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## WHAT PEACE? WHICH WORLD ORDER?

### Questions to the project researchers

#### 1. BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS

1.1. What are the main elements of your biography and intellectual development?

Retired US Foreign Service, Author/Speaker on Cuba and Cuban-American Relations

1.2. What are your specializations? Your research topics?

US Foreign Policy, Cuba, Cuban-American Relations

1.3. How do you define yourself professionally?

A retired Senior Foreign Diplomat, Intellectually curious in whatever I do.

1.4. What major books or articles have you written?

Fletcher Forum of World Affairs on Guantanamo; Huffington Post on lifting embargo on Cuba; Florida International University on Cuban Nationalism

1.5. Are you involved in any association or civic engagement? If yes, please specify.

Fundacion Amistad; Engage Cuba Policy Council; Cuba Study Group; American International Club of Geneva

1.6. Do you have one or few websites?

No

1.7. Are you part of a research or action network? If yes, please specify.

Fundacion Amistad; Engage Cuba; Cuba Study Group

1.8. Have you lived or worked abroad? If yes, please specify how long and where.

Yes. Thailand (2 years), Panama (2 years), Mexico (1 year), Colombia (2 years), Spain (3 years), Belgium (4 years), Bosnia (1 year), France (3 years), Cuba (3 years) Switzerland (8 years).

## 2. SEMANTIC AND LINGUISTIC QUESTIONS



-What Peace? Which World Order?-



2.1. How do you define "peace" and "World order" in your language? What do these terms mean?

"Peace" means acceptance and tolerance of differences.

"World Order" means established, agreed upon rules among Nation-States.

2.2. What are their synonyms and antonyms?

Synonyms of Peace: Understanding; Communication; Acceptance;  
Antonyms of Peace: Intolerance; hatred; prejudice.

2.3. Do you personally use these concepts? Do you consider them relevant? Are they limited? If yes, please specify.

Yes, these concepts define my life and always have. The only limitations are if one person's space is transgressed in any way.

2.4. What does "harmony", "balance", "disorder", "chaos" mean in your linguistic and cultural area? Are there different interpretations? If yes, please specify.

"Harmony" is a goal to be pursued, even if not attained. It is defined by balance.

"Disorder and Chaos" are on a continuum, but whereas disorder can have positive results, chaos cannot.

2.5. In which languages do you read?

1. English
2. French
3. Spanish

2.6. Which languages do you speak?  
English, Spanish, French, Romanian.

2.7. In which languages can you write?  
English, Spanish; some French, some Romanian.

### 3. CONCEPTUAL QUESTIONS

3.1. Which main concepts do you use in your analysis of power?

Balance of power; quiet strength vs. bullying.

3.2. Which secondary concepts do you use in your analysis of power?

Population and Identity, Justice

3.3. According to you, what is the importance of the differences between “violence,” “force,” “strength” and “power”? Reference is made to the distinctions between auctoritas and potestas, potential and potestas, Macht and Gewalt, power and violence (Hannah Arendt), wealth and power, or economic strength and military strength (Paul Kennedy), autorité and pouvoir (Aglietta and Orlean see Glossary in progress), pouvoir and puissance? Please comment on similar words that are used in your own language to describe and explain national situations and international relations.

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3.4. What concepts do you use when describing international relations?

Balance of Power; Mutual Respect; Agreed-upon (or not) rules of order



-What Peace? Which World Order?-



3.5. According to you, what are the main reasons of ongoing conflicts? In specific regions? In the world in general?

Intolerance; Unwillingness to accept the other; Excessive and unbridled ambition; unresolved border disputes and historical grievances

3.6. Within which theoretical framework do you make your analyses?

Balance of Power

3.7. To which fields of research, other than your own, do you often refer?

Psychology and demography.

3.8. Do you think that societies need “totems”, symbolic references, national mottos (*L’union fait la force, In God we trust...*) in order to manage conflicts? Why?

Of course. All countries need agreed-upon symbols to make them feel as one.

3.9. If so, do those “totems” seem universal or proper to each culture?

Each society will have “totems” that hopefully are not, at the same time, offensive to others.

3.10. If you find the question relevant, to which main symbolic references in your country do you refer in your country? In your culture? What is your culture?

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3.11. Do you think that the concept of Nation-State is an outdated concept? Why? If yes, with what would you replace it?

