under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which enables young Norwegians experts or academics to contribute in developing countries and promote cultural understanding abroad. The projects give the priority to education, health, private sector and civil society. Through the 2001-2018 period, about 9.000 participants have been sent to 25 countries.

In Norway, we suggest that the Ministry of Peace would also have the responsibility for establishing a civilian peace corps with activities related to peacebuiding and non-violent conflicts mediation. Indeed, most of the volunteers of the peace corps today are engaged in projects of development or of humanitarian aid. Peace is related to development for sure, but what we miss within a peace corps are the conflict mediation skills. Indeed, in August 1960, Johan Galtung launched together with Arne Naess, professor of philosophy a program of establishing a peace corps (*fredskorps*) in Norway[93]. Taken from the Mohandas K. Gandhi's *Shanti Sena*, they wanted a Norwegian peace corps that should be trained as mediators in conflict while developing countries through economic work. As Johan Galtung observed, the current Norwegian peace corps hasn't developed mediation tasks. According to him, the Mohandas K. Gandhi's intent was to create a peace

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[90] Peace Corps Agency, https://www.peacecorps.gov (accessed 09.18.2018)
[91] Bill C-373, An act to establish the Department of Peace in the Canadian Peace Initiative, Learn about the initiative, History of Bills, https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/wp-content/media/CanadaBillForDOP_C-373.pdf (accessed 08.31.2018)
[92] FK Norway: "Our history", https://www.fredskorpset.no/en/about-fk/our-history/ (accessed 08.30.2018)
[93] Interview with Johan Galtung during the Jondal Fredssymposium, on the July 27, 2018

corps helping economically the parties but also mediating conflict. To have a completed Norwegian peace corps according to Mohandas K. Gandhi's ideals, it should have developed non-violent ways of managing conflicts.

B. Defensive defence

As we've seen earlier, the Norwegian government conceives Defence nationally and focuses on long-range weapons of attack. According to Johan Galtung, the better solution for Norway would be to develop its "defensive defence" in a Swiss way[94]. Indeed, the Swiss developed the following idea: "if anybody attacks Switzerland, he will get a warm welcome but (Switzerland) will not bomb the villages he comes from". As Johan Galtung explained us, tunnels and caves have been dug in the country and Swiss citizens "know exactly which entrance and which mountain he/she should go to" in order to be safe. The concern of the Swiss leaders is to secure its civilian population. It should be the same whichever the country. In Norway, it is important for the country to rethink its military as we've seen previously. Reduce long-range weapons and strengthen civilian security on the ground. Civilian security may be threatened by natural catastrophes, nuclear catastrophes, armed attacks, terrorism and it needs special attention.

The Norwegian Home Guard (*Heimervernet*) was created after the Second World War to focus on local defence and civil support. Today, it consists in 45.000 soldiers all over the country[95]. It is a quick mobilisation force divided into 4 regions, 11 districts and 241 areas with 15 special rapid forces of trained and equipped soldiers. It has land, sea and air defence units. As stated on the website of the Norwegian Armed Forces: "With its local knowledge, the Home Guard is an important connection between the Armed Forces and civil society". Indeed, what is missing in Norwegian defence is the closeness with the ones the state has to protect, the civilians.

What we suggest here is that the Norwegian Peace Ministry would work together with the Armed Forces to develop the Home Guard in order to protect the Norwegian population on the ground. Besides the Ministry would contribute to the development a Civilian Peace Corps trained and skilled to mediate conflicts in a non-violent way.

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Norwegian Armed Forces (2017): "The Home Guard", https://forsvaret.no/en/organisation/home-guard (accessed 09.03.2018)

V.   BUILDING SUSTAINABLE PEACE

Sustainable peace is closely related to sustainable development. Indeed, if countries reach a sustainable development in meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ones of future generations thus countries may remain in peace. Peace is an absence of violence but it is most of all a situation within which people have access to education, health, and social protection, job opportunities and live in a clean and protected environment. **What we suggest here is that to sustain peace and development people must be educated to non-violence and sustainable development as peace and conflict resolution practices must always be developed through research.**

A. Peace education

Under the 4th Sustainable Development Goal 'Quality Education', the 7th target is that by 2030, governments ensure that[96]:

> "all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development".

