

Hans Köchler

**MMXXII**  
**WAR OR PEACE**



**INTERNATIONAL PROGRESS ORGANIZATION**

Hans Köchler

**MMXXII**  
**WAR OR PEACE**

**Speeches and Thoughts in a Pivotal Year**

**International Progress Organization**



# **STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**XXXVIII**

**Vienna 2023**

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International Progress Organization  
A-1010 Vienna, Kohlmarkt 4, Austria  
[www.i-p-o.org](http://www.i-p-o.org)

ISBN 978-3-900704-31-5  
Printed in Austria

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## **Editorial Note**

The texts published in this volume were presented in 2022 at events or for institutions in Austria, Azerbaijan, China, France, Germany, Morocco, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States. As this is a collection for purposes of documentation, some of the subjects overlap. The texts are arranged according to themes, not in chronological order. Each text can be read separately.

The speech transcripts have been reviewed and edited by the author. The first text of chapter I and the second text of chapter III are translated from the German original. Earlier online versions are superseded by this edition.

... PACISQUE MAGIS QUAM BELLII CUPIDUS\*



Triumphal arch at Ἀντινόου πόλις (Antinoöpolis / Antinoë) in ancient Egypt, a city founded by Roman Emperor Hadrian in 130 AD.

Copper engraving created during Napoleon's expedition to Egypt (1798-1801).  
Source: *Description de l'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française, publié par ordre du gouvernement. Antiquités, Planches*. Tome IV. Imprimerie royale, Paris: MDCCCXVII, planche N° 57 (Rare Book Division, New York Public Library).

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\* "... and more desirous of peace than of war" (idealized description of Emperor Hadrian by the author of *Historia Augusta*, ca. 400 AD [Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Ælii Spartiani De vita Hadriani*, Pars I/10/2; quoted from Loeb Classical Library, 1921]).

Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς,  
καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους,  
τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους.\*

## Preliminary Remarks

In the 50<sup>th</sup> year of the International Progress Organization, the balance between the forces of war and peace remained as undecided as ever. In the realm of the global polity, the words of Heraclitus mirror the perpetual competition for order as struggle for hegemony. In the nuclear era, however, the classical dictum could become a maxim of self-destruction.

Hadrian's strategic choice, at the zenith of the Roman Empire, to relinquish Babylon (metaphorically speaking) – to withdraw from unwinnable wars – may be a better guideline for modern-day politics. Though his *pax Romana* was driven more by imperial realpolitik than a genuine desire for peace, those in power today may pay attention to how the biographer of *Historia Augusta*, albeit in idealistic exaggeration, described the Emperor's mindset upon assuming office, in a phrase that resembles and anticipates the language of the United Nations Charter:\*\*

*“... et tenendae per orbem terrarum paci operam impendit.”\*\*\**

Hans Köchler

Vienna, Austria, 1 January 2023

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\* Ἡράκλειτος, Περὶ τοῦ παντός (Heraclitus, *On the Universe*), fragment XLIV, according to the numbering of Ingram Bywater. (“War is father and king of all; and some he has shown as gods, others men; some he has made slaves, others free.”)

\*\* Article 39 (defining the Security Council's role “to maintain [...] international peace”).

\*\*\* “... and devoted his attention to maintaining peace throughout the world” (Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Ælii Spartiani De vita Hadriani*, Pars I/5/1).



## **Bibliographical References**

### **Power and World Order – Speech at the Turn of the Year**

Lecture delivered to the reading circle of *Zeit-Fragen*, Switzerland, on 30 December 2021.

Translated from German. First published: “Macht und Weltordnung,” in: *Zeit-Fragen – Special Edition*. 30<sup>th</sup> Year, January 2022, pp. 1-5. First English version: *Current Concerns*, Zurich, No. 2, 7 February 2022, pp. 1-4.

### **Idea and Politics of World Order**

Speech delivered on the occasion of *Knowledge Day*, inaugurating the new academic year, at Saint Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences, Saint Petersburg, Russia, 1 September 2022.

Online version: *UncommonThought*, Portland, USA, 1 October 2022, at <https://www.uncommonthought.com/mtblog/archives/2022/10/01/idea-and-politics-of-worldorder.php#more-34421>.

### **The Struggle for World Order: Reflections in Times of Global Realignment**

Report prepared for the XX<sup>th</sup> International Likhachev Scientific Conference, “Global Conflict and the Contours of a New World Order,” Saint Petersburg, 9-10 June 2022.

Published in: *Srpski godišnjak za međunarodno pravo / The Serbian Yearbook of International Law*, 2022, pp. 35-44; and: *Global Conflict and the Contours of a New World Order: The 20<sup>th</sup> International Likhachov Scientific Conference, June 9-10, 2022*. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences / Russian Academy of Sciences / St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, 2022, pp. 80-83.

### **Human Rights and Global Power Politics**

Statement delivered at the side meeting of the 51<sup>st</sup> session of the United Nations Council on Human Rights on “Risks and Problems of the Politicization of Human Rights,” organized by Center for Jurisprudence Research, University of Jilin, Changchun, China, under the auspices of the China Society for Human Rights and the Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the United Nations Office at Geneva, 19 September 2022.

### **Philosophy of Co-existence and Dialogue among Civilizations**

Lecture delivered at the invitation of the Minister of Culture of Morocco at *Salon International de l’Edition et du Livre / International Publishing and Book Fair*, in Rabat, Morocco, on 5 June 2022.

An earlier version of the lecture was published under the title, "The Philosophy and Politics of Dialogue," in: Johanna Seibt and Jesper Garsdal (eds.), *How is Global Dialogue Possible?* Berlin/Boston/Munich: de Gruyter, 2015, pp. 267-282.

### **The Role of Culture in Establishing Dialogue and Cooperation in Post-conflict Situations**

Speech delivered at the International Conference on "Advancing a Post-conflict Humanitarian Agenda" in Shusha, Karabakh Region, Azerbaijan, on 19 May 2022.

First published by the International Progress Organization, May 2022, at <http://www.i-p-o.org/Koechler-CULTURE-DIALOGUE-POST-CONFLICT-SITUATIONS-Speech-Shusha-19May2022.pdf>.

### **Nuclear Arms and International Law**

Lecture delivered at the III<sup>rd</sup> International Scholarly Conference on "The Understanding of Law and Jurisprudence," Faculty of Law and Administration, University of Szczecin, Poland, on 25 November 2022.

Online version: *I.P.O. Research Papers*. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2022, at <http://i-p-o.org/Koechler-NUCLEAR-ARMS-AND-INTERNATIONAL-LAW-IPO-RP-2022.pdf>.

### **Politics of Peace in the Nuclear Age**

*"Gespräche in Graubünden"* – Lecture delivered to readers of *Zeit-Fragen* at Savognin, Graubünden (Canton of Grisons), Switzerland, on 25 July 2022.

Translated from German. First published: *Friedenspolitik im Nuklearzeitalter*. Vienna: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wissenschaft und Politik, 2022. First English publication: *Current Concerns*, No. 21, 11 October 2022, pp. 1-3.

### **War and the Deceptive Arrogance of Great Powers**

Keynote speech delivered at the international conference, "Berlin Wall 33 – 'In the Wake of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict'," organized by Institute for Cultural Diplomacy (ICD), Deutscher Bundestag / German Parliament, Berlin, 10 November 2022.

Online version: *I.P.O. Online Papers*. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2022, at <http://Koechler-WAR-AND-THE-DECEPTIVE-ARROGANCE-OF-GREAT-POWERS-IPO-OP-2022.pdf>.

### **Grave Escalation in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict**

Interview conducted by Mark Donfried for the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy (ICD), Berlin, Germany, 23 September 2022.

First published at <https://www.facebook.com/AcademyForCulturalDiplomacy>; and <http://i-p-o.org/IPO-nr-RUSSIA-UKRAINE-ESCALATION-Interview-23Sept2022.htm>.

### **Russia-Ukraine: What Peaceful Co-existence?**

Statement delivered at meeting of the Bandung Spirit Online Conversation Series, University of Le Havre, France, 18 March 2022.

First published in *Bandung Spirit Bulletin*, No. 3-4 (2022), pp. 41-43.

### **Blueprint for Peace in Ukraine**

Position Paper of the International Progress Organization, 10 March 2022, <http://www.i-p-o.org/Koechler-PEACE-UKRAINE-10March2022.pdf>.

### **Statement on the Occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> Founding Anniversary of the International Progress Organization**

Released by the International Progress Organization, Vienna, Austria, October 2022, <http://www.i-p-o.org/IPO-Statement-President-50th-anniversary-October-2022.htm>.

## **List of Abbreviations**

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASI	Agency for Strategic Initiatives
AU	African Union
AUKUS	Australia, United Kingdom, United States (trilateral security pact)
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CCM	Convention on Cluster Munitions
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
CSCE	Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe
CTBT	Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
CTBTO	Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention (Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction)
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
GMA	Global Magnitsky Act (Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act)
G7	Group of Seven
ICBM	intercontinental ballistic missile
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IPO	International Progress Organization
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
IT	information technology
MAD	mutual assured destruction

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBC	National Broadcasting Company (USA)
NPT	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
P5	the five permanent members of the Security Council
Quad	Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD)
RIAC	Russian International Affairs Council
RT	Russia Today
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SPIEF	Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum
TPNW	Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US / USA	United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organization

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