

From Humiliation to Dignity: For a Future of Responsible Global Solidarity

— A Lecture in Eight Parts —

Evelin Lindner
Medical Doctor, Psychologist, Dr. med., Dr. psychol.
15th –20th December 2021

Annual Lecture at the Department of Psychology at the University of Oslo in Norway

Adapted from the 2022 book
From Humiliation to Dignity: For a Future of Global Solidarity
The digital version of the book with full endnotes can be downloaded from
www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/07.php
the printed version of the book has shortened endnotes



Contents

Links to the Videos	3
Introduction	4
Part One: The example of Norway	4
Norway is of particular importance for dignity and solidarity	4
Part Two: The state of our world today	7
We live in times of increasing polarisation	7
How did we get here? Let us look at the past century.....	7
How did we get here? Let us look at the past millennia.....	9
The ‘hard shell’ of honour transmutes into the ‘soft shell’ of dignity	12
Part Three: The state of our world today — Tragic cases	13
Gender relations — The tragedy of women’s chastity as evidence of their males’ honour.....	13
Class relations turned into ethnic relations — The tragedy of Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda.....	14
Religious relations — The tragedy of the story of Anders Torp.....	15
Part Four: The state of our world today — From opportunity to failure	17
1948 opportunity: Mária Telkes	18
1954 opportunity: Rural Europe.....	18
1962 opportunity: Rachel Carson.....	19
1972 opportunity: Limits to growth report.....	19
1992 opportunity: Severn Suzuki, an early Greta Thunberg.....	20
1977 opportunity: Helmut Schmidt.....	21
2002 opportunity: Paul Raskin.....	21
2015 opportunity: United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.....	22
2021: Total failure is looming.....	22
Part Five: The state of our world today — Inertia where constructive action is needed	24
What made the rest of us lose the wisdom of ‘fertile humanism’?	25
Nobody is safe until all are safe	32
Part Six: How can we get from polarising cycles of humiliating to dignifying complexity?.....	33
Competition for domination is the core problem and only a second order transition can solve it	34
Story of complexity: Lillian and Helmut	36
Story of complexity: Félicité Niyitegeka	37
Story of complexity: Research in Africa.....	38
Part Seven: A future of big love, big peace, unity in diversity, and global responsibility!	42
Which unity in which diversity?	43
A summary of my narrative of <i>big history</i>	45
Outlook.....	48
Part Eight: Together we can achieve global dignity in solidarity — A global dignity movement	49
A global dignity movement.....	50
References	56

Links to the Videos

Part One	https://youtu.be/rSKlhwPQdiI
Part Two	https://youtu.be/FuCYrwNjGXs
Part Three	https://youtu.be/vgvoN2iCrmU Torp: https://youtu.be/mQPe0-x1daE
Part Four	https://youtu.be/IOMA7c8R7io Suzuki: https://youtu.be/pEDEPRbprXU
Part Five	https://youtu.be/fHlS5E9bCUg
Part Six	https://youtu.be/1D5rmBbwsM8 Lillian: https://youtu.be/qOJEVZQkSYE Felicitas: https://youtu.be/GrLWDZmjua0 Somalia: https://youtu.be/CaZ7y2TSUEE
Part Seven	https://youtu.be/V_KjgY27se8
Part Eight	https://youtu.be/B4x0Z62WaIA
PowerPoint	https://humiliationstudies.org/documents/evelin/NorwayAnnualTalk2021.ppsm
Pdf	https://humiliationstudies.org/documents/evelin/NorwayAnnualTalk2021.pdf

Introduction

Every year since 2002, I give a lecture at the Department of Psychology at the University of Oslo in Norway on my research on humiliation in its relation to honour and dignity. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, this year, the lecture has to be a virtual one.

In this lecture, I will begin with explaining why Norway is of particular importance when we want to speak about dignity and solidarity. Then I will speak about the currently observable increase in polarisation all around the world, about the cycles of humiliation that currently become ever more virulent and dangerous — between people as much as between nations. Fault lines between ‘us’ and ‘them’ deepen, tolerance for complexity and diversity wanes, and this trend intensifies when complexity itself becomes a topic for hostile confrontation. Instead of unity in more diversity, we have hostile division, where each camp wants to enforce uniformity. All this happens in historical times in which the opposite is needed, where global challenges call for responsible global solidarity. What can we do?

This talk will have several parts and will be given over several days. I begin with Part One: The example of Norway.

Part One: The example of Norway

Norway is of particular importance for dignity and solidarity

In 2001, I defended my doctorate in social psychology at the Department of Psychology at the University of Oslo in Norway, on the role of humiliation in the genocidal killings that were perpetrated in Rwanda and Somalia, relating this to the dynamics of humiliation in Nazi Germany.

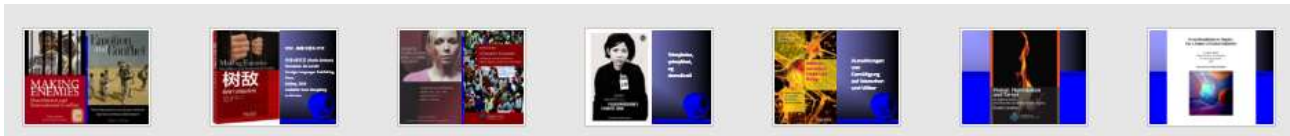


My dissertation was titled *The psychology of humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda / Burundi, and Hitler's Germany*.¹



Allow me to take this opportunity to thank all my Norwegian friends for their support and inspiration. I have no words to express my gratitude.

A few days ago, I finished my sixth book, titled *From humiliation to dignity: For a future of global solidarity*, and it will be published early in 2022.²



From now on, I will work on finishing my seventh book, titled *Letter to my father*. It will be written in Norwegian first, later, hopefully, in English, German, and French.

Much of this lecture builds on Part III of my book on dignity in solidarity. The first part of the book has the title ‘Humiliation and humility — A timeline from 1315 to 1948’. The second part looks at dignity under the heading ‘Equal dignity for all’. The third part wonders, ‘Where do we go from here?’, and discusses ways into the future and calls for action. The book weaves together a large number of diverse voices and offers an analytic overview over all of human history — where we come from, where we stand now, and where we go. It explores the notion of dignity, the opportunities it offers, and it delineates a decent path into the future. It approaches dignity from all directions, including from its violation, namely, humiliation.

These are the three parts:

Part I: Humiliation and humility — A timeline from 1315 to 1948

Part II: 1948 and beyond — Equal dignity for all!

Part III: Where do we go from here? A future of solidarity!

One of the reasons for why Norwegian comes first for my next book, is that the lessons my father taught me, made me fall in love with Norway, or, more precisely, to fall in love with the cultural heritage of Norway.

Norway was capable, throughout the past centuries, to emerge from a culture of proud, independent, and at times violent Viking warriors and adventurers, and to move towards a culture of *likeverd* (equality in dignity), *dugnad* (communal cooperation, local solidarity) and *global solidarity* (note the Nansen passport). In Norway, equal dignity, solidarity, and global responsibility manifest the French Revolution’s motto of *liberté, égalité, and fraternité* as a lived heritage.



When we want to speak about dignity, Norway is a place in the world worth paying attention to. Norwegian thinkers and scholars deserve having their voice heard. In the book on dignity in solidarity that I just finished, I therefore dedicate a whole section to Norway.

The cultural heritage of Norway is also the reason for why Norway is one of the main platforms and starting points for my personal life and for the work of the global Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community, whose founding president I am.



We launched the idea of the World Dignity University initiative in 2011 from the University of Oslo, with philosophy professor Inga Bostad as its host, who was at that time the Pro-Rector of the University of Oslo.³

In the section on Norway in my book, I write the following:

Personally, I cherish many aspects in Norwegian cultural mindsets that Norwegians may not see themselves. In the past, its immediate neighbours looked down on Norway — Denmark and Sweden were more powerful for a long time. Even today there are people, and I have met them, who speak condescendingly about Norway as a country of poor farmers and fishers, as a place lacking the trappings of a modern civilised society. To me, this is precisely what I cherish. I find a kind of wisdom in Norway that is lost in countries that call themselves ‘developed’, a wisdom that stems from being close to an often unforgiving nature and remaining in respectful dialogue with its forces. University professors in other countries are usually trapped in their book-filled offices far removed from nature, while university professors in Norway, at least of the older generation, still know how to live without electricity in the mountains and melt ice to get drinking water. This closeness to nature deeply enriches their thinking in my view, it makes them rich in wisdom.

Let me now end here and delve into the main themes of my talk in the next part!

Part Two: The state of our world today

We live in times of increasing polarisation

We live in times where more and more people live in ‘echo chambers’, in ‘bubbles’, and the ‘walls’ of these bubbles get ever thicker, harder, and less permeable. Psychologist Kenneth Gergen speaks of the ‘shell’, and how this shell can get harder or softer.

As shell walls get harder, as the confrontation between ‘us’ and ‘them’ becomes less forgiving, cycles of mutual humiliation are set in motion that become ever more intense and dangerous, not least because also the ‘Hitlers’ of this world grasp this situation as an opportunity to sow even more hatred and instigate even more conflict.

German author Florian Illies recently wrote a book that chronicles the hardening and softening of this shell in Germany.⁴ In this book, Illies looks at the ‘Golden Twenties’ — the short five-year time period within the decade of the 1920s in Germany — and he shows how open the *Zeitgeist* was at that time. He describes the high acceptance of, for instance, sexual diversity, and how women were the most prominent social driving force.



When we look back even further, to the period before the First World War, this was another time of openness. We meet Bertha von Suttner, the woman who inspired Alfred Nobel to establish the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1905 she received the Nobel Peace Prize for her book *Die Waffen nieder*, or *Lay down your arms!* Her call for total disarmament is as relevant now as it was then. It is as if we, as humanity, have not learned much in the past century. On the contrary. Bertha von Suttner died shortly before the First World War broke out, so she was spared to see that history went into the opposite direction of what she had fought for and hoped for.

So far, it seems that each phase of openness was followed by a harsh backlash. Those, for example, who advocated for sexual diversity and for more visibility of women wished for nothing more than to enlarge the scope of unity in diversity in society. Their concept of diversity, however, clashed with traditional views on gender roles and was regarded as a provocation to be fought rather than an invitation to be more inclusive. So, their advocates soon found themselves in a divided society without unity.

When we look at Germany and its history of backlashes, each time a period of openness was followed by hyper-masculinity and war. In both wars, the First and Second World War, German national honour was central, the aim was always to defend national honour against humiliation.

In such contexts, always, the male body becomes the soldier’s body and the female body the reproductive body of preferably male offspring.⁵ Michel Foucault called it *biopolitique*.⁶

How did we get here? Let us look at the past century

Bertha von Suttner spoke up for what I call *big peace* — long-term global *human* security through dissolving all shells — rather than what I call *small peace*, namely, short-term local *military* security between hard shells.⁷ This is also what I work for, big peace. Therefore, I am deeply grateful that our dignity work has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize three times in 2015, 2016, and 2017. This nomination has given us great courage and has been lifesaving for many of our members around the world who often stand up for dignity under the most adverse conditions, some even putting their lives on line. We hope this recognition can be an inspiration also for you and the many others who work for dignity throughout the world.

My family has lived through the most painful experiences in connection with German history, and this has brought the vulnerability of our human-made world to me in the starkest of ways.

No longer can we allow the script of male honour to guide our actions. The resources invested into preparations for deadly war need to go into protecting the planet and its living beings.



You see here my father, from a blissful youth full of dignity and joy to total destruction and utter humiliation within a few years

As a result, I am sensitised to looming crises more than many others are, and also more aware of the need to prevent crises systemically rather than responding to them haphazardly and post-hoc.⁸ The point is to prevent the ‘Hitlers’ of this world from rising, rather than having to defeat them when they have become too powerful. In 1945, Germany was defeated — I wonder, is humanity defeating itself now?

Since childhood, my life mission has been to learn whether or not there is hope for ‘never again’, never again the mass destruction of war and genocide, never again systemic humiliation. Since childhood, I work to understand the range of what we humans are capable of doing in terms of hatred and love, of violence and peace, of competition and cooperation, of shortsighted foolishness and farsighted wisdom.

At the age of twenty-one, I began my ‘global living’ project, as I call it, immersing myself into different cultural realms all around the world, much more deeply than through mere ‘travel’ — rather considering myself a sedentary citizen in the global village. I have not yet met another person who lives in this way, and I have therefore composed a longer explanation that can be downloaded from the web.⁹



When I was forty years old, after twenty years of global living, I felt I had learned enough to embark on an ambitious plan. I wanted to outline in one single paragraph the path that would carry me until the end of my life. For three years, I reflected deeply and dialogued with many people. This is the paragraph:

We, the species *Homo sapiens*, face global challenges — from the destruction of our ecospheres to the degradation of our sociospheres — and we must cooperate globally if we want to address these challenges. Question: What is the most significant obstacle to successful global cooperation? Answer: Cycles of humiliation are the greatest obstacle, and this problem will increase the more the world interconnects, the more its finiteness will make itself palpable, and the more human rights ideals of equal dignity will become salient and create expectations that were absent before. For global cooperation in responsible solidarity to succeed, the highest goal must therefore be to dismantle existing systemic humiliation, to end and heal present cycles of humiliation, and to prevent new ones from emerging in the future.



This is where we stand today:

Sociocide and *ecocide* are facilitated by *cogitocide*.

The wearing down of our social and ecological foundations is facilitated by the degradation of our ability to think.

The term *cogitocide* was coined in 2020 by the former head of the Club of Rome, Prince El Hassan bin Talal, important international thinker and member of the Jordanian royal family.¹⁰ *Cogito* comes from *cogitare* in Latin, ‘to think’,¹¹ and *cogitocide* means the killing of our *cogitosphere*, the killing of ‘the realm of thinking and reflection’,¹² the drowning of humanity in a sightless infosphere.¹³ It is the misuse of *cogens*, our ability to think.¹⁴

We very much thank Prince El Hassan bin Talal for bringing these explanatory concepts to us! Thank you! Thank you also for inviting us to have our 2022 Dignity Conference with you in Amman, Jordan! We are deeply appreciative and very much look forward!

How did we get here? Let us look at the past millennia

So far, we have looked at the past century, let me look at the past millennia now.

Every historical period has its own ‘structure of feeling’.¹⁵ The sense of social threat plays a key role, as it correlates with ideological authoritarianism and triggers political behaviour, whereby physical threats such as terrorism may even lead people who otherwise would be non-authoritarians to behave like authoritarians.¹⁶

When we look at the past twelve millennia, roughly the past three per cent of human history that followed the Neolithic Revolution, these millennia were characterised by a relatively high level of threat almost everywhere on the globe. Political scientists who study international relations theory speak of the *security dilemma*. Simplified, it means, ‘We have to amass weapons, because we are scared. When we amass weapons, you get scared. You amass weapons, we get more scared’.¹⁷ So, it is an arms race that is set in motion with the best intentions. The reigning maxim is *If you want peace, prepare for war*.¹⁸ In other words, throughout the past millennia, a sense of threat permeated all aspects of life in every community that was caught in this dilemma — and almost all were caught.

This sense of threat is expressed in stone all around the world — the world is dotted with human-made trenches, fences, walls, and fortresses.



One of the most bizarre manifestations may be visited in the small country of Albania with its average of 5.7 bunkers for every square kilometre.¹⁹



This map shows Germany during the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648, and it shows how divided it was and how it devoured itself in waging war against each other. The map shows the population losses in each area.

When we look back on the past millennia, we notice that whenever the security dilemma became stronger, whenever confrontations between 'us' and 'them' became sharper and the 'shell' surrounding 'us' became harder, the *dominator model of society* manifested more strongly.

Whenever this happened, men were usually tasked to become the shell's guardians as leaders and defenders. Priority was given to everything that speaks to so-called 'male' rationality, while whatever was 'soft' smacked of 'female' irrationality and moved into the background.²⁰ The masculine script of combat, of competition for domination was activated and foregrounded, while tolerance for complexity decreased.

Unfortunately, many men learned to identify with the masculine script of combat and competition for domination to the point that they could not let go in times of peace. Whenever complexity increased, whenever women became more visible, some men felt deprived of their significance and attempted to bring back a confrontational and combative society.



The past twelve millennia, roughly the past three per cent of human history, most societies on our planet manifested what Riane Eisler calls the *dominator model of society*.²¹ Other theorists speak of the *power-and-war paradigm*, or the *colonial worldview*, or the *prime-divider polity*.²²

Eisler is a systems scientist and activist, and she has developed a cultural transformation theory through which she describes how during the past millennia otherwise widely divergent societies all over the globe followed coercion- and authority-based models of society with alpha males dominating and leading the pack. From the samurai of Japan to the Aztecs of Meso-America, people lived in hierarchies of domination under a rigidly male-dominant strongman rule, in both family and state. Hierarchies of domination were maintained by a high degree of institutionalised and socially accepted violence, ranging from wife- and child-beating within the family to aggressive warfare at the larger tribal or national level.



Riane Eisler contrasts the dominator model with the collaboration-based *partnership model of society*, or, as psychologist Linda Hartling prefers to call it, the *mutuality model of society*.²³ When we look at the past millennia, then we see that Eisler's dominator model was enacted almost everywhere on the globe, with the exception of a few isolated Indigenous populations. Indeed, the major 'civilisations' of the past saw one violent 'alpha male' ruler following the next, with anger, 'wrath', aggression, brutality, and terror as their 'badges of honour'.

The security dilemma forced rulers to create a tightly knit populace that could support a disciplined military that was better prepared to withstand 'the enemy' than an undisciplined military. Rulers enforced non-cooperation between hostile out-groups, while they imposed cooperation within in-groups. The dominator model of society was kept in place with a double intervention — its leaders keep their 'enemies' out with weapons while holding their own people down with routine humiliation.

So far, all systems — feudalism, communism, capitalism, democracy, modernity, post-modernity, to name just a few catchwords — have played out competition for domination in their practice, if only in different forms and to different degrees, and this even while promising the opposite in rhetoric. Equal dignity on the ground has been widely and systemically sold out throughout history, even under the guise of dignity rhetoric.

When we look at history in this way, we understand that human nature is neither 'evil' nor 'good', rather, it is relational and social. In my 2017 book on terror, I explored how it feels to be in the grip of a strong security dilemma. I wrote that 'violence, hatred, and terror are deeply intertwined with honour, heroism, glory, and love'.²⁴ A historian found related words, 'Evil presents itself as unalloyed ethnic good ... ethnic fundamentalism merges politics and religion within a crusade to defend values and authentic traditions that appear to be endangered'.²⁵ Psychologist Kenneth Gergen touches upon this predicament when he writes about 'struggles of conscience' and that they usually are not struggles between good and evil but between competing goods, 'By far the most obvious and most deadly outcome of the urge to eliminate evil is the hardened shell separating relational clusters — families, communities, religions, nations, ethnic traditions, and so on'.²⁶



The situation we live in now, while it is a result of our forebears' strategy of survival, becomes a strategy of collective suicide as the world interconnects and the Earth's carrying capacity becomes overstretched. Competition for domination as a mindset and as a social and societal order was always limited in its usefulness, by now, it fully outlives this usefulness. Even colonising other planets would not help, given this mindset, its resources would soon be depleted as well. This mindset drives systemic cogitocide and sociocide, it divides the global community just when it needs to come together, and by doing so, it hastens global ecocide. It manifests systemic humiliation.

As it stands now, the dominator mindset drives *cycles of humiliation* and *systemic humiliation* to hitherto unseen levels. This happens in a situation where human rights ideals promise equal dignity, which means that feelings of humiliation no longer translate into obedient humbleness but acquire hitherto unseen force. I call feelings of dignity humiliation the *nuclear bomb of the emotions*.

Clashes of civilisations are harmless compared with *clashes of humiliation*, because humiliation closes doors for cooperation that otherwise would stand open. In the absence of leaders of the calibre of a Nelson Mandela or Mahatma Gandhi, cycles of dignity humiliation have the potency to turn the global village into a global war zone. Nothing is therefore more important than halting and preventing these cycles of humiliation.

The ‘hard shell’ of honour transmutes into the ‘soft shell’ of dignity



The new definition of humiliation — that is no longer a legitimate act but a violation — affects all spheres of life these days. The new definition dissolves the ‘hard shell’ of honour that we see on the left side of this slide, and turns it into the ‘soft shell’ of dignity on the right side — until, of course, there is a backlash, and the journey goes back again into the past, rather than forward into the future.

Whatever names we use — if we speak of the dominator model of society, the power-and-war paradigm, the colonial worldview, or the prime-divider polity — it always provides the scaffolding for the honour mindset, it functions like the ‘bone’ on which the honour mindset ‘sits like a skin’.²⁷ Honour is for men, while shame is for women. Humiliation is normalised in that context, it is legitimate to humiliate inferiors routinely to ‘show them their due lowly place’.

Inferiors and superiors can become equals only in societal models of mutuality, partnership, civil dialogue, non-degradation,²⁸ and non-domination.²⁹

I speak of *ranked honour in a collectivist context* on one side, the left side of this slide, and of *equal dignity for each individual in freedom and solidarity* on the other side. Wherever the latter mindset reigns, formerly legitimate acts of humiliation will acquire the suffix *-ism* as a sign that they are no longer regarded as legitimate but as a violation — terms such a *racism* or *sexism* will emerge, terms that signify *rankism*.³⁰

In the dominator context, the term rankism is unthinkable, as rank is the core structuring principle of that system, it is seen as highly legitimate that ‘higher beings’ preside over ‘lesser beings’, that ‘dignitaries’ are worth more than their underlings. The mere existence of the term rankism signifies that a new worldview reigns, one where ranking people’s worthiness in higher and lesser beings is a violation of everyone’s right to be treated as equal in dignity.