Education is very important in the objective of the UN member states, to reach the 17 Sustainable Development Goals[97].

The UNESCO has been the main actor supporting efforts underlying a culture of peace[98] and made recommendations to the UN to adopt the Declaration and Programme on a Culture of Peace in 1999. The UNESCO's mission is to "build peace through international cooperation in Education, the Sciences and Culture" in accordance with the UN Sustainable Development Goals. The organisation has a commitment in promoting universal values of peace and non-violence, human rights and social justice, intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding and attempts to approach such goal through education. The UNESCO defines Education for non-violence and peace, in other words Peace education, as "training, skills and information directed towards cultivating a culture of peace based on human rights principles"[99]. This education provides knowledge about a culture of peace but most of all give to the people the "skills and attitudes necessary to defuse and recognise potential conflicts and those needed to actively promote and establish a culture of peace and non-violence". Education is multidimensional and encompasses a range of activities that address the root causes of violence. Peace education is necessary in all stages of human life, from childhood to adolescence and adulthood too. It can take many forms like education programmes given to pupils in schools or awareness raising campaigns.

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[96] UN Sustainable Development Goals, Goal 4 Quality education, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/ (accessed 09.18.2018)
[97] See the introduction of the study for the definition.
[98] Ibid.
[99] UNESCO (2008): "UNESCO's work on education for peace and non-violence", http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001607/160787e.pdf (accessed 09.04.2018)

We can find many examples of peace education initiatives. In 1980, the General Assembly of the United Nations established the University for Peace in Costa Rica[100]. Its programme of education, training and research focuses on conflict-prevention, human security and rights, environmental security and post-conflict rehabilitation. In many countries including Norway, universities have developed programs in Peace and Conflict Resolution. In the University of Tromsoe, we find the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS)[101] proposing a master program in peace and conflict transformation and individual courses on the topic and handling research on peace and conflict transformation. In Oslo, the University of Oslo offers a master program in peace and conflict studies[102].

Another example of peace education is the *Sabona* project. By 2011, the *Sabona* project was implemented in four schools in Norway, one in Spain and one in Ireland[103]. *Sabona* means "I see you" in the Zulu culture. It became a project based on the Transcend method. This project seeks to teach "tools for conflict transformation inside the school system as well as in daily life – couples and family, at work – to help people understand what happens in conflicts, how conflicts can be solved and better relations be built". Its mission is "building a healthy society through conflict hygiene[104] (… and) find, develop and implement basic tools for how to prevent conflicts and use them on the way to building a healthy society".

The Hardanger Academy for Peace, Development and Environment[105] was created to raise awareness and work on peace, development and environment issues. This institution located in Jondal (Hordaland) organises every summer a Peace symposium inviting professionals of the field of peace and conflict studies to present such concepts. In 2017, the Academy hosted the 22nd conference of World Futures Studies Federation (WFSF), "HUMANKIND 2050: Peace, Development and Environment". In 2018, it hosted the Nordic Permaculture Festival inviting professionals and people interested in developing alternative agriculture, responsible and environmental-friendly. The Academy tends to offer a peaceful place of study for the students to work on peace, development and environment. The Academy has a building of its own since 2014 and has not received pupils yet. **We would suggest here that the Norwegian Peace Ministry invests in such an organisation and enables it to become a open place for education and research in peace, development and environment.**

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[100] University for Peace, https://www.upeace.org (accessed 04.09.2018)
[101] UiT, the Artic University of Norway: Centre for Peace Studies, https://en.uit.no/om/enhet/forsiden?p_dimension_id=88157 (accessed 09.04.2018)
[102] University of Oslo, Study programmes in English, Peace and Conflict Studies, https://www.uio.no/english/studies/programmes/peace-master/ (accessed 09.18.2018)
[103] Trunova E. (2011): "Learning conflict resolution at school: the Sabona approach", University of Tromsoe, https://www.transcend.org/tms/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/sabona-I-see-you.pdf (accessed 09.20.2018)
[104] The *Conflict hygiene* metaphor outlines the importance of a necessary remedy for curing social illnesses (injustice, inequality, violence, conflict and wars).
[105] Hardanger Academy for Peace, Development and Environment, http://hardangerakademiet.org (accessed 09.04.2018)

B. Peace research

In the nineteen-fifties and the nineteen-sixties, the Peace and conflict studies became an academic discipline with its own "research tools, a specialized set of concepts, and such forums for discussions as conferences and journals"[106]. Institutes of peace research were established in Europe in the nineteen-sixties and one of the first was the **Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)**. The Norwegian Peace Institute was founded in 1959 as "an independent research institution known for its effective synergy of basic and policy-relevant research"[107]. Besides the PRIO offers graduate training and is engaged in activities such as conflict resolution, dialogue and reconciliation, public information and policymaking. The PRIO's research is multidisciplinary and tends to analyse to causes of violent conflict and ways to build, maintain and spread peace. The Institution also edits "international and peer-reviewed journals", the *Journal of Peace Research* and *Security Dialogue*. It also publishes reports and policy briefs with good reputation. In Sweden, the **Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University**[108] was established in 1971 also for the purposes of conducting research and educating. The Department is known for its Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP)[109], the "world main provider of data on organised violence and the oldest on-going data collection project for civil war". As mentioned above, it has developed recently a Violence Early-Warning System to forecast conflicts. The **Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)**[110] was founded in 1966 and is dedicated to "research into conflict, armaments, arms control and disarmament" and provides "data, analysis and recommendations (...) to policymakers, researchers, media and the interested public". It is a highly respected think tank internationally.

Education for peace and non-violent conflict resolution should be available for all. It is important for a Norwegian peace ministry to make available the researches and publications related to peace and conflict resolution. It is important that the concept of peace and what it implies are assimilated in the population but also in the government. The PRIO's findings are already highly demanded among the international bodies, non-governmental organisations, the media, and governments including a number of Norwegian ministries. Indeed, the Norwegian Peace Ministry could work with the Institute, support it in its work and tend to broaden its international consultation. **The Ministry must encourage other ministries to work with the peace researchers as the PRIO researchers and ask for recommendations and advice in order to make the Norwegian policies more oriented towards sustainable peace and non-violence.**

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[106] Barash D. P., Webel C. P. (2018): "Chapter 2: Peace studies, peace education, and peace research" in *Peace and Conflict Studies* fourth edition, SAGE Publications Inc., https://us.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/82891_Chapter_2_%283%29.pdf (accessed 09.06.2018)
[107] PRIO, https://www.prio.org (accessed 09.18.2018)
[108] Department of Peace and Conflict Research, https://www.pcr.uu.se (accessed 09.19.2018)
[109] Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, http://ucdp.uu.se (accessed 09.19.2018)
[110] SIPRI, https://www.sipri.org (accessed 09.19.2018)

VI.   CREATING SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL OUTCOMES

Through research, education, expertise and other fields, the creation of a Norwegian peace ministry will result in creating jobs in peacebuilding and conflict resolution and generate outcomes in the Norwegian economy. We will see here how to build a budget for peace and conflict resolution, and therefore, the concrete results of giving a budget to those domains.

