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First Chair
in Peace Mediation

DOSSIER

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L'ÉDITORIAL

La volonté d'espérance

Marie-Laure Salles

Directrice

Pandore est une ruse de Zeus. C'est elle qui va porter la vengeance des dieux contre les hommes pour punir le vol du feu par Prométhée et l'orgueil (*hubris*) qui en a découlé. Pandore est une statue façonnée par le divin forgeron, Héphaïstos. Athéna lui donne vie et Aphrodite la rend belle. Quant à Hermès, il lui apprend le mensonge, l'art de la persuasion et surtout la curiosité. Les dieux sont en colère et lancent Pandore dans le monde des hommes avec une jarre («boîte») mystérieuse qu'ils lui interdisent d'ouvrir.

Une fois installée parmi les hommes, Pandore ne résiste pas longtemps à sa curiosité et décide d'ouvrir la jarre. S'en échappent tous les maux que les dieux vengeurs imposent à l'humanité – la vieillesse, la maladie, la guerre, la famine, la folie, la haine, la violence, la misère et tant d'autres... Affolée, Pandore veut refermer la jarre, mais il est trop tard. Seul l'espoir y reste enfermé.

Le feu de Prométhée, ce progrès qui nous était promis, n'a pas mis fin à la tempête de maux échappée de la jarre de Pandore. Au contraire, il semblerait plutôt ces dernières années qu'elle redouble d'intensité. La solution se trouverait-elle au fond de la jarre, dans l'espoir? La réponse n'est pas si simple – tout dépend de la nature véritable de ce principe d'espoir.

Depuis Aristote, l'espoir est défini comme une passion. Le mot passion vient du latin *pati* qui signifie souffrir, endurer, se résigner, pâtir. Pour Aristote et pour de nombreux philosophes après lui, la passion est donc le fait de subir, d'être mû et contraint par ce qui échappe à notre vouloir. La passion est passive, au contraire de la raison (*ratio*) qui implique volonté et action. Pour les stoïciens, mais aussi pour Descartes, les passions sont des perturbateurs de la raison, des maladies de l'âme: la passion est ce que je subis, l'action (et donc la raison) est ce que j'impulse.

Si l'espoir est une passion, il est donc une attente passive. L'espoir nous tient debout par la projection d'un bien futur qui s'impose comme un mirage en plein désert. Poussé à l'extrême, il peut même nous donner un sentiment de sécurité qui rend inutile toute forme d'action. Espérer l'avenir, c'est oublier de le construire – et se retrouver inévitablement à un moment ou à un autre face aux désillusions. La sagesse populaire ne s'y est pas trompée, qui nous dit que «l'espoir fait vivre» mais qui

nous parle aussi «d'espoirs déçus», de «faux espoirs», «d'espoirs trompeurs». L'espoir au fond de la jarre serait-il donc l'ultime ruse des dieux en colère?

C'est possible mais il existe une alternative. Là où la langue anglaise n'a qu'un seul mot – *hope* – le français en compte deux – espoir et espérance – qui sont souvent utilisés de manière interchangeable. Dans un essai de 1972 au titre évocateur, *L'espérance oubliée*, le philosophe Jacques Ellul propose une lecture conceptuelle qui suggère une différence majeure. Portant un regard critique sur la société technicienne qui transforme jusqu'à l'être humain et tend à le mettre à son service, il nous incite au mouvement, à l'action libératrice. Ce faisant, il nous garde contre l'espoir qui est «l'entretien des illusions»: «L'espoir est la malédiction de l'homme. Car l'homme ne fait rien tant qu'il croit qu'il peut y avoir une issue qui lui sera donnée. Tant que, dans une situation terrible, il s'imagine qu'il y a une porte de sortie, il ne fait rien pour changer la situation» (p. 132).

L'espérance par contre, nous dit Ellul, est le fondement de toute résistance sérieuse, particulièrement lorsque le pire paraît certain. L'espérance est une véritable mise en mouvement, une ouverture réelle vers l'inconnu même quand la démarche semble désespérée. Dans son ouvrage de 1953 *La liberté pour quoi faire*, l'écrivain français Georges Bernanos nous propose une synthèse claire: «L'espérance est une vertu héroïque. On croit qu'il est facile d'espérer. Mais n'espèrent que ceux qui ont eu le courage de désespérer des illusions et des mensonges où ils trouvaient une sécurité qu'ils prenaient fausement pour de l'espérance» (p. 107).

Il est fort possible – et nous nous devons d'y croire – que ce soit l'espérance et non l'espoir qui se trouve au fond de la jarre de Pandore. Auquel cas, l'état du monde exige qu'elle soit libérée au plus vite!

L'INSTITUT

From Diplomacy to New Diplomacies

Building on History, Shaping the Future

The Geneva Graduate Institute is a pioneer institution when it comes to diplomacy for peace, particularly in its multilateral forms. Since its founding in 1927, the Institute has trained leaders and diplomats, and produced first-rate research and academic scholarship that has helped institutions, societies and policymakers from all parts of the world forge ahead in their sustained action for peace and prosperity.

Acknowledging profound contemporary international and geopolitical transformations and the emergence of important complex and plural dynamics of diplomacy, the Institute reaffirms today its pioneer role in the field of diplomacy by launching several new study programmes and initiatives and by deepening its work on this theme across the Institute.

In autumn 2023, the Eduqua-certified Executive Education initiated a new programme on Diplomacy, Negotiation and Policy. This course, which uses applied learning approaches blended with real-world case studies, foresight workshops, policy papers and simulation practice, offers participants a deep dive into the fast-changing national, regional and international diplomatic and policy spheres, allowing graduates to experiment with innovative tools to sharpen negotiation and mediation skills in complex diplomatic and geopolitical situations. This course is accompanied by a new Executive Education Upskill Series offering strategic assets for scientific diplomacy and focusing on critical areas such as the governance of and governing with digital technologies, negotiations with and through, but also around science, and anticipation (both scientific and diplomatic). This advanced curriculum is poised to play a pivotal role in shaping the skills and strategies of diplomats and international civil servants as scientific diplomacy becomes an important dimension of their mission.

In parallel, the Institute is introducing a Summer School on New Diplomacies, in the form of a week-long module explicitly focused on the multiplicity of emerging issues, actors, spaces, technologies, forms and processes characterising the advent of twenty-first century diplomacy(ies).

The Institute is also formalising a research cluster on Diplomacy and Global Governance. This dedicated theme points to the multidimensional work the Institute's community is engaged in around the new dynamics of diplomacy(ies): with an exploration of emerging fields, tools and the various actors of new diplomacy(ies), transnational and multistakeholder governance, the future of multilateralism, the transformation of foreign policy and statecraft, private-public partnerships and their development, as well as evolving forms of authority and legitimacy.

Alongside the Institute's disciplinary programmes, the recently revamped Master in International and Development Studies now offers seven dedicated thematic specialisations,

all of which also delve into generic and specific aspects of the new layered and multiple diplomacies. One of the compulsory courses in the common core part of the programme, "Global Issues and Perspectives", devotes fifty percent of its sessions on discussions that directly deal with questions and aspects of diplomacy and multilateralism.

Adding to its training, educational and research inputs on diplomacy, the Institute is also involved in the project Tech for Peace funded by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (EPFL). This ambitious new initiative represents a strategic intersection of technology and diplomatic efforts, emphasising the role of innovative solutions in fostering global peace and cooperation. In collaboration with key partners, efforts are underway to develop a new syllabus focused on artificial intelligence (AI) diplomacy for diplomatic missions in Geneva. This initiative aims to establish a comprehensive educational framework, recognising the increasing and challenging importance of AI in shaping the future of diplomacy and international engagements. These developments reflect a proactive approach to preparing diplomats and international relations professionals for a world where technology, diplomacy and global governance are now intertwined. The new series, accompanying research and educational activities signify a major step in adapting diplomatic training to meet the demands of twenty-first-century global landscape.

With nearly one hundred years of experience in training international diplomats and civil servants, the Institute boasts of continuously contributing to the peaceful exchange between nations. Amongst the many alumnae-i who have gone into the diplomatic corps, the Institute is proud to count the late United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, former Swiss Head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and President of the Swiss Confederation Micheline Calmy-Rey, and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) General Director Rafael M. Grossi.

In launching these different programmes at a time when the world is experiencing profound, continuing and mutating crises necessitating new bold thinking, diplomatic *savoir-faire*, historical knowledge and updated skills, the Geneva Graduate Institute is furthering its near-century-long commitment to the training of the world's diplomats and policymakers. As Institute Deputy-Director Professor Mohamed Mahmoud Mohamedou and former International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) President and Graduate Institute Senior Distinguished Fellow Peter Maurer write in the premiere issue of the Institute's *Geneva Policy Outlook*, "If diplomacy must indeed be informed by expertise, science, technology and citizen action, it has, first and foremost, to remain a layered integrator of international interaction; diplomacy is alive and well, but it necessitates adaptation and reinvention."



L'INSTITUT

Promoting a More Peaceful World through the Nagulendran Chair in Peace Mediation

Interview with
John Nagulendran
Co-founder of the Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance

The Geneva Graduate Institute is pleased to announce that it has established the Nagulendran Chair in Peace Mediation with the support of the Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance. This is the first-ever chair in peace mediation in Switzerland. Dr Achim Wennmann holds the chair with effect from 1 April 2024 for a term of five years.

You and your wife Dorothy founded the Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance. Why did you decide to create this alliance, and what are its objectives?

We launched the Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance because we believe that each of us as a global citizen is called to serve and support others by contributing our ideas, expertise, and resources to make this a better world through collaboration.

We can no longer rely just on governments or public institutions to resolve rapidly rising inequalities and the many global challenges. There is simply no time, and the challenges are far too huge and complex to act alone. Private philanthropy has a strategic role and responsibility, in collaboration with governments, multilateral institutions, civil society, and the private sector, to tackle these challenges and make a positive impact.

The Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance is investing in peacemakers and supporting capacity-building initiatives for those dedicated to a career in peacebuilding and humanitarian work. We do this by building strong

alliances with institutions such as the Geneva Graduate Institute to design and implement innovative projects which can inspire and strengthen capability and build resilience. We also seek to become partners of the organisations we support, investing in their people, governance and internal systems so that they can thrive and deliver on their core missions.

Why is it important to support peace mediation in general and in an academic institution like the Geneva Graduate Institute?

In this digital age of rapid technological advances, we have forgotten how to talk to one another as the primary means of navigating and resolving our conflicts at all levels, whether on the global stage or within our communities or at home. We have also forgotten how to hold safe spaces for dialogue and develop the skills and knowledge to demonstrate mutual respect and understanding. This has led to deep polarisation and unprecedented violence, armed conflicts, and breakdown of relationships across our societies.

In this context, there has never been a more important time in our history to double down on our efforts to support and inspire research, innovation, and teaching of peace mediation at our universities. We need to rise to the challenge of learning new skills and finding innovative solutions to bring back dialogue and mediation as the primary means of resolving conflicts rather than through war and violence.

SWITZERLAND,
Geneva.
From left to right:
Beth Krasna,
President of the
Foundation Board;
Marie-Laure Salles,
Director; Achim
Wennmann,
Director for
Strategic
Partnerships,
Professor of Practice
and holder of the
Nagulendran Chair
in Peace Mediation;
Dorothy and John
Nagulendran,
Co-Founders of
the Nagulendran
Philanthropy
Alliance.
Boris PALEFFROY

The Nagulendran Chair in Peace Mediation therefore seeks to shine a spotlight on the critical role of the Geneva Graduate Institute as a world-class institution in providing leadership in the field of mediation and dialogue, playing its part in promoting a more peaceful world. I can think of no other person more qualified and respected than Achim Wennmann to hold the inaugural chair at the Geneva Graduate Institute to inspire our next generation of peacemakers.