We live in times now where these definitions go back and forth, where progress is followed with backlashes and regress.

In the next chapter, I will share some illustrations, stories that are intended to give life to my argument.

Part Three: The state of our world today — Tragic cases

Thank you so much for staying with me also in Part Three of this talk! In Part Two, I described two moral universes, namely, the dominator universe of honour on one side, and the universe of mutuality in dignified and dignifying partnership on the other side. Many people do not understand, and I observe this all around the world, that these two universes can slide into irreconcilable oppositions if they play out in the same space. Many of our contemporary problems stem from this irreconcilability.

One way to shed light on this quandary is to use traffic as a metaphor for the transition from honour to dignity, following the spirit of Max Weber's *ideal-type* approach that differentiates between distinct levels of abstraction.³¹ Each society has to decide on whether to go for left hand or right hand driving. A society that allows for 'freedom' to mean that everybody can drive as they like — left or right — will head towards messy chaos and countless accidents. The decision of either left hand or right hand driving is one on which society has to unite. Diversity can only reign for the kinds of vehicles and kinds of driving styles that people might want to use. These are different levels of abstraction and action, and when they are confounded, accidents are the result.

The transition from unequal honour to equal dignity resembles this situation and the world is therefore full of accidents, as both moral universes regularly crash into each other. These two universes cannot coexist in the same space, at least not when they express their core meanings.

I will now share with you three cases that I have randomly chosen, not least because they touch me also personally very deeply. First, 'Gender relations — The tragedy of women's chastity as evidence of their males' honour', second, 'Class relations turned into ethnic relations — The tragedy of Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda', and third, 'Religious relations — The tragedy of the story of Anders Torp'.

Thank you for staying with me!

Gender relations — The tragedy of women's chastity as evidence of their males' honour



Sometimes I use the example of honour killing to illustrate how far these two moral universes that I just described — namely, the dominator universe on one side and that of mutuality in partnership on the other side — how these two universes can slide into irreconcilable positions.³²

Honour killing is a term often used for a certain kind of femicide, namely, the killing of a girl by her family with the aim to remedy humiliated family honour.³³ In a context of dignity, on the other side, killing the girl compounds humiliation rather than remedying it — the girl deserves trauma therapy rather than death.

Human rights defenders facing cases of honour killing, and I observe this all around the world, are therefore caught in a quandary. On one side, they wish to 'respect other cultures' and on the other side, they wish to 'respect the dignity of the girl'.³⁴ A human rights defender can, however, not concurrently say, 'I respect the dignity of the girl, therefore she must live', on one side, and on the other side, 'I respect all cultures, including honour cultures, and therefore, if this is what honour culture prescribes, I respect that the girl must die'. 'The girl must die' and 'the girl must live' are two mutually exclusive positions.

This is the world we live in. We live in a world with two moral universes which are

irreconcilable at their core.

Class relations turned into ethnic relations — The tragedy of Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda



In Rwanda, historically, the categorisation of Tutsi versus Hutu was rather loose. A Hutu could become a Tutsi, for instance, and a clan usually comprised both Hutu and Tutsi. In other words, the ‘shell’ was permeable.

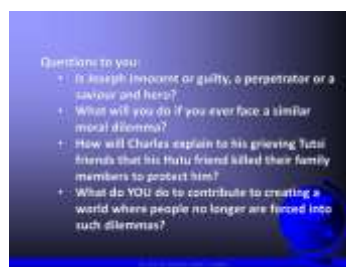
This changed with the arrival of colonisers and it ultimately escalated into genocidal killings. What formerly were predominantly class differences became redefined into ethnic differences, and the ‘shell’ thus became hard and impermeable.

When I did my doctoral research in 1999 in Kigali, I spoke with Charles (not his real name) — he has a Tutsi background — who was in Kigali during the genocide in 1994. A Hutu friend of his — let us call him Joseph — hid him in his house. Whenever Hutu militia came to search the house for Tutsi, Charles got into a hole that was dug in a rubbish heap in the garden. There he stood, only his nose poking out, covered by a plastic sheet, for hours, until the soldiers went away. This went on for weeks.



During this whole time his Hutu friend had to participate in the Tutsi killing outside in the streets, in order not to be killed himself. His Hutu friend was telling everybody that Charles was dead, in order to protect him. Even Charles’s family believed that he was dead, until only a few days before they themselves were killed. His grandmother was already old, almost 90, and weak. She was locked into a room with a hungry dog, which ate her.

(Interviews 25th January and 2nd February 1999 in Kigali)



Questions to you:

- Is Joseph innocent or guilty, a perpetrator or a saviour and hero?
- What will you do if you ever face a similar moral dilemma?

- How will Charles explain to his grieving Tutsi friends that his Hutu friend killed their family members to protect him?
- What do YOU do to contribute to creating a world where people no longer are forced into such dilemmas?

Religious relations — The tragedy of the story of Anders Torp



Anders Torp is the young man you see at the top of this slide. He grew up in a small town north of Oslo in Norway as the fourth of six siblings. His father Jan-Aage Torp was the leader of a charismatic Christian congregation.

Anders Torp says that as a child he felt sinful and was constantly ‘told stories of sin, perdition and demons, and it was imprinted into him that if he lied and did something wrong, he would end up in hell’. I translated his words from Norwegian. He reports that as a 13-year-old he was subjected to his first exorcism, followed by several exorcisms in the summer of 2007. At the age of 17, he says, he was tortured at a summer camp run by *Faderhuset* in Denmark. He recalls having witnessed countless exorcisms, and that this congregation was deliberately seeking people who were ‘resource-poor’ and should have had help in other ways.

At the age of 19, he broke with the faith, his father, and the congregation he grew up in. He had come to see and believe that the congregation represented an unhealthy authoritarian order, that its members were controlled and exploited financially.

His father Jan-Aage Torp rejected the criticism, claiming that the congregation did not practice exorcism, even though they believed in its validity, and that what they did was rather a matter of healing and prayer. He said that they distinguished sharply between ‘healing from illness’ and ‘exorcism from demon possession’.

When Anders Torp reported all this in 2016, he worked as the head of communications in a voluntary organisation that provided support to people in problematic religious breach processes. Together with journalist Tonje Egedius, Anders published a book in 2016 titled *Jessussoldaten: Gutten som skulle vinne landet for Gud*, in English *The Jesus soldier: The boy who was to win the land for God*.³⁵

On 15th March 2016, Jan-Aage Torp and his son Anders Torp met in the Norwegian television programme called *Debatten*, after not having seen each other for two years. In a moment, you can watch this encounter, and even though it is in Norwegian, you will get a feel of the highly charged psychological atmosphere. As the commentator said at the end of this meeting, it is painful to see the ‘havari’, the total crash and destruction of a father-son relationship.

Anders Torp uses the word ‘honour culture’ — *æreskultur* — to describe the mindset of fundamentalist religious groups and their tendency to create impermeable walls around themselves from which all criticism bounces off, more even, to regard every criticism as confirmation of their righteousness and their status as persecuted martyrs. In October 2020, Torp was awarded the ‘Atheist of the Year’ award by the organisation Atheists.

I was deeply touched by the encounter between son and father because it very much reminded me of my personal situation. The trauma of war and displacement had made my parents embrace evangelical Christianity before I was born.

I could say that I am the survivor of religion-based psycho-social honour killing as a child, perpetrated out of love to God and love to me. My entire life project has been to love my family out of their honour culture, and to replace ‘love for dogma’ with *love for life*.

Please see now the video *Sterkt møte mellom far og sønn Torp*, by Kristian Elster, NRK (NRK is an abbreviation of Norsk rikskringkasting AS, generally expressed in English as the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation). As I said, it is in Norwegian, but it will give you a feel of the highly charged psychological atmosphere. See www.nrk.no/norge/sterkt-mote-mellom-far-og-sonn-torp-1.12860506.

When you have watched this video, you can click on Part Four of this talk. Thank you again for staying with me!

Part Four: The state of our world today — From opportunity to failure

The world went from ‘Earthrise’ in the 1960s, to ‘profit versus planet’ around 1970–1987, environmentalism turned into ‘sustainability’ around 1987–1997, and finally into ‘market environmentalism’ from 1998 to 2018.³⁶ In 2019 came Greta Thunberg. Since 2020, we have the Covid-19 virus. What comes next?

The coronavirus pandemic is a ‘predicted crisis’ after decades of warnings that were overheard in the rush for profit at any cost.³⁷ This rush brought humanity into overly close contact with novel pathogens that were then spreading around the world, killing thousands. The world community is fortunate that this particular virus is not as deadly as the Ebola virus or certain bird flu variants,³⁸ because as it stands now, the pandemic imparts a wake-up call rather than a species-wide death sentence.³⁹ The coronavirus pandemic throws into stark relief the need for global care for the common good, it shows the destructiveness of the profit motive when it rules instead of serving. The crisis calls for an ‘economy of life’ rather than an ‘economy of death’ — it calls for a *dignity economy* — this was also the title of my book that I wrote in 2012.⁴⁰

Is there a chance for an economy of life to emerge? I fear that the chances for a dignity economy to be implemented are slim, given what happened in the past. As it seems, whenever warnings became loud, a ‘climate denial machine’ was put in a gear, an engine that is ‘well-funded and well-established’, so we learn from research, and by now, it is more and more ‘connected to right wing nationalist political agendas’.⁴¹

The oil industry has been aware of the detrimental effects of their activities at least since 1971. Instead of changing course, they founded the ‘Global Climate Coalition’ to sow doubt, following the strategy of the tobacco company Philip Morris that attempted to discredit the health risks of second-hand smoke and lobby against smoking bans.⁴²

Not just *ecocide* is being perpetrated in this way, also *sociocide*. Just now, in November, Jeffrey Sachs, director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University, reported on how ‘lobbyists triumph over the public’ at all fronts, be it in taxation, paid family leave, health coverage, or action on climate change, and he concluded, ‘The lobbyists are leading us to a nation starkly divided between rich and the poor while companies have free rein to trash the environment. We must fight back and reclaim politics for the common good’.⁴³ A few days ago, on the 4th of December 2021, Jeffrey Sachs wrote:

America’s class war on the poor is not new but was launched in earnest in the early 1970s and implemented with brutal efficiency over the past 40 years. For roughly three decades, from President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s inauguration in 1933 in the midst of the Great Depression to the Kennedy-Johnson period of 1961–68, America was generally on the same development path as post-war Western Europe, becoming a social democracy. Income inequality was declining, and more social groups, most notably African-Americans and women, were joining the mainstream of economic and political life.

Then came the revenge of the rich. In 1971, a corporate lawyer, Lewis Powell, laid out a strategy to reverse the social democratic trends toward stronger environmental regulation, worker rights, and fair taxation. Big business would fight back. President Richard Nixon nominated Powell to the US Supreme Court in 1971, and he was sworn in early the next year, enabling him to put his plan into operation.⁴⁴

To summarise and conclude, we can say that each phase of openness was followed by a backlash not just in Germany, as I laid out in Part Two of this talk, but also in the United States of America, which then spilled over into the rest of the world. As we see, in the U.S.A., *cogitocidal* entrepreneurship launched campaigns of disinformation to create systems of exploitation, in other words, it created systemic humiliation.

In the following, I will go from 1948 to 2021 and show some of the opportunities that we, as humanity as a whole, have missed.

1948 opportunity: Mária Telkes



1948

Once, there was hope. Pioneers of technological inventiveness have shown the way, and this as far back as 1948. One name stands out, that of Mária Telkes, a Hungarian-American biophysicist, scientist, and inventor. She worked on solar energy technologies, and the world would be in a much better place today, had her approach become mainstream instead of the fossil fuel boom.⁴⁵

1954 opportunity: Rural Europe



1954

I am old enough to know what ecological ‘normality’ means. Many younger people, born after 1960, have no idea of the ‘normality’ of planet Earth, they cannot know that there should be many more insects, many more butterflies, many more birds. Young people are born into an artificially impoverished world and may think that this is normality, overlooking that what they are part of are catastrophes that so far were more or less disguised — disguised as ‘progress’ and ‘development’ — catastrophes that will have serious implications for all life on Earth.

I was lucky enough to grow up in a communitarian rural context of a self-sustaining village, the kind of life that no longer exists in Western Europe, pushed aside by ‘progress’. Still today, this experience of my first years informs my vision of a ‘good life’.⁴⁶

I therefore recommend to learn from what political economist Karl Polanyi called the *substantivist* model of economy, as it can serve as an inspiration for transcending what he called the *formalist* model.⁴⁷ Polanyi described the substantivist model as the way early humans made a living from their social and natural environments, without rational decision-making or conditions of scarcity. The formalist model, on the other hand, describes the more recent model of economics that is defined along the logic of rational action and decision-making. According to Polanyi, these two types — ‘production for use’ or subsistence production on one side, and production for exchange with profit maximisation as its chief aim on the other side — differ so radically that no single theory can describe them all.⁴⁸

The point is that equal dignity in solidarity can only thrive in contexts where quality is protected from being overly quantified, and this can only happen in contexts of communal sharing, guided by caring authority rather than exploitative authority — by nurturing parents, caring teachers, and responsible political leaders.

Not just me, increasingly more people feel a vague intuition by now that ‘something is wrong’ with what we call progress and development.

Yet, with dismay I observe that too many of us, rather than seeking ethical ways out, fall into the hands of conspiracy and indignation entrepreneurs who exploit this intuition of that ‘something is wrong’ for their ulterior goals.

1962 opportunity: Rachel Carson



1962

In 1962, biologist Rachel Carson shook the world with her message of a ‘silent spring’.⁴⁹ Earth Day was first held on 22nd April 1970, and it helped spark a popular citizen’s movement.

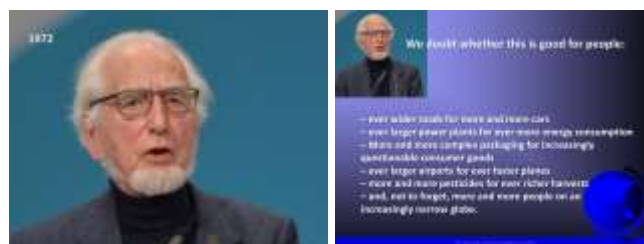
Why did the Earth Day campaign fail to protect the Earth? How come that serious scientists now predict the possibility that the human species may go extinct already in this decade?⁵⁰ As it seems, Carson’s message caught polluters off guard only for a short while. They very quickly mounted a counter-attack to undermine effective new laws, they established today’s sophisticated ‘climate denial machine’. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher then followed up and institutionalised this corporate backlash.

1972 opportunity: Limits to growth report



1972

The year 1972 saw the first *Limits to growth* report, commissioned by the Club of Rome, revisited again by Ugo Bardi, 2011. From 1999 to 2007, Prince El Hassan bin Talal served as the president of the Club of Rome. We are delighted and honoured that he has invited us to hold our 2022 Dignity Conference in Amman.



I remember Erhard Eppler, a German politician of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and founder of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), English German Corporation for International Cooperation, saying the following in 1972:

We doubt whether this is good for people:

- ever wider roads for more and more cars
- ever larger power plants for ever more energy consumption
- more and more complex packaging for increasingly questionable consumer goods
- ever larger airports for ever faster planes
- more and more pesticides for ever richer harvests
- and, not to forget, more and more people on an increasingly narrow globe.⁵¹



Earthrise, photographed during an orbit of the Moon during the 1968 Apollo 8 mission.

The atmosphere of our globe is a common heritage of humanity, yet, from a strictly international point of view it is not. We learn from Christina Voigt, professor of international law at the University of Oslo the following, ‘When the UN climate convention was passed in 1992, some thought of declaring the atmosphere a “common heritage of humankind”.’ This definition would have given the climate problem a completely different status under international law because the states would have had to jointly agree on binding regulations for the use of the atmosphere, possibly even by founding a supranational authority. Voigt reports, ‘But that was not what they wanted’. Many states feared that such a supranational authority would interfere in their sovereignty and would limit what they could do in their airspace.

In other words, our globe would have become a common heritage of humanity, almost, thirty years ago, if not some powerful countries had prevented it.

1992 opportunity: Severn Suzuki, an early Greta Thunberg



1992

I was invited to Rio de Janeiro for the Earth Summit Rio+20 in 2012, however, our Amazonian dignity network members called out by saying, ‘Evelin, come to the Amazon, do not go to Rio, the summit people in Rio have no idea of what is happening in the Amazon!’⁵² Hence, I went to Marabá in the Amazonian State of Pará of Brazil instead, where we co-created an ‘alternative’ summit.⁵³

At the same time, a forerunner of Greta Thunberg spoke in Rio de Janeiro, her name was Severn Suzuki. She was a twelve year old girl when she delivered her first message to the leaders of the world at the first Rio Summit in 1992, the Rio92 Summit. All the heads of state who sat in the first row in 1992, after listening to her, promised change. Yet, twenty years later, in 2012, when Severn Suzuki came back to Rio, her sad message was the following: Nothing has happened! Almost no progress has been made in the decades after 1992, on the contrary!⁵⁴

At the end of this part of my talk, you can watch Severn Suzuki's words.

1977 opportunity: Helmut Schmidt



1977

In 1977, Former German chancellor Helmut Schmidt decided to draft a Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities to accompany the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it was endorsed by several other global statesmen and launched when the UN celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁵⁵

Kishore Mahbubani, a diplomat and academic, was personally present, and in 2021, he describes what he saw:

Since the West believes in the virtues of free speech and open debates, I thought that Western governments and non-governmental organisations would support a free and open discussion of Mr Schmidt's initiative. Instead, they mounted a strong campaign to suppress all discussions of the document. I know that all this happened. I was personally present and saw all this with my own eyes. Two decades after this suppression of the discussion of responsibilities, the time has come for the West to make a massive U-turn away from its prevailing ideology of emphasising rights only, without giving equal emphasis to equivalent responsibilities. Such a U-turn will save lives. Indeed, many lives lost to Covid-19 could have been saved.⁵⁶

2002 opportunity: Paul Raskin



2002

Physicist Paul Raskin is the author of the widely known 2002 essay titled *Great transition*. Two decades later, like me, he looks back in disappointment on too many moments of false hope.⁵⁷ The Brundtland Commission brought its 'yes we can' moment in 1987,⁵⁸ and many policy and academic circles adopted sustainability as a concept. Yet, and here comes the problem, Raskin reports that at the same time, 'a neo-liberal political-economic philosophy consolidated in centres of power, unleashing a highly unsustainable form of market-led globalisation'.⁵⁹

Raskin sums up that the world became rich in sustainability action plans, of which he wrote a number himself, but poor in meaningful action. By now, science can brilliantly illuminate the challenges at hand, and civil action can win this or that battle, he explains, but systemic deterioration outpaces piecemeal progress.

In other words, what we see unfold is what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu calls *deferred elimination* — authorities invite critics to exhaust themselves for promises that ultimately turn out to be empty.⁶⁰

In balance, Raskin concludes that we, the human family on planet Earth, are triumphantly marching into dead ends, faster than alternative directions can be established. This is also my observation after more than forty years of global experience.

2015 opportunity: United Nations Sustainable Development Goals



2015

Many people place their hope in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. Yet, the problem is that they comprise internally contradicting goals.⁶¹ Goal 8, for instance, has the potential to undermine all other goals. We learn from Ian Gough, a scholar of human needs, that it ‘lumps together important need-related goals — participation in work and acceptable conditions in work — with economic growth, a questionable means to achieving these goals’.⁶² Philip Alston, outgoing UN special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, adds, ‘The UN’s sustainable development goals... are clearly not going to be met without drastic recalibration’, because ‘the SDG framework places immense and mistaken faith in growth and the private sector’.⁶³ This is also my conclusion based on my experience.

2021: Total failure is looming



1889–1962–2021

Bertha von Suttner’s book *Lay down your arms* in 1889 (in English translation in 1892) and Rachel Carson’s book *Silent spring* in 1962 ought to have been ultimate wake-up calls to stop war on people and war on nature.

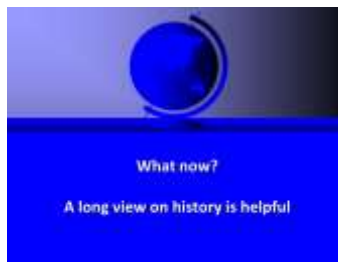
Yet, the result was more war on people and more war on nature rather than less. We, as humanity, have lost a lot of time and many opportunities. By now, total failure is looming — the self-extinction of the human species.

Instead of a radical turnaround towards a mindset of responsible care and solidarity, we see mainstream action going into the wrong direction still today, fired up, not least, by economic systems that give space to powerful entrepreneurs who place short-term profit over long-term survival, while powerful conspiracy entrepreneurs distract and confuse the suffering masses. Even the best intended action today is fatally slow, and most of it is still driven by the ultimately suicidal mindset of competition for domination.

Please see now what Severn Suzuki had to say. See *Severn Suzuki's speech at Rio92*, 1992, published on 28th February 2007 by Evandro Barboza, <https://youtu.be/5g8cmWZOX8Q>. See what she said twenty years later, at Rio+20, *Severn Cullis-Suzuki revisits historic '92 speech; Fights for next generation*, published on 21st June 2012 by Democracy Now! <https://youtu.be/z5qcFpPlsYI>. See also *Severn Suzuki's speech at Rio+20*, 2012, published on 20th June 2012 by ONU Brasil, <https://youtu.be/1FmSxmpitBA>: 'After 20 years, the 12 year-old-girl, who made a speech in front of the Chief of States at RIO92, came back to Rio de Janeiro to tell what she wants for the future of the planet'.

When you have watched this footage, you can click on Part Five of this talk. Thank you again for staying with me!

Part Five: The state of our world today — Inertia where constructive action is needed



What now? In times of deep crisis it is helpful to use a wide lens, to zoom out, so as to discern larger patterns.