A. Peace dividend

At the end of the Cold War, many Western countries, the United States ahead, significantly cut their military spending[111]. In the nineteen-nineties, leaders like President of USA George W. Bush or the Prime Minister of Great Britain Margaret Thatcher promoted the idea of a "peace dividend" meaning that the economic benefit resulted from the decrease in defence spending could be converted into civilian goods either in increasing welfare or reducing taxation. Indeed, during the Cold War era the arms race between the Soviets and the USA conducted the countries to focus more on "military build-up while consumer goods suffered in response"[112]. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in the nineteen-nineties was resulting from this strategy of military spending for defence at the expense of the population facing "shortages on food, houses and other domestic necessities".
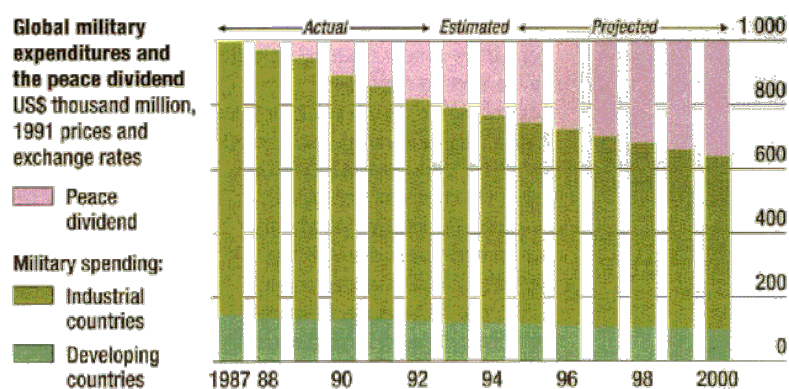
Global military expenditures and the peace dividend from 1987 to 2000[113]

In economics, the 'Guns-and-Butter Curve" illustrates this strategy. As well explained in the article of Investopedia[114]:

> "In a theoretical economy with only two goods, a choice must be made between how much of each good to produce. As an economy produces more guns (military spending) it must reduce its production of butter (food), and vice versa."

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[111] Wang B. (2016): "European defense spending up by 8,3% after 20 years of declines", Nextbigfuture, https://www.nextbigfuture.com/2016/02/peace-dividend-from-end-of-cold-war-is.html (accessed 09.07.2018)
[112] Investopedia: "Guns-and-Butter Curve", https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gunsandbutter.asp (accessed 09.07.2018)
[113] Wang B. (2016): "European defense spending up by 8,3% after 20 years of declines", Nextbigfuture, https://www.nextbigfuture.com/2016/02/peace-dividend-from-end-of-cold-war-is.html (accessed 09.07.2018)
[114] Guns-and-Butter Curve (Investopedia: "Guns-and-Butter Curve", https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gunsandbutter.asp (accessed 09.07.2018)

Hereinbelow on the graph we can see that the curve, which represents the production that if a government decides to produce 180 guns, the weight of the butter available for the population would be equal to £ 100 (NOK 1.076). On the contrary, if it decides to reduce the guns production to 20 guns, the curve shows that the butter production would increase up to £ 900 (NOK 9.688).
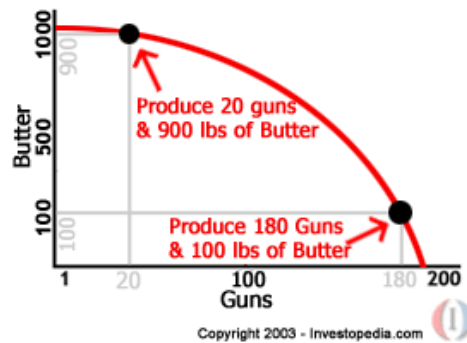
Guns and Butter Curve[115]

Taking this example, we could replace the butter by "peace-related goods". We keep the economical speech here but what we would name "peace-related goods" would be peace and conflict resolution initiatives like dialogue facilitations, mediations, projects of development related to environmental protection, social initiatives, peace education etc.