No, Nation-States – and as much the Nation as the State -- remain relevant. Man remains tribal at its core. That is what identity is about.

3.12. To which authors do you often refer In your country? Abroad?

Morgenthau (“Politics among Nations”); Huntington (“Political Order in Changing Societies”); Kissinger (“China”); Padura (“Herejes”); Mujal-Leon (“.....”); Perez (“On Becoming Cuban”).)

3.13. How would you characterize the international system today?

Tested; evolving towards an uncertain goal

3.14. Which authors and colleagues are closest to you? In your country? Abroad?

Richard Holbrooke; Henry Kissinger; Ezra Suleiman; Hugh Thomas; Eusebio Mujal Leon; Leonardo Padura; Louis Perez.

3.15. Which authors and colleagues are the furthest from you? In your country? Abroad?

Samuel P. Huntington; Henry Kissinger.

#### 4. GEOPOLITICAL QUESTIONS

4.1. “a” How could we define the legitimate interests of a State that triggers or gets involved in a conflict outside its borders? “b” What role is played by disinformation, incomplete information, and the manipulation of public opinion in the decision-making mechanisms of government, in regard to initiating, or participating in, armed conflicts, or destabilization, or violence in certain countries?

“a” All States should have an interest in world order. As in the concept of R2P, there should be a universal standard to protect. “b” “Spinning” is a universal behaviour pattern among all human beings. That will never change.

4.2. What are the “founding documents” of your country? Which dates?

Declaration of Independence (1776); Constitution/Bill of Rights (1789-93); VIII-IX Amendments (1865); Civic Rights Acts (1964-66)

4.3. What are the major events that shaped the history of your country?

Civil War; Spanish-American War, WWII; Civil Rights struggles of the 1950s-60s; Iraq wars (2003-2008)

4.4. According to you, what are the major historic events of international life? Why?

UN Charter (1945) and Helsinki Final Act (1975); These two documents set the rules of the road at present.

4.5. To which foreign country do you feel the closest? Why?

France, which has an identity. Also Cuba, which has a similar sense of self, which is its strength. Third, Colombia, which also has a firm identity and strong values.

4.6. To which foreign country do you feel the furthest? Why?

Russia, because of its current leadership.

4.7. What are the major internal challenges of your country today?

Intolerance of others different from us. Lack of confidence in who we are as a people.

4.8. In twenty years?

Intolerance will always be the challenge. I hope we are making progress but it remains a big challenge.

4.9. What are the main assets of your country today?

Quiet self-confidence & an unassailable resource base.

4.10. In twenty years?

The same, hopefully.



-What Peace? Which World Order?-



4.11. On the scale of 1 (minimum) to 5 (maximum) indicate the appropriate position of your country today in the following areas:

Economic	1	2	3	4	5
Financial	1	2	3	4	5
Monetary	1	2	3	4	5
Political	1	2	3	4	5
Military	1	2	3	4	5
Scientific	1	2	3	4	5
Cultural	1	2	3	4	5
Moral.....	1	2	3	4	5

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Cultural	1	2	3	4	5
Moral.....	1	2	3	4	5

4.13. What are the major threats for your country today?  
Fear of Future; Self-Doubt

4.14. In twenty years?  
Same

4.15. Rank in decreasing order the nations that you consider to be the biggest threats to world peace?

...Russia.....

...North Korea....

...United States (in other words, ourselves) under irresponsible leadership.....

.....  
.....  
.....  
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4.16. Which non-state actors are threatening world peace at the present time? Tomorrow?  
ISIS/Daech, other terrorist movements, e.g. Boko Haram. Tomorrow, there will be new groups, pursuing similar anti-system goals.

4.17. What are the new forms of war today? Tomorrow?

Today: cyber warfare, terrorism

Tomorrow: Cyber warfare on steroids.

4.18. Are you familiar with the “non-military war operation” referred to by the Chinese authors Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui? If so, what do you think about this concept?

No, but I can guess. If it is what I think, it constitutes the future of conflicts in the world of tomorrow.

4.19. What are the major threats for your continent?

Environmental, Cyberwarfare. Re. the latter, technology levels the playing field in dangerous ways.

4.20. What are the major threats for our planet?

Intolerance. Movement of people will continue to accelerate. If there is not tolerance of newcomers, tensions will rise.