Why does this chair come at a very important moment for the Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance and the Geneva Graduate Institute?

When we speak with the peace mediation community, we are often told the blame for increased violence and wars and the failure of mediation to resolve conflict is due to global politics and the lack of courageous political leadership. While this may be one contributing factor, we believe that one of the major root causes lies in the peace mediation community not keeping up and reinventing itself in a rapidly changing world with new technologies. Furthermore, too many actors and organisations in the peace mediation community work in silos instead of drawing from one another's strengths to work collaboratively in an inclusive manner.

“The Nagulendran Chair in Peace Mediation seeks to shine a spotlight on the critical role of the Geneva Graduate Institute as a world-class institution in providing leadership in the field of mediation and dialogue, playing its part in promoting a more peaceful world.”

John Nagulendran
Co-founder of the Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance

“The Nagulendran Chair in Peace Mediation at the Geneva Graduate Institute aims to stimulate reflection and practice about how the conflict resolution and peace mediation field can offer responses and new approaches to re-establish dialogue and negotiations as the primary avenue for preventing and resolving violent conflicts and building new futures.”

Marie-Laure Salles
Director of the Geneva Graduate Institute

“The *Inspiring Next Generation of Peacemakers Series* in collaboration with the Peacebuilding Initiative has been a wonderful opportunity for students interested in peacebuilding to meet, network, and connect with various professionals in the peacebuilding sector, both in Geneva and internationally. As the moderator of the event on 7 May with Swiss peace mediator Julian Thomas Hottinger, I, on behalf of the Peacebuilding Initiative, am grateful to the Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance for providing me and my peers with endless expertise and opportunities for success.”

Shruti Satish
Master Student in International Relations and Political Science and President of the Peacebuilding Initiative

■ The Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance is a Swiss-based private philanthropic fund founded by Singaporeans Dorothy and John Nagulendran to promote a more peaceful world. Their mission is to harness the strategic value of private philanthropy and provide peacemakers with a platform for creativity, personal growth, and empowerment. They carry out this mission by investing in capacity-building initiatives to support leaders dedicated to a career in peacebuilding and humanitarian work.

L'INSTITUT

Keeping Geneva Relevant as a Global Hub

Interview with
Achim Wennmann
Director for Strategic Partnerships
Professor of Practice, Interdisciplinary Programme
Nagulendran Chair in Peace Mediation



Achim Wennmann is Director for Strategic Partnerships at the Geneva Graduate Institute and Professor of Practice in the Interdisciplinary Programme where he holds the Nagulendran Chair in Peace Mediation. He directs the Geneva Policy Outlook, which is a community-building and analysis initiative aimed to stimulate reflection on and provide practical impulses for international cooperation and global governance. More specifically, it asks how Geneva has to adapt as a global hub to a rapidly changing world. The Geneva Policy Outlook is an initiative of the Institute in partnership with the Republic and State of Geneva, the City of Geneva, and the Fondation pour Genève.

Why is the Geneva Policy Outlook important?

The Geneva Policy Outlook recognises a sense of urgency to adapt Geneva as a global hub. The wars in Ukraine and Gaza and the responses to them have rattled the foundations of global order. Climate change is a reality and its impact overwhelms many authorities and societies. New technologies and cyberspace are shaping massive systemic risks. Many political constituencies organise their interests transnationally through hybrid forms of diplomacy. At the same time “old” challenges – such as nuclear weapons, pandemics, environmental degradation, and inequality – remain as relevant as ever. With the Geneva Policy Outlook we have created a safe space for exchange on these issues across institutions and sectors while simultaneously asking ourselves what all this means for Geneva to remain a relevant global policy hub.

You have just published the second edition of the flagship publication, the Geneva Policy Outlook 2024 (GPO24). What is its main purpose?

The purpose of the *GPO24* is to showcase and reflect on upcoming issues and practical opportunities to adapt both Geneva and multilateral approaches. It draws on our

yearlong conversations and features some of our special guests that bring perspectives from outside Geneva. This is crucial as we need to break through the “Geneva bubble” if we wish to shape Geneva’s relevance in a changing world. This relies on critical assessment from the outside in. Also key is that we are working backwards from the future to the present to craft solutions. We live in an era where we know a lot about future trends and by taking this knowledge more seriously, we hope it can shape actions today.

Could you share a few key results of the GPO24?

The key observation this year is the need to adapt diplomacy to address systemic challenges with greater agility and pragmatism. In the face of so many varied risks to survival, there will be a greater expectation in diplomacy to manage the tensions between pragmatic compromise and normative ambitions. In an era in which Europe is losing global relevance and centres of gravity are shifting to Asia and Africa, Geneva must connect to other global hubs in new ways. Geneva must also be in a position to listen differently and explore how the diversity of views and positions find their voice into Geneva-based processes or negotiations.

Those interested in adapting Geneva to new world orders might ask themselves: What are the existing policy instruments and frameworks that do not need to change but need to be applied in a more coherent or comprehensive manner? What are the existing policy instruments and frameworks that require an upgrade to adjust to change? And what new policy instruments and frameworks are necessary? In finding answers to these questions, Geneva can defend its relevance by remaining a place in which all actors can meet and exchange freely.

→ **The Geneva Policy Outlook is available in English, French and German at www.genevapolicyoutlook.ch**



L'INSTITUT

Strengthening the Geneva Graduate Institute’s Academic Partnerships

The Geneva Graduate Institute strengthened its academic partnerships in early 2024, signing two new partnerships with the University of Lucerne and the Università Ca’ Foscari, and renewing a partnership with the National University of Singapore.

As part of the development of a stronger academic network in Switzerland, the Institute formalised its relationship with the University of Lucerne. Both institutions will seek to exchange students and faculty, and jointly conduct research projects.

The agreement with the University of Lucerne adds a new Swiss partnership to those established with the University of Geneva, the University of Lausanne, the University of St. Gallen, the Centre for Comparative and International Studies of the University of Zurich and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology.

The Institute and Università Ca’ Foscari, a public research university in Venice, Italy, also signed an academic partnership, which is aimed at fostering cooperation in areas of common interest and shared academic goals, involving students, faculty and staff. In addition, the “Maria Rosario Lazzati Niada” scholarship holders may complete an exchange semester at Università Ca’ Foscari as part of their study programme. The “Maria Rosario Lazzati Niada” scholarship programme has been established to allow talented Afghan women with a university degree to join the Institute and prepare for a career in international relations and development.

With the addition of Università Ca’ Foscari, the Institute extends its network of Italian partners which already includes Università Bocconi in Milan, LUISS in Rome, and the European University Institute in Florence.

On a visit to Singapore, Director Marie-Laure Salles renewed the student exchange agreement between the Institute and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. The Institute and the Lee Kuan Yew School agreed to explore further paths of collaboration – particularly in executive education and high-level outreach around the key question of multilateralism for the future.

The Institute has 43 exchange partnerships and 55 academic partnerships worldwide. During the 2023–2024 academic year, 58 students from the Institute have spent time abroad at one of our partner institutions, and we have welcomed in return 49 exchange students.

→ **www.graduateinstitute.ch/discover-institute/who-we-are/academic-partners**

ITALY, Venice.
Palazzo Foscari
at the heart
of Università Ca’
Foscari.
Andrea AVEZZÙ /
Università Ca’
Foscari Venezia /
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L'INSTITUT

Rénovation du domaine Barton

Un cadre exceptionnel pour l'enseignement,
les rencontres d'expert-es et l'organisation d'événements

Le domaine Barton, qui comprend la villa Barton, un Auditorium et quatre pavillons, a fait l'objet au cours des deux dernières années d'une rénovation complète. De 1938 à 2013, date de l'emménagement dans la Maison de la paix, la villa Barton a été le siège de l'Institut et le lieu où de nombreuses cohortes d'étudiant-es ont été formé-es. La rénovation a permis de réhabiliter un patrimoine historique et de l'élever au niveau de qualité qu'il mérite.

La première construction dans le domaine fut réalisée en 1830 par les époux Dunant-Gallatin, avant d'être agrandie et transformée en 1858 par Sir Robert Peel, qui entoura la villa d'un parc victorien, avec des chemins en boucle et des séquoias de Californie.

En 1892, la fille de Sir Robert Peel, Alexandra, s'installa dans la villa avec son mari, Daniel F.P. Barton, consul britannique à Genève. Après la création de la Société des Nations, Mme Barton facilita dans sa magnifique villa des échanges entre premiers ministres, ministres des affaires étrangères, diplomates des principales puissances de l'époque et responsables des nouvelles institutions internationales.

Mme Barton décéda en 1935, léguant le domaine à la Confédération qui le confia à l'Institut (à l'époque HEI), dont les locaux se trouvaient jusqu'alors dans la vieille ville. La villa fut rebaptisée villa Barton, le parc ouvert au public, et le domaine devint un lieu cosmopolite d'enseignement et de recherche.

Puis, sous l'influence de Jacques Freymond, directeur de l'Institut depuis 1955, une nouvelle transformation eut lieu, qui donna à la villa son enveloppe actuelle. Les deux pièces d'apparat furent préservées – et classées au patrimoine historique genevois – et quatre pavillons ajoutés. L'ensemble offrait l'équivalent d'un campus à l'américaine, avec des bureaux, des salles de cours, une

salle de conférence, une bibliothèque, des logements pour étudiant-es et une cafétéria, ce qui anticipait à échelle réduite la réalisation du Campus de la paix.

Finalement, en 2020, à la suite d'un accord avec la Confédération, l'Institut devint propriétaire des bâtiments et entreprit une restauration qui permettra de terminer en beauté l'élaboration du Campus de la paix. Le volume intérieur de la villa a été restructuré en respectant l'enveloppe extérieure, l'objectif étant de créer des espaces modulaires se prêtant aussi bien à l'enseignement qu'à l'organisation d'événements. L'auditorium Jacques-Freymond et la cafétéria ont également été modernisés.

Tous ces espaces, en plus de leurs activités académiques, peuvent être réservés pour différents types d'événements. Ils sont dotés de technologies multimédias de pointe pour des projections de films, des conférences et des visioconférences avec des traductions simultanées.

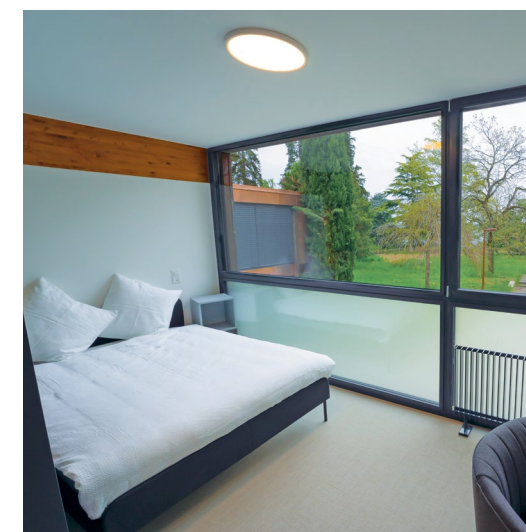
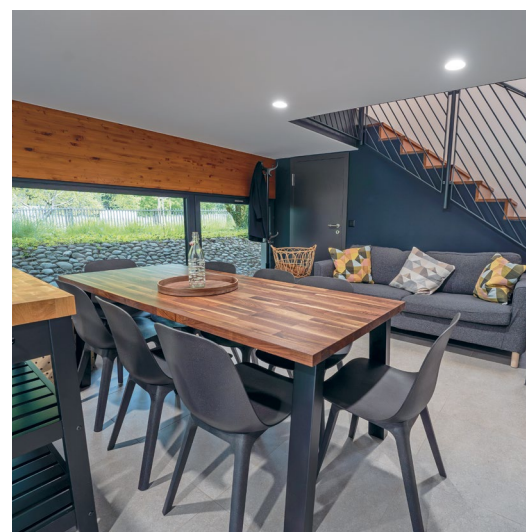
→ **Pour en savoir plus :**
www.graduateinstitute.ch/venues

→ **Pour effectuer une réservation pour un événement :**
events@graduateinstitute.ch

Villa Barton.



De haut en bas :
L'auditorium
Jacques-Freymond.
Une salle de cours.
L'intérieur
des pavillons.



L'ACTUALITÉ

Transformation in the High North

NATO's Nordic Enlargement and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

Jussi Hanhimäki

Professor of International History and Politics
Head of the International History and Politics Department



FINLAND, Hetta. Finnish soldiers take part in Steadfast Defender, a NATO exercise series. 5 March 2024. Anders WIKLUND / TT News Agency / AFP

Counterproductive. That seems to be an apt description of the impact of Russia's invasion of Ukraine on NATO. Rather than reining in NATO enlargement, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has produced two new member states: Finland and Sweden. The consequences of this transformation will shake the Eurasian security structure for years and decades to come.

The transformation happened very quickly. Within weeks of the February 2022 Russian invasion, talks about Finland and Sweden joining NATO were under way.

Finland's application sailed through the process of ratification in record time. By April 2023, the Finnish flag was hoisted at NATO headquarters as a sign that the 31st nation had joined the alliance. Sweden followed less than a year later. When NATO celebrated its 75th anniversary on 4 April 2024, it was difficult not to be impressed by what clearly was a record of success: from 12 states in 1949 to 32 in 2024, half of which had joined NATO since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. A growth chart to behold!

The addition of the two countries has major implications for NATO. Finland and Sweden may have low population density, but their combined landmass is roughly the same as that of France and the UK combined. Finland's membership more than doubled NATO's border with Russia. The addition of Sweden meant that the Baltic Sea effectively became a "NATO lake".

How will this geopolitical shift in the High North affect NATO and its relations with Russia? It is impossible to make a foolproof prediction. But a few points seem likely.

First, future reconciliation between Russia and NATO is even less likely than before. The Finnish President, Alexander Stubb, poignantly notes that there is no political relationship between Helsinki and Moscow. He has openly called for all NATO countries to increase their defence spending in preparation for (and avoidance of) the worst-case scenario. Russia has made it clear that the Nordic enlargement is a hostile act. It will take time before diplomacy can be revived.

Second, NATO's unity will continue to be tested by both external and internal factors. New member states add new concerns. Finland and Portugal will never have identical security interests. Moreover, domestic political changes will further test NATO's current consensus. In particular, the outcome of the US elections in November 2024 will have a major impact on the nature and durability of America's commitment to a joint allied effort.

Third, pressure will grow to "make a deal" that, one way or another, will compromise Ukraine's interests and sovereignty. The specifics of such a deal are impossible to predict, but its likelihood is growing by the week.

NATO's Nordic enlargement was a consequence of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. It happened quickly, and it has certainly changed the strategic outlook in the High North. Ironically, the impact of the enlargement on the war in Ukraine remains limited.



L'ACTUALITÉ

Hopes for Justice

The International Court of Justice on Gaza

Nico Krisch

Professor of International Law
Head of the International Law Department

In dark times, when political avenues appear as dead ends, we look elsewhere for hope, and often to courts that promise to deliver justice. In the international sphere, it is the International Court of Justice (ICJ) – with its seat in the splendid Peace Palace in The Hague – that most embodies this hope.

States have turned to the ICJ for many causes in recent years, but it is the case brought by South Africa against Israel over Gaza that has captured public attention the most. The Court's order on provisional measures in January made headline news, and it was live-streamed for a global audience. The ruling provided a response to hopes for some measure of justice in the face of a dire situation, most of all through a powerful expression of the facts and through the finding that "at least some of the rights claimed by South Africa and for which it is seeking protection are plausible", in particular "the right of the Palestinians in Gaza to be protected from acts of genocide".

The finding is remarkable as it reflects widespread concerns about potential genocide being committed in Gaza. It also projects unity – at a time of major division in international society, the fact that the order was supported by 15-2 and 16-1 majorities is a significant statement that surprised many observers.

The price of that unity, however, is vagueness. Vagueness first because the court does not specify which acts might constitute violations of the Genocide Convention. Vagueness also in the provisional measures themselves, which largely reproduce the wording of the Convention. In late March, the Court took a further step and required

specific types of humanitarian assistance. Yet it again stopped short of demanding a ceasefire, as requested by South Africa and widely seen as the only effective measure to limit civilian suffering. This drew much criticism, including from seven of the judges. Even the UN Security Council had eventually come together to demand a ceasefire three days earlier.

Lawyers know, of course, that courts are rarely saviours. The ICJ's jurisdiction here was limited to the Genocide Convention and did not extend to other questions of international law, and the Court is rather conservative in any event. Yet for a broader public, the limitations of its orders must have come as a disappointment – as well as a sobering realisation that too much cannot be expected from a court which, after all, is subject to significant political constraints. Courts draw much of their authority from the aura of a "court of justice", but after all, they are institutions of law, and only exceptionally can they redeem the broader promise off which they live.

GAZA STRIP, Khan Yunis. People walk past destroyed buildings on 9 April 2024. Yasser Qudihe / Middle East Images / Middle East Images via AFP



L'ACTUALITÉ

Peasants' Rights and Protests

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Peasants and farmers protest in many parts of Europe, claiming their right to live in dignity, with fair prices for their products and adequate remuneration for their work. They reject free trade agreements and call states and the European Union (EU) for more support.

In Europe, like in rest of the world, peasants are disproportionately affected by food insecurity and poverty. The rate of suicide in agriculture is much higher than in other professional activities. To support them, the main EU instrument is the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

CAP accounts for 31% of the EU budget, which means that EUR 55 billion are spent every year to support agriculture. However, the sum is unfairly distributed: only 20% of producers receive 80% of the CAP budget. Financial support is based on the size of farms, rather than the number of people active on the farms. Between 2005 and 2020, the number of farms in the EU declined by 37%, with small farms experiencing the strongest decline.

Affected by competition with products imported from other continents and sold in Europe at low prices, peasants often have to sell their products below the costs of production. They are also pushed to transition to organic farming – the European Green Deal had the legitimate objective of 25% of organic farming in the EU by 2030 – without enough support to successfully make that transition.

At the United Nations (UN), this fight for peasants' rights started in 2008 in Geneva, when La Via Campesina proposed its "Declaration of Rights of Peasants – Women and Men" to respond to the 2008 global food crisis. Its call for a UN Declaration on peasants' rights was supported by several states, human rights experts, NGOs, and Geneva Academy's project on the rights of peasants. After six

years of negotiation at the Human Rights Council (HRC), the UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas (UNDROP) was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 17 December 2018. In October 2023, a UN Working Group of five independent experts was created by the HRC to promote and monitor UNDROP's implementation.

UNDROP enshrines many rights that are crucial to respond to the current crisis, including the rights to food, food sovereignty, fair prices, sufficient salaries, social security, seeds, land, and other productive resources. It also includes many provisions through which states committed to support peasants in their transition towards agroecology and organic farming. UNDROP and the right to food provide a strong legal basis for a just transition towards sustainable food systems in Europe.

GERMANY, Singen.
Cornfield in morning light.
Conny POKORNY / iStock

L'ACTUALITÉ

« Je suis d'où je vais ! » Du voyage de terrain au voyage intérieur

Interview avec

Alessandro Monsutti

Professeur d'anthropologie et sociologie



À l'occasion de deux expositions réalisées en collaboration avec les artistes Carlo Vidoni et Loris Agosto, le professeur Alessandro Monsutti fait le lien entre la démarche artistique et ses nombreuses années de recherches parmi les migrant-es et les réfugié-es.

Vous avez installé tout récemment à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut une nouvelle exposition intitulée « Je suis d'où je vais ! » en collaboration avec l'artiste Loris Agosto. Quel est l'objectif de cette exposition ?

Loris Agosto a été frappé et touché par cette phrase que m'a dite un montagnard afghan dans le lointain été 1996 et avec laquelle j'ouvre mon ouvrage *Homo itinerans*: « Je suis d'où je vais ! » La vie en action, la vie comme voyage. Il a également lu certains de mes textes poétiques. Il s'en est inspiré pour concevoir des sculptures où l'on distingue des visages humains, sans que l'on sache bien s'ils sont en train de naître ou de se faire engloutir. L'œuvre, visible à la bibliothèque de l'Institut, est complétée par un texte de poésie visuelle: *Lettre à la terre*, le dialogue imaginaire entre un homme et la planète qui le porte et le nourrit, composé en pleine période de confinement causé par la pandémie de Covid-19.

Pourquoi avez-vous décidé de développer des collaborations artistiques ?

Je ressentais le besoin d'explorer de nouveaux modes d'expression, d'élargir le cadre académique. Je ne me suis pas inventé peintre, sculpteur, photographe ou cinéaste.

J'ai toujours lu de la poésie et ai poussé les limites de mon écriture. J'ai d'abord conçu avec Carlo Vidoni une exposition intitulée *Destiny/Destination*, qui a abouti à un ouvrage réunissant des textes et des dessins. Les lignes de la main avaient constitué notre point de départ esthétique et narratif. Elles racontent des histoires, elles portent un message de singularité et dans le même temps d'universalité. Les personnes que nous avons rencontrées ont parlé en évoquant leur expérience migratoire d'une humanité commune, caractérisée par une tension entre l'attachement pour les lieux où l'on a grandi et la curiosité pour le monde qui existe au-delà des murs de la maison.

Vous effectuez depuis de nombreuses années des recherches parmi les migrant-es et les réfugié-es. Quel voyage intérieur vous a mené à la démarche artistique ?

La recherche est une manière d'être citoyen, d'être au monde. Je conçois l'anthropologie comme un double mouvement: questionner les catégories supposées allant de soi; s'appuyer pour le faire sur les faits et les récits de la vie de tous les jours. Conduire des recherches de terrain en Afghanistan n'est pas aisé. Les conditions de sécurité sont précaires, on vit de façon frugale, souvent privé de la sphère intime. Cela a été une leçon de modestie qui a relativisé mes besoins en comparaison avec ce que devaient affronter les personnes parmi lesquelles j'évoluais. Le voyage intérieur qui m'a conduit à ressentir la nécessité d'écrire des textes poétiques s'appuie sur les voyages que j'ai entrepris en compagnie des Afghans. L'inconfort physique a conduit à une ouverture mentale et morale.

De gauche à droite: L'artiste Loris Agosto et le professeur Alessandro Monsutti.
Boris PALEFROY

LE DOSSIER

AFRICAS RISING?

After a century marked by decolonisation and the imposition of a development model based on Western standards, Africa has entered the 21st century with a new status thanks, among other things, to its demographic dynamism (2 billion inhabitants in 2050 according to the UN, over 50% of whom will be under 25), its sustained economic growth, its extensive mineral and energy resources, and its drive for political leadership.

Additionally, since the end of the Cold War, emerging countries are successfully challenging the leadership of the West and are transforming this plural continent. If China has come to play a preponderant role, notably in terms of infrastructure development, the existence of multiple Africas presents prospects for a host of other international actors.

The continent's development, however, is not without raising many questions, as it is still marked, in many ways, by issues of poverty and inequalities, as well as civil conflict and political repression.

The African continent is seeking more than ever to assert its autonomy of decision and action by making the most of its diverse potential. How will Africas – in their plural dimension – take advantage of this dynamism to write a new page in their history in the decades to come?

Dossier produced by the Research Office and based on *Global Challenges* (n°. 15, 2024), a series of dossiers designed to share with a wider public the ideas, knowledge, opinions and debates produced at the Geneva Graduate Institute.

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IN FROM THE PERIPHERY: HOW AFRICA CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAKING OF A PLURIVERSAL WORLD

Dêlidji Eric **Degila**

Professor of Practice of International Relations

The growing currency of the “Africa rising” discourse over the last two decades is accompanied by a debate on the place of Africa in international relations as well as how the continent contributes to the making of a world of multiples. The narrative first appeared following what was termed at the beginning of

in the region. Besides, demographic projections suggest that by 2050, the sub-Saharan part of the continent will count more than 1.3 billion working-age people. Consequently, it is necessary to take seriously ongoing trends in the region, which is often portrayed without nuance as a blind spot of the world order.

status and hierarchies. A meta-reading of the international system does not capture the contributions of the diverse players and spaces from Africa to the fabric of a pluriversal world. A critical issue at stake is the unequal recognition of epistemes, institutional and social innovations offered by the multiple agents shaping Africa.

If we look only at the European experience of state-building, well described by Charles Tilly as a process mainly structured around war and taxation, how can we make sense of other trajectories – particularly African – characterised by the aggregation of intertwined experiences involving transnational identity communities? For example, how do we value political institutions which pre-existed in the former Empire of Ghana before the British coloniser conquered this West African nation? Does the continued differentiation related to African socio-political peculiarities simply serve to perpetuate double standards and asymmetries in knowledge production?

The prevailing context of epistemic hierarchies restrains the prolific contributions that Africa and more broadly the Global South can offer to the IR discipline, not just as a place to collect raw materials, but also as a space where innovative contributions

“It is important to underline the diversity of socio-economic growth taking place in the region.”

the 21st century by Alice Amsden the “rise of the rest”¹ – i.e., the achievement by certain developing states of high levels of economic growth and productivity. However, the continued presence of disparities in the distribution of wealth and resources across the globe tends to promote the marginalisation of Africa in a globalised world. In that context, it is important to underline the diversity of socio-economic growth taking place

The debate on the role of Africa in global affairs is complex and should be engaged in a multi-layered perspective, as should the analysis of Africa in the discipline of International Relations (IR). The prevailing tension between how experiences from the region inform IR scholarship on the one hand, and the status granted to African agents as second league players in world affairs, on the other, questions the issue of



can emerge. A critical move towards better capturing ongoing trends on a global scale is to provide equal recognition to Africa’s experiences as relevant contributions to the making of our pluriversal world. This necessitates broadening our schemes for thinking and apprehending how the global arena works. For instance, how do we better take into consideration relational ontologies promoted by the Pan-African doctrine as the foundation of the continent’s engagement in world affairs? As advocated by Kwame Nkrumah and his Pan-African peers in 1960s, taking into consideration social morphologies linked to particular spaces is an important way to adopt a balanced perspective that encompasses multiple worldviews. Doing so prevents a hierarchical understanding of the international system, beyond a static and binary centre-periphery configuration.

A close look at African states’ engagement in world affairs through the African Union sheds light on how playing the regional game becomes a privileged strategy for promoting and asserting Africa’s views on global issues. In 2018, the African Union, based on the Pan-African doctrine, recognised the African diaspora as the sixth subregion, which is a unique institutional innovation for promoting African regionalism. In the same vein, the 9th Pan-African Congress, to be held in Lomé in late October 2024, will focus on the theme “Renewal of Pan-Africanism and Africa’s Role in the Reform of Multilateral Institutions: Mobilising Resources and Reinventing Ourselves for Action”.

The decision in September 2023 to make the African Union a permanent member of the G20 is a paradigmatic example of the growing recognition of Africa as

a regional player. Promoting the Pan-African doctrine of “Try Africa first” is grounded in shared experiences and is driven by a continual search for a common denominator. It sheds a particular light on the vivacity of the African regionalism, and consequently gives voice to a certain global vision of our common future, that we should listen to more. Ultimately, it is a call to better value the multifaceted configurations and views Africa offers in the making of a pluriversal and inclusive world.

Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of Ghana and its predecessor state, the Gold Coast, from 1951 to 1966.
Ann RONAN / AFP

¹ Alice H. Amsden, *The Rise of “The Rest”: Challenges to the West from Late-Industrializing Economies* (Oxford University Press, 2001).



AFRICAS RISING?

VIOLENT PASTS AND OTHER FUTURES

Aidan Russell

Associate Professor of International History and Politics

Violent pasts imperil the future. But they may also be the means of building one. “Remembering with the future in mind”, as the South African scholar Bernard Lategan has urged, is a difficult thing to do. Memories of violence seem only to weigh down, and never uplift; to divide, not to unite. Translating from memory to history is no less uncomfortable. Histories of violence in Africa risk flirting with that most destructive of caricatures, that all there is to life in Africa is death. What can histories of violence offer for the future, beyond reminding us of the worst of the past?

The thing that matters about violent pasts is that they are never truly past. They live in the present, entangled with the future. We do not “move on” – not completely, not all at once, not at the same speed, some of us not at all. Pain, grief and fear shape lives that have known suffering. Both anxiety and anger can propel repetition, the past revolving in cycles, alternations and escalations. The damage caused by acts and regimes of violence forms the rubble from which a future must be built. Speaking about a violent past does not liberate us from it; neither does ignoring it.

On one level, histories of violence press the question of responsibility. This is more than simple blame: how can we talk of justice today, or of a more just tomorrow, if we do not ask ourselves who bears responsibility for the damages of yesterday? The presence of the past continues to be felt at least until justice can be done, in whatever form that may be. Exploring dimensions of historical responsibility structures debates about what such justice should look like.

But histories of violence are monstrous things in more than one respect. They swiftly become entangled and

RWANDA, Kigali. Rwandan women work on the 1994 Genocide Memorial site at Gisozi. 19 February 2004. Gianluigi GUERCIA / AFP

enwrapped with themselves. We can’t talk about who is to blame for genocidal acts, for example, without talking about the structural ruptures that lie behind them, that are entangled in them. Local crimes are suspended in global injustices. One history of violence leads to another.

As we follow such entanglements, a key question that emerges is *how*. The damage stays with us; asking how it came to be gives us clues as to what must be done with it. Understanding the violence of colonial rule, for example, is an essential task for meeting postcolonial challenges. There is no return to what has been lost, but looking back may help reveal the paths towards building something new from what remains. This is what African nationalists attempted at independence, building new societies with the broken pieces of colonial territories. It is also what Pan-Africanists must do today, building a future from the compounding damages and unsolved problems left both by colonial rule and the flawed nationalist projects that followed.

But there is also another face to histories of violence, one that does more than show us what went wrong and why. Here history does not seek an explanation of how, or the framing of justice, but the witnessing of life. Emerging from the worst of human experience, some of those who do not move on also find means to live with. This must mean living with the loss and the damage, but also living with others – others who have lost, others who have harmed, others who have gained from that harm, others who will never understand.

In Rwanda and Burundi, two countries most beset by intimate violence over the past sixty years, the word is *kubana*: not to pursue justice, not to reconcile, but to live with another – ideally *kubana neza*, to live with another well. More modest

a goal than achieving true justice or changing the nature of power, to live with another well buys a little time – time from which possible futures can emerge. Living-with is not in itself sufficient to prevent recurrence and escalation of violence over time; justice and transformation cannot be set aside. But in witnessing the practices of *kubana neza* we begin to find the truest value of violent histories for more hopeful futures: evidence that these futures have already been imagined – and, in part, lived.

future out of individual lives and gestures; it diluted or sacrificed justice for the sake of “moving on” towards its dream of the future, and left many behind in the process. But to the extent that such grand schemes have disappointed, they have also sketched something of the possible – a possibility that others, far from the spotlight, have lived.

Felwine Sarr argues for utopian ways of thinking as a means of liberating Africa from models and futures imposed from elsewhere.

“More modest a goal than achieving true justice or changing the nature of power, to live with another well buys a little time – time from which possible futures can emerge.”

Humility and utopianism together shape these possibilities. More hopeful futures are born from a confluence of historical paradoxes: a desire to “move on” and a recognition that the past is always present; a desire to see a completely different world, and a modesty to act on the humblest of scales. The transformative power of forgiveness was the dream of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and this promise brought equal parts admiration and criticism. It asked the impossible, and attempted to build a collective

Daily acts of living-with give modest life to such utopias. *Kubana neza* is not a new idea. It is not in itself the product of violence. It can scarcely be boiled down to a simple set of policies to be implemented, nor does it displace the desire for justice. But it is the most valuable face of Africa’s histories of violence for the building of its futures. Looking at past violence – understanding how it is never truly past – shows that living-with is possible, for some. And from that possibility, futures are made.



AFRICAS RISING?

ENERGY TRANSITION AND GLOBAL TAX REFORM: BOOSTING AFRICA(S) ON THE RISE?

Gilles Carbonnier

Professor of Development Economics

We don't know the situation in your country. It's you: you have to make regulations for your country. Not we in Switzerland." This is what a Swiss parliamentarian replied to a Ghanaian filmmaker who was shooting a documentary film on illicit financial flows (IFFs) in commodity trade. Every state is indeed expected to enact legislation to protect and advance its own interests. But is this good enough? To what extent are stronger international cooperation and

global governance necessary to help resource-rich African countries such as Ghana mobilise domestic resources for development? And, to start with, is Africa indeed on the rise?

Aggregating 54 very diverse states into one homogenous African entity does not allow for sweeping generalisations; in this article, we will focus on commodity-dependent countries. Besides, in the African context, macro-economic data does not necessarily reflect reality, as most economic

activities in Africa are informal and statistical offices under-resourced. That said, one thing is certain: Africa's population is on the rise. It is estimated to have doubled since 1995 to reach 1,460 million in 2023, or 18% of the world's population. Forecasts indicate that Africans may number 2,485 million by 2050, accounting for over one in every four humans. The continent will remain comparatively young, with a median age moving from 18 today to 25 by 2050.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Lubumbashi. Workers stand beside bags of a mixture of cobalt and copper at the STL (Société pour le traitement du terril de Lubumbashi) processing plant. 1 December 2011. Phil MOORE / AFP

Such a steady demographic growth raises challenges. For example, a high youth bulge tends to be associated with a higher risk of armed conflict, aggravated by ever greater climate risks. Additionally, the expansion of cities, accentuated by migratory pressures, requires massive investment in urban infrastructure. But demographic growth also offers unique opportunities: Africa's comparative advantage is shifting from a relative abundance of land – which led many countries to specialise in raw commodity exports and extensive agriculture – to a relative abundance of labour. To stimulate job creation and sustainable development, experts and policymakers are looking at ways to “leapfrog development” toward a green economy, drawing on the digital and energy transitions while skipping polluting industrial stages.

Africa is estimated to hold over a fifth of the world's supply of the critical minerals needed for the energy transition, such as cobalt, copper, manganese and lithium. Countries with the largest reserves have long been courted by major powers vying for access to critical metals and minerals. The opening in 2023 of the Lobito railway corridor linking Congolese and Zambian mineral deposits to the Atlantic coast is seen as a major milestone, supplying American and European industry and reducing dependence on China.

How can we prevent this commodity boom from turning into yet another resource curse for

producer states? First, the governance of critical minerals requires effective checks and balances at domestic and global levels together with solid social and environmental safeguards. Second, economic diversification is key, all the more as industrial mining is capital-intensive but does not create many jobs (contrary to informal and small-scale mining). This calls for moving up the value chain, for example by building local refining capacity and producing battery parts for export, as well as e-motorcycles and other goods and services for booming domestic markets and the growing African middle classes. This, in turn, requires investing in education and infrastructure.

Funding needs are massive at a time when African countries face tight budgetary constraints and high debt levels. The African Development Bank estimates that the continent needs about USD 1,300 billion annually to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals in addition to USD 2,700 billion to implement its climate commitments by 2030. Africa must thus mobilise huge resources while it is estimated to lose about USD 90 billion annually to IFFs. Tax evasion by mining firms has been estimated to deprive sub-Saharan Africa of up to USD 730 million a year. In a nutshell, African countries must be able to strengthen their tax base and raise their tax-to-GDP ratio that currently lies at 16% (compared with 33% in OECD countries).

Returning to the Swiss parliamentarian's quote suggesting that African states such as Ghana must address these issues themselves: research suggests that this is only part of the solution. To curb IFFs, commodity-dependent African countries can indeed adopt a range of measures, and technological innovations can help. Yet, enduring pull factors must simultaneously be addressed in major financial and trading hubs. At the global level, tax governance reform must preserve the policy space for African countries to implement solutions adapted to institutional and contextual realities.

African leaders have thus called for a more inclusive process than that of the OECD tax reform framework. In November 2023, the UN General Assembly saw 125 states support a Nigeria-led proposal to place negotiations on a global tax convention under the auspices of the United Nations. This was hailed as a victory in a decades-long struggle by developing countries for fairer tax rules, allowing for more effective participation by the Global South than has been the case thus far under the aegis of the OECD. In the context of heightened North-South tensions and calls to do away with double standards and colonial legacies, the strengthening of a fair and transparent global tax system is a critical part of a broader agenda to restore trust in multilateralism.

“In the context of heightened North-South tensions and calls to do away with double standards and colonial legacies, the strengthening of a fair and transparent global tax system is a critical part of a broader agenda to restore trust in multilateralism.”



AFRICAS RISING?

AFRICAN CONSERVATION FUTURES

Bill Adams

Claudio Segré Professor of Conservation and Development

The colonial roots of biodiversity conservation are clear to read in the historical record. Game reserves were established in the South African Cape in the 1880s to protect animal populations targeted by European hunters, and were soon copied in the German colony of Tanganyika and British Kenya. By that time the first, and most famous, national park had been created in the United States, at Yellowstone (1872). The first US parks were created on expropriated land by a government that saw nature in terms of an unpeopled wilderness,

symbolic of the settler nation. The US claimed vast areas of land from which indigenous inhabitants had been cleared – some were set aside for conservation.

Euro-American ideas of parks to preserve nature from human settlement were soon copied, especially across the British Empire (Australia, Canada and New Zealand by 1894), as well as in Europe (e.g. Switzerland in 1914). In Africa, the first national park (the Parc National Albert) was created by royal decree in the Belgian Congo in 1925, closely followed by the Kruger National

Park in South Africa in 1926 (named after a famous white Boer leader).

An International Congress for the Protection of Nature was held in Paris in 1931, followed in 1933 by an intergovernmental conference held in London proposing national parks. Colonised nations were not invited. After the Second World War, as the prospect of decolonisation loomed, more national parks were declared in Africa – for example Nairobi National Park in Kenya in 1946 on the edge of the rapidly growing city of Nairobi, Serengeti in Tanzania and Murchison Falls in Uganda in 1951.

KENYA, Nairobi.
Masai giraffe in the savanna outside the city, National Park Nairobi.
Christophe RAVIER / Biosphoto / AFP

“The priorities of national development justified population displacement to create national parks in very much the same way as they did for projects such as dams, industries or agricultural schemes.”

You might expect the governments of independent African countries to have abandoned such examples of blatantly colonial and Euro-American ideas about nature. Far from it – the creation of protected areas boomed in Africa, as elsewhere. The area protected globally more or less doubled over the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

Why were colonial models of conservation retained? Historians suggest that national parks appealed to governments as part of the project of modernity, and as a way to build a sense of national identity in countries whose arbitrary boundaries reflected colonial *détente* rather than precolonial cultural or political identities. The geographer Roderick Neumann put it neatly in 2004: “The wild areas of national parks and reserves, as products of the creation of the modern nation state, are as much an expression of modernism as skyscrapers.”

It was also believed that national parks could support national economic growth through a tourist industry. Tourism had been central to the success of the US parks, and the model was copied enthusiastically in Africa. In 1952, the first scheduled flight by jet airliner landed in Entebbe, en route to South Africa. Within a few years, global package tourism had begun, with African national parks underpinning the extensive commercialisation of wildlife.

Certainly, conservation thrived in postcolonial Africa. Besides, the priorities of national development justified population displacement to create national parks in very much the same way as they did for projects such as dams, industries or agricultural schemes.

Today, there is no single set of ideas across Africa about how conservation should be done. In some countries (Tanzania or South Africa, for example), conservation budgets depend on income from sport hunting (as do communities in many countries, as under the CAMPFIRE Programme of Zimbabwe), while in others (Kenya for instance), all hunting is banned.

Of course, everywhere, government-designated protected areas still dominate the sector. Ambitious global targets for protected lands and seas (30% by 2030 under the Kunming-Montreal Global Biodiversity Framework of 2023) suggest protected areas will continue to expand, but they may have to change. Conservation corridors such as the Selous-Niassa corridor in southern Tanzania attempt to combine wildlife and people, but are controversial. For critics, conservation authorities show an appetite for land and disregard for the rights of rural people that resembles a hangover of colonial governance.

But there are other models. Many countries (Zimbabwe or Namibia for example) have extensive

community-based conservation programmes. In Kenya, wildlife “conservancies” range from large private estates to community-owned and controlled areas. A number of countries are experimenting with public-private partnerships, such as that with the international NGO African Parks, which manages 21 protected areas in 14 countries. There are also numerous experiments with market-based approaches to conservation, from “Rhino Bonds” to carbon offset payments.

Africa is not one place – there are many different countries, with different histories. Outside influences still intrude (the popular Western anguish about hunting for instance), and international debate about African wildlife is amplified by globalised social media. African governments recognise the importance of biodiversity loss as a crisis alongside climate change and numerous other serious challenges, not least poverty and inequality. Many different strategies are being tried across Africa, and there are examples of respectful partnerships with local people to challenge more militaristic approaches. African conservationists are innovative, passionate and bold. The future of conservation in Africa will be shaped by the willingness, and capacity, of people across the continent to find space for wildlife.

WHO IS RISING? POPULAR CRITIQUES OF THE ECONOMIC POWER OF MEGA- CHURCHES IN GHANA

Anna-Riikka Kauppinen

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They say ‘Africa is rising’. But I think it’s only the politicians and pastors who are rising”, said Kodjo, a friend of mine who worked in the financial sector in Ghana’s capital Accra. At the time of talking to him in March 2019, I was in Ghana to do fieldwork on a banking crisis that had resulted in the collapse of nine local banks. After nearly a decade of the proliferation of Ghanaian-owned private banks, which had given an impression of a robust, “rising” private sector, in 2018, many of these new banks became insolvent and were taken over by state-owned banks. Numerous finance professionals lost their jobs while ordinary bank depositors struggled to get access to their savings. It was thus a moment

While the popular critique of politicians and their practices of wealth accumulation is well-established in public debates and academic scholarship on African politics, in recent years, Christian pastors have become subject to a similar line of critique. Kodjo’s comment about “pastors rising” draws attention to the increasing political economic role of Christian religious leaders and churches in sub-Saharan Africa. Christian pastors have become part of the established elites in many African countries. To make sense of who, precisely, is rising is thus an essential aspect of understanding the new kinds of actors who are wielding political economic power in Africa in the 21st century.

actors in Africa. The first point to underscore in this regard is that Charismatic Pentecostal churches have been incredibly successful at building institutions. The “mega-church” is a global model, which originated in US evangelical culture. It stands for an expansive Christian organisation that has a large branch network and that is growth-oriented. These churches are also very structured organisations, with financial, PR, and HR departments, which means they have become significant employers in many African countries. They are also often architecturally impressive physical infrastructures that have been literally “rising” in the eyes of ordinary city-dwellers.

Another reason for the rise of the mega-church lies in Pentecostalism’s encouragement of active participation in church life. Ordinary church members typically volunteer their labour and give money and other material resources for advancing the church’s evangelical cause, to win more souls for Christ. For instance, it is common for church members to pay a tithe, namely 10% of their monthly income, to the church community, and volunteer many hours of labour per week to serve in diverse committees and church events. Additionally, West African mega-church headquarters receive large volumes of remittances from their branches in the African diaspora in Europe, the US, and also parts of Asia, aiding their institutional expansion.

“Pastors have become trusted business advisors thanks to their success at building institutions.”

when Kodjo was perhaps particularly critical of the narrative of “Africa rising”, although he was among what has been widely termed the “rising African middle class” with a professional career in finance. He challenged the listener to be more specific about what and who has been rising in Africa in recent decades.

The past 30 years have seen a growth in the popularity of the Charismatic Pentecostal variant of Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa. One visible manifestation of its popularity is the rise of Charismatic Pentecostal mega-churches in urban areas, which underpins the political and economic influence of Christian



As one result of their expansion, Charismatic mega-churches and their leading pastors hold influence way beyond the domain of “the religious” – they have become important actors in the national economy. For example, in Ghana, mega-churches have accumulated capital resources, which circulate in local economies through different formal, and informal, channels. Pastors have become trusted business advisors thanks to their success at building institutions. Many pastors serve on corporate boards and advise entrepreneurs on how to build a business. Another aspect of their economic role is their investment of church capital in diverse types of urban ventures; currently, more research is needed on the kind of material effects that such investment activities generate on the ground, and who or what may be rising, concretely and figuratively, as a result of such church-led financial activity.

When writing this piece in March 2024, popular critiques of the perceived “rising” economic potential of the country have become even more pronounced in Ghana, which finds itself in the midst of a prolonged post-COVID economic crisis. Many Ghanaians aside from Kodjo might agree with the anthropologist Janet Roitman, who has argued that “Africa Rising” is a global catchphrase of which one purpose is to convince global capital markets of Africa’s investment potential. The “rising African middle class” is part of this grand narrative, which may serve the interests of capital rather than the interests of those who might aspire to be part of this middle class. At the same time, it is important to understand how ordinary people, from professional experts to informal sector sellers, themselves engage with the very narrative of “rising Africa”, and make acute observations on who or what is rising, and who is left wanting.

GHANA, Cape Coast. A man walks toward the St Francis de Sales Cathedral.
17 February 2013.
Chris STEIN / AFP

L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Training a New Generation of Unique Generalists

MINT & ARPs

Interview with

Davide Rodogno

Professor of International History and Politics
Head of the Interdisciplinary Programme (MINT)

Claudia Seymour

Head of Applied Research Projects (ARPs) and Practice, MINT

The MINT programme will see its first class of students graduate at the end of this academic year. What sets MINT apart as a master's programme?

Davide Rodogno: MINT is a two-year interdisciplinary master at the heart of International Geneva, preparing a new generation of professionals, ready for the current and complex challenges of the world.

MINT offers students the opportunity to choose specialties out of seven topics at the heart of global issues: conflict, peace and security; human rights and humanitarianism; gender, race and diversity; environment and sustainability; global health; mobilities, migration and boundaries; sustainable trade and finance. Students are encouraged to then go beyond their chosen specialties and craft their curriculum accordingly. Additionally, Transversal Theme Electives allow students to explore how their specialisation is linked to other, broader issues that cut across specific topics.

MINT trains unique generalists equipped with solid knowledge on governance and development, with specialised expertise in an area of international affairs and an interdisciplinary way of thinking. MINT students understand interconnections between different components, and possess the skillset necessary to collaborate and communicate with a wide range of stakeholders in the international policy arena.