The NATO member states aims to spend 2% of gross domestic product (GDP) on Defence. This summer, the Norwegian government represented by Erna Solberg, its Prime Minister, has promised to come closer to this goal[116]. Already, in 2017, Norway's military expenditure was 1,6% of the country's GDP[117]. On the 11th and 12th of July 2018 was organised a NATO summit with the NATO member states in Brussels, Belgium[118]. During this summit the US President Donald Trump pushed the European states to increase their budget dedicated to Defence and even suggested a rate of 4% GDP spending allocated to Defence for each member states. Following this, the Norwegian newspaper E24 estimated the value of the increase of Norwegian Defence budget from 1,6% to 4% GDP in terms of benefits and service[119]. It emphasized that the amount of the increase would be equivalent to the cost of "525.000 schools" or 434.000 pensions. Meanwhile, this rise if dedicated to Defence, would serve to purchase 48 aircrafts and 4 aircrafts for training purposes in the United States.

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[115] Ibid.
[116] Dagens Naeringsliv (2018): "Solberg vil ikke konkretisere NATO-loefte",
https://www.dn.no/nyheter/2018/07/09/0509/Politikk/solberg-vil-ikke-konkretisere-nato-lofte, (accessed 09.19.2018)
[117] SIPRI (2018): "Data for all countries from 1988-2017 as a share of GDP", SIPRI military expenditure database,
https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/3_Data%20for%20all%20countries%20from%201988–
2017%20as%20a%20share%20of%20GDP.pdf (accessed 09.07.2018)
[118] Walmann H. and Steinsbu Wasberg E. (2018): "Trumps 'NATO-regning' til Norge: 125 milliarder', E24!,
https://e24.no/makro-og-politikk/nato/trumps-nato-regning-til-norge-125-milliarder/24391448, (accessed 09.19.2018)
[119] Ibid.

The current NATO doctrine pushing nations to use at least 2% if their GDP on military defence results in the richer a country becomes the more it has dedicated to military. But it could be the richer it becomes, the more money it has to resolve conflict. Here, we mean resolve conflict without violence and thus not militarily. The idea of a peace dividend applied to Norway is possible. The use of long-range weapons is not suited to the defence of civilian population as aforementioned. Beside, peacebuilding is cost-effective. Its projects, expertise or staff are cheaper than military equipment and soldiers. Peacebuilding and non-violent conflict resolution are not expensive compare to military and only a small amount of the current Defence budget would be necessary to develop projects in peacebuilding or pay experts, facilitators and mediators. Peacebuilding necessitates fewer budgets than military while it offers long-term solutions, and further intervention and budgets won't be needed. For example, if a conflict is solved through the Transcend method aforementioned, first the violence would end but most of all the conflicting parties would obtain what they were fighting for and sometimes, even more than they expected to reach; second, given that the conflicting parties wouldn't be frustrated, violence would not reappear and no more attention and intervention would be necessary.

Here we saw that the Norwegian government could decide to give to peacebuilding a budget. In giving so, the field of peace and conflict will widen and offer more opportunities for workers than it did so far. We will see that investing in peacebuilding will generate jobs, money and consequently contribute to social justice and peace in the society.

B. Economic growth and job creation

Peacebuilding in Norway is currently offering many jobs as researchers, mediators, facilitators, teachers etc. The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) employs about 160 people like internal and external researchers, information technology and management personnel[120]. Thirteen people, professors, researchers, and advisors for students work at the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS) of the University of Tromsoe[121]. The personnel organises the courses offered to the students in peace and conflict studies and the research groups within the Centre. The Nansen Centre for Peace and Dialogue employs about 10 people as facilitators, advisors, coordinators etc.[122] In Norway, many non-governmental, governmental and international organisations work on peacebuilding and conflict resolution[123] and create voluntary and paid job for many people.

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[120] PRIO People, https://www.prio.org/People/ (accessed 09.17.2018)
[121] Employees at Centre for Peace Studies (CPS), https://en.uit.no/om/enhet/ansatte?p_dimension_id=88157 (accessed 09.17.2018)
[122] Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue, Team, http://www.peace.no/team/ (accessed 09.17.2018)
[123] Urban S., Moeller-Hansen Aa. And Barton G. B. S. (2015): "100 aars fredsarbeid. Hva naa?", Hardangerakademiet for fred, utvikling of miljoe – Nr. 4, page 78.

In economical terms, those jobs generate money and thus increase the amount of the Norwegian Gross Domestic Product (GDP)[124] and influence the well functioning of the Norwegian economy. The GDP is assimilated to the wealth of a country and is commonly used to compare the countries' economies. In our economies, we think that more the GDP of a country is high better is the situation of this country. The problem with this calculation is that the well being of the population of a country cannot be calculated in monetary terms. Many goods and services production will increase the total GDP of a country but not the well being of its population. For example, the production of military weapons will increase the GDP of a country but will also kill and maim people. In the contrary, some goods and services that would increase the well being of people couldn't be monetary calculated. For example, when a conflict is solved through dialogue facilitation, the money generated from such intervention through the wage of the facilitators will be lower than the production of weapons but the result regarding the well being of the disputants afterwards, will be much higher than after a military intervention, but this reconciliation and its consequences cannot be included in the calculation of the GDP.

The creation of a ministry of peace in Norway would generate jobs in peacebuilding through the support of peacebuilding projects that the civil society[125] initiated, through governemental projects of peacebuilding and through the training of the Norwegian administration in peace and non-violent conflict-resolution. Many educators and facilitators would be necessary to train the Norwegian senior officials, civil servants and diplomats in peace and conflict resolution.

Peacebuilding, considered as building social justice and equity, implies that education must be offered for everyone. Consistently, for the last 20 years, 30% of students in Norway have drooped out from upper secondary education[126]. This rate hides differences between the sexes, minorities and majority groups and between the various education programs. It is obvious that more a person is educated more the person learns skills and has the capacity to find a well-paid job. Thirty per cent rate for dropouts from upper secondary education is significant for a country and may be threatening. Within a population, if the people have the same chances and opportunities to find a job and earn a comfortable salary, the results would be a decrease of inequalities and thus of conflicts. Therefore, the money that was previously invested in solving conflicts (police, army etc.) could be invested elsewhere. It is necessary that a peace ministry work on such issue. **In collaboration with the Ministries of Children and Equality and the Ministry of Education and Research, we suggest that the Ministry of Peace would support the access to education for all.** Besides, we would suggest that the Peace Ministry would offer, for the young people who want to engage in public services like the

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[124] The GDP is the "monetary value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period" (Ivestopedia, Gross Domestic Product, https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gdp.asp (accessed 09.14.2018)
[125] The civil society is an aggregate of non-governmental organisations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens.
[126] Utdanningsforbundet: "Frafall i videregaaende oppalearing", https://www.utdanningsforbundet.no/var-politikk/utdanningsforbundet-mener/artikler/frafall/ (accessed 09.17.2018)

military service, the possibility to engage in a peace service. In other words, the young people could have the possibility to apply for a Peace Academy inspired from the model of the Norwegian Military Academy (*Krigskolen Oslo, Sjoekrigsskolen Bergen, Luftkrigsskolen Trondheim*). This Academy would provide courses and trainings and deliver grants to the students in non-violent conflicts mediation and peacebuilding management. Such idea is present in several initiatives for establishing a peace ministry. To take an example, in the United States, the bill to establish a Department of Peacebuilding argues for the creation of a Peace Academy providing[127]:

> "a 4-year course of instruction in peace education, after which graduates will be required to serve 5 years in public service in programs dedicated to domestic or international nonviolent conflict resolution; and provide grants for peace studies departments in institutions of higher education throughout the United States".

Following this model, we suggest that the Norwegian Peace Ministry design such a Peace Academy besides the Military Academy.

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[127] US Bill H.R. 1111, To establish a Department of Peacebuilding, and for other purposes, https://www.congress.gov/115/bills/hr1111/BILLS-115hr1111ih.pdf (accessed 04.09.2018)

VII. DEVELOPING PEACEBUILDING INTERNATIONALLY

The establishment of a peace ministry in Norway and all the activities and programs related to its policies would be a good model for other countries. Such a ministry would contribute to the on-going work of the Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace (GAMIP) aforementioned in sharing its good routines to go to peace with the international community. We will discuss here that the Norwegian Peace Ministry could share its good practices of peace and non-violent conflict resolution through cooperation and development aid; and that through the establishment of such a ministry, Norway could develop its role as international facilitator and mediator in peace processes worldwide.

A. Exporting peacebuilding model abroad

Norway was the first country establishing a ministry of environment in 1972[128]. Today, Norway still has a ministry responsible for environmental protection policies but there are about 60 other countries having such a ministry or equivalent in the world. It seems like the Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment is a success. Why wouldn't a ministry of peace be a success too? Norway could even be an example of peacebuilding abroad if it decided to develop skills in this field. All the supports, initiatives and programs that the creation of a ministry of peace in Norway will create could be used also abroad. Indeed, the method that such a ministry would promote to solve internal conflicts and (re)concile internal traumas could be also used for conflicts and traumas abroad. In Sweden, the Folke Bernadotte Academy (FBA) is the Swedish government agency for peace, security and development[129]. It "supports international peace operations and international development cooperation". It conducts "training, research and method development in order to strengthen peacebuilding and statebuilding in post-conflict countries". It also recruits "civilian personnel and expertise for peace operations and election observation missions led by the European Union (EU), the United Nations (UN) and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)". The Agency has deployed staff all around the world and has seven on-going international projects at the moment like in Colombia, Somalia and Iraq for example. Taken from the model of the Swedish Agency, **we would suggest that the Ministry of Peace creates a section dedicated to foreign peacebuilding and conflicts solving. Without overlapping with the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Peace would be responsible for supporting and developing projects of aid in conflict affected countries and projects of cooperation in peacebuilding with other countries.** The projects of aid would be in other words, humanitarian assistance, democratic institutions building, human rights defence, dialogue facilitation within the communities etc. And the

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[128] WWF Norway (2012): "WWF gratulerer miljoeverndepartementet med 40 år for miljoeet", https://www.wwf.no/?36106 (accessed 09.20.2018)

[129] Folke Bernadotte Academy, https://fba.se/en/ (accessed 09.19.2018)

cooperation would encompass projects aiming for sharing peacebuilding and non-violent practices and promoting the culture of peace.

The Foreign Peacebuilding and Conflict solving section could provide peace advisors to the representatives of Norway attending the meetings like assemblies or summits of the UN, the NATO and other international organisations within which Norway has a seat. Thus, those advisors would facilitate the role of Norway as spokesperson for peace and non-violence at the international round table discussions.

B. Mediating conflicts abroad

In Norway, the Peace and Reconciliation section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for preventing conflict and building peace abroad through the sending of experts or advisors facilitating peace processes at the peace negotiation tables between the government and other parties of a conflict like in Colombia or the Philippines or through projects of assistance in localities. It is important for a peace ministry to develop such a section. Indeed, Norway does not have a weighty past of colonialism[130] and it has this advantage over many other countries. Norway could have the opportunity with the creation of a peace ministry, to accumulate experiences in non-violent conflict resolution and peacebuilding and therefore becomes mediator in peace processes worldwide. **We suggest here that the Norwegian Ministry of Peace creates in its Foreign section, an entity dedicated to mediation and facilitation of peace negotiations.** The Ministry would be responsible for the training of the mediators and facilitators sent to the negotiation tables abroad. From 2012 to 2016, Norway was appointed guarantor country and was supposed to support and facilitate the progress of the talks and the achievement of a final agreement between the Colombian government and the guerrilla[131] Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP). Although an agreement was signed in 2016, the situation in Colombia doesn't seem to stabilise. Indeed in 2018, Ivan Duque Marquez (Conservative) was elected president. The young president is close to the previous president Alvaro Uribe[132] contested for its strong security policy targeting the FARC and reactivating the conflict during its mandate from 2002 to 2010. In order to avoid such instable results of a peace process it is required that the facilitators and mediators sent to peace talks are well trained and documented. It is the task of a ministry of peace to insure that facilitation leads to long-lasting successes.

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[130] Government of Norway (2016): "Norway's approach to peace and reconciliation work", https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/peace-and-reconciliation-efforts/innsiktsmappe/norway-peace-work/id446704/ (accessed 09.19.2018)
[131] A guerrilla is a small independent group fighting against the governement or regular forces by surprise raids.
[132] President of Colombia from 2002 to 2010

CONCLUSION

The list of prerogatives attributed to a peace ministry in this study is not exhaustive. To promote peace and security nationally like globally we've suggested that the Norwegian Government establish a Peace Ministry. And second, we've suggested that such a ministry works on: reducing violence (I), (re)conciling traumas (II), preventing hatred (III), protecting civilians (IV), building sustainable peace (V), creating social and economic outcomes (VI), spreading peacebuilding internationally (VII). The idea here is that the work for peace and security generated from the Ministry would aim for social justice, equity and understanding within the population through dialogue, empathy, nonviolence and creativity.

When Norway was the first country creating a ministry of environment, some environmental organisations thought they would become superfluous because the ministry was considered as the sole entity capable and responsible for environmental protection[133]. The risk of establishing a Norwegian peace ministry would be for the population to think that such a ministry has the monopoly on peacebuilding and that there is no need for other initiatives of peacebuilding. A second risk would be that the ministry of peace remains far from the realities and the needs of the population. In this case, the politics of the Ministry of Peace wouldn't respond to all concerns of the population on the ground. In this vein, it would be important that the new ministry work on its own prerogatives but also support and collaborate with the civil society and the other ministries and governmental organisations (national and international). First and foremost the Ministry would work on solving conflicts and reconciliation through its own projects and with its own budget. Among others, the Ministry would present alternatives to military approaches to conflicts. Second, the Ministry's would support of the diverse initiatives that the civil societies carried in peacebuilding and conflict resolution. And third, the Ministry would collaborate with the other ministries and governmental organisations in terms of building peaceful policies and spreading peace and non-violent conflict resolution methods into the politicians' practices and decision-making. Beside, we recommend that the Government of Norway inform through the media, the population on the creation of such ministry, on its prerogatives and on its role as donor, collaborator and actor in peacebuilding in order to make politics accessible for the population and to avoid mutual misunderstanding with the civil society still mobilised to build peace.

The Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace (GAMIP) has been promoting the idea of the adoption of resolution in the United Nations (UN) General Assembly encouraging departments and ministries of peace within UN's member states[134]. The GAMIP seeks to create the "missing infrastructure at all levels of human existence" necessary to assist the UN mandate

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[133] Interview with Johan Galtung during the Jondal Fredssymposium, on the July 27, 2018
[134] GAMIP (2007): "United Nations Resolution on 'Departments and Ministries of Peace" Project revised May 23, 2007", http://www.gamip.org/images/UN%20resolution/UN%20RESOLUTION%20ON%20DEPARTMENTS.pdf (accessed 09.19.2018)

of maintaining peace and security. The organisation bases its argumentation on the UN resolution on the right of peoples to peace (A/RES/39/11)[135] and the UN Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace (resolution A/53/243) stating that the creation and development of departments and ministries of peace globally would contribute to the respect of such a right in fostering a culture of peace and non-violence. The GAMIP requested groups of well-informed non-governmental organisations to approach the UN in order to make expertise and start discussion on the establishment of ministries and departments of peace. Would Norway be joining the movement?

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[135] UN General Assembly, http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/39/a39r011.htm (accessed 09.19.2018)