4.21. Do you consider nuclear weapons as a threat? What are the main actions to be taken against proliferation? At the regional level? Globally?

Proliferation only a threat if spread to irresponsible actors.

Actions: All actors must keep talking to each other, even enemies.

4.22. How do you assess the threats of cyberwar? For your country? In the world? What solutions would you propose?

Cyberwarfare is a serious threat, since non-state actors can manipulate. As I said above, technology levels the playing-field.

4.23. Do you consider terrorism to be a major threat? How would you define it? What kinds of terrorism can you distinguish? How to prevent or fight them?

Yes but not an existential threat. Even ISIS/Daesh lacks the gravitas to bring down existing world order. Confidence in self is the best tool for combatting it.

4.24. How do you assess the robotization of war?

Dangerous. Only the fear of casualties holds even responsible actors back at times.

4.25. According to you, how important is the growing shortage of water within the next decades? What solutions would you propose?

Deadly serious issue. Water is vastly more vital than oil, for example. Conservation is vitally necessary, along with use of new technology.

4.26. According to you, who are the main allies of your country? Why?

France, Germany, Mexico, Colombia, Ghana, UK.

A shared consensus on dealing with problems; a willingness to act in consequence & good leadership.

4.27. According to you, who are the main opponents of your country? Why?

Russia has an antagonistic world view and a desire to implement it, even if not the means.

4.28. According to you, what are the opportunities as well as geopolitical risks related to competition and future rivalries in the exploitation of the seas?

Frankly, I fear the exploitation by man of almost any natural resources, including water.

4.29. According to you, what are the opportunities as well as geopolitical risks related to competition and future rivalries rivalry in the exploitation of outer space?

Hopefully, the enormity of the challenges in space will force international cooperation, such as currently exists in near-orbit cooperation.

4.30. Regarding geostrategy, what are the different schools of thought in your country?  
As evidenced in current Presidential campaign, there are the realists (Clinton, at times Rubio), the idealists (Sanders, Cruz) and the hardliners (most other Republican candidates), who disguise themselves as idealists, but who in fact are most dangerous.

4.31. Who are their leading personalities?

See 4.30 above

4.32. What are their main characteristics?

Realists see the world as it is & have practical goals. Both the hardliners and idealists are impractical but obviously fall short of their own rhetoric.

4.33. How would you define “leadership”, “unilateralism”, “bilateralism”, “multilateralism”, “unipolarity”, and “multipolarity”? In the context of today’s reality? Ideally?

Those terms describe different schools of thought that generalize behavior. The reality, inevitably, is much more complex but audiences everywhere look to simplify descriptions to facilitate understanding. Scholars have the obligation to look past such simplification.

4.34. Do you believe that the concepts of “power” and “empire” are relevant? Why?  
It is relevant to speak of “power.” It is part of the DNA of some to want to control others. “Empire” is/was one of the methods to exercise control.

4.35. Would you suggest additional or alternative concepts? If so, please specify which and why?

For the foreseeable future (next few decades), there will be a multi-polar world. The mechanisms of control are becoming too readily available to the average person for any one actor to be able to dominate his/her environment.

4.36. What do you think about the ongoing transpacific and transatlantic trade projects? What implications and consequences for your country?

Trade pacts are healthy if balanced with controls. NAFTA produced great wealth for all three countries, but lacked adequate labor standards. RE the Transpacific, it will eventually have to incorporate China.

4.37. What do you think about the stakes, opportunities and risks related to the exploitation of the Arctic?

Like competition for outer space, the Arctic currently is a region coveted by many strong actors. An international mechanism & even a new institution are needed to manage these inevitable rivalries.

4.38. How do you conceive the future of Africa?

Prosperous if tribal conflicts can be managed. The AU, if allowed to develop and strengthen, is very promising.

- 4.39. How do you see the future of Asia?  
 Conflictual. Like Europe in the XVII – XX centuries, composed of numerous actors with both the means to pursue their ambitions and strong identities that at times conflict. Lacks an overarching structure to mitigate those tensions.
- 4.40. How do you see the future of Europe? Of the European Union?  
 Europe faces the threat of an insecure Russia, and inadequate mechanisms for mitigating demographic tensions. The EU has been a vital mechanism for promoting prosperity and resolving tensions, in Europe and beyond. It needs to believe in itself.
- 4.41. How do you see the future of the Americas (North and South)?  
 Prosperous with a minimum of demographic tensions that cannot be managed with effective regional mechanisms.
- 4.42. What do you think about the creation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank?  
 What implications do you see? What are the implications or consequences for your country?  
 The AIIB has yet to prove its value. If its purpose is simply to escape the responsible role of the IBRD, it will fail. It will only succeed if it, like the IBRD, promotes good governance.
- 4.43. What do you think about updating the Silk Roads? What would be the impact or consequences for your country?  
 The “silk roads” is a gimmick to describe longstanding regional cooperation, and even integration. Given the vast resource potential of the region, if the “roads” include greater cooperation among those countries, they would benefit all.
- 4.44. Do you know other projects that merit attention and commentary? Which? Why?  
 Not that I can think of right now.
- 4.45. What do you think of politico-military alliances such as NATO, SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation), CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization), OSCE (Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe), and BRICS?

The bodies listed are wildly varying in structure and in credibility. If united by a genuine common vision, such bodies can be effective. Otherwise, like BRICS, they are ephemeral.

4.46. How would you develop or transform them?

The countries which compose the bodies need to decide if they genuinely share a common vision. Otherwise, the bodies will fade into history.

4.47. Do you think the UN should strengthen its role in the field of peace? How? In security? How?

Yes, the UN needs to develop the concept of R2P, but that requires the will of the Member States, which is currently lacking.

4.48. What other international fields of activity should be developed?

Three things: 1) A mechanism to carry forward R2P; 2) an institution to further the goals of COP21; and 3) an international body to manage cyber issues.

4.49. What do you think about current regional and continental organizations and their probable or desired evolution?

They vary in quality but are generally good in resolving regional disputes which arise. In an increasingly post-polar world, such mechanism can be useful.

## 5.SUGGESTIONS

5.1. What theoretical or practical paths do you advocate following in order to allow your country to face its challenges? Do you differentiate “peace” and “security”? In what way?

Greater international cooperation. If “peace” is the absence of armed conflict, then “security” sometimes requires armed action.

5.2. What do you expect from your country’s allies? Which allies?

An alliance works only if there are balanced contributions & burdensharing. All allies, to the degree their national base genuinely allows, need to contribute.

5.3. What economic reforms (IMF, World Bank, WTO) would you suggest at the international level?

Dispute resolution mechanisms that are credible, that work.

5.4. What political reforms (UN...) would you suggest at the international level?

Restructure the UNSC, and ideally do away with the veto power. That won't happen, but one can always dream. In the same (idealistic) vein, build a credible standing peacekeeping force.

5.5. What reforms would you suggest in the field of security and military at the international level?

Strengthen regional peacekeeping forces, which will especially help in Africa. The main current threat to world peace, however, is in the MENA region & there is a total absence of a credible force there. Until there is a lasting MEPP outcome, it is useless even to envision such a force.

5.6. What cultural reforms (UNESCO...) would you suggest at the international level?

Increased funding is mandatory. Should not be optional or mandatory.

5.7. In your opinion, which international projects should be given priority? In second place?

There is a need to reform (strengthen) the Geneva conventions, to make them more in keeping with current conditions. The world has changed dramatically in the last 55 years and the Conventions have not kept pace.

5.8. What would be your personal proposals in connection with regional or international reorganization?

Strengthen (and in the case of the Arab/Islamic world, create) effective regional bodies. In Africa and in Latin America, regional bodies work well, even if some (in Africa) require strengthening. In Asia & in the Arab/Islamic area, where real tensions prevail, those structures are found wanting.

5.9. Which language or languages will be dominant in 50 years? Why?

English, which is the language of the Internet. That won't change soon.

Spanish, given the speed with which its population is growing.

Mandarin. Currently the most spoken language, though with limited growth potential.

## **6.SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PROJECT “WHAT PEACE? WHICH WORLD ORDER?”**

6.1. Which books would you recommend to your project colleagues?

Kissinger's "World Order" but first his book "On China"

6.2. Which websites do you recommend about your country? About a foreign country?

About a subject related to the project?

NYTimes web site, to stay current.

6.3. According to you, which issues should be discussed with priority at the workshop on peace and world order? Please draft, at your convenience, a table of subjects.

TBD

6.4. What type of project, related to the theme of peace, would you like to carry out with which partner?

TBD