The Applied Research Projects (ARPs) are an integral part of the master's programme and represent 15 credits. What is an ARP, and what added value does it bring to students?

Claudia Seymour: ARPs are a key component of the MINT programme, required for all students. They involve student-led, group-based, policy-relevant research for

institutional partners working in Geneva and beyond on issues of global concern. Interested organisations propose research projects for our students. As part of their research process, students conduct in-depth literature reviews, design research methodologies, and undertake original research.

The main pedagogical aim of ARPs is for students to apply their classroom learning and their analytical and research skills to real-world policy challenges. They receive academic support in this process, including supervision by an ARP faculty lead, who is both an academic researcher and an expert practitioner. Faculty leads maintain a close liaison between the partner organisations and the students, guiding students in how to bridge the academic and policy worlds.

Through their participation, students learn first-hand how to apply their critical analytical skills in a way that is relevant for policy and practice beyond their MINT degree, and to bridge the research-policy divide. As MINT students represent an expansive diversity of nationalities, cultures, and academic backgrounds, ARPs offer a key learning opportunity to collaborate intensively and to practice interpersonal skills invaluable to their future careers.

Davide Rodogno: MINT is training future researchers, practitioners and leaders, and ARPs are one of the first reality checks with the professional world. While students can indicate preferred projects, they often do not get their top choice, and in all cases, they are expected to work on the project blueprint and guidelines as defined by the partner organisation. Students must adapt to these external constraints, and learn to apply their skills of analytical rigor and precision, impeccable presentation, clarity of writing style and intelligibility of arguments. This is a challenging and a very difficult task.

Students must also learn to use their diplomatic skills in group settings. They must show all the creativity they have and their intellectual and academic skills to prove that their arguments are compelling and worth being pursued. They must persevere, persevere... and persevere.



Which organisations do you collaborate with on ARPs, and on what themes?

Claudia Seymour: Applied research collaborations have been implemented by the Institute since 2009, and since then hundreds of successful partnerships have been forged, including with past ARP students, now alums, commissioning ARPs on their organisations' behalf. Partners include UN agencies, international organisations, NGOs, as well as private enterprises, which benefit from our students' fresh and interdisciplinary perspectives. Projects cover a wide range of topics relating to the seven MINT specialisations and often address cutting-edge topics that are at the frontiers of international relations, from cyber-mediation and artificial intelligence, to pandemic response, to climate policies.

A last word?

Davide Rodogno: Sometimes I hear MINT students complaining about the organisation, logistics and difficulties of the ARPs. They are right. Of course, the ARPs are the ultimate challenge for the Institute. They are extremely difficult to organise, entailing layered complications for us and for the students. They are totally worth it. We, instructors, patiently wait for our students to graduate. A few years later, some of them contact us,

letting us know that the world out there is terribly complicated, confusing, and ambiguous. The ARPs offer a small and limited ersatz of this real world, where it is difficult to make change happen and to have an impact. As head of the programme, I am extremely proud of our ARPs. Needless to say, I will persevere to improve all aspects related to the ARPs, together with Claudia and our 14 faculty leads, so that we can offer the best possible training for our MINT students.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/mint

From top left to right: Christophe Gironde, Rémi Viné, Valerio Simoni, Erica Moret, Nikhil Ray. From bottom left to right: Claire Somerville, Angèle Flora Mendy, Souhail Belhadj Klaz, Claudia Seymour, Davide Rodogno, Antonella Ghio, Boris PALEFROY

L'ENSEIGNEMENT

From the Classroom

Considering the Ethical Environment of Our Times

Claudia Seymour

Head of Applied Research Projects and Practice, MINT



Recently, one of my students surprised me by asking: *How do you expect us to know this if you haven't taught us?* Our conversation had been about how we collaborate in groups, within the framework of their Applied Research Projects (ARPs). Core learning aims for ARPs include strengthening interpersonal skills and capacities to work in teams. The longer view is that these capacities will one day help students to tap into the collective intelligence needed to generate solutions for the great social, economic, political and environmental problems of our times. What I had thought to be self-evident basics of effective group work – empathy and accountability – were in fact not so obvious to this extremely bright and talented 23-year-old graduate student. The lesson was mine to learn.

After all, why would I have expected her to know that qualities of empathy and a sense of accountability to a larger whole are so important? If we were to conduct a basic empirical assessment of our world today, what conclusions would we draw? If we were to question the expectations we have of our leaders, of our colleagues, and even of ourselves, what compelling evidence would we find on how much the principles of care and honest reckoning actually matter?

These principles are fundamental, urgent even. Yet the evidence does not hold up. If in the halls of power, in our classrooms and even in our own lives, we are not upholding empathy and accountability in each of our own actions, how could we expect it of our students?

Philosopher Simon Blackburn speaks of an “ethical environment”, a concept that helps us to comprehend how the ideas, norms and attitudes of any given period can allow us to find certain things acceptable, to make certain events possible.¹ Such an approach supports us in critically analysing, historically contextualising, economically theorising and politically contemporising the most horrific – or the most illuminated – manifestations of the human intellectual endeavour.

This brings us back to the question of accountability, for we remain very far away from eliminating “the scourge of war”, or realising “the fundamental human rights” and “the dignity and worth” of all,² or from enacting the urgent “integrated climate action” required of a balanced, regenerative ecosystem.³

Sometimes, we need to consider things more simply. If we have not yet achieved these most fundamental of achievable goals, why, then, would we expect this of the new generation?

¹ Simon Blackburn, *Ethics: A Very Short Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

² Preamble to the United Nations Charter (1945), <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/preamble>.

³ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, *Climate Change 2023: Synthesis Report* (2023), www.ipcc.ch/report/sixth-assessment-report-cycle.



L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Enseigner au cœur de la Genève internationale

Lucile Maertens

Professeure adjointe de relations internationales et science politique
Codirectrice du Global Governance Centre

À mon arrivée à l'Institut en septembre 2023, il me tardait de pouvoir enseigner au cœur de la Genève internationale. Spécialiste des organisations internationales et passionnée d'enseignement, j'aspire toujours à créer des dispositifs pédagogiques visant non seulement le développement des connaissances et des compétences des étudiant-es mais également leur professionnalisation et leur engagement avec la société.

Dans mon cours intensif de pré- rentrée aux étudiant-es de deuxième année de master, je leur ai proposé d'exposer, à la manière du Musée des Nations Unies à Genève, les sources primaires – documents, photographies, vidéos, objets – qui seraient exploitées dans leur mémoire. Il s'agissait de valoriser ainsi la recherche et ses artefacts, mais aussi de créer un espace, au moins le temps d'une journée, de présentation de leurs travaux à destination du grand public grâce à des légendes accessibles et une mise en scène attractive.

Axé sur l'apprentissage des méthodes qualitatives, mon séminaire du programme MINT se concentre sur l'étude des organisations internationales et tire profit de notre proximité avec les institutions intergouvernementales localisées à Genève. Parmi les techniques explorées, l'entretien occupe une place doublement importante: il constitue à la fois un outil de recherche auquel les étudiant-es ont pu se former et un moyen d'en apprendre davantage sur le quotidien de ces organisations et de s'entraîner pour celles et ceux qui aspirent à y travailler. Pour certain-es, c'était leur première interaction privilégiée avec une personne de la fonction publique internationale.

Dans mon enseignement électif *Politics of International Organizations*, la mise en situation est précisément au centre du dispositif pédagogique. En début de semestre, les étudiant-es participent à une simulation leur permettant d'endosser le rôle d'un-e professionnel-le de l'international. Ce jeu de rôle offre une expérience de la complexité du travail des organisations internationales, des défis de la prise de décision en situation d'urgence et des enjeux de coopération inter-organisationnelle. Le kit de simulation, initialement conçu avec des étudiant-es de l'Université de Lausanne, est ensuite complété: sur la base d'une recherche documentaire et d'entretiens, les étudiant-es créent de nouveaux personnages afin de l'enrichir. Cette simulation vise, *in fine*, à être jouée par le personnel d'organisations humanitaires et de développement, invité à échanger leur place le temps du jeu de rôle.

Ces trois expériences illustrent comment nous pouvons faire de l'enseignement un moment d'apprentissage mais aussi de mise en dialogue avec le monde qui nous entoure.



LES ÉTUDIANT·ES

Moderating the 2024 Geneva Gender Debate

Interview with
Marie Holch

Master Student in International and Development Studies (MINT)

Marie Holch discusses her experience moderating the fifth Geneva Gender Debate. The debate tackled the substantial gap between women’s particularly high stake in environmental conservation and their ability to act on it, due to their significant underrepresentation in institutions forming environmental policy.

What do you study, and what are you writing your thesis about?

I am a Master student in International and Development Studies, specialising in Gender, Race and Diversity. During my two years, I have focused on issues related to gender, peace and security as well as gender and development. In my MA thesis, I examine how gender has been integrated into UN disarmament efforts.

The motion debated was “This house believes that 50:50 representation of men and women should be made mandatory for all environment-related multilateral conferences, negotiations and fora”. Where did you initially stand on the issue, and did the debate cause you to think about the issue in a new way?

Before the debate, I was inclined to support the motion. In my experience, quotas are an effective tool to increase the representation of women or other marginalised groups in various contexts, especially when progress is very slow. However, as the “against” team showed, quotas are not

a stand-alone solution to address the root causes of gender inequality. Rather, it is one tool in the toolbox. So, I think the debate contributed to a more nuanced picture when it comes to equal representation of men, women and non-binary people. I also think it is important to take an intersectional feminist approach to quotas, which would mean looking not only at gender but also at intersecting identities. For example, in the context of environmental negotiations, this could mean making sure that indigenous women are represented in the negotiations.

You are the class representative of the MINT Gender, Race and Diversity specialisation, and you obviously feel strongly about the topic. What do you think is the number-one thing that needs to change for women and non-binary people to be systematically represented in positions of power?

I do not think there is one perfect solution. Systemic barriers vary from context to context. On the one hand, it is important to promote inclusive policies that address these structural barriers. On the other hand, there needs to be cultural change in regard to gender roles and expectations. Overall, we need to be careful not to be fooled by tokenistic representation and ensure that meaningful and intersectional representation is considered at all levels and positions.

SWITZERLAND,
Geneva. Marie Holch (centre) in conversation with the debaters (left to right): Ambassador Matthew Wilson, Ambassador Nadia Theodore, Jean-Pierre Reymond, and Adriana Quiñones. 5 March 2024. Boris PALEFROY



LES ÉTUDIANT·ES

From Washington, DC to Geneva A Year Abroad at the Geneva Graduate Institute

Interview with
Morgan Levenson

Master Student on Exchange from the American University’s School of International Service

What are you studying and what attracted you to the Geneva Graduate Institute to complement your education?

I am currently in the second year of a Master of International Relations at American University’s School of International Service. I applied to participate in an exchange at the Graduate Institute to study within Geneva’s international community and network with other peers and professionals. Prior to my time here in Geneva, I had only studied international affairs from within the US. I received a BA in International Politics from Pennsylvania State University, and I knew I had to study *international* relations from a more global perspective, so I applied to the Graduate Institute.

I was drawn by the Institute’s proximity to the United Nations and the option for students to apply for a library pass and study in the UN. I also appreciated the intensive French courses offered at the start of the fall semester. I met my closest friends in Geneva in the French courses during my first few days at the Institute, so I’m grateful to have had a language crash course and to have met them!

What is it like studying in Geneva compared to Washington, DC?

Students at the Institute are incredibly motivated and driven to network, learn, and pursue amazing careers in international relations, and I would say DC schools have a similar atmosphere. I’ve been working remotely for the US State Department throughout my time in Geneva and it’s

great to discuss and learn from peers who are interning for their governments or international organisations in Geneva. The community atmosphere within the Institute is special. Even as students strive for good grades and compete for incredible job opportunities, people are always willing to share their experiences or expertise to benefit their peers.

Have you encountered any opportunities while in Geneva that you would not necessarily have had access to without going abroad?

I’m grateful for my time at the Institute because I’ve been able to take in-depth, focused classes. I’m currently in a course called “The Many Faces of Iran: Regional, Nuclear, Military and Internal Dimensions”, for example. It’s rare to find a course focused only on Iran, so I appreciate the opportunity to apply my academic background from other courses on conflict resolution, security, and diplomacy within one case study all semester.

What stands out to you from your time at the Institute?

The friends I’ve made, and the academic atmosphere created by peers and professors at the Graduate Institute stand out to me. I’m inspired by the diverse knowledge, interests, and expertise of my colleagues here in Geneva and I look forward to keeping up with everyone’s careers as we move forward in our graduate programmes!

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/exchanges

LES ÉTUDIANT·ES

An Anthropological Journey through Bogotá

Pauline Marty

Master Student in Anthropology and Sociology



Swiss Master student in Anthropology and Sociology at the Geneva Graduate Institute, Pauline Marty recently returned from a semester abroad in Bogotá, Colombia, and shares her enriching experience studying in Spanish and embarking on fieldwork that has already influenced her academic journey.

Last July, I embarked on a journey to Abya Yala, also known as South America. Captivated by this continent for over five years, I had long dreamed of doing an exchange there, and life led me to the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá. My semester abroad was extremely intense and enriching, and it made for an invaluable experience that has already influenced my academic journey.

Pursuing a Master in Anthropology and Sociology, I am passionate about issues related to migration and gender, and Bogotá represented an incredible opportunity for me to study and conduct fieldwork for my thesis. Through my time in Colombia, I taught English in a sociocultural centre in a marginalised area of the capital.

Of course, I also took many courses, all in Spanish, which allowed me to gain a different perspective in the social sciences and to practise the language I learned to love through Gabriel García Márquez in a contemporary and ever evolving context. One example that comes to mind is from the first class of Geopolitics of Research, where I learned that using the term “third world” is more than normalised in Latin America, whereas in Europe, it has been cancelled and removed from our vocabulary due to its negative connotation. As trivial as it may sound, it left a strong impression on me.

That being said, what impacted me the most is undoubtedly my fieldwork. Being able to interact with the most marginalised population of the city – whether migrants, homeless people, sex workers, recyclers, or trans women – through the English classes I gave was an immense privilege and taught me a lot. All the *rolos* (i.e. people from Bogotá) strongly advised me against going to the neighbourhood, especially as the sociocultural centre itself was previously a brothel run by a major mobster.

Yet, this is where I met the bravest, most altruistic and sincere people. The Monday and Thursday afternoons spent in this sociocultural centre, surrounded by students, teachers, and social workers of unparalleled kindness, only reinforced my love for anthropology and ethnography. Emotions, strong objectivity, and privileged exchanges with my research participants represent to me the beauty of this discipline and method. Leaving the field and Colombia as a whole was extremely painful for me, but it also somehow proves the intensity of this experience. And rest assured, I am very happy to return to the Graduate Institute too, which I had missed a lot!

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/exchanges

COLOMBIA,
Bogotá. View from
the park of San
Alberto Magno at
UniAndes.
Pauline MARTY



LES ALUMNAE·I

IN MEMORIAM

Hommage à Cornelio Sommaruga

Cornelio Sommaruga, humanitaire et diplomate suisse, ancien étudiant de l'Institut, est décédé à Genève le 18 février 2024 à l'âge de 91 ans.

D'origine tessinoise, Cornelio Sommaruga a obtenu son diplôme de l'Institut (ex-HEI) en 1961 puis a été diplomate suisse à La Haye, Rome, Genève et Berne. Entre 1968 et 1973, il a représenté la Suisse auprès de l'Association européenne de libre-échange (AELE), la Conférence des Nations Unies sur le commerce et le développement (CNUCED), l'Accord général sur les tarifs douaniers et le commerce (GATT) et la Commission économique des Nations Unies pour l'Europe (CEE-ONU). Il est ensuite retourné à Berne où il a été notamment secrétaire d'État à l'Office des affaires économiques extérieures en 1984 et 1985, avant d'être nommé président du CICR en 1986, poste qu'il occupera de 1987 à 1999.

Au sein du CICR, il a joué un rôle humanitaire crucial dans une période marquée par la fin de la guerre froide et d'importantes crises humanitaires dues aux guerres de Yougoslavie et au génocide au Rwanda. Connu pour son franc-parler, notamment pour défendre les lois et principes qui protègent les victimes des conflits armés, il a aussi été le premier président du CICR à reconnaître publiquement les manquements de l'organisation dans l'aide aux Juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

Il a reçu de nombreux prix et distinctions honorifiques tout au long de sa carrière et, à sa retraite, a continué à contribuer au bien-être de la communauté internationale en présidant Initiatives et Changement et le Centre international de déminage humanitaire de Genève (CIDHG), basé à la Maison de la paix.

Membre du Conseil de fondation de l'Institut entre 2000 et 2004, qu'il a présidé *ad interim* en 2003, il était une présence importante à l'Institut au fil des décennies, comme en témoigne Davide Rodogno, professeur d'histoire et politique internationales et responsable du programme MINT: « J'ai eu le privilège d'écouter Cornelio Sommaruga lorsque j'étais étudiant à l'Institut. Il défendait le travail du CICR, son indépendance dans le contexte des guerres de Yougoslavie et de Somalie, et j'ai été marqué par son humanité, qui l'emportait sur tout autre trait de son caractère. C'était déconcertant d'écouter quelqu'un parler de l'action humanitaire – neutre et apolitique – avec une telle force et une telle passion. Lorsque j'ai commencé à enseigner, j'ai codirigé un séminaire interdisciplinaire avec le professeur de droit Nicolas Michel. Année après année, nous avons invité Cornelio Sommaruga à donner un ou deux cours. Sa présentation et sa critique de la responsabilité de protéger ont été mémorables et très appréciées par plusieurs cohortes d'étudiant·es. La Genève internationale perd l'un de ses représentants les plus emblématiques et les plus appréciés. »

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/alumni-community

SUISSE, Genève.
Cornelio
Sommaruga
à l'Institut en 1999.

Sandra Kalniete

Class of 1996

Sandra Kalniete is a Latvian politician, author, diplomat, and independence movement leader. She served as Foreign Minister of Latvia from 2002 to 2004 and as European Commissioner for Agriculture, Rural Development and Fisheries in 2004. Since 2009, she has served as Member of the European Parliament (MEP) for the European People's Party, the largest parliamentary group. Sandra Kalniete is involved in many human rights causes pertaining to totalitarian crimes and has been particularly active in highlighting the atrocities committed by the Soviet Regime.



© Sandra Kalniete.



© Sandra Kalniete.



© Sandra Kalniete.

For Sandra Kalniete, who was born in a Soviet Gulag, politics is closely tied to human emotions and is at the centre of her identity.

Sandra Kalniete has an instrumental role in Latvia's relationship with the European Union. She was Foreign Minister of the country prior to its accession as well as the First European Commissioner from Latvia.

Sandra Kalniete received in 2020 the Order of the Grand Duchess of Ukraine, the First Class of Princess Olga. She is actively working in the framework of the Eastern Partnership to promote democratic processes in countries such as Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia.

→ Learn more



Maurice Kamga

Class of 2003

Professor Maurice Kengne Kamga is a senior Cameroonian diplomat (Minister Plenipotentiary) and a prominent scholar, who has also been a judge of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) since 2020. Professor Kamga has been, *inter alia*, an assistant lecturer at the University of Yaoundé II (1993–1997), a Legal Officer at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (1997–2001) and at ITLOS (2001–2003), the Legal Advisor of the Cameroonian Ministry of External Relations (2003–2008), and a Legal Secretary of the International Court of Justice (2008–2020). He has lectured in various African and European universities and has published several articles and books in International Law. In 2012, Professor Kamga assisted his first PhD supervision in Paris.



© Maurice Kamga



© Maurice Kamga



© Maurice Kamga

Professor Kamga in 2006, speaking to the press as the Legal Advisor of the Cameroonian Ministry of External Relations.

In 2012, Professor Kamga assisted his first PhD supervision in Paris.

Professor Kamga in 2019, as Legal Secretary of the International Court of Justice in The Hague (at the left, with the President and Judges).

→ Learn more



LA FORMATION CONTINUE

Launch of the New Executive Certificate in Nature-Positive Economy

Driving Social and Economic Transformation for Sustainable Prosperity

Interview with

Gilles Carbonnier

Professor of Development Economics, Geneva Graduate Institute

Vice-President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

World leaders share an increasing sense of urgency to effectively address climate change, biodiversity loss, and environmental degradation, which rank at the top of the list of the 2024 WEF Global Risks Report. The scientific evidence is clear, but action lags behind. The gap is growing while inequality coupled with the unfair distribution of adjustment costs leads to political backlash and deadlocks. Nature-positive social and economic transformations are vital for sustainable prosperity. Stakeholders from diverse walks of life must jointly leverage knowledge, skills, and experiences for impactful systems change. In this context, Executive Education is launching a new executive certificate entitled “Nature-Positive Economy” to empower key actors in driving the social and economic transformations required for shared, sustainable prosperity.

Our Lead Academic Advisor, Gilles Carbonnier, answers a few questions.

Please tell us more about your professional and academic background.

I am thrilled to design and launch the new Executive Certificate in Nature-Positive Economy, which is highly timely and topical.

Over the past thirty+ years, I have acquired first-hand experience in international trade, development cooperation, and humanitarian action. My research and teaching have focused on the governance of natural resources, commodity trade and sustainable development, as well as on war and peace economics. I have gained first-hand professional experience in relation to these topics, including as a board member of the Responsible Mining Foundation.

In your opinion, how can we accelerate the transformative agenda toward a nature-positive economy? How can we scale up nature-based solutions?

For this to happen, we need to work on systems change. As our natural and social environments are complex adaptive systems, one may feel discouraged by the sheer complexity of addressing the challenges. A promising solution can become part of the problem. Take the first generation of biofuels, for instance: growing sugar cane, corn, and soybean to fuel cars resulted in increased food prices, aggravated hunger, and an acceleration of biodiversity loss.

Yet, targeted action can have vastly positive impacts. If you consider an analogy with traditional human body healing, acupuncture consists of identifying systemic nodes (or body meridians). Inserting a needle into the right spot can stimulate the entire immune system, amplifying the healing effect and restoring body balance. How do we identify and work on such systemic nodes when it comes to nature and the economy? We must locate interventions concerning the major institutions (e.g. states/IOs, markets/business, science/tech, communities/livelihood) and key systems to work on.

You are the Academic Advisor of the new CAS in Nature-Positive Economy. Could you tell us more about this programme? What are the key outcomes?

We will draw on the collective intelligence of top academics, policymakers and practitioners. We will situate the potential of nature-based solutions within the broader potential of systems change, including the energy transition, resilient cities and infrastructure, sustainable agriculture and food systems, our natural environment, and the shift to a regenerative, circular economy, together with debates on the pursuit of fulfilment and healthy life, which concerns us all.



While we will set the stage and discuss various concepts and approaches in the first module, the second and third modules will deal with trade, finance, consumption, and production. The final module will examine what science and technology hold for sustainable futures. In each module, participants will be able to acquire and apply cutting-edge knowledge in class as well as practical tools and methods through group, individual and simulation exercises. They will also engage with policymakers, experts, and key figures within International Geneva and participate in exclusive encounters with people who develop impactful nature-positive models and solutions, as well as learn from failure. Participants will debate about policy options and develop practical action plans to address sustainability challenges, strengthening their skills to drive positive impact.

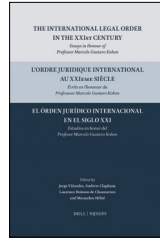
Who is this programme for?

This programme is specifically designed for mid- to senior-level professionals across the public and private sectors, civil society, and philanthropists. It caters to actively engaged individuals who are aspiring to make a positive impact in domains such as environmental governance and policymaking, corporate responsibility, sustainable finance and development, biodiversity conservation, energy transition, natural resources management, and disaster risk prevention.

It is high time to step up and scale up positive impact. Businesses, governments and financial institutions must actively engage with civil society in nature-positive transformations to create a new operating model based on regeneration, resilience, and circularity. This decade is our chance to recognise the true value of the nature to which we belong, put it on the path to recovery, and set us on a course where nature, people, and economies can thrive together.

→ executive.graduateinstitute.ch/programmes/nature-positive-economy

Nouvelles publications

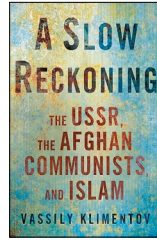


Brill | Nijhof.
November 2023.
xxiv-1073 p.

The International Legal Order in the XXIst Century L'ordre juridique international au XXIème siècle El órden jurídico internacional en el siglo XXI

Essays in Honour of Professor Marcelo Gustavo **Kohen**
Écrits en l'honneur du Professeur Marcelo Gustavo **Kohen**
Estudios en honor del Profesor Marcelo Gustavo **Kohen**

This collection of essays celebrating the work of Professor Marcelo Kohen from the Geneva Graduate Institute brings together the leading scholars and practitioners of public international law from different continents and generations to explore some of the most challenging issues of contemporary international law. The volume, edited by Jorge E. Viñuales, Andrew Clapham, Laurence Boisson de Chazournes and Mamadou Hébié, is a testimony of esteem and friendship from colleagues and former Institute students, and it covers a vast expanse, reflecting the width and diversity of Professor Kohen's own contribution. Written in English, French and Spanish, the essays in this volume will appeal to a broad public of academics, practitioners and students of international law from around the world.



Cornell University Press / Northern Illinois University Press. February 2024. 318 p.

A Slow Reckoning The USSR, the Afghan Communists, and Islam

Vassily **Klimentov**

A Slow Reckoning examines the Soviet Union's and the Afghan communists' views of and policies toward Islam during the Soviet-Afghan War (1979–1989). As Vassily Klimentov demonstrates, the Soviet and communist Afghan disregard for Islam was telling of the overall communist approach to reforming Afghanistan and helps explain the failure of their modernisation project. The book reveals how during most of the conflict Babrak Karmal, the ruler installed by the Soviets, instrumentalised Islam in support of his rule while retaining a Marxist-Leninist platform. This approach to Islam only changed after Mikhail Gorbachev replaced Karmal with Mohammad Najibullah and prepared to withdraw Soviet forces. *A Slow Reckoning* also shows how the Soviet elites perceived Islamism as an ideology the United States, Iran, or Pakistan could instrumentalise at will. They believed the Islamists had no agency and that their retrograde ideology could not find appeal among progressive Soviet Muslims.

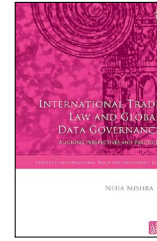


Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
Mai 2024. 64 p.
Disponible en libre accès.

La dépolitisation du monde

Lucile **Maertens** et Marieke **Louis**

Les débats sur l'(in)utilité des organisations internationales pendant la pandémie de COVID-19 ou, de nos jours, la guerre en Ukraine rappellent les attentes qui pèsent sur ces institutions qui prétendent toutefois « ne pas faire de politique ». Cet ouvrage prend au sérieux cette revendication et étudie comment des organisations internationales très diverses la mettent en pratique pour « dépolitiser le monde ». Comment s'y prennent-elles ? S'appuyant sur différents cas d'étude allant de la gestion de la crise environnementale à la réforme du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, cet ouvrage analyse les pratiques d'expertise, les prétentions à la neutralité et le jeu sur la temporalité des négociations comme des marqueurs de dépolitisation. Qu'est-ce qui conduit une organisation internationale à dépolitiser le monde ? L'ouvrage met au jour trois grandes logiques de dépolitisation qui s'inscrivent dans une posture pragmatique, des stratégies de légitimation et des tentatives d'évitement de la responsabilité.

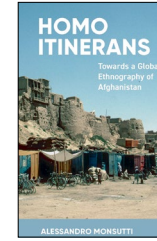


Hart Publishing.
January 2024.
273 p. Available in open access.

International Trade Law and Global Data Governance Aligning Perspectives and Practice

Neha **Mishra**

Digital trade and global data governance are at a unique crossroads, raising significant policy challenges. This book focuses on five such policy areas at the interface of digital trade and data governance: privacy, cybersecurity, government access to data, data divide, and competition. It investigates whether international trade law can regulate digital flows in a manner that aligns with these policy priorities and can thus contribute to a more meaningful and inclusive global framework for data governance. Drawing upon these findings, the book proposes a multilayered framework for aligning international trade law with evolving norms and practices in global data governance. Its key message is that international trade law must meaningfully align with and contribute to the development of transnational data governance norms and practices.



Translated from the French by Patrick Camiller. Berghahn Books. November 2023. xx-132 p. Paperback edition with a new preface (1st hardback edition: 2020).

Homo Itinerans Towards a Global Ethnography of Afghanistan

Alessandro **Monsutti**

Afghan society has been marked in a lasting way by war and the exodus of part of its population. While many have emigrated to countries across the world, they have been matched by the flow of experts who arrive in Afghanistan after having been in other war-torn countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Palestine or East Timor. This book builds on more than two decades of ethnographic travels in some twenty countries, bringing the readers from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran to Europe, North America and Australia. It proposes a transnational perspective on Afghanistan politics and offers a glimpse into the everyday life and circulations of refugees as well as expatriates. A new preface reacts to the ease with which the Taliban took control over the whole of Afghanistan in summer 2021. Could it be that the hegemonic project of liberal peace and democracy conducted after 2001 by the central government and its international sponsors did not convince large segments of the Afghan population?



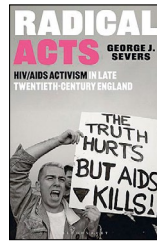
Oxford University Press. May 2024. 288 p. Available in open access.

Responsible Pleasure

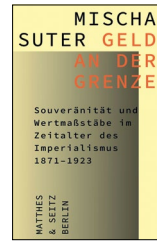
The Brook Advisory Centres and Youth Sexuality in Postwar Britain

Caroline **Rusterholz**

The period between the 1960s and the 1990s has traditionally been associated with sexual liberation and a growing sense of permissiveness in Britain, during which cultural and social norms of young people's sexuality went through a dramatic shift. Using the Brook Advisory Centre (Brook) as a case study, *Responsible Pleasure* examines how and why this occurred, providing a sociocultural history of youth sexuality in Britain over these three decades. It focuses on Brook as a pioneering sexual health charity operating on the cusp of voluntary and state-financed sectors. From the opening of its first centre in London, followed by other centres across Britain, to the present day, Brook has been a major provider of contraceptive advice and sexual counselling to unmarried people and teenagers and remains a key player in sexual health services today. Drawing on a wide range of archived and published materials, as well as oral history interviews conducted by the author, this book provides a substantial and original contribution to scholarship on the forging of the modern sexual subject.



Bloomsbury Publishing. May 2024. xii-237 p.



Geld an der Grenze: Souveränität und Wertmaßstäbe im Zeitalter des Imperialismus 1871–1923. Matthes & Seitz Berlin. 446 p. 2024.



Relations internationales. N°196 et 297 (Presses Universitaires de France), janvier 2024 et avril 2024.

Radical Acts

HIV/AIDS Activism in Late Twentieth-Century England

George J. **Severs**

Drawing on campaign materials, broadcast media, and new oral history interviews, this book reconstructs and discusses the overlooked world of radical AIDS activism in England. It offers one of the first histories of the radical HIV/AIDS movement in England, following ACT UP's travels from New York to London via prominent queer intellectuals, and reconstructing the vibrant theatrical campaigns staged by ACT UP groups across England. *Radical Acts* explores expressions of activism that were far more common than demonstrations and marches. Manifestations of a political commitment to ameliorating the injustices facing people living with HIV permeated most aspects of everyday life. These forms of "everyday activism" played out in workplaces, universities and church halls across England, as well as through transnational networks. This book breaks new ground by studying the radical alongside the everyday, presenting a diverse constellation of activist responses to the epidemic.

Money at the Margin

Sovereignty and Measures of Value in the Imperial Age, 1871–1923

Mischa **Suter**

"Money, as an entrenched notion has it, is the great equaliser. It reduces disparate things to a common unit; it smooths over differences; it serves as the universal equivalent." But what if we look at money differently, namely as a medium of conflict? In his comprehensive study (in German), Mischa Suter historicises the political functions of money and highlights striking constellations in capitalism around 1900: the discourse on *Wucher*, that is to say, on "usury" and "profiteering" in the 1870s in the Habsburg Empire and in Germany, which became a catalyst for a new type of political anti-Semitism; the introduction of a colonial cash economy that provided the basis for colonial rule in Tanzania; and the street protests and policy debates over currency stabilisation in Germany's great inflation after the First World War. Mischa Suter illustrates to what extent questions of social order always resonate in the definition of monetary values – and he formulates urgent questions today: Was money neutral, uniform and fungible at all times? Was it actually ever the means that could make values transparent?

Le Kremlin et les Occidentaux depuis la fin de la guerre froide

Aux origines des guerres russo-ukrainiennes (I et II)

Comment et pourquoi l'Europe est-elle devenue à nouveau le théâtre d'une guerre majeure, alors qu'elle semblait entrer, après la guerre froide, dans un « nouvel ordre international » ? Dans ces actes d'un colloque organisé par Matthias Schulz, Nicolas Badalassi, Frédéric Bozo, Jussi Hanhimäki et Marie-Pierre Rey, 30 spécialistes du monde slave et des relations internationales de la Russie et de l'Ukraine, de l'Europe centrale et orientale, des pays d'Europe occidentale et de l'Union européenne, de l'OTAN, des États-Unis et de la Turquie cherchent à expliquer les causes profondes des guerres russo-ukrainiennes qui ont débuté en 2014. Un examen par des historiennes et historiens professionnels, ainsi que par des juristes et politistes intégrant des méthodes de l'histoire des relations internationales, de l'histoire sociétale transnationale, de l'histoire des institutions et des relations économiques et sécuritaires, paraît d'autant plus impératif pour ancrer solidement dans la recherche le débat public sur les causes de ces conflits.

- www.cairn.info/revue-relations-internationales-2023-4.htm
- www.cairn.info/revue-relations-internationales-2024-1.htm



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GRADUATE INSTITUTE
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Éditeur : Institut de hautes études internationales et du développement
CP 1672 – CH-1211 Genève 1 | Tél. : +41 22 908 57 00 | graduateinstitute.ch

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Contribution à la rédaction : Olivia Willemin

Relecture : Nathalie Tanner et Olivia Willemin

Mise en pages : Lucie Goujat

Couverture : SENEGAL, Bokhol. Technicians walk through solar panels during the opening ceremony of a new photovoltaic energy production site. 22 October 2016. SEYLOU / AFP

Impression : Pessor

© Geneva Graduate Institute, mai 2024 | ISSN : 1662-8497

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