I find anthropologist William Ury's long view on history helpful. In 1999, he published his book *Getting to peace*, where he presents his 'simplified depiction of history', pulled together from elements from anthropology, game theory, and conflict studies. He describes three major types of society in chronological order, namely, *simple foragers*, *complex agriculturalists*, and *knowledge society*.⁶⁴

When I met Bill Ury in 1999, I must say that I was much more hopeful than now that the kind of global knowledge society he had in mind was in reach that, where knowledge would be a common good as a resource for responsible care and solidarity, rather than knowledge as 'war ammunition' for a few to accumulate resources at the expense of the many.⁶⁵

I use Ury's historical periods as a frame to insert the historical and social development of pride, honour, and dignity as follows:

- I call the first 97 per cent of human history the *era of pride*, or, more precisely, the *era of pristine humble and dignified pride*, pristine because it is not yet touched by systemic humiliation. It was the time when foraging and small-scale gardening was prevalent and circumscription had not yet set limits for migration, when the few people walking the planet still had enough space to follow wild food relatively freely and sustainably.
- The past three per cent of human history, the period of complex agriculturalism since the Neolithic Revolution, was the *era of honour*, or, more precisely, the *era of collectivistic ranked honour*, the era of systemic humiliation and *arrogant pride*.
- I dedicate my life to working for a return to *dignified humble pride*, for an *era of dignity*, or, more precisely, for a *future of equality in dignity for all as responsible individuals, free to engage in loving solidarity with each other and in mutually dignifying connection with all life on planet Earth*.⁶⁶

This categorisation is my attempt to make the journey of Homo sapiens through time and space explicit to all now living generations, especially to younger people. My aim is to inspire them to unleash all inventiveness they are able to summon and embark on an era of dignity with intentionality and purpose, rather than simply letting this transition grow and shrink haphazardly, or, worse, letting it be captured by ulterior interests.⁶⁷



I call for harvesting from all world cultural heritages,⁶⁸ in particular from Indigenous traditions that reach back to traditions that emerged prior to the Neolithic Revolution, signified in this slide by the transition from phase I to phase II. At the same time, I take great care to avoid romanticising ‘The Indigenous’. I appreciate warnings from a psychologist in India who laments that it is ‘great for the West to just box us in spirituality, Ayurveda and yoga *alone*’, as this helps in making it esoteric... ‘appropriating it when suitable, monetising it, and caricaturing it, when not suitable’.⁶⁹ When we had our Dignity Conference in the Amazonian rainforest in 2019, we were given the same warning.⁷⁰ ‘Indigenous’ does not automatically mean ‘dignifying’, ‘no population in its entirety embodies one particular way of knowing’, warns also Indigenous psychologist Louise Sundararajan.⁷¹ Rather than using the phrase ‘Indigenous knowledge’, it may be more appropriate to say ‘knowledge systems of Indigenous populations’.⁷² [stop]

Given all these caveats, if we look at our forebears prior to the Neolithic Revolution, we have to admit that they still practiced ‘fertile humanism’, they lived in small egalitarian groups in dialogue with their environment. ‘Egalitarian hunter-gatherers, especially the animists, are the best societies this world has ever witnessed’, these are the words of my friend archaeologist Ingrid Fuglestedt, and she added, ‘This is not a reference to the Garden of Eden; it is to acknowledge that some systems are better than others in taking care of everybody’s integrity, both human and animal’.⁷³

Planet Earth is humankind’s shared commons. Throughout history, Indigenous groups have succeeded in protecting their commons from short-term free riding, and they did so by maintaining cultures of sharing,⁷⁴ helped by the time-honoured seven-generation rule.⁷⁵ Ingrid Fuglestedt has studied Palaeolithic lifestyles for many years and she describes the culture of sharing as ‘a vitality that is maintained through cooperation between humans and animals, this being a joint venture which, as it were, makes the world go round’.⁷⁶

I deeply resonate with Fuglestedt’s evaluation, and, together with political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott, I applaud our pre-Neolithic ancestors who resisted sedentism and plough agriculture and tried to hold on to their mobile subsistence.⁷⁷ Basically, I design my personal life according to that template of life.

Many see the invention of agriculture as a triumph of human inventiveness. I tend to resonate with geographer Jared Diamond who says that it was ‘the worst mistake in the history of the human race’, as it brought ‘starvation, warfare, and tyranny’.⁷⁸ It certainly brought unprecedented health problems.⁷⁹ I resonate with all those who suggest that sedentary lifestyle and extractivist agriculture in many ways represent regress rather than progress from earlier forms of sustainable foraging and gardening — after all, this ‘progress’ brought us the dominator mindset that now risks destroying us.⁸⁰ By saying that, I do not want to advocate that we should turn ‘back into stone age’, on the contrary, I advocate a wiser forward.

What made the rest of us lose the wisdom of ‘fertile humanism’?

Sedentism and plough agriculture took over and conquered the planet, people were pressed into dominator systems, and this began around twelve thousand years ago, when what I call the first round of globalisation ended. From the Neolithic Revolution onwards, what anthropologists call circumscription kicked in, as populations increased and resources became scarcer, agriculturalists defended their crops against raiders, the security dilemma grew stronger, and the walls between ‘us’ and ‘them’, between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’, became harder. Since then, the ‘wisdom of the elders’

could only survive in small pockets of what we call Indigenous populations.⁸¹ Resistance could only express itself as the subaltern ‘art of not being governed’.⁸²



In 2010, I published a book titled *Gender, humiliation, and global security*.⁸³ There I describe the historical path that Ury lays out in another way, namely, in terms of what I call ‘the widening of the inside sphere’. Let me explain.

It was through living, studying, and working in different parts of the world and in various cultural spheres, that I came to appreciate the *binary oppositions* approach of structural anthropology.⁸⁴ I found that the up/down vertical ranking scale is deeply anchored in the human bodymind as a way of looking at the world. The *great chain of being* is such a scale, with divinity at the top and dirt at the bottom.⁸⁵ The inside/outside demarcation, as well, plays out everywhere, and using it as a lens is useful for many fields of inquiry, from cultural spheres to academic disciplines, including gender relations. The biological, cultural, social, and psychological scripts for how to perceive, feel, and act when dealing with something or somebody ‘inside’ are typically starkly different from scripts for ‘outside’ spheres.

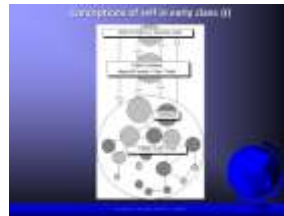
For example, offal is thrown out from inside. Inside, things have names and are maintained. Outside is like a black hole. Things that had names lose them when they go out, along with the entitlement to being repaired and kept in order. Everything acquires a single name — off-fall, out-fall.

The word offal illustrates how the inside sphere is typically discerned as full of details and qualities, while what is thrown out ends up in a uniform, characterless, undifferentiated void. In other words, even our language insinuates that there are no consequences for tossing undesirable things into this void.

Myriad examples of inside/outside differentiations can be found in all walks of life. Psychologist David R. Matsumoto, for instance, studied the linguistics of politeness.⁸⁶ Japanese language — and I lived in Japan for three years — has two main levels of politeness, one for intimate acquaintances, family, and friends (in-groups, or *uchi*, 内 ‘inside’), and one for other groups (out-groups, *soto*, 外, ‘outside’). In other words, the morphology of Japanese verbs also reflects this dichotomy.

In all cultures, at least in all cultures that I had the privilege of getting to know throughout the many decades of global experience that I look back on, inside and outside ethics are radically different. Our *scope of justice* is predicated on this inside/outside dichotomy, as has been described by psychologist Peter Coleman as follows, ‘Individuals or groups within our moral boundaries are seen as deserving of the same fair, moral treatment as we deserve. Individuals or groups outside these boundaries are seen as undeserving of this same treatment.’⁸⁷ Many see it as an act of highly laudable ‘cleansing’, therefore, to humiliate unwelcome people by calling them names from the realm of trash, as a first step to excluding them or even eradicating them as in cases of genocide.

Human rights ideals of equal dignity for all in solidarity could be described as the global village’s ‘inside ethics’, following the in-gathering of humanity as the world shrank, to the extent that its formerly divided inside spheres coalesced. It is also called globalisation.



Conceptions of self in early clans (II)

I made this slide when I did my doctoral research in Somalia. A Somali clan or tribe forms a rather small inside space, like a small ship in the ocean. Clan members in Somalia told me that they would always be on their guard and never tell members of other clans the full truth.

When we look back in history, then we understand that the ocean became rather dangerous after the Neolithic Revolution — danger loomed not just from nature, not just from wild animals and natural catastrophes, danger increasingly loomed also from people, from other tribes. It became a world in ‘the state of nature’, as Thomas Hobbes formulated it, a world of anarchy, in which the security dilemma and war became ever more virulent.

When you go to Somalia, you will see that its clan members are very strong and independent individuals. The distance between leaders and members is small, they are few, and they know much about the dangerous ocean out there, each of them. You will see that proud Somali warriors have built a remarkable pastoral democracy.⁸⁸

I made all the slides that follow now around 1999, when I did my doctoral research. For many years, I almost forgot about these slides, and it was interesting to look back at them now, more than twenty years later. Some details in these slides I would change today, but I think that no major changes are needed.

There is one significant change, however. Today, I give much more attention to the significance of the Neolithic Revolution in terms of the paradigm shift that was introduced at that time, and the need for us to go back to this transition today and make a better transition now.

In other words, in my work today, I highlight much more the time prior to the Neolithic Revolution, I give much more attention to the ‘knowledge systems of Indigenous populations’.



Conceptions of self in hierarchical societies (II)

Anthropologist Robert Carneiro is known as the father of circumscription theory.⁸⁹ It was a great privilege for me to meet him for the first time in 2009 and from then on to sit with him once every year to discuss how I use his theory in my work. I always found him in his office just across Margaret Mead’s former office in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.⁹⁰ His theory explains how multi-village polities, chiefdoms, and states emerged, how ‘successively larger political units’ formed ‘until one of sufficient size and complexity had emerged to which the term “state” could be applied’.⁹¹

As the inside sphere — or the ship, if we stay in the metaphor of the ocean — became bigger, usually, one single strongman became its captain, just as Riane Eisler has described in her dominator model of society. This strongman had not just a few people ‘under’ him but many, and he transformed them into subservient underlings. Only this strongman ruler alone confronted Hobbes’ anarchic state of nature — the dangerous ocean so to speak — he alone took all the important decisions, while the rest was deprived of the freedom to decide for themselves, they had to obey.

Some subordinates would perhaps have been better rulers and their talents went unused. Others were glad that they did not have to take decisions, they enjoyed obedience, as it gave them a sense of security and the feeling of being protected in a dangerous world. When I lived in Japan, for instance, I came across the latter mindset a lot.



Conceptions of self in secular times (II-III)

Over time, the inside sphere expanded more. Sociologist Max Weber argued that rational bureaucracy constituted the essence of modernity. In that context, the ruler is no longer one person, what is ruling is 'rational bureaucracy.' Classical Taylorism organised workplaces in a highly centralised, bureaucratised manner. Political thinker Hannah Arendt said it in 1969 as follows, 'In a fully developed bureaucracy there is nobody left with whom one can argue, to whom one can present grievances, on whom the pressures of power can be exerted', it is 'the rule by Nobody', which, however, is not to be mistaken for 'no-rule', rather 'where all are equally powerless, we have a tyranny without a tyrant'.⁹²

Historical sociologist Karl Polanyi expressed similar views when he said that we live in times that are characterised by systems of hierarchy that give power to 'rulers without a name', systems in which everyone is isolated and thus much more vulnerable than before to being manipulated by unscrupulous preachers of ideology and religion.

In 1999, I wrote this optimistic sentence, 'Science broke up the reign of religion and profoundly changed societies' outlook. While religion looks up, and customs look back, science looks forward and asks how we can understand the world and change it'.



Conceptions of self in an emerging global knowledge society (III)

By now, the inside sphere covers the whole planet. Instead of one religion, there are numerous religious and secular moral and ethical concepts. Instead of one way towards 'progress', there are conflicting approaches, scientific or not. Instead of one ruler, there are many layers of superordinate structures. As I said, I made these slides around 1999, and while certain details would merit updates, the overall concept is valid also in 2021.

What does this new globalised world mean for each individual? It means that each individual, in the Global North in particular, has to transform herself into a little clan or tribe of her own. Every individual has to decide which moral and ethical concepts to apply, every individual has to establish a personal 'government', a personal 'foreign minister', a personal 'minister for internal affairs', and so forth.

Every individual in the Global North thus regains to a certain extent the freedom that had been taken away from her by former absolute rulers. The individual person is much less a tool used by others, the space for her to use and develop the fullness of her human capabilities increases, opportunities to change the world open up that our ancestors never had. A Greta Thunberg would have been unthinkable in the past. The Swedish guru Kjell Nordström uses a funny example, he always says that nothing hinders you to become a 'left-handed lesbian dentist'.

Many may like this new world, others may be unable to bear the loss of protection that is the flip side of greater freedom. This is one problem. Then there is another problem. Much of this new freedom is in reality fake freedom, it is only the illusion of freedom. As a result, many people are confused, many become vulnerable to fall for the influence of conspiracy entrepreneurs who promise to bring back the ‘good old times’.

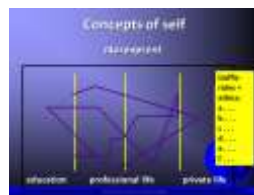
I must say, when I made these slides in 1999, I was still much more optimistic than now.



Former concepts of self in hierarchical collectivist social contexts — the fear that the security dilemma engenders is institutionalised



More recent concepts of self — relational feelings are less institutionalised



In former times, in the dominator model of society, there were fixed rules. The ethical traffic rules gave everybody a fixed set of regulations of how to deal with oneself and others, and how to keep hierarchical structures in place.

[Click]

Today, at least in the Global North, there is little help to find in old rules for a person who wishes to function in a world of equal individuals from a multitude of cultural backgrounds. What such a person has to learn is self-government, and new ways of connecting with others. Lives and rules must be tailor-made for each occasion, they are no longer ‘pre-formatted’.

Again, when I wrote this in 1999, I was much more optimistic that this project would end well. As it stands now, I see that the spaces of freedom that opened up were poisoned with an overload of false and even dangerous choices in the service of economic systems based on profit maximisation.

I full-heartedly welcome any liberation from oppressive dominator systems. My entire personal life speaks to this. However, wherever this liberation ends in the pulverisation of social relationships, wherever it leads to anomie and epidemics of loneliness, wherever it creates sociocide, this liberation goes too far. Both Britain and Japan had recently to appoint special ministers to address their *loneliness epidemic* — according to the Campaign to End Loneliness, ‘most doctors in Britain see between one and five patients a day who have come mainly because they are lonely’.⁹³

I suggest that only *interconnected individuality* can manifest dignity. I have coined the phrase *interconnected individuality* to describe the kind of individuality that truly liberates the individual, that liberates the individual from oppressive collectivism on one side, while avoiding going too far on the other side — it stops short of creating cruelly *disconnected individualism*.

There is a famous prayer, you probably remember it, ‘God give me the strength to endure what I cannot change, give me the power to change what I can change, and give me the wisdom to acknowledge the difference’.

If we want to follow this prayer, it means remembering that being an individualist should not mean being unethical. Rather, it means that we try to identify the true freedom there is in the world, that we carefully look at ourselves and the larger world and build ourselves and our personal world according to our personal abilities and values as much as possible — but, and here comes the big BUT, it also means not to forget the community, not to forget our responsibility for the community, not to forget that we humans are relational and social beings, we humans are not made to be loners who elbow their way through society and life.



This slide tries to show conceptions of self in a failing global knowledge society (IV)

During the past decades, and I observe this all around the world, trust has eroded, not just trust in politicians, also general trust within societies. As it seems, years of systemic ‘defactualisation’, years of ‘image-making’ as political theorist Hannah Arendt would say,⁹⁴ have prepared the ground for ‘political radicalisation’ and ‘angrynomics’.⁹⁵ As professor of sustainability studies Maurice Cohen has formulated it, ‘corporate and government malfeasance, coupled with lies, deceit, and self-serving blame shifting’ seem rampant,⁹⁶ ‘a mass perception of astonishing elite incompetence is now connecting to the already deep-seated feelings of resentment and anger boiling over from the post-financial crisis period... Unfortunately, it is the extreme right that is best positioned to take advantage of the global discontent’.⁹⁷ Indeed, in my 2017 book on terror, I warned that what we allow ourselves to call ‘progress’ may in many ways represent ‘terror’. When people are caught in rat races that lead to anomie in the midst of inequality, nobody should be surprised by the rise of conspiracy theories and hate speech.

Wherever I go, I observe that it causes immeasurable misery when meaning is sought in ‘we versus them’ oppositions, in ‘we in our in-group tribe are right’, while ‘they, all those out-groups, are foreign or wrong’. It becomes even more hurtful when ‘a culture of the market’ mediates relationships, as this creates an arm-length distance between people even within in-groups, it sacrifices the direct solidarity that otherwise could occur within a ‘we in our in-group tribe’.

I am not surprised that right wing groups now reach back to the solidarity of the tribal ‘we against you’ to regain lost solidarity. Terrorism experts speak of ‘unfreezing’ when young people become dislodged — unmoored⁹⁸ — from their familiar social contexts and fall prey to terrorism entrepreneurs.⁹⁹ Similarly, I would say that whole societies can unmoor their members, disconnect them to the point that they willingly abandon independent thinking and fall, not least, for populist conspiracy entrepreneurs, even by the millions.



Conceptions of self in ‘alternative’ hierarchical groups (II)

This slide attempts to depict how populist leaders gather followers with the promise of a better world for everyone, and they offer a sense of belonging like in the old times of clans and tribes held

together by an honour code.

These days, we read headlines such as these, ‘When restless billionaires trip on their toys’, and ‘Welcome to the age — and whimsy — of the new billionaire class and the precariousness of vanity projects’.¹⁰⁰

Populist leaders and conspiracy entrepreneurs feed on such headlines, such headlines serve as a resource for conspiracy entrepreneurs to be exploited and monetised. Conspiracy entrepreneurs profit from the diffuse sense of gloom and mistrust that builds up in populations.

Indeed, populists gain visibility these days who write on their banners ‘we fight corruption’, yet, once in power, they engage in corruption just like their predecessors, and in the process they also weaken all democratic institutions.¹⁰¹

In short, populist conspiracy entrepreneurs ‘surf’ on fears and monetises them,¹⁰² many ‘small profiteers’ profit from the suffering caused by a few ‘large profiteers’.¹⁰³

In this situation, let us ask, together with social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen, ‘What could be a feasible alternative in a world society which seems to have locked itself to a path which is bound to end with collapse?’¹⁰⁴



Re-localisation, and this might seem counter-intuitive to you now, requires global thinking and global action. All around the world, I observe that globalisation critics overlook that removing toxic globalisation is not enough. It is insufficient to replace *bad* power with *no* power, as the power vacuum will be filled with *worse* power. ‘Good’ power is the solution, decent power. Yes, says Meg Holden, expert on urban ethics, there is a path towards ‘local, biophilic self-reliance’, towards ‘rediscovering the focus and peace of localised and lower-technology lifestyles’,¹⁰⁵ yet, ‘when this work is seen as an alternative to global thinking, not its necessary synergistic complement, it is pragmatically indistinguishable from the work of grave diggers’.¹⁰⁶ I follow Meg Holden in wanting to ‘hold a candle to the possibilities of shooting for the stars’, the possibility of keeping ‘all of our fellow humans’ hopes in mind’.¹⁰⁷

In 2012, I wrote a book titled *A dignity economy*, where I discuss that for knowledge to represent a source of true abundance in a finite earthly ecosystem (finite except for solar energy), knowledge must be freely accessible. Not least the presently unfolding coronavirus pandemic shows how lethal economic rules are for millions of people when dangerous virus mutations evolve as drug companies are compelled by the system to refuse sharing vaccine know-how.¹⁰⁸

Strategic warfare for managers is the title of a book¹⁰⁹ written to help managers apply power-over strategies in a ‘mercenary corporate culture’.¹¹⁰ In the context of a ‘mercenary corporate culture’, and this culture now spans the entire globe, many of the best innovations are either kept behind high paywalls or suppressed when they threaten an existing market.

I suggest that the entire currently existing economic system will have to be restructured to make knowledge a truly abundant resource.¹¹¹ The word *economy* comes from Ancient Greek *οικονομία* (*oikonomía*) or ‘management of a household’, which points at long-term maintenance, a rather boring task often relegated to the traditional role of women, admittedly much less dramatic than victory and defeat in war.

In my view, the future will remain bleak as long as the economy is seen as a ‘war theatre’ for men to cooperate so they can better compete for domination with rivals. The future will remain bleak as long as the economy is defined along the lines of ‘men winning in wars’ where ‘the winner

takes all'. The future will remain bleak as long as calls for cooperation for the global protection of the common good are dismissed as 'peevish anxieties of female irrelevance'.

I personally do not wish to be part of such a world, I do not wish to assert my own worthiness by trying to become as competitive as is expected in a war theatre.

Nobody is safe until all are safe



'Nobody is safe until all are safe' — the coronavirus pandemic brings this insight to the world in the most painful ways. Dangerous virus mutations are bred that threaten all because the primacy of profit keeps necessary vaccines from being distributed to everyone who needs it. The Global North practices solidarity only among themselves, forgetting that solidarity has to encompass the entire globe.

Our dear friend Umair Haque, son of renowned Pakistani economist Nadeem Haque, wrote this just a few days ago in an article where he asks 'Why does it feel like we don't have a future? I'm going to explain the answer to you... Let's begin here. Here are three tiny facts':

One: the world's richest men — and they're all men — grew so much richer during the pandemic that they could have each single-handedly funded ending it... with what the IMF needs to vaccinate the world... and still have the majority of their money left over. Yet here we are ... a newer, more infectious variant of Covid is now surging.

Two: just 100 corporations are responsible for more than 70% of carbon emissions. Yet here we are ... the temperature predictably, dismally rising every year, as we hit the verge of runaway climate change.

Three: our societies appear to be going insane, as disinformation spreads. Vast numbers of people believe that masks and vaccines are more dangerous than a deadly virus, and equate them with a literal Holocaust ... because that's what they're told online, over and over again, bombarded by nonsense and propaganda. But this immense scale of disinformation is now destabilising our very societies, leaving them fractured, paralysed, people at each other's throats.¹¹²

What can we conclude?

Freedom without solidarity is fake freedom.

Part Six: How can we get from polarising cycles of humiliating to dignifying complexity?



My father is now 95 years old and I have interviewed him each year over a period of ten years, asking him to share with me his painful life journey. In Part Two of my talk I showed you old photos where he is a happy young man, sitting on his horse on the estate he was to inherit from his father in Silesia. Then came the war and he was forced to become cannon fodder for ambitions he never shared. Subsequently, he lost his beloved brothers, his farm, his homeland, and even parts of his body — his left arm — all to megalomaniac Nazi ambitions.

My mother, as well, suffered terribly during the Nazi period. Her dream to become a teacher marked her as a traitor, a traitor of her role as a mother. She was hit by the fact which I mentioned already in Part Two, namely, that whenever war is imminent, the male body becomes the soldier's body, and the female body becomes the reproductive body of preferably male offspring,¹¹³ or, what philosopher Michel Foucault called *biopolitique*.¹¹⁴

I am often asked, 'Where are you from?' My answer is that I come from the deep awareness that nothing is certain, an awareness that war can destroy what seems to be sure in the blink of an eye. My explanation is that I was born into a family who was considered less than human when I was young and that this made me feel that I had no right to be part of any nation, let alone of the human race. I simply belonged nowhere, there was no 'right to return' to anywhere. At the age of twenty-one, I began to live what I call a global life — not as a tourist but as a fellow human being — learning to be at home on all continents (except Antarctica), so that finally, around the age of forty-five, I began to feel that I belonged everywhere. My most honest reply to the question 'Where are you from?' is therefore, 'I am from humiliation, from many layers of humiliation. I am also from planet Earth, like you, and as a citizen of this planet, I feel responsible for all humiliations that humanity ever perpetrated in its history. I give my entire life to trying to heal past humiliations and prevent future humiliations'.

I feel ashamed of all the atrocities humans ever perpetrated in the world, they all weigh heavily on my shoulders, be it atrocities committed by Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, or any other oppressor. I feel what philosopher Karl Jaspers called the *metaphysical responsibility* to work for 'never again' not just in one particular locality, I feel this responsibility everywhere on our planet, and on behalf of all of humanity.

After more than four decades of global experience, I know enough to be able to say that a *second order transition* is needed, if we, the human species, want to survive in dignity. It is not enough to say, 'If only all the empires were to go away, America, or Russia, or China', in short, 'If only our enemies would go away' — and for 'enemy' you can put many names, including all the scapegoats targeted by indignation entrepreneurs — if only they were to go away, our planet would be a paradise. Likewise, it is not enough to say, 'If only all the bankers were to go away', or, 'If only all the men were to go away and leave the planet to the women', or, 'If only all the greedy people would go away'. And so on, the list of 'enemies' to be hated and fought is long. Some of my friends say that you can only truly learn to love your own people if you start hating and fighting your enemies. I do not think so...

In part Two of this talk I referred to my 2017 book on terror, where I explored how it feels to be in the grip of a strong security dilemma. I wrote that 'violence, hatred, and terror are deeply intertwined with honour, heroism, glory, and love'.¹¹⁵ I quoted psychologist Kenneth Gergen, who touches upon this predicament when he writes about 'struggles of conscience' and that they usually are not struggles between good and evil but between competing goods, 'By far the most obvious and most deadly outcome of the urge to eliminate evil is the hardened shell separating relational

clusters — families, communities, religions, nations, ethnic traditions...¹¹⁶

Martin Luther King once said:

The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the liar, but you cannot murder the lie, nor establish the truth. Through violence you murder the hater, but you do not murder hate. In fact, violence merely increases hate... Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate: Only love can do that.¹¹⁷

In my book on dignity in solidarity, I go through many of the laudable revolutions of human history, all the high ideals with which leaders promised a better world, and I show how even the best intended initiative, campaign, and revolution, so far, usually ended in being hijacked by the dominator mindset. In chapter 10 of the book, I have a section titled ‘Competition for domination is the core problem and only a second order transition can solve it’. There I write:

Competition for domination is the core problem and only a second order transition can solve it

There seems to be a core mechanism that degrades even the most laudable initiatives, almost as if by law of nature. As I see it, this mechanism is competition for domination and control. The most well intended promise of freedom, well-being, and peace tends to become empty when it is captured by dominators.¹¹⁸

The strategy of competing for domination moved to the forefront of human survival adaptations at the time of the Neolithic Revolution, when living conditions changed so quickly that emergency solutions were needed (I explain more in chapter 9 of the book). Our forebears should have abandoned this strategy as soon as possible and replaced it with more sustainable solutions, yet, they could not do so, because the only true solution, namely, global cooperation, was not yet within their reach. Competition for domination and control thus remained definitorial for human faring on Earth for the past millennia, the last three per cent of our time on planet Earth as Homo sapiens, and, unfortunately, it continues until today. In the past millennia, this strategy brought ‘victories’ and certain measures of peace and well-being to a lucky few in the short term. In the twenty-first century, however, this path reveals itself as suboptimal, at best, and as collectively suicidal in the end.

If we fail to radically revise our ways of life on this planet, the noblest of our efforts will turn into their opposite. We cannot allow the strategy of competition for domination to continue unquestioned. A second order transition is needed, both intellectually and emotionally. The dominator script only gives us the choice between anger that is aggressive and kindness that is passive, now the time has come to grow kindly angry, lovingly angry, and caringly angry. As Audre Lorde said about anger, ‘focused with precision, it can become a powerful source of energy serving progress and change’.¹¹⁹

The dominator script is ill advised, and this is independent of who applies it and where it is applied. Oppressors are ill advised to use this script to subdue inferiors, and it is as ill-advised for oppressed victims to use for their liberation. It would be perilous for the world if the Global North and the Global South were to lock themselves into a ‘dance’ of liberation and suppression now. There are necessary and unnecessary conflicts, and it is time to leave behind all unnecessary conflicts.¹²⁰ All involved are called on to become ‘kindly angry’ with systemic humiliation, ‘kindly angry’ with the dominators in all camps, so as to direct everyone’s energies towards building a more dignified and dignifying world — this is the *tough big love* I advocate in my work.¹²¹



To use the image of the sinking Titanic, it is unacceptable for the people on the luxury deck to hold down those on the lower decks, and it is misguided for those in the lower decks to want nothing better than entering the luxury deck. A total reconstruction of the ship is required aside from changing its course. The foundation of our human condition waits to be radically transformed, and this in dignified and dignifying ways.

The core problem is the mindset and practice of competition for domination and control. This practice leads to all-out *sociocide* and *ecocide* in a globally interconnected world of finite resources.



I very much thank the creator of this cartoon.

It says:

- ‘First they said unsinkable, now they say we’re sinking?’ ‘Why should we believe them?’
 - ‘I don’t see an iceberg!’ ‘Nobody I know saw an iceberg!’
- ‘The hole in the ship is below the waterline?’ ‘Oh, that’s convenient! Hoax!’
 - ‘This crisis was made up by the lifeboat industry!’
 - ‘You can’t make me get in a lifeboat’. ‘I have rights!’

Now is the time to take the inspiration of human rights ideals seriously and engage in a *dignity refolution*. *Refolution* is a term coined by Timothy Garton Ash to connote a mix of reform and revolution. This dignity refolution will be history’s first continuous revolution, a refolution that will never ‘finish’, that will always need to be kept alive by large enough numbers of people from one generation to another. This refolution will continuously need to be protected from being hijacked by the dominator spirit.

Earlier, in Part Three of my talk, I introduced you to the case of Charles and Joseph, and how Joseph had to kill people to save the life of Charles. They were caught in the dilemma of the ‘hardened shell’ that Kenneth Gergen describes.

Now I would like to introduce you to more stories that exemplify the complexity of life.

Story of complexity: Lillian and Helmut



Public humiliation plays a key role also in modern society. It is being used as a means of coercion and control, from the worlds of politics and international diplomacy through to the education of children and the administration of justice.¹²²

This is a picture of a Danish woman who was shaven, undressed, and paraded through the streets in 1945 as a punishment for alleged relations with a German soldier during the occupation of Denmark.

In Norway, women who had love affairs with German soldiers and other representatives of the Germany army that held Norway occupied during World War II from 1940 to 1945, were insulted by being called ‘German girl’, *tyskertøs* or *tyskerjente*, by their fellow Norwegians. Children who had a Norwegian mother and a German father were disparagingly described as ‘German children’. In the aftermath of the war, the Norwegian women who married Germans lost their Norwegian citizenship, they were interned in camps in Norway and sent to Germany.

I know of many children born to *tyskertøs* in Norway, who still feel deeply traumatised until the day today. The topic is a very sore one in Norway also today.

What this tells us is that a woman simply did not have the right to put love for a man before her love for her country. An enemy was no fellow human being. In 2008, at the Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities in Norway, I met one of the few who researched the fate of *tyskertøs*, Claudia Lenz. She calls for ‘a liberation of love from politics’.¹²³



Lillian & Helmut

By calling for a liberation of love from politics, Claudia Lenz does nothing else but calling for complexity, for the softening of the walls of the ‘shell’. I think that the story of Lillian is perfectly suitable to invite this complexity.

In April 1942, 19 year old Lillian lived in Narvik in the far north of Norway, beyond the Arctic Circle. There she met a German soldier from Wuppertal, Helmut. He was instantly in love with Lillian, and so was Lillian. Her affection for Helmut made her feel guilty, of course, because, as reported above, a Norwegian girl’s love for a German soldier was considered treason.

But she continued loving him — until a dramatic moment arrived. A Jewish family was being deported from Narvik. Lillian confronts Helmut and wants to end the relationship. Helmut remains silent for a moment. Then he asks her to promise never to speak to another person about what he is going to say to her now. ‘My mother’, says Helmut, ‘is also Jewish. I myself have remained undiscovered and am hiding in my Wehrmacht uniform’.

Lillian is shocked. Then she puts her arms around him and swears to stay with him no matter what.

With this oath one of the most dramatic love stories this war has produced began. After the end of the war, Lillian went to Germany to look for Helmut. They got married and had a daughter, Randi. When Randi was eighteen years old, her mother disclosed the big secret to her daughter, saying ‘tell no one’. Against the will of Helmut, Lillian told her daughter about the fate of his family, and how many of his relatives had been killed in the concentration camps. The daughter promised to tell no one and kept to this promise until two years after the death of her father. Then she wrote a book about the story of her parents.¹²⁴

In the summer of 2009, 87 year old Lillian is on a plane to Narvik. There is a rucksack on the seat next to her. Inside is the urn with her husband’s ashes. She wants to keep what they had promised each other: the one who survives will bury the other where they first met.



A film accompanies Lillian on this journey and tells the adventurous story of Lillian Berthung and Helmut Crott.¹²⁵ The film is titled *Tell no one*. You can see it at the end of this part of my talk.

Story of complexity: Félicité Niyitegeka



By calling for a liberation of love from politics, Claudia Lenz called for complexity, for the softening of the walls of the ‘shell’. I think that also the story of Felicitas Niyitegeka is perfectly suitable to invite this complexity.

Félicité or Felicitas Niyitegeka gave her life in the genocide that ravaged Rwanda in 1994, targeting Tutsi together with moderate Hutu who were opposed to the killing. Felicitas was an Auxiliaire de l’Apostolat, a laïque engagée, a committed lay-woman, who had dedicated herself to a celibate life to serve the common good, with love. She was the responsible head of a Catholic charitable home and, being of Hutu background herself, she saved the lives of many Tutsi.

At last, however, the killers reached also her home and they asked her to leave — as a Hutu, she was not their target for killing — yet, she chose to die together with the Tutsi women who were in her care and whom she could not save.



Father Jean d'Amour Dusengumuremyi wrote a book that was published in Dignity Press in 2015, titled *No greater love: Testimonies on the life and death of Felicitas Niyitegeka*.

We are deeply thankful to former minister Emmanuel Ndahimana for hosting our 2015 Dignity Conference in Rwanda's capital Kigali in June 2015, a conference that we held as a tribute to Felicitas, in the spirit of the United Nations agenda towards 'A Life of Dignity for All', and also in the Rwandan spirit of *umuganda*, 'coming together in common purpose', the traditional practice of communities self-solving their problems.

At the end of this part of my talk, you can see the film *'I prefer to die with them': The Story of Rwandan Heroine Félicité Niyitegeka*, written by Father Jean d'Amour Dusengumuremyi, narrated by Gwen Gates, on 11th September 2020.

Story of complexity: Research in Africa



As I shared earlier, I did my doctoral research in Africa. Allow me to share one experience in particular that taught me to revise my concept of science. It led me to writing an article titled 'How research can humiliate: Critical reflections on method' that you can download from the HumanDHS website.¹²⁶ Let me tell the story.

I had the privilege of interviewing a man in his fifties, a brave, courageous, wise, and very tough man with a life experience that hardly any Western man or woman would survive. He was a former nomad who trained already as a small child to stay alive in the Somali semi-desert, one of the harshest environments of the world. I listened intensely when he recalled how he, as a six year old boy, learned to never really sleep, to always be alert to danger, to discern the traces of dangerous animals or enemy clans. Later, he left the desert, he studied in Russia and became a MIG airplane bombardier. Then, in the Ogaden war in 1978, he participated in the bombing of Ethiopia. After Russia abandoned Somalia and sided with Ethiopia — thus inflicting a humiliating defeat on Somalia — Somalia was supported by the United States. Now he went to the U.S.A. to study at a military academy. When his Isaaq clan was threatened with eradication by dictator Siad Barre and his government in Mogadishu in the 1980s, he joined the guerrilla forces and became a commander, responsible for the lives of many fellow freedom fighters. Finally, he became a minister in the government of Somaliland. At the end of our meeting, he said to me, 'I spent my life in danger, war, and fighting. I saw so many of my friends die. If I could live again: No to all these wars!'

I asked myself: How could I dare call a conversation with such a man 'data collection' from an 'informant'? How could I entertain theoretical reflections about using a structured or semi-structured interview? How could I ask this man pre-meditated questions from a 'structured' interview guideline? I felt humbled, even humiliated.

Somaliland is poor, people sell livestock and many get financial support from their diaspora family members who are dispersed in the whole world, in Norway, Canada, or the United States. In other words, this man lived in a poor country with few resources to provide a dignified life to him, or all the other brave fighters who had proudly put their lives on line against the dictator Siad Barre and ousted him.

Initially, I did not really know why I felt humiliated. Did I feel humiliated by my own belief in an inflated importance of 'scientific' method? I made a protocol of my feelings. Was it not ridiculous? Here I came from abroad to apply Western theory and 'collect data' on its basis, here I had the intention to make academic data out of the experiences of a warrior who knew more about

life, death, strategy, responsibility, and a thousand other things, all under the most life-threatening conditions that no one living in the rich West would ever survive, given their ‘cute little theories’...

I concluded that my initial intuition was correct, namely, that it is not just a sound ethical choice to aim at building trust and avoid humiliating methodologies, it is also the only path to valid science, the only path to achieving a deeper understanding of the topic at hand, in this case the process and experiences of humiliation. I felt confirmed that humility is the central requirement, respectful humility in the face of people with experiences to which most researchers are novices. For this humility to manifest, I had to engage in authentic dialogue between equal fellow humans, rather than in inauthentic patronising role-play by a scientist. ‘Data’ elicited in return for monetary remuneration, or through clever manipulation, risk having little trustworthy validity, even if those data are reproducible and thus have reliability.¹²⁷

Humility and authenticity, so that mutual trust can emerge, this is the only method that can provide true validity in real world settings and that deserves the label ‘science’, this was my conclusion.¹²⁸

Yet, and here came the next question, what does authenticity mean? Philosopher Charles Taylor has written about the *ethics of authenticity*.¹²⁹ In my case, in the middle of a war-torn context, the only path to being authentic meant to disclose my own biography. I explained why I was in Africa and how the idea for my doctoral project had evolved. I revealed that I had been deeply affected by the aftermath of World Wars I and II in Europe. I told the story of my father who had lost one arm as a young adolescent when he was forced to become a soldier. I recounted how my father wanted to make friends with the people his country regarded as ‘enemies’, how he resisted being an oppressor of other people, and how he was punished for that. I explained how I had grown up in my father’s imagination of his lost homeland, how I had built my ‘virtual’ home in his memories of the farm he was to inherit but lost because his homeland was handed over to another country. I shared how my father had no *Heimat* anymore, no homeland, not even the hope to return to any home in the future. I explained that after the Second World War, my family had been forcibly displaced from Eastern to Western Europe and I described how this experience had almost destroyed my father, how he could hardly smile for many decades afterwards. I shared my experience of growing up in a family who always felt like a guest in their host environment, always foreign, certainly not belonging to the rich West — a surprise to many Somalis who believed that all Europeans are carefree and well moneyed. I disclosed that I knew what hunger was as a child.

Then I told the story of my lifelong *dignity mission* and explained that I dedicate my entire life to ‘never again’, and that for this goal, I had been living and working in as many world regions and cultures as possible with the aim to acquire a deep gut feeling for how people in different cultural realms view life and death, love and hatred, peace and war, and whether our species is an anti-social or a pro-social animal.¹³⁰ I explained that I live almost without possessions, with as little money as possible, to protect the integrity of my mission. I concluded by explaining how all this led up to my interest in researching dignity and humiliation and that I would like to invite everyone I meet to be my fellow co-researcher.

This account dramatically changed the relations I had in Africa. Prior to my opening up, I met polite faces, if they gave me their time at all, people told me what they thought I wanted to hear. Deep down they did not believe for a minute that I could understand even a tiny part of their reality. This was disclosed to me later.

After opening up, I learned many things. I learned how easily I might be perceived as one of those ‘duplicitous, overeducated, white supremacist, colonialist, paternalist sissies who pretend to care about the hopes of others’, but only as long as they are ‘pretty sure’ that they can keep their position, their property, their pension plan, and the rest of their ‘packages of privilege’.¹³¹ Critical African intellectuals introduced me to their opinion of Western visitors, and I summarise their views from several sources:

First, you colonise us. Then you leave us with a so-called democratic state that is alien to us.

After that, you watch us getting dictatorial leaders. Then you give them weapons to kill half of

us. Finally, you come along to ‘measure’ our suffering and claim that this will help us!? Are you crazy?

You Westerners get a kick out of our problems. You have everything back home, you live in luxury, and you are blind to that. You think you are suffering when you cannot take a shower or have to wait for the bus for more than two hours! Your four-wheel drive cars cover our people with dust! You enjoy being a king in our country, while you are just average at home! All you want is to have fun, get a good salary, write empty reports to your organisation back home or publish some articles, so you can continue this fraud. You are a hypocrite! You know that we need help. How glad we would be not to need it! It would be great if you would really listen to *us* once, not just to the greedy ones among us who exploit your arrogant stupidity for their own good! We feel deeply humiliated by your arrogant and self-congratulating help!

You helpers come along, build wells (or some other installations or services liable to be ecologically unsound or unmanageable in the longer run), you create a few short-term jobs for chauffeurs, secretaries, and security personnel, and then you disappear again!

Not only recipients of humanitarian help in Africa felt betrayed, indeed, as I found out, all sides felt abused, misled, and humiliated. Providers of humanitarian help, particularly those I met who authentically wanted to help, felt that their willingness to help was caught in power traps that left them helpless, depressed, disillusioned, and cynical.¹³²

Recently, I was reminded of my experiences in Africa when some of my friends of African Descent in the United States of America sighed that the world would be so much better off if all the White people were simply to go away — after all, White people are melanin-deficient mutants, while Africans are the ‘original’. My friends said that White people should let go of their misguided ‘saviour mentality’. Particularly those who wish to be anti-racist, should at a minimum refrain from seeking romantic connections with African Descent Persons, they should refrain from procreating with them. To their Black brothers and sisters they recommend to learn to love themselves through hating Whites. Some African-centred psychologist in the United States of America apply the diagnosis of ‘psychological misorientation’ when they find ‘genetic blackness minus psychological Africanity’.¹³³

In my reply I said that I would like to go one step further and attest ‘psychological misorientation’ to all of humanity when I see ‘human genetics minus the compassion and consideration of psychological humaneness’. In other words, in my view, it is not enough for genetically black people to find their African identity, all of humanity is called to remember its roots and heal from the detrimental impact of the degradation of our cogito-, socio-, and eco-spheres that slowly built up during the past millennia and that culminates now, in the twenty-first century.

Furthermore, together with African scholar Michael Chege, scholar in African development studies and professor at the University of Nairobi, Kenya, I warn against casting Africa as ‘idyllic’, as much as it cannot be casted as ‘barbaric’. I thank Michael Chege for keeping in touch with me. He wrote a paper titled ‘Africa’s murderous professors’, and I quote from him:

At one extreme, committed Africa-bashers present all black intellectuals as incompetent-wilful, and irresponsible partisans in the self-destructive chaos sweeping the continent. At the other extreme, represented by uncritical Western admirers of mythical Africa and the self-styled ‘Afrocentrist’ school, African elites appear as innocent victims of colonialism and Western racism, a group not sinning but sinned against — a position that is unsustainable given the ‘achievements’ of Rwanda’s university-bred propagandists. This specious dichotomy fosters double standards — particularly those applied in judging African development and academic programs — that obscure real dangers lurking in many African countries.¹³⁴

I must admit that, personally, I am far beyond hatred. I am infinitely sad when I see how humanity destroys itself and our planet by way of an outdated mindset, the mindset of combat, the mindset of competition for domination. For millennia, this was the masculinist script of survival in a dangerous world, it is the script of war on people and on nature with the aim to be victorious and secure peace until the next war. This script, however, becomes suicidal the more the world interconnects and the more the world's carrying capacities become overstretched. The hate versus love dichotomy, I fear, is part of this outdated script.

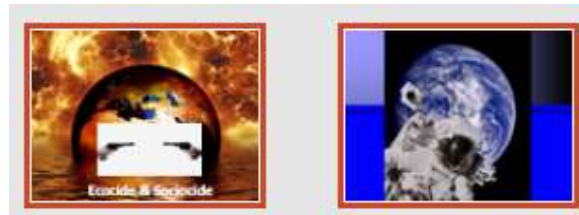
When Titanic has gone down and we all sit in the lifeboat, wasting energy on hating the engineers who built the Titanic would be foolish. There is only one thing to do, and this is to nurture as much love as possible, because this is the only way to survive when all are in the same boat, when all swim or sink together.

I want to end this part of my talk with the advice from psychologist Jan Smedslund. In his most recent book, he has a section titled, 'The invisible role of trust in psychological research', where he writes, 'One cannot build a trusting relationship and reach understanding of what goes on, by treating another person as a specimen or exemplar of a combination of diagnostic categories, or in terms of her relative positions in a group'.¹³⁵

It is a great privilege to have Jan Smedslund as esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community from its very inception, after having him as cherished academic supervisor of my doctoral research. Without him, and his colleagues at the Department of Psychology at the University of Oslo in Norway, I would never have had the strength to do my work on humiliation and dignity. Without their support, I would not have had the courage to go to Africa.

You can watch my little film from Somalia in 1998 after you have watched the footage of Lillian and Helmut, and the video that honours the sacrifice that Felicitas offered in Rwanda.

Part Seven: A future of big love, big peace, unity in diversity, and global responsibility!



How do we get from a planet the burns, drowns, and is armed to its teeth to a decent future?
How do we rescue our blue planet?

Not all kinds of hope are hopeful. ‘Close your eyes and be hopeful while being robbed’, is a destructive kind of hope, it is the abuse of hope as a license and path to passivity in the face of exploitation and destruction, it is hope prescribed as opium for the people, prescribed to the exploited so that they accept exploitation, with that new buzzword — ‘resilience’. As I laid out in Part Four of my talk, throughout the past decades, I saw one optimistic ‘yes we can’ moment after the other pass unused — not least due to such false hopes.

We need another kind of hope. Physicist Paul Raskin, whom I also introduced in Part Four, calls for ‘citizens without borders’ to come together in *pragmatic hope* — neither naïve optimism nor dystopian despair — as the ‘challenge is extraordinary, but so are the times’.¹³⁶



I learned a lot about non-dualism when I lived in Japan and was introduced to the work of intercultural communication scholar Muneo Yoshikawa. He brings together Western and Eastern thought into a non-dualistic *double swing model*, as he calls it. He visualises it graphically as the lying eight, the infinity symbol, or the Möbius strip ∞ . I follow him and use this symbol whenever I speak of dialogue and partnership in the spirit of non-dualistic unity in diversity. I thank Mara Alagic for finding this wonderful rendering of this symbol by dancers of the Alvin Ailey Dance Theater in New York City.

Unity is created out of the realisation of differences, and in this way individuals, cultures, and intercultural concepts can blend in constructive ways.¹³⁷ Yoshikawa draws on philosopher Martin Buber’s idea of *dialogical unity* — the act of meeting between two different beings without eliminating the otherness or uniqueness of each — an idea that is in harmony with the ideal of equal dignity as enshrined in many religions around the world and in human rights ideals.¹³⁸

Yoshikawa connects these insights with the notion of *soku*, the Buddhist non-dualistic logic of ‘not-one, not-two’, or the twofold movement between the self and the other that allows for both unity and uniqueness.¹³⁹ Yoshikawa calls the unity that is created out of the realisation of differences *identity in unity*: dialogical unity does not eliminate the tension between basic potential unity and apparent duality.¹⁴⁰

Yoshikawa’s model includes also an important third element, namely, an emphasis on the processual, relational, and contradictory nature of intercultural communication.¹⁴¹

The African *ubuntu* philosophy of ‘we are two, and we are one, and this at the same time’ fosters living together and solving conflicts in an atmosphere of shared and dignified humility.¹⁴² This is what we need.

Competency in non-dualistic thinking is the essential foundation for being able to grasp the value of unity in diversity and make it a synergistic ‘win-win game’ — to understand that unity is not the same as oppressive uniformity, and that diversity is not the same as unrestricted freedom for

divisiveness. Unity *and* diversity can grow together if kept in mutual balance, if nurtured and celebrated simultaneously. Linda Hartling formulates it as follows, ‘Unity and diversity in balance provides for the growth and participation of all involved, though people grow and participate in different ways’.¹⁴³ Non-dualism means separation *and* connection, agreement *and* disagreement, one *and* two.



I have coined the phrase *dignism* (dignity + ism) as a compass for the de-construction of competition for domination and the co-construction of new global governance arrangements. I ask us, humanity as a whole, all citizens of *Earthland*, to forge a connective narrative, and realise that we have everything needed to build a decent world:

Dignism describes a world where every newborn finds space and is nurtured to unfold their highest and best, embedded in a social context of loving appreciation and connection, where the carrying capacity of the planet guides the ways in which basic needs are met. It is a world where *unity in diversity* reigns, where we unite in respecting human dignity and celebrating diversity, where we prevent unity from devolving into oppressive uniformity, and where we keep diversity from sliding into hostile division. It is a world where we protect diversity from being levelled out through uniformity and prevent unity from being broken down through division. Dignism means avoiding ‘uniformity without diversity’ as much as ‘division without unity’. It means transforming everything into loving global unity in diversity.

Dignism means ending the cycles of humiliation that emerge when human rights are promised but not delivered, dignism appeals to the enormous power of hope for equal dignity that was created by what we call modernity, only to be left unfulfilled. Dignism means loving care for the common good of all of humanity as co-inhabitants of a single finite habitat. Dignism means establishing governance structures that dignify globalisation and manifest *co-globelisation* (chapter 11). Dignism realises unity in diversity through *subsidiarity*, through weaving together all dignifying aspects of all of the world’s cultures into one decent global village.¹⁴⁴

Which unity in which diversity?

In my book on dignity in solidarity, I ask many questions that arise when we look deeper into the motto of unity in diversity. Who decides where unity ends and diversity begins? What happens when diversity divides unity? Who decides at what point voluntary unity becomes oppressive uniformity? Inversely, who determines when diversity no longer means enriching heterogeneity but destructive division? What are the guiding parameters? Can human rights ideals work as parameters?

The closer we look, the more difficult the questions become. When we speak of unity in diversity, what do we mean by diversity? What does biological and cultural diversity mean? How can we protect it? Does it mean protecting diversity within an in-group so it becomes less homogenous? Or does it mean to protect a homogenous in-group from being invaded by out-groups? An uncontacted tribe, for instance, will lose its cultural uniqueness the moment it is being contacted. Uncontacted tribes need help from outside to keep invaders off their territory when under siege.

Japan closed off its country through its *sakoku* policy over a period of 214 years, and this gave the world the gift of today’s unique Japanese culture.¹⁴⁵ What, however, about a man like Anders

Behring Breivik, who went on a shooting spree to *’protect* Norwegian culture? Can or should Norway isolate itself like an uncontactable tribe? Who has the ‘right’ to keep others ‘off’ their territory? What about all those -isms that separate people from each other and from their natural environment — ranging from racism to anthropocentrism to human supremacism? Where does protection end and hatred start? Is it racist or anti-racist when a *White person wishes to have children with a b*lack person?¹⁴⁶ At what point does ethno-pluralism veer into parochialism? How far can global intra-cultural diversity go before it creates a backlash and ends in global inter-cultural division?¹⁴⁷

Not just in the United States of America, all around the world, these questions drive bitter cycles of humiliation. Historian and former dissident Adam Michnik explains what motivates right wing parties in Poland, ‘The aim of these parties is to break the supposed domination of gays, cosmopolitans, and liberals in Europe’.¹⁴⁸

This topic cannot be answered briefly, of course, a whole book needs to be written to explore these questions. Steven Roach is an expert in international relations and a scholar of the politics of decency.¹⁴⁹ In his work, he differentiates conservative decency from basic and liberal decency. For a long time, liberal decency was expected to replace conservative decency, he reports, yet, this did not happen. The ‘reactionary elements of conservative decency’, he observes, are still virulent and even on the rise. Roach warns that present-day liberal multiculturalists underestimate ‘the problematic effect of extending liberal decency to identity politics’, he worries that they overlook how much ‘the reactionary elements of conservative decency can create disconnections between liberal and basic decency’.¹⁵⁰ He calls it ‘the reactionary politics of conservative decency’ when political leaders angrily defend traditional values under the banner of decency.¹⁵¹ The emergence of global populism, he argues, reflects the ‘stark tension and growing political chasm between conservative and liberal decency’, and it is precisely the erosion of basic decency that creates this chasm.¹⁵² As a result, society is being divided by ‘competing moral and emotive claims to decency’,¹⁵³ which grow the ‘rift between liberal and conservative decency’,¹⁵⁴ and thus expose the pitfalls of ‘decency’s dual, universal role of including and excluding identity claims’.¹⁵⁵

What is the way out? Roach calls for a ‘pluralistic, open-ended global moral propriety’.¹⁵⁶ Philosopher Howard Richards argues for ‘celebrating diversity while simultaneously unifying all human behaviour under an ethic of respect for universal human rights’.¹⁵⁷

My solution is to remove the security dilemma as a motivator from the equation. This is the ‘landscape’ that I see:

There is on one side what we call the right wing position that is informed by the mindset of competition for domination that evolved in response to a strong security dilemma. This position can be summarised as, ‘We want uniformity among us in our local in-group, united against all possible enemies, in the spirit of the patriarchal values of *biopolitique*, where woman and men have their tightly defined roles. In a world where all other groups do the same, this renders global diversity between groups, it is unity in group diversity, not unity in individual diversity’.

Then there is the left wing position informed by the desire to overcome the security dilemma and to regard all human beings as members of one family who are neighbours and no longer enemies. This position can be summarised as, ‘We want unity in individual diversity in the global in-group that no longer contains any local in-groups with particular cultural characteristics’.

My position would be the following. I would like to protect and nurture unity in diversity in all of the world’s local in-groups, for instance, in all of our Indigenous communities. In this world, unity can and should no longer draw its motivation from the opposition to enemies, which means that traditional *biopolitique* can be abandoned and all individuals liberated from rigid role descriptions, including from rigid gender role descriptions. In other words, I would like to

nurture a world where both the concepts of unity and of diversity no longer answer the security dilemma.

A summary of my narrative of *big history*

My particular family background has inspired the book on dignity in solidarity on which this talk is based. As my family has lived through the most painful experiences in connection with German history, this has brought the vulnerability of our human-made world to me in the starkest of ways. As a result, I am sensitised to looming crises more than many others are, and also more aware of the need to prevent crises systemically rather than responding to them haphazardly and post-hoc.¹⁵⁸ The point is to prevent the ‘Hitlers’ of this world from rising, rather than having to defeat them when they have become too powerful. In 1945, Germany was defeated — I wonder, is humanity defeating itself now?

Since childhood, my life mission has been to learn whether or not there is hope for ‘never again’, never again the mass destruction of war and genocide, never again systemic humiliation. Since childhood, I work to understand the range of what we humans are capable of, in terms of hatred and love, of violence and peace, of competition and cooperation, of shortsighted foolishness and farsighted wisdom.

At the age of twenty-one, I began my ‘global living’ project, immersing myself into different cultural realms all around the world, much more deeply than through mere ‘travel’, rather considering myself a sedentary citizen in the global village. Since I have not yet met another person who lives in this way, I have composed a longer explanation that can be downloaded from the web.¹⁵⁹

When I was forty years old, after twenty years of global living, I felt I had learned enough to embark on an ambitious plan. I wanted to outline in one single paragraph the path that would carry me until the end of my life. For three years, I reflected deeply and dialogued with many people. This is the paragraph:

We, the species *Homo sapiens*, face global challenges — from the destruction of our ecospheres to the degradation of our sociospheres — and we must cooperate globally if we want to address these challenges. Question: What is the most significant obstacle to successful global cooperation? Answer: Cycles of humiliation are the greatest obstacle, and this problem will increase the more the world interconnects, the more its finiteness will make itself palpable, and the more human rights ideals of equal dignity will become salient and create expectations that were absent before. For global cooperation in responsible solidarity to succeed, the highest goal must therefore be to dismantle existing systemic humiliation, to end and heal present cycles of humiliation, and to prevent new ones from emerging in the future.

I had two sources of information for my conclusion, first, my own experience, and, second, lessons from history. First, through working for many years as a clinical psychologist, both in Western and non-Western contexts, I had learned that humiliation has the potency to create the deepest of rifts between people, so deep that cooperation becomes impossible. I had learned that this effect amplifies when resources get scarcer and conflicts arise, and even more so when human rights ideals of equal dignity raise expectations as to how these conflicts ought to be addressed.

Second, the historical argument has found its way into common knowledge that the Versailles Treaties at the end of the First World War were intended to humiliate Germany to teach it humility, yet, that this ‘lesson’ backfired in the most horrible ways. After the Second World War, Germany was included as a respected member in the European family, and this led to peace.¹⁶⁰ In short, history appears to hold the lesson that humiliation risks leading to war while respect can lead to peace.

With these pieces of information and intuition in mind, I went to the library expecting to find abundant literature on humiliation. This was in 1996. I found that the phenomenon of humiliation

itself indeed was ubiquitous in all literature on war and aggression, yet, to my great surprise, there was almost nothing on humiliation as a separate theme. I found only one single academic book with the phrase ‘humiliation’ in its title, a book from 1993 by a professor of law, William Ian Miller, who explores ancient codes of honour and shows how virulent these codes still are.¹⁶¹

While the psychological literature on emotions did mention humiliation, it subsumed it under the heading of shame, with humiliation as part of the shame continuum. To me, this felt wrong. Not least my many years of experience as a psychotherapist in diverse cultural realms had taught me that it is absolutely possible to feel humiliated without feeling shame. I had learned that humiliation and shame can only be placed in the same continuum as long as a mindset of honour reigns, and that this is no longer valid in a context where the ideal of equal dignity is salient.

Starting from these reflections and findings, I planned my doctoral research in social psychology with the title *The psychology of humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda / Burundi, and Hitler’s Germany*.¹⁶² I defended this doctorate in 2001.

By now, in 2021, my global ‘never again’ mission has provided me with more and deeper insights. After almost fifty years of global experience, I feel I can contribute with relevant reflections on humanity’s most existential questions. Therefore, I dare write this book, with love and passion, as my gift to humanity.

Even though it is not very advisable to provide overly simplified abbreviations, particularly not in times of polarisation, the following is a tentative summary of my view on *big history*. I will start by looking at where we stand, then ask how we got here, and end with what can and should be done.

This is where we stand

We, the species *Homo sapiens*, live at a historical turning point that is so important that only a long view on our history can help. We, as humankind, have dug ourselves into a multitude of perilous crises, both despite and because of what we call progress. We engage in systemic humiliation — *ecocide* and *sociocide* — we degrade our ecospheres and sociospheres at a global scale, we shred our relations with our habitat and with each other. The suffix *-cide* comes from *caedere* in Latin and means ‘cutting down, killing’.

We catalyse the degradation of our ecospheres and sociospheres by damaging our *cogitosphere*, the realm of thinking and reflection, and we damage it to the point of *cogitocide*. As a result, we risk sliding sightlessly into collective *suicide* as a species, more, even towards *omnicide*, the annihilation of all life on Earth. We as humanity stand at the edge of what is being called a *Seneca cliff*,¹⁶³ the kind of rapid collapse that characterises the disintegration of complex systems.¹⁶⁴

If we, as humanity, wish to heal *ecocide* and *sociocide* and survive in dignity, the first step must be to overcome *cogitocide*, the destruction of our thinking. We need to face our calamity with an equanimous mind, not with panic nor with denial. Our scientists inform us that we have a window of opportunity of around ten years to step back from the edge,¹⁶⁵ and that all the knowledge to do so is available.

Unfortunately, so far, instead of recognising the depth of our existential crises, and grasping the historic opportunity to exit, it seems that too many of us choose to stay myopic. This is why a look at *big history* is helpful.¹⁶⁶ It provides a wide lens that makes primary problems visible that spawn secondary, tertiary, and quaternary problems.¹⁶⁷

This is how we got here

What is known as the *Neolithic Revolution* merits renewed attention. It was a turning point in human history that was as important as the present historical moment. Furthermore, it saw humankind’s primary problem emerge, namely, competition for domination and control as a

strategy of survival. Due to its success, at least partially, this competition remained Homo sapiens' master plan of action during the past millennia. It is a uni-dimensional and uni-lateral strategy that answers what political scientists call the *security dilemma* in that it seeks 'negative' peace by following the motto of 'If you want peace, prepare for war'. It was in this context that the dominator model of society arose, with its double intervention, namely, keeping one's 'enemies' out with weapons, while holding one's own down with routine humiliation. Until now, all systems — feudalism, communism, capitalism, democracy, modernity, post-modernity, to name just a few catchwords — played out competition for domination in their practice, if only in different forms and to different degrees, and this even when promising the opposite in rhetoric. Equal dignity on the ground has been widely and systemically sold out, often even under the guise of dignity rhetoric.

Our Neolithic forebears could not know better, establishing a mindset of competition for domination was the best they could do. They did not yet have the information about the world that we have today. Over time, even a *growth dilemma* superimposed itself and merged with the classical security dilemma, and this is where we are today. The current motto is, 'If you want prosperity, invest in exploitation'.

The situation we live in now, while it is a result of our forebears' strategy of survival, becomes a strategy of collective suicide as the world interconnects and the Earth's carrying capacity becomes overstretched. Competition for domination as a mindset and social and societal order has always been limited in its usefulness, but by now, it fully outlives this usefulness. Even colonising other planets would not help, given this mindset, its resources would soon be depleted as well. This mindset drives systemic cogitocide and sociocide, it divides the global community just when it needs to come together, and by doing so, it hastens global ecocide. It manifests systemic humiliation.

As it stands now, the dominator mindset drives *cycles of humiliation* and *systemic humiliation* to hitherto unseen levels. This happens in a situation where human rights ideals promise equal dignity to all, which means that feelings of humiliation no longer translate into obedient humbleness but acquire hitherto unseen force. I call feelings of dignity humiliation the *nuclear bomb of the emotions*.

Clashes of civilisations are harmless compared with *clashes of humiliation*, because humiliation closes doors for cooperation that otherwise would stand open. In the absence of leaders of the calibre of a Nelson Mandela or Mahatma Gandhi, cycles of dignity humiliation have the potency to turn the global village into a global war zone. Nothing is therefore more important than halting and preventing these cycles of humiliation.

What is the way out?

The situation is so new that ideas become realistic that hitherto were deemed unrealistic. Citizen-to-citizen trust building at a global scale is the only lifesaving strategy. Human rights ideals of global partnership in mutual solidarity that link back to conceptually pre-Neolithic Indigenous Knowledge Systems and models of gift economy offer the path to achieving lasting global dignity.

The traditional role description for maleness, namely, bravery in competing for domination, is now obsolete. Our planet is burning and drowning, and at the same time it is filled with deadly arms, and this means that all, men and women united, are called to embrace a new kind of bravery, namely, the *bravery of building mutual trust, care, and solidarity in global partnership*.

The call must be as follows: On this small and finite planet that is our common home, let us bring our forebears' adaptations to a better completion. Nothing hinders us to honour our forebears' legacy even while we unlearn their adaptations. There is no shame in accepting new learning when realities on the ground change. We have ten years to outgrow twelve thousand years of behaviour. We possess all the necessary knowledge and skills to succeed.

Let us nurture respect for equal dignity for all of us, as responsible individuals, free to engage in loving solidarity with each other and with our planet. Let us celebrate diversity without humiliating each other, let us protect unity in equality in dignity. Let us turn *socio-cide* and *eco-cide* into what I call *socio-sanity* and *eco-sanity*. Let us embrace *socio-salvation* and *eco-salvation*.

Let us humanise globalisation through *egalisation*, a word I coined to signify 'equal dignity for all in freedom', let us aim for *globegalisation*. More, let us do so in cooperation and solidarity, let us work for *co-globegalisation*. In this way we can co-create a decent global village.

We need the *heroism of care*, the *heroism of dignity*. We need what I call *dignism* as a vision for the future, *dignism* as a term formed from dignity and -ism.

Dignism describes a world where every newborn finds space and is nurtured to unfold their highest and best, embedded in a social context of loving appreciation and connection, where the carrying capacity of the planet guides the ways in which basic needs are met.

Outlook

Let us build a world where no one is forced into dilemmas of either becoming a perpetrator or facing death. Remember the story from Rwanda, where a man had to kill other people to save his friend. Remember Félicité, who chose death out of solidarity. Remember the story of Helmut, who chose to become a perpetrator, a soldier in the Nazi-German army, to avoid his own death. Remember the Jews in the ghettos and concentration camps who had to administer their own people's demise, only to be killed themselves a little later.

I ask you: What would you choose? Your own death, or becoming a perpetrator? What would you have told Nelson Mandela when he was in prison? Would you have scolded him? Would you have told him that he should make peace with apartheid and stop neglecting his family?

Let us build a world where we are all equal in the struggle for dignity, where there is no victimhood and also no competition for victimhood, no hijacking and instrumentalisation of the possible advantages associated with the role of the victim.

Let us build a world without self-righteousness, without arrogant high moral ground and the illusion of goodness that builds on ill-gained privilege. We all know of the colonisers of India and the Rajas who agreed to be complicit with their colonisers in return for privilege — the Global North is their successor now.

This is what Martin Luther King said, 'It's all right to tell a man to lift himself by his own bootstraps, but it is a cruel jest to say to a bootless man that he ought to lift himself by his own bootstraps'.¹⁶⁸

Part Eight: Together we can achieve global dignity in solidarity — A global dignity movement



For the first time in our history, we, the human species, can fully appreciate our place in the cosmos. Our ancestors could not see pictures of our Blue Marble from the perspective of an astronaut.¹⁶⁹ Unlike our forebears, we have the privilege of seeing our planet from outside and thus experiencing the *overview effect*,¹⁷⁰ an effect that helps us understand that we humans are *one* species living on *one* tiny planet. We can embrace *biophilia*,¹⁷¹ we can feel ‘the ecology of the living’ taking place within *one* circumscribed *biopoetic* space that is shared between all beings.¹⁷²

We have access to a much more comprehensive knowledge base about the universe and our place in it than even our grandparents had. We have all the knowledge and skills required to build mutual trust and solidarity at a global scale.

We have everything needed to humanise globalisation by reaping the benefits that the global ingathering of humanity offers. We can co-create a world of *dignism*.

Human nature is neither ‘good’ nor ‘evil’, there is no need to idealise human nature nor to demonise it. Much of human action simply depends on the ways constitutive rules frame relational contexts — cooperation and solidarity in the world can be nurtured systemically, through building appropriate societal frames.¹⁷³ Given the context, humans are capable of the most loving goodness or of the most horrifying evilness, whereby violence, hatred, and terror are deeply entangled with notions of honour, heroism, glory, and loyalty.¹⁷⁴ ‘We may not be able to engineer a good Anthropocene or good Homo sapiens, but we can create a society that elicits and nurtures the better angels of our collective nature’, concludes physicist Paul Raskin.¹⁷⁵

Where do we stand with the task of creating a better society? All around the world, local experiments are on their way that try to act on the Cree prophecy that ‘you cannot eat money’, that try to make economic systems compatible with life on Earth. There is a ‘market of promises’ out there,¹⁷⁶ created by people who no longer wish to gain ‘prosperity’ at the cost of *ecocide* and *sociocide*, who no longer wish to make their livelihood dependent on destruction, who no longer wish to make a living from killing.

More and more people understand that only small problems can be solved from within the system. When a system has big problems, it is time to ask big questions from outside of the system. Philosopher Arne Næss, father of *deep ecology*, called on us to engage in *deeper questioning*, to continue asking questions where we previously stopped asking.¹⁷⁷ Arne Næss would agree with my conclusion that *ecocide* and *sociocide* cannot be addressed by the same economic frames that caused it, that it is not enough to want to solve *ecocide* with more *sociocide*, nor the other way round. We need new constitutive frames globally and locally, and we have all the knowledge and skills to create them.

Are new constitutive frames in sight? The short answer is ‘No’.

As it stands now, systemic frames are built on the belief that Adam Smith’s ‘invisible hand’ will come to rescue. As a result, and I observe this all around the world, ‘Adam Smith’s invisible hand is at our throats’.¹⁷⁸

When we look back at the time when Adam Smith lived — he lived from 1723 to 1790 — we understand that he would be shocked by the ways his teachings are used today. He would resonate with the question recently asked by the International Monetary Fund, ‘Has neo-liberalism been oversold?’¹⁷⁹

Adam Smith was a moral philosopher and pioneer of political economy who was an egalitarian

and had the welfare of all of society at heart. In 1776, he described bankruptcy as ‘perhaps the greatest and most humiliating calamity which can befall an innocent man’.¹⁸⁰ English labour was riddled with uncompensated apprenticeships at his time, with domestic servitude and clerical dominion. A secretive system of debts, favours, and gifts kept rigid hierarchies in place, from king to pauper. Smith thought of the market as the solution for this sorry state of affairs, the market should bring ‘liberty and security’ to the disadvantaged, it should solve structural inequality. He recommended self-interested profit maximising for everyone as a solution, he did not foresee that the reverse may happen, namely, that society would become the supplier of profit to a few, that a few investors would benefit for a short while at the price of burdening the rest in the long term. Adam Smith would be shocked by today’s cogitocidal erosion of moral values and the omniscidal degradation of eco- and sociospheres.¹⁸¹ ‘Privatisation’ is not ‘progress’, he would say, it turns into regress when it causes ecocide and sociocide.

In general, what we learn — and anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen formulates it perfectly well — is that in complex systems, ‘the unintended consequences are often more conspicuous than the planned outcomes of the course of action’,¹⁸² in addition, ‘second-order consequences of any major socio-technical system change are often in the opposite direction of the first-order consequences — and bigger’.¹⁸³ As I reported earlier, in my book on dignity in solidarity, I go through many of the high ideals with which leaders have promised a better world throughout history, and I show how even the best intended initiative, campaign, and revolution, so far, usually ended in being hijacked by the dominator mindset. The system of rules that we call capitalism seems to have travelled a similar road.

Instead of inspiring the creation of new systemic solutions, what we see is a growing sense of frustration that is being captured by un-social media that gain profit from amplifying ill feelings, fuelling hatred, and merging New Age and far-right ‘Nazi hippies’¹⁸⁴ into ever extremer forms of ‘conspirituality’.¹⁸⁵ Selfishness is hailed as a virtue, selflessness is suspect, and solidarity is accused of doing harm through enabling the lazy to free ride on the efforts of the hard working.¹⁸⁶

People are becoming morally and psychologically so crippled that they lack the courage to envision new ways of living together, let alone creating new systemic frames that invite pro-social behaviour with ‘visible hands’.

A global dignity movement



It is important to clarify that I, while I am the founding president of this global fellowship, am also a researcher in my own right. The reflections I present and share in this talk do not define any official position of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network, which is the name of this fellowship. On the contrary, I wish to inspire YOU to forge your own pathways to exploring the themes of dignity and humiliation.

If I were a magician, if we, as humanity, were magicians, we could implement new global constitutive governance rules overnight, try them out for a few months, and replace them until we found the most dignifying ways for us to arrange our affairs on this planet. As we are not magicians, the maximum we can do is envision eutopian futures, and then try them out as best as we can. This is what humanity did so far, very slowly, always waiting for bloody revolutions to halt outdated experiments, or, as happens now, even risking human extinction in the vain hope for victory through competition for dominance.

I dedicate my entire life to calling on all of us to envision and try out dignifying eutopian futures as much as is feasible in our presently existing world, and at the same time always remain prepared to adjust and try again. I have embedded myself in as many cultural contexts as was possible for me to realise during my lifetime with the aim to collect as much experience and knowledge as possible about what we humans are capable of in terms of dignity and what the best ways may be for us to arrange our journey on our planet Earth. I made the human family my family and took the planet as my university. To avoid having my dignity mission suspected of being influenced by ulterior national, political, or corporate interests, I live on small gifts and almost without possessions and money, and this gives me the freedom to develop out-of-the-box perspectives on our human condition. I am not an idealist driven by any religion, I am a realist in a loving and caring I-Thou relationship with all of humanity. I give unconditional love without expecting rewards. This is my personal gift to humanity, motivated by my family history of trauma inflicted by the Nazi regime and the war it unleashed in the twentieth century.



Together with relational psychologist Linda Hartling and a dedicated core group of scholars and educators, I have the honour of nurturing a global collaborative movement of people who wish to walk the talk of dignity. I do so since the idea for this work was born in 2001. We call it, as I said, Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies (HumanDHS). Linda Hartling describes it as ‘more than a fellowship, more than a community, more than a network, more than a family, more than a movement, more than any currently available definitions ... perhaps it could be described as an *ecosphere*, a *relational ecosystem of loving beings connected in efforts to cultivate a better future for all people*’.¹⁸⁷

Linda Hartling is our director, I am the founding president, and we have both written a doctoral dissertation on the topic of humiliation — Linda in 1995 and I in 2001. We look back on nearly twenty years of ‘holding hands in dignity leadership’, twenty years of organisational experience and lessons learned, and we plan to continue with this work throughout our entire lifetimes, as this is not a ‘job’ for us but a life mission.¹⁸⁸



In the information we send to interested people, we offer the following text as a description of our *dignicommunity*, which also serves as an encouragement and inspiration for others:

We are a global transdisciplinary network of concerned scholars, researchers, and educators of all academic fields, in collaboration with practitioners, creative artists, and many others, all of whom share a wish to stimulate systemic change, globally and locally, to open space for dignity, mutual respect, and esteem to take root and grow. Our goal is to foster healing from cycles of humiliation throughout the world, ending systemic humiliation and humiliating practices, and preventing new ones from arising. We wish to open space for feelings of humiliation to be transformed into action that dignifies the lives of all people and that replenishes our planet. We suggest that a frame of cooperation and shared humility is needed — rather than a mindset of humiliation — if we wish to build a better world, a world of equal dignity for all in solidarity.

We work primarily with individuals rather than with organisations, and these individuals then bring their organisational affiliations into our network. In this way, we answer the call we hear from all around the world, namely, that what is most lacking today is ‘global transformative collaboration among multi-local human actors’.¹⁸⁹ We invite people who focus on the ‘ultimate drivers’ of deep systemic change, namely, the ‘values, knowledge, power, culture, all of which shapes society and the human experience’ at their core.¹⁹⁰

The HumanDHS network has convened more than 35 conferences all around the world since 2003 — usually two conferences per year — and we also wish to invite YOU to participate in the future.

Thus far, we have had one global conference taking place at a different location each year, including conferences in Europe (Paris, Berlin, Oslo, and Dubrovnik), Costa Rica, China, Hawai’i, Turkey, Egypt, New Zealand, South Africa, Rwanda, Chiang Mai in Northern Thailand, Indore in Central India, and the Amazon in Brazil.

Furthermore, we come together for a second time each December, namely, for our Workshop on Transforming Humiliation and Violent Conflict at Columbia University in New York City, with the late Morton Deutsch as our honorary convener. During the coronavirus pandemic, this workshop was being convened online.



A new educational effort emerged out of our dignity network in 2011, namely, the World Dignity University initiative, into which we invite all learners and educators for whom dignity is central. In 2012, Dignity Press was established with its imprint World Dignity University Press. It has published a wide range of books in several languages on topics related to dignity and humiliation.



All our efforts are a pro bono labour of love and entirely maintained by wealth that is measured in gifts of time, energy, and talent, all creatively shared by the network’s members and supporters.¹⁹¹ Our experience has shown that dignity quickly falls by the wayside when monetary exchanges become involved. Therefore, we intentionally strive to avoid becoming yet another ‘profiteering’ non-profit, instead, we live by the maxim that ‘money should serve rather than lead’.

We forego competing for donations, grants, or corporate sponsorship, and maintain a close to zero budget. Thus, by stepping outside of the monetised world, we keep our dignity mission ‘unsullied’. We practice various approaches to a gift economy,¹⁹² as we have learned that this is the only way for us to prove the integrity of our mission. No one can suspect us of running errands for national or corporate interests. In this way, our HumanDHS network takes seriously the insight that ‘mission-driven organisations are less corrupt’.¹⁹³ Philosopher Howard Richards who contributed with the Foreword to my book said it well, ‘Gandhians can associate being mission-driven with dharmic living, Christians with vocation, Marxists with solidarity ... the list could go on’.¹⁹⁴ We are driven by dignity in loving solidarity.

In line with our ‘lean’ approach, we forego investing energy in building brick-and-mortar structures. We have no ‘headquarters’ that would give our work a national anchoring that might suggest all other places are *not* our headquarters, thus tempting people to associate us with specific national interests. We are a fellowship of individual citizens, we are United Global Citizens for Dignity, and in this respect, we are even more global than the United Nations, as this is a fellowship of nations. In practice, taken together, all the places are our headquarters where members of our organisation are based, thus manifesting us as a *glocal* movement, headquartered on planet Earth, with the postal address of ‘planet Earth’. I serve as our global ambassador, my laptop could be called our globally mobile headquarters, with Linda Hartling living in Portland, Oregon, and our members coming from all continents. We invite all like-minded people to join us in creating a strong sense of lifelong belonging to this global dignity family.¹⁹⁵

These highly deliberate ways of organising our efforts grow out of our community’s ongoing ‘dignicreativity’. Linda Hartling’s mentor was ground-breaking thinker Jean Baker Miller, who observed that creativity is a ‘continuous process of bringing forth a changing vision of oneself, and of oneself in relation to the world’.¹⁹⁶ As a community, we cherish Oregonian poet William Stafford’s insight that ‘the creative life of unknown people might be a tremendous hidden river’.¹⁹⁷ We work to un-hide such rivers of dignicreativity and chart new dignifying paths for people and our planet.

In my case, as I reported earlier, when people ask me, ‘Where are you from?’ I reply, ‘I live in the global village as part of a global dignity family’.¹⁹⁸ When people ask, ‘What is your religion?’ I reply, ‘My religion is love, humility, and awe and wonderment’. When people ask what drives my creativity, I ask back, ‘Perhaps the aim of life is to understand the universe?’¹⁹⁹

Through our work, we meet many people around the world who are intelligent and diligent, hardworking, and prolific. Few, however, are sensitive to humility, few understand the growing significance of dignity and the increasing danger from its violation, humiliation. This sensitivity is like a foreign language that some people speak and others do not. It is a language that is difficult to learn — some people seem to know it intuitively, perhaps through particularly harsh life experiences that they succeeded in overcoming without becoming other- or self-destructive. This sensitivity is what is most valuable for us, more important than any ‘tangible product’ or achievement. We look for people who embody and cultivate the language of dignity through their efforts. Through our work, we wish to spell out in ever-greater depths what this new language of equal dignity in solidarity means, the language of which so few people have an inkling. We ourselves are only learners as well, of course — we are all perpetual apprentices.

We think very long-term and plan the collaboration in our community to last throughout our lifetimes. Everyone who embodies and cultivates the language of dignity is welcome in our dignity family. Since our work is not about money, power, or other quantifiable markers of success, our dedication to dignity is our ‘dignity credential’. We are aware that many of those who live by material markers look down on our work and discard it as a ‘humiliation credential’. The nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2015, 2016, and 2017 therefore gave us great courage and has been lifesaving for many of our members around the world who often stand up for dignity under the most adverse conditions, some even putting their lives on line. We hope this recognition can be an inspiration also for you and the many others who work for dignity throughout the world.



Our dignity fellowship is a fluidly evolving cooperative community rather than a monolithic organisation that speaks with one voice, neither do we wish to be a monolithic organisation.²⁰⁰ Rather, we aim to manifest dignity by holding space for unity in diversity. In this context, Linda and I wear two ‘hats’ — one for unity and the other for diversity. We wear the first hat when we convene our global dignity community and organise our conferences, in this role we are unifiers who strive to protect the diversity of the entire fellowship so that everyone can forge their own path to dignity in their work and lives. We wear the other hat when we write books, articles, or give lectures, then we are simply one part among others of the diverse membership of our community. It is therefore important, as I said in the beginning, for me to make clear that I speak only for myself in this talk and in my writings, as an individual researcher, and that my views do not define any ‘official’ position of our dignity movement. My judgements and misjudgements are entirely my own, and I am humbly aware that I am per definition as blind to my own blindness as we all are.

As I hail from a displaced family who has been deeply affected by the two world wars of the last century, as I said before, I am particularly aware of the vulnerabilities of our human faring on this planet. All my life, I have been preparing for the next ‘Eleanor Roosevelt moment’ as I call it, just like in 1948. I wait for a new window of opportunity to open for dignity to regain the attention it deserves. Together with Linda Hartling and all other close collaborators, I am helping to nurture a moment like this to manifest, ready to be among its co-authors if needed, ready to contribute with our approach to loving dignity.

In 1962, when Rachel Carson alerted the world to the dangers of the indiscriminate use of pesticides for the whole natural world, many were full of hope for a substantial turnaround.²⁰¹ Many ‘yes we can’ moments followed, the Brundtland Commission in 1987, the Earth Summit in 1992,²⁰² the Nobel Peace Prize for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change in 2007,²⁰³ and the Paris Agreement on global warming in 2015.²⁰⁴ Yet, in the end, at least so far, short-term corporate interests always prevailed. ‘It is a sad fact that humanity has largely squandered the past 30 years in futile debates and well intentioned, but half-hearted responses to the global ecological challenge. We do not have another 30 years to dither. Much will have to change if the ongoing overshoot is not to be followed by collapse during the twenty-first century’, these were the words of environmental pioneer Donella Meadows in 2004.²⁰⁵ By now, we still dither, and corporate interests are still winning out. We only have to look at the Sustainable Development Goals set by the United Nations General Assembly for 2030 and we see that Goal 8 presents with an exponential economic growth curve, a curve that represents an impossibility in a finite context.²⁰⁶

This is what I said in Part Four of this talk: The world went from ‘Earthrise’ in the 1960s, to ‘profit versus planet’ around 1970–1987, environmentalism turned into ‘sustainability’ around 1987–1997, and finally into ‘market environmentalism’ from 1998 to 2018.²⁰⁷ In 2019 came Greta Thunberg. Since 2020, we have the Covid-19 virus. What comes next?

In 2021, veteran political analyst Roberto Savio invites us to look back. He was born in the early 1930s and was personally present during many important turning points since World War II.²⁰⁸ After the horrors of this war, in 1948, a window of opportunity opened for human rights ideals to be adopted. Savio saw the non-aligned nations movement arise in 1955 from the denouncement of the colonial system, then, in 1974, he witnessed enthusiasm culminate in the hope ‘that this was only the beginning of a process of dignity and freedom’. Unfortunately, so Savio concludes, this enthusiasm was premature, as history began to go ‘backwards again’ in 1981.²⁰⁹

The great question for now is this: Can we make history go forward again?

Why have we, the human family, missed so many historical invitations to unite in dignity, even

References

- Abu-Odeh, Lama, and Pinar Ilkkaracan (2000). "Crimes of honor and the construction of gender in Arab society." In *Women and sexuality in Muslim society*, pp. 363–80. Istanbul: Women for Women's Human Rights.
- Ahmed, Sara (2004). *The cultural politics of emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Al-Khayyat, Sana'a (1990). *Honour and shame: Women in modern Iraq*. London: Saqi Books.
- Allwood, Carl Martin (2018). *The nature and challenges of indigenous psychologies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, Kurt (2020). *Evil geniuses: The unmaking of America*. New York: Random House.
- Anderson, Rosemarie, and William Braud (2011). *Transforming self and others through research: Transpersonal research methods and skills for the human sciences and humanities*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Anderson, Walter Truett (2016). *We the planet: Evolutionary governance and biophilia in the anthropocene*. Carlsbad, CA: Meridian International Institute.
- Apel, Karl-Otto (1988). *Diskurs und Verantwortung: Das Problem des Übergangs zur postkonventionellen Moral*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Suhrkamp.
- Arendt, Hannah (1963). *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A report on the banality of evil*. New York: Viking Press.
- Arendt, Hannah (1969). *On violence*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
<https://archive.org/details/Hannah-Arendt-on-Violence/mode/2up>.
- Armstrong, Jeanette, and Geneviève Vaughan (2007). "Indigenous knowledge and gift giving." In *Women and the gift economy: A radically different worldview is possible*, pp. 41–49. Toronto: Innana. www.gift-economy.com/womenand.html.
- Averill, James R., Robert Hogan, John Johnson, and Stephen Briggs (1997). "The emotions: An integrative approach." In *Handbook of personality psychology*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Axelrod, Robert (2006). *The evolution of cooperation*. Revised edition. New York: Basic Books.
- Azibo, Daudi Ajani ya (2014). "The Azibo Nosology II: Epexegetis and 25th anniversary update: 55 Culture-focused mental disorders suffered by African descent people." In *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 7 (5), pp. 32–145. www.jpnafrican.org/docs/vol7no5/4-Nov-Azibo-Noso.pdf.
- Bakan, Joel (2004). *The corporation: The pathological pursuit of profit and power*. Toronto: Viking Canada.
- Bardi, Ugo (2011). *The limits to growth revisited*. New York: Springer.
- Battle, Michael Jesse (1997). *Reconciliation. The ubuntu theology of Desmond Tutu*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press.
- Bernstein, Basil (1971). *Class, codes and control 1: Theoretical studies towards a sociology of language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, Basil (1973). *Class, codes and control 2: Applied studies towards a sociology of language*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, Basil (1975). *Class, codes and control 3: Towards a theory of educational transmissions*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, Basil (1990). *Class, codes and control 4: The structuring of pedagogic discourse*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, Basil (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity: Theory, research, critique*. Revised edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- bin Talal, El Hassan, and Rolf Schwarz (2013). "The responsibility to protect and the Arab World: An emerging international norm?" In *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34 (1), pp. 1–15. doi: 10.1080/13523260.2013.771026.
- Blanchflower, David G., and Andrew Oswald (2017). "Unhappiness and pain in modern America: A review essay, and further evidence, on Carol Graham's happiness for all?" In *NBER*

Working Paper No. 24087. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER).

- Bohnet, Iris (2016). *What Works: Gender equality by design*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron (1970/1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Translated by Richard Nice. 2nd edition. London: Sage. French original *La reproduction: Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*, Paris: Édition de Minuit, 1970.
- Bradley, Michael (1992). *Chosen people from the Caucasus: Jewish origins, delusions, deceptions and historical role in the slave trade, genocide and cultural colonization*. Chigaco, IL: Third World Press.
- Brangwyn, Ben, and Rob Hopkins (2008). *Transition initiatives primer — becoming a transition town, city, district, village, community or even island*. Totnes, Devon: Transition Network. [www.transitionnetwork.org/files/TransitionInitiativesPrimer\(3\).pdf](http://www.transitionnetwork.org/files/TransitionInitiativesPrimer(3).pdf).
- Brosnan, Sarah F., and Frans B. M. de Waal (2014). "Evolution of responses to (un)fairness." In *Science*, 346 (6207). doi: 10.1126/science.1251776.
- Bruder, Jessica (2017). *Nomadland: Surviving America in the twenty-first century*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Bruhns, Hinnerk (2014). "Der 'Soziologe' und der Krieg. Max Weber 1914 – 1920 — 'Dieser Krieg ist groß und wunderbar'." In *Lendemains*, 39 (156), pp. 60–74. <http://periodicals.narr.de/index.php/Lendemains/issue/view/188>.
- Brunnhuber, Stefan (2021). *Financing our future: Unveiling a parallel digital currency system to fund the SDGs and the common good*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Buber, Martin (1923/1937). *I and Thou*. Translated by Ronald Gregor Smith. Edinburgh: Clark. German original *Ich und Du*, Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1923.
- Bulhan, Hussein Abdilahi (1985). *Frantz Fanon and the psychology of oppression*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Bulhan, Hussein Abdilahi (2013). *Losing the art of survival and dignity: Transition from self-reliance to dependence and indignity to Somali society*. Maryland: Tayosa International Publishing.
- Bulhan, Hussein Abdilahi (2015). "Stages of colonialism in Africa: From occupation of land to occupation of being." In *Journal of social and political psychology*, 3 (1), pp. 239–56. doi: 10.5964/jspp.v3i1.143.
- Cabrera, Luis (2017). *Global government revisited: From utopian vision to political imperative*. Boston, MA: Great Transition Initiative. www.greattransition.org/publication/global-government-revisited.
- Cacioppo, John T., and William Patrick (2008). *Loneliness: Human nature and the need for social connection*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Cacioppo, John T., Stephanie Cacioppo, John P. Capitanio, and Steven W. Cole (2015). "The neuroendocrinology of social isolation." In *Annual Review of Psychology*, 66, pp. 733–67. doi: 10.1146/annurev-psych-010814-015240. www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5130104/.
- Carneiro, Robert Leonard (1970). "A theory of the origin of the state." In *Science*, 169 (3947), pp. 733–38. doi: 10.1126/science.169.3947.733.
- Carneiro, Robert Leonard (1988). "The circumscription theory: Challenge and response." In *American Behavioral Scientist*, 31 (4), pp. 497–511. doi: 10.1177/000276488031004010
- Carneiro, Robert Leonard (2000). "Process vs. stages: A false dichotomy in tracing the rise of the state." In *Alternatives of Social Evolution*, edited by Nikolay Kradin, Andrey Korotayev, Dmitri Bondarenko, Victor de Munch, and Paul Wason, pp. 52–58. Vladivostok: Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Carneiro, Robert Leonard (2010). *The evolution of the human mind: From supernaturalism to naturalism — An anthropological perspective*. Clinton Corners, NY: Eliot Werner.

- Carneiro, Robert Leonard (2012). "The circumscription theory: A clarification, amplification, and reformulation." In *Social Evolution and History*, 11 (2, September), pp. 5–30.
www.sociostudies.org/journal/articles/148694/.
- Carneiro, Robert Leonard (2018). *The checkered history of the theory of circumscription*.
Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.
- Carson, Rachel Louise (1962). *Silent spring*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Chaisson, Eric J. (2001). *Cosmic evolution: The rise of complexity in nature*. Cambridge, MA:
Harvard University Press.
- Chege, Michael (1996). "Africa's murderous professors." In *The National Interest* (46, Winter
1996/97), pp. 32–40.
- Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman (2007). "Framing theory." In *Annual Review of Political
Science*, 10 (1), pp. 103–26. doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054.
- Chowdhury, Chipamong, Michael Britton, and Linda Margaret Hartling (Eds.) (2020). *Human
dignity: Practices, discourses, and transformations. Essays on dignity studies in honor of
Evelin G. Lindner*. Lake Oswego, OR: Dignity Press.
- Cohen, Daniel (2015/2018). *The infinite desire for growth*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd.
Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. French original, *Le Monde est clos et le désir
infini*, Paris: Albin Michel, 2015.
- Cohen, Sheldon, Denise Janicki-Deverts, William J. Doyle, Gregory E. Miller, Ellen Frank, Bruce
S. Rabin, and Ronald B. Turner (2012). "Chronic stress, glucocorticoid receptor resistance,
inflammation, and disease risk." In *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences
(PNAS)*, 109 (16), pp. 5995–99. doi: 10.1073/pnas.1118355109.
www.pnas.org/content/pnas/109/16/5995.full.pdf.
- Coleman, Peter T. (2000). "Power and conflict." In *The handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and
practice*, edited by Peter T. Coleman and Morton Deutsch, pp. 108–30. San Francisco:
Jossey-Bass.
- Collier, Paul (2013). *Exodus: Immigration and multiculturalism in the 21st century*. London: Allen
Lane.
- Collins, Alan (2004). "State-induced security dilemma maintaining the tragedy." In *Cooperation
and Conflict*, 39 (1), pp. 27–44. doi: 10.1177/0010836704040833.
- Coser, Lewis A. (1977). *Masters of sociological thought: Ideas in historical and social context*. 2nd
edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Crawford, Larry D. (aka Mwalimu K. Bomani Baruti) (2000). *Excuses, excuses: The politics of
interracial coupling in European culture*. Atlanta, GA: Akoben House.
- Crott, Randi, and Lillian Crott Berthung (2012). *Erzähl es niemandem! Die Liebesgeschichte
meiner Eltern*. Köln, Germany: DuMont.
- Davidson, Jeanette R. (1992). "Theories about Black-White interracial marriage: A clinical
perspective." In *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 20 (4), pp. 150–57.
doi: 10.1002/j.2161-1912.1992.tb00573.x.
- de Waal, Frans B. M. (2009). *The age of empathy: Nature's lessons for a kinder society*. New York:
Harmony Books.
- Dickey, Colin (2020). *The unidentified: Mythical monsters, alien encounters, and our obsession
with the unexplained*. New York: Viking.
- Diop, Cheikh Anta (1982). "Origin of the ancient Egyptians." In *Journal of African Civilizations*, 4
(2), pp. 9–37.
- Duckitt, John (1989). "Authoritarianism and group identification: A new view of an old construct."
In *Political Psychology*, 10 (1), pp. 63–84. doi: 10.2307/3791588.
- Duckitt, John, and Kirstin Fisher (2003). "The impact of social threat on worldview and ideological
attitudes." In *Political Psychology*, 24 (1), pp. 199–222. doi: 10.1111/0162-895x.00322.
- Dunlap, Riley E., and Aaron M. McCright (2011). "Organized climate change denial." In *The
Oxford handbook of climate change and society*, edited by John S. Dryzek, Richard B.
Norgaard, and David Schlosberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Dupré, Catherine (2015). *The age of dignity: Human rights and constitutionalism in Europe*. Oxford and Portland, OR: Hart.
- Egedius, Tonje, and Anders Torp (2016). *Jesussoldaten: Gutten som skulle vinne landet for Gud*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm.
- Eisler, Riane, and Douglas P. Fry (2019). *Nurturing our humanity: How domination and partnership shape our brains, lives, and future*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Eisler, Riane Tennenhaus (1987). *The chalice and the blade: Our history, our future*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Eisler, Riane Tennenhaus (2007). *The real wealth of nations: Creating a caring economics*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Eric, Lonergan, and Blyth Mark (2020). *Angrynomics*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (2016). *Overheating — An anthropology of accelerated change*. London: Pluto Press.
- Falk, Armin, and Nora Szech (2013). "Morals and markets." In *Science*, 340 (6133), pp. 707–11. doi: 10.1126/science.1231566.
- Feldman, Stanley (2003). "Enforcing social conformity: A theory of authoritarianism." In *Political Psychology*, 24 (1), pp. 41–74. doi: 10.1111/0162-895x.00316.
- Feldman, Stanley (2013). "Comments on authoritarianism in social context: The role of threat." In *International Journal of Psychology*, 48 (1), pp. 55–59. doi: 10.1080/00207594.2012.742196.
- Floridi, Luciano (2017). "Hyperhistory, the emergence of the MASs, and the design of infraethics." In *The next step: Exponential life*, edited by Aubrey D.N.J. De Grey and Johnathan Rossiter. Madrid: Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria, S.A. (BBVA) OpenMind's annual series, Turner Libros. www.bbvaopenmind.com/en/articles/hyperhistory-the-emergence-of-the-mass-and-the-design-of-infraethics/.
- Fontan, Victoria C. (2012). *Decolonizing peace*. Lake Oswego, OR: World Dignity University Press.
- Foucault, Michel (1975). *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Fox, Warwick (1992). "Intellectual origins of the 'depth' theme in the philosophy of Arne Naess." In *Trumpeter*, 9 (2), p. trumpeter.athabasca.ca/archives/content/v9.2/fox2.html.
- Fox, Warwick (2000). *Ethics and the built environment*. London: Routledge.
- French, Jeffrey A., Kevin B. Smith, John R. Alford, Adam Guck, Andrew K. Birnie, and John R. Hibbing (2014). "Cortisol and politics: Variance in voting behavior is predicted by baseline cortisol levels." In *Physiology and Behavior*, 133, pp. 61–67. doi: 10.1016/j.physbeh.2014.05.004.
- Frevert, Ute (2017/2020). *The politics of humiliation: A modern history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. German original *Die Politik der Demütigung: Schauplätze von Macht und Ohnmacht*, Frankfurt am Main, Germany: S. Fischer, 2017.
- Fry, Douglas P. (Ed.) (2013). *War, peace, and human nature: The convergence of evolutionary and cultural views*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fuglestedt, Ingrid (2018). *Rock art and the wild mind — Visual imagery in Mesolithic Northern Europe*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Fuller, Robert W. (2003). *Somebodies and nobodies: Overcoming the abuse of rank*. Gabriola, BC: New Society Publishers.
- Fuller, Robert W., and Pamela A. Gerloff (2008). *Dignity for all: How to create a world without rankism*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Gepts, Paul L., Thomas R. Famula, Robert L. Bettinger, Stephen B. Brush, Ardeshir B. Damania, Patrick E. McGuire, and Calvin O. Qualset (Eds.) (2012). *Biodiversity in agriculture: Domestication, evolution, and sustainability*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gergen, Kenneth J. (2009). *Relational being: Beyond self and community*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Gilad, Ben, and Markus Götz Junginger (2010). *Mit Business Wargaming den Markt erobern: Strategische Kriegsführung für Manager*. München, Germany: Redline Verlag.
- Glaser, Charles L. (1997). "The security dilemma revisited." In *World Politics*, 50 (1, October, Fiftieth Anniversary Special Issue), pp. 171–201.
<https://iscs.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/iscs.elliott.gwu.edu/files/downloads/cgdocs/SecurityDilemma-WP-1997.pdf>.
- Goonatilake, Susantha (1998). *Toward a global science: Mining civilizational knowledge*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Gough, Ian (2017). *Heat, greed and human need: Climate change, capitalism and sustainable wellbeing*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Graeber, David (2011). *Debt: The first 5,000 years*. New York: Melville House.
https://libcom.org/files/___Debt__The_First_5_000_Years.pdf.
- Greger, Michael (2006). *Bird flu: A virus of our own hatching*. New York: Lantern Books.
- Götze, Susanne, and Annika Joeres (2020). *Die Klimaschmutzlobby: Wie Politiker und Wirtschaftslenker die Zukunft unseres Planeten verkaufen*. München, Germany: Piper.
- Hall, David L., Roger T. Ames, and Kongzi (1987). *Thinking through Confucius*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Hammond, Kenneth R. (1998). *Ecological validity: Then and now*. Albany, NY: University at Albany. www.albany.edu/cpr/brunswick/notes/essay2.html.
- Hancock, Graham (1989). *The lords of poverty: The power, prestige and corruption of the international aid business*. New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Hanscom, David, David Roger Clawson, Stephen W. Porges, Ray Bunnage, Les Aria, Steve Lederman, James Taylor, and C. Sue Carter (2020). "Polyvagal and global cytokine theory of safety and threat Covid-19 – Plan B." In *SciMedicine Journal*, 2. doi: 10.28991/SciMedJ-2020-02-SI-2. <https://scimedjournal.org/index.php/SMJ/article/view/155/43>.
- Hansen, Lene (2000). "The little mermaid's silent security dilemma and the absence of gender in the Copenhagen school." In *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, 29 (2), pp. 285–306.
mil.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/29/2/285.pdf.
- Harari, Yuval Noah (2014). *Sapiens: A brief history of humankind*. London: Harvill Secker. First published in Hebrew in Tel Aviv by Kinneret Zmora-Bitan Dvir.
- Harari, Yuval Noah (2015/2016). *Homo deus: A brief history of tomorrow*. London: Harville Secker. Hebrew original *The History of Tomorrow*, Tel Aviv: Kinneret Zmora-Bitan Dvir.
- Harari, Yuval Noah (2018). *21 lessons for the 21st century*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Hardin, Russell (1995). *One for all: The logic of group conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hardisty, Jean V. (1999). *Mobilizing resentment: Conservative resurgence from the John Birch Society to the promise keepers*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret (1996). *Humiliation: Assessing the specter of derision, degradation, and debasement*. Cincinnati, OH: Union Institute Graduate School, doctoral dissertation.
www.humiliationstudies.org/documents/hartling/HartlingDoctoralDissertation.pdf.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, and Tracy Luchetta (1999). "Humiliation: Assessing the impact of derision, degradation, and debasement." In *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, 19 (5), pp. 259–78. doi: 10.1023/A:1022622422521.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret (2008). "Strengthening resilience in a risky world: It's all about relationships." In *Women and Therapy*, 31 (2/3/4), pp. 51–70. doi: 10.1080/02703140802145870.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, Diane Littlefield, and Jean Baker Miller (2008). *Evolving concepts in relational-cultural theory*. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, Jean Baker Miller Training Institute.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, Evelin Gerda Lindner, Michael Francis Britton, and Ulrich Josef Spalthoff (2013a). "Beyond humiliation: Toward learning that dignifies the lives of all people." In *Leading transformative higher education volume two: Studies, reflections,*

questions, edited by Gary P. Hampson and Matthew Rich-Tolsma. Chapter 8, pp. 134–46. Olomouc, Czech Republic: Palacký University Olomouc Press. Second volume of the three volume series *Leadership in Transformation of Worldview and Higher Education*. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.

- Hartling, Linda Margaret, Evelin Gerda Lindner, Michael Francis Britton, and Ulrich Josef Spalthoff (2013b). "International Day of Democracy: The Contribution of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies Network." In *Global Education Magazine*, 5 (Special Issue, International Day of Democracy). www.globaleducationmagazine.com/international-day-democracy-contribution-human-dignity-humiliation-studies-network/.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, Evelin Gerda Lindner, Michael Francis Britton, and Ulrich Josef Spalthoff (2013c). "Humiliation: A nuclear bomb of emotions?" In *Psicología Política*, 46 (Mayo), pp. 55–76. www.uv.es/garzon/psicologia%20politica/N46.htm.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, and Evelin Gerda Lindner (2016). "Healing humiliation: From reaction to creative action." In *Journal of Counseling and Development (JCD)*, 94 (4, Special Section: Relational-Cultural Theory), pp. 383–90. doi: 10.1002/jcad.12096.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, and Evelin Gerda Lindner (2018a). "Parkland: A call for dignity." In *Global Campaign for Peace Education*, pp. March 8, 2018. www.peace-ed-campaign.org/parkland-a-call-for-dignity/.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, and Evelin Gerda Lindner (2018b). "Can systemic humiliation be transformed into systemic dignity?" In *Systemic humiliation in America: Finding dignity within systems of degradation*, edited by Daniel Rothbart. Chapter 2, pp. 19–51. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, and Evelin Gerda Lindner (2018c). "Dignity in times of crises: Communicating the need for global social climate change." In *Routledge media and humanitarian action handbook*, edited by Purnaka L. de Silva and Robin Andersen. Chapter 4, pp. 45–59. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret (2020). "Moving beyond humiliation: A relational conceptualisation of human rights." In *Human dignity: Practices, discourses, and transformations. Essays on dignity studies in honor of Evelin G. Lindner*, edited by Chipamong Chowdhury, Michael Britton, and Linda Margaret Hartling. Chapter 13, pp. 141–74. Lake Oswego, OR: Dignity Press.
- Hartling, Linda Margaret, Evelin Gerda Lindner, Thelma Duffey, and Shane Haberstroh (2020). "Raising our resilience in times of risk." In *Crisis and trauma counseling: Strategies for effective practice*, edited by Thelma Duffey and Shane Haberstroh. Chapter 15, pp. 313–28. Alexandria, VA: The American Counseling Association (ACA) / Wiley.
- Hemenway, Toby (2009). *Gaia's garden: A guide to home-scale permaculture*. 2nd edition. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green.
- Hertz, Noreena (2020). *The lonely century: Coming together in a world that's pulling apart*. London: Sceptre.
- Herz, John H. (1950). "Idealist internationalism and the security dilemma." In *World Politics*, 2 (2), pp. 157–80. doi: 10.2307/2009187.
- Hetherington, Marc J., and Jonathan Daniel Weiler (2009). *Authoritarianism and polarization in American politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hetherington, Marc J., and Elizabeth Suhay (2011). "Authoritarianism, threat, and Americans' support for the war on terror." In *American Journal of Political Science*, 55 (3), pp. 546–60. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00514.x.
- Hibbing, John R., Kevin B. Smith, and John R. Alford (2014). *Predisposed: Liberals, conservatives, and the biology of political differences*. New York: Routledge.
- Hickel, Jason (2018). *The divide: Global inequality from conquest to free markets*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Hultman, Martin, and Paul M. Pulé (2018). *Ecological masculinities: Theoretical foundations and practical guidance*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

- Hunt, Matthew R., Lisa Schwartz, Christina Sinding, and Laurie Elit (2014). "The ethics of engaged presence: A framework for health professionals in humanitarian assistance and development work." In *Developing World Bioethics*, 14 (1), pp. 47–55. doi: 10.1111/dewb.12013.
- Illies, Florian (2021). *Liebe in Zeiten des Hasses: Chronik eines Gefühls 1929–1939*. Frankfurt an Main, Germany: Fischer.
- Imhof, Lorens A., Drew Fudenberg, and Martin A. Nowak (2007). "Tit-for-tat or win-stay, lose-shift?" In *Journal of theoretical biology*, 247 (3), pp. 574–80. doi: 10.1016/j.jtbi.2007.03.027. www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2460568/.
- Jaffe, Sarah (2016). *Necessary trouble: Americans in revolt*. New York: Nation Books.
- Jaffe, Sarah (2021). *Work won't love you back: How devotion to our jobs keeps us exploited, exhausted, and alone*. New York: Hachette.
- Jakobsen, Ove Daniel (2018). *Anarchism and ecological economics: A transformative approach to a sustainable future*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Jervis, Robert (1978). "Cooperation under the security dilemma." In *World Politics*, 30 (2, January), pp. 167–214. www.jstor.org/stable/2009958.
- Job, Brian L. (Ed.) (1992). *The insecurity dilemma: National security of third world states*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Jonas, Hans (1979/1984). *The imperative of responsibility: In search of an ethics for the technological age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. German original *Das Prinzip Verantwortung. Versuch einer Ethik für die technologische Zivilisation*, Frankfurt am Main, Gemany: Suhrkamp, 1979.
- Jordan, Winthrop D. (2012). *White over black: American attitudes toward the negro, 1550–1812*. 2nd edition. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Karlberg, Michael Robert (2013). *Reframing the concept of human dignity*. Paper originally presented at the conference "Reflections on Human Dignity" at the University of Maryland, April 19, 2013. www.humiliationstudies.org/documents/KarlbergReframingtheConceptofHumanDignity.pdf, <https://youtu.be/gvCFTUTkQ58>.
- Kendi, Ibram X. (2019). *How to be an antiracist*. New York: One World.
- Keynes, John Maynard (1932). "Economic possibilities for our grandchildren (1930)." In *Essays in persuasion*. Chapter 358-373. New York: Harcourt Brace. https://assets.aspeninstitute.org/content/uploads/files/content/upload/Intro_and_Section_I.pdf.
- King Jr, Martin Luther (1967). *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* New York: Harper and Row.
- Klein, Naomi (2007). *The shock doctrine: The rise of disaster capitalism*. Toronto: Knopf Canada.
- Kleinig, John (2011). "Humiliation, degradation, and moral capacity: A response to Hörnle and Kremnitzer." In *Israel Law Review*, 44 (1–2), pp. 169–83. law.huji.ac.il/upload/ILR44KleinigCRCFinal.pdf.
- Kleinig, John, and Nicholas G. Evans (2013). "Human flourishing, human dignity, and human rights." In *Law and Philosophy*, 32 (5), pp. 539–64. doi: 10.1007/s10982-012-9153-2.
- Koonz, Claudia (2003). *The Nazi conscience*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.
- Lakoff, George P., and Mark L. Johnson (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George P., and Mark L. Johnson (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Legendre, Pierre (2007). *Dominium mundi. L'Empire du management*. Paris: Mille et une nuits.
- Lenz, Claudia, and Lars Ø. Ramberg (2008). "'A kind of fraternization that was totally unacceptable.' The drawing of boundaries within the national identity and the regulation of female sexuality." In *Lars Ø. Ramberg*. Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz. www.hatjecantz.de/lars-ramberg-1965-1.html.

- Lewis, Ioan Myrddin (1961). *A pastoral democracy: A study of pastoralism and politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Liberman, Varda, Steven M. Samuels, and Lee D. Ross (2004). "The name of the game: Predictive power of reputations versus situational labels in determining prisoner's dilemma game moves." In *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30 (9), pp. 1175–85. doi: 10.1177/0146167204264004. <http://psp.sagepub.com/content/30/9/1175.abstract>.
- Lietaer, Bernard A., Christian Arnsperger, Sally Goerner, and Stefan Brunnhuber (2012). *Money and sustainability: The missing link*. Axminster: Triarchy Press. A report from the Club of Rome-EU Chapter to Finance Watch and the World Business Academy.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (1993). *Quality of life: A German-Egyptian comparative study*. Hamburg, Germany: University of Hamburg, Department of Psychological Medicine, English summary of doctoral dissertation in medicine (in German), *Lebensqualität im ägyptisch-deutschen Vergleich. Eine interkulturelle Untersuchung an drei Berufsgruppen (Ärzte, Journalisten, Künstler)*. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (1996a). *Le sentiment d'être humilié: Un thème central dans des conflits armés. Une étude du rôle de humiliation en Somalie et Burundi/Rwanda, parmi les partis belligérants, et par rapport aux tiers partis intervenants*. Oslo: Description du projet de doctorat, Département de Psychologie, Université d'Oslo, le Conseil Norvégien de la Recherche, Département des Affaires Multilatérales, le Ministère Royal Norvégien des Affaires Étrangères. Original: *The Feeling of Being Humiliated: A Central Theme in Armed Conflicts. A Study of the Role of Humiliation in Somalia, and Great Lakes Region, between the Warring Parties, and in Relation to Third Intervening Parties*. Outline of Research Project. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (1996b). *The feeling of being humiliated: A central theme in armed conflicts. A study of the role of humiliation in Somalia, and Great Lakes Region, between the warring parties, and in relation to third intervening parties. Outline of research project*. Oslo: Doctoral project, University of Oslo, Department of Psychology, The Norwegian Research Council, Department of Multilateral Affairs, The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. See also the French edition *Le sentiment d'être humilié: Un thème central dans des conflits armés. Une étude du rôle de humiliation en Somalie et Burundi/Rwanda, parmi les partis belligérants, et par rapport aux tiers partis intervenants*. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2000a). *Recognition or humiliation — The psychology of intercultural communication*. Bergen, Norway: Proceedings of the ISSEI Millennium Conference Approaching a New Millennium: Lessons from the Past – Prospects for the Future, the 7th Conference of the International Society for the Study of European Ideas, Bergen, Norway, 14th–18th August, 2000. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2000b). *The psychology of humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda / Burundi, and Hitler's Germany*. Oslo: University of Oslo, Department of Psychology, doctoral dissertation. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2000c). *Somalia — A case study: Humiliation and coping in war*. Oslo: This film is a compilation of short videos from Somaliland, compiled, together with technical director Lasse Moer, from altogether ca. 10 hours of video material and 100 hours of audio material that Evelin Lindner collected in Somaliland in 1998, and in Kenya and Rwanda/Burundi in 1999, for her doctoral thesis *The Psychology of Humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda / Burundi, and Hitler's Germany*, submitted to the University of Oslo, Department of Psychology, on 31st October 2000. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2000d). "Interview material collected in connection with the research project *The feeling of humiliation* from 1997 to 2001, comprising 100 hours of interviews on audio tape, 10 hours of digital video film, and extensive notes." In *The psychology of humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda / Burundi, and Hitler's Germany*. Oslo: University of Oslo,

- Department of Psychology, doctoral dissertation, raw data.
www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2000e). *What is a good life — Comparison between Egypt and Germany*. Paper presented at the Middle East Virtual Community (MEViC), first MEViC online Internet conference, 2000, on the basis of Lindner's doctoral dissertation in medicine, 1994. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2001a). *On globalisation and quality of life*. Oslo: University of Oslo, Department of Psychology, submitted for Habilitation to the Department of Psychology, University of Regensburg, Germany. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2001b). "How research can humiliate: Critical reflections on method." In *Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict, Annual Edition 2001–2002*, pp. 16–36. jpsc.library.wisc.edu, www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2005). "Parents — The role model." In *Sahil, 14* (32, April-June), pp. 9, long version, 'Parenting styles and their impact on children: Humiliation, abuse and neglect'. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2006a). *Is it possible to "change the world"? Some guidelines to how we can build a more decent and dignified world effectively: The case of dignifying abusers*. Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2006b). *Making enemies: Humiliation and international conflict*. Westport, CT, London: Praeger Security International, Greenwood.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda, and Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network members (2006–2021). *Appreciative nurturing*. Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2007). "Avoiding humiliation — From intercultural communication to global interhuman communication." In *Journal of Intercultural Communication, SIETAR Japan, 10*, pp. 21–38. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda, and Desmond Tutu (Foreword) (2010). *Gender, humiliation, and global security: Dignifying relationships from love, sex, and parenthood to world affairs*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, ABC-CLIO.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2011). *The moment is now!* Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies. Chapter in a book proposal together with Linda Hartling. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda, Linda Margaret Hartling, and Ulrich Josef Spalthoff (2011). "Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies: A global network advancing dignity through dialogue." In *Policy Futures in Education, 9* (1, Special Issue: The Council of Europe's White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue), pp. 66–73. www.worldwords.co.uk/PFIE.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2012a). *A dignity economy: Creating an economy which serves human dignity and preserves our planet*. Lake Oswego, OR: World Dignity University Press.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2012b). *South America 2012: Reflections on a "digniventure"*. Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda, Linda Margaret Hartling, Michael Francis Britton, and Ulrich Josef Spalthoff (2012). "Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies: A global network advancing dignity through dialogue." In *Interculturalism, education, and dialogue*, edited by Tina Besley and Michael A. Peters. Chapter 26, pp. 386–96. New York: Peter Lang. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2014). "Living globally: Global citizenship of dignity and care as personal practice." In *Global citizen: Challenges and responsibility in an interconnected world*, edited by Aksel Braanen Sterri. Chapter 3, pp. 15–26. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.
- Lindner, Evelin Gerda, and Linda Margaret Hartling (2014). *A global Dignilogue (Dignity + Dialogue) with Evelin Lindner and Linda Hartling*. New York: Dignity dialogue shared on

December 4, 2014, at the 2014 Workshop on Transforming Humiliation and Violent Conflict, Columbia University, Teachers College, Morton Deutsch International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution (MD-ICCCR), Advanced Consortium on Cooperation, Conflict, and Complexity (AC4), December 4–5, 2014.

www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2017). *Honor, humiliation, and terror: An explosive mix — And how we can defuse it with dignity*. Lake Oswego, OR: World Dignity University Press of Dignity Press.

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2019). *Human nature and dignity: If we continue to believe in the evilness of human nature, we may be doomed*. Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies. Book proposal. www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2020a). *Reflections on Brendan Mackey's "A Great Ethics Transition: The Earth Charter at Twenty"*. Boston: Great Transition Initiative.

www.humiliationstudies.org/documents/evelin/ReflectionsonAGreatEthicsTransitionJan2020.pdf.

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2020b). *A global life design: Reflections and a chronological description*. Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies.

www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/09.php#chronology.

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2022a). *From humiliation to dignity: For a future of global solidarity*. Lake Oswego, OR: World Dignity University Press of Dignity Press.

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2022b). *A global life design: Reflections and a chronological description*. Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies.

www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/09.php#chronology.

Lorde, Audre (1984). "The uses of anger: Women responding to racism." In *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Chapter 12. Berkeley: Crossing Press.

MacKenzie, Debora (2020). *COVID-19: The pandemic that never should have happened and how to stop the next one*. New York: Hachette.

Mackey, Brendan (2020). *Toward a great ethics transition: The Earth Charter at twenty*. Boston, MA: Great Transition Initiative. <https://greattransition.org/images/Mackey-Toward-a-Great-Ethics-Transition.pdf>.

Malet, Jean-Baptiste (2013). *En Amazonie, infiltré dans le meilleur des mondes: Essai* Paris: Arthème Fayard.

Mann, Michael E. (2021). *The new climate war: The fight to take back our planet*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Manning, Richard (2004). *Against the grain: How agriculture has hijacked civilization*. New York: North Point Press.

Maren, Michael (1997). *The road to hell: The ravaging effects of foreign aid and international charity*. New York: Free Press.

Martin, Judith N., Thomas K. Nakayama, and Lisa A. Flores (2001). "A dialectical approach to intercultural communication." In *Readings in intercultural communication: Experiences and contexts*, edited by Judith N. Martin, Thomas K. Nakayama, and Lisa A. Flores. New edition, pp. 3–13. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Matsumoto, David Ricky (1988). "Reexamination of the universality of Face: Politeness phenomena in Japanese." In *Journal of Pragmatics*, 12 (4), pp. 403–26. doi: 10.1016/0378-2166(88)90003-3.

Matthaei, Julie (2018). *Feminism and revolution: Looking back, looking ahead*. Boston, MA: Great Transition Initiative. www.greattransition.org/publication/feminism-and-revolution.

May, James R., and Erin Daly (2020). *Advanced introduction to human dignity and law*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

McCauley, Clark R., Sophia Moskalenko, and Ben Van Son (2013). "Characteristics of lone-wolf violent offenders: A comparison of assassins and school attackers." In *Perspectives on Terrorism, North America, February 7*.

- McNeill, John Robert, and William Hardy McNeill (2003). *The human web: A bird's-eye view of world history*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Meadows, Donella, Jørgen Randers, and Dennis Meadows (2004). *Limits to growth: The 30-year update*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green.
- Miller, Jean Baker, and Irene P. Stiver (1997). *The healing connection: How women form relationships in therapy and in life*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Miller, William Ian (1993). *Humiliation: And other essays on honor, social discomfort, and violence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Montgomery, Evan Braden (2006). "Breaking out of the security dilemma: Realism, reassurance, and the problem of uncertainty." In *International Security*, 31 (2, Fall), pp. 7–41. www.jstor.org/stable/4137519.
- Morgan, M. Granger, and Hans Jonas (1985). "The imperative of responsibility: In search of an ethics in the technological age." In *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 4 (2), p. 299. doi: 10.2307/3324683.
- Mosse, George L. (1996). *The image of man: The creation of modern masculinity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mullainathan, Sendhil (2013). *Scarcity: Why having too little means so much*. New York: Times Books.
- Musah, Abdel-Fatau, and Kayode Fayemi (2000). *Mercenaries: An African security dilemma*. London: Pluto.
- Nowak, Martin A., and Roger Highfield (2011). *SuperCooperators: Altruism, evolution, and why we need each other to succeed*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Nozick, Robert (1974). *Anarchy, state, and utopia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Næss, Arne (1978). "Through Spinoza to Mahayana Buddhism or through Mahayana Buddhism to Spinoza?" In *Spinoza's philosophy of man: Proceedings of the Scandinavian Spinoza Symposium 1977*, edited by Jon Wetlesen. Oslo: University of Oslo Press.
- O'Neill, Maggie (2007). "Re-imagining diaspora through ethno-mimesis: Humiliation, human dignity and belonging." In *Transnational lives and the media: Reimagining diaspora*, edited by Olga Guedes-Bailey, Myria Georgiou, and Ramaswami Harindranath, pp. 72–94. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ostry, Jonathan D., Prakash Loungani, and Davide Furceri (2016). "Neoliberalism: oversold? Instead of delivering growth, some neoliberal policies have increased inequality, in turn jeopardizing durable expansion." In *Finance and Development*, 53 (2), p. 38. www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2016/06/ostry.htm.
- Pedersen, Terje Andreas (2012). *Vi kalte dem tyskertøser*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press.
- Petersen, Anne Helen (2020). *Can't even: How millennials became the burnout generation*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Pettit, Philip (1997). *Republicanism: A theory of freedom and government*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Plattner, Stuart M. (1989). *Economic anthropology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Polanyi, Karl Paul, and Joseph E. Stiglitz (Foreword) (1944/2001). *The great transformation: The political and economic origins of our time*. 2nd edition. Boston, MA: Beacon Press. First published by Farrar and Rinehart, 1944.
- Posen, Barry (1993). "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict." In *Survival*, 35 (1), pp. 27–47. doi: 10.1080/00396339308442672.
- Postman, Neil (1985). *Amusing ourselves to death: Public discourse in the age of show business*. New York: Heinemann.
- Priest, Graham (2018). *The fifth corner of four: An essay on Buddhist metaphysics and the catuṣkoṭi*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, and Michael D. Reeve (2004). *Epitoma rei militaris*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Written possibly in the reign of Theodosius the Great, Roman Emperor from 379–395 CE, first printed edition Utrecht, 1473.

- Pupavac, Vanessa (2004). "Psychosocial interventions and the demoralization of humanitarianism." In *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 36 (4), pp. 491–504. doi: DOI:10.1017/S0021932004006613.
- Raskin, Paul D., Tariq Banuri, Gilbert Gallopín, Pablo Gutman, Albert Hammond, Robert Kates, and Rob Swart (2002). *Great transition: The promise and lure of the times ahead*. Boston, MA: Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI), Tellus Institute, report of the Global Scenario Group. www.gtinitiative.org/documents/Great_Transitions.pdf.
- Raskin, Paul D. (2008). "World lines: A framework for exploring global pathways." In *Ecological Economics*, 65 (3), pp. 461–70. doi: 10.1016/j.ecolecon.2008.01.021.
- Raskin, Paul D. (2014). *A great transition? Where we stand*. Keynote address at the biennial conference of the International Society for Ecological Economics (ISEE) in Reykjavik, Iceland, August 2014. www.greattransition.org/publication/a-great-transition-where-we-stand.
- Raskin, Paul D. (2016). *Journey to Earthland: The great transition to planetary civilization*. Boston, MA: Tellus Institute. www.greattransition.org/publication/journey-to-earthland.
- Raskin, Paul D. (2017). *How do we get there? The problem of action*. Boston, MA: Great Transition Initiative. www.greattransition.org/images/Raskin-How-Do-We-Get-There.pdf.
- Raskin, Paul D. (2021). *Interrogating the Anthropocene: Truth and fallacy*. Boston, MA: Great Transition Initiative. <https://greattransition.org/gti-forum/interrogating-anthropocene-raskin>.
- Reckwitz, Andreas (2019/2021). *The end of illusions: Politics, economy, and culture in late modernity*. Translated by Valentine A. Pakis. Cambridge: Polity. German original *Das Ende der Illusionen: Politik, Ökonomie und Kultur in der Spätmoderne*, Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2019.
- Ricard, Matthieu, and Trinh Xuan Thuan (2000/2004). *The quantum and the lotus: A journey to the frontiers where science and Buddhism meet*. Translated by Ian Monk. New York: Crown. French original *L'infini dans la paume de la main*, Paris: Nil, 2000. http://xn--webeducation-dbb.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Matthieu-Ricard-Trinh-Xuan-Thuan-The-quantum-and-the-lotus_-a-journey-to-the-frontiers-where-science-and-Buddhism-meet-Three-Rivers-Press-2004.pdf.
- Richardson, Heather Cox (2020). *How the South won the civil war: Oligarchy, democracy, and the continuing fight for the soul of America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Roach, Steven C. (2019). *Decency and difference*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Rockström, Johan, and Owen Gaffney (2021). *Breaking boundaries: The science behind our planet*. New York: Penguin.
- Roe, Paul (1999). "The intrastate security dilemma: Ethnic conflict as a 'tragedy'?" In *Journal of Peace Research*, 36 (2), pp. 183–202. doi: 10.1177/0022343399036002004.
- Roe, Paul (2005). *Ethnic violence and the societal security dilemma*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Rose, William (2000). "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict: Some new hypotheses." In *Security Studies*, 9 (4), pp. 1–51. doi: 10.1080/09636410008429412.
- Rozin, Paul, Jonathan Haidt, and Katrina Fincher (2009). "Psychology. From oral to moral: Is moral disgust an elaboration of a food rejection system?" In *Science*, 323 (5918), pp. 1179–80. doi: 10.1126/science.1170492.
- Ryan, Christopher, and Cacilda Jethá (2010). *Sex at dawn: The prehistoric origins of modern sexuality*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Sanderson, Stephen K. (2007). *Evolutionism and its critics: Deconstructing and reconstructing an evolutionary interpretation of human society*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Schacht, Robert M. (1988). "Circumscription theory: A critical review." In *American Behavioral Scientist*, 31 (4), pp. 438–48. doi: 10.1177/000276488031004005.
- Schlichtmann, Klaus (2017). *Rethinking Europe in an unequal world — The case for a just and strengthened United Nations*. Tokyo. www.academia.edu/33977228/Rethinking_Europe_in_an_Unequal_World_The_Case_for_a_Just_and_Strengthened_United_Nations.

- Schweller, Randall L. (1996). "Neorealism's status-quo bias: What security dilemma?" In *Security Studies*, 5 (3), pp. 90–121. doi: 10.1080/09636419608429277.
- Schweller, Randall L. (2011). "Rational theory for a bygone era." In *Security Studies*, 20 (3), pp. 460–68. doi: 10.1080/09636412.2011.599196.
- Scott, James C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James C. (2008). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James C. (2009). *The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James C. (2012). *Two cheers for anarchism: Six easy pieces on autonomy, dignity, and meaningful work and play*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Scott, James C. (2013). *Decoding subaltern politics: Ideology, disguise, and resistance in agrarian politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Scott, James C. (2017). *Against the grain: A deep history of the earliest states*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (circa 65 CE/1917–1925). *Moral letters to Lucilius (Epistulae morales ad Lucilium)*. Translated by Richard Mott Gummere. London: William Heinemann. A Loeb Classical Library edition. Volume 1 published 1917, volume 2 published 1920, volume 3 published 1925. https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Moral_letters_to_Lucilius.
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Nadera (2000). *Mapping and analyzing the landscape of femicide in Palestine*. Research report submitted by the Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling (WCLAC) to UNIFEM.
- Smedslund, Jan (2021). "From statistics to trust: Psychology in transition." In *New Ideas in Psychology*, 61, p. 100848. doi: 10.1016/j.newideapsych.2020.100848. www.researchgate.net/publication/347889019_From_statistics_to_trust_Psychology_in_transition.
- Smith, Adam (1776). *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations: In two volumes*. London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell, in the Strand.
- Snyder, Jack (1985). "Perceptions of the security dilemma in 1914." In *Psychology and deterrence*, edited by Robert Jervis, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein, pp. 153–79. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Snyder, Jack, and Robert Jervis (1999). "Civil war and the security dilemma." In *Civil wars, insecurity, and intervention*, edited by Jack Snyder and Barbara F. Walter, pp. 15–37. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Snyder, Jack, and Barbara Walters (Eds.) (1999). *The security dilemma and intervention in civil wars*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Spier, Fred (2010). *Big history and the future of humanity*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sponsel, Leslie E. (2014). *The anthropology of peace*. Paper written for *Diogenes*, forthcoming.
- Stafford, William, and Kim Stafford (2003). *Every war has two losers: William Stafford on peace and war*. Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions.
- Stein, Alexandra (2017). *Terror, love and brainwashing: Attachment in cults and totalitarian systems*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Suhay, Elizabeth (2015). "Explaining group influence: The role of identity and emotion in political conformity and polarization." In *Political Behavior*, 37 (1), pp. 221–51. doi: 10.1007/s11109-014-9269-1.
- Sundararajan, Louise, Uichol Kim, and Young-Shin Park (2017). "Indigenous psychologies." In *Reference module in neuroscience and biobehavioral psychology*, edited by John Stein, pp. 1–7. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

- Suttner, Bertha von (1889). *Die Waffen nieder!* Dresden: Piersons Verlag, Band 1. http://austria-forum.org/ebook/wbin/ambrosius.html#book=Belletristik%2FDie_Waffen_nieder_Band_1, Band 2: http://austria-forum.org/ebook/wbin/ambrosius.html#book=Belletristik%2FDie_Waffen_nieder_Band_2.
- Suzman, James (2019). *Affluence without abundance: What we can learn from the world's most successful civilisation*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Suzman, James (2020). *Work: A history of how we spend our time*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Suzuki, David (1992). *Wisdom of the elders*. New York: Bantam.
- Tang, Shiping (2011). "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict: Toward a dynamic and integrative theory of ethnic conflict." In *Review of International Studies*, 37 (2), pp. 511–36. doi: 10.1017/S0260210510000616.
- Taylor, Charles (1992). *The ethics of authenticity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Originally published in Canada in 1991 under the title *The Malaise of Modernity*, an extended version of the 1991 Massey Lectures.
- Terrizzi, John A., Natalie J. Shook, and W. Larry Ventis (2010). "Disgust: A predictor of social conservatism and prejudicial attitudes toward homosexuals." In *Personality and Individual Differences*, 49 (6), pp. 587–92. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2010.05.024.
- Townsend, Dina L. (2020). *Human dignity and the adjudication of environmental rights*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Ueno, Chizuko (2004). *Nationalism and gender*. Melbourne, Australia: Trans Pacific Press.
- Ury, William (1999). *Getting to peace: Transforming conflict at home, at work, and in the world*. New York: Viking.
- Vaughan, Geneviève (Ed.) (2007). *Women and the gift economy: A radically different worldview is possible*. Toronto: Innanna Publications. www.gift-economy.com/womenand.html.
- Vaughan, Geneviève (2008). *Gift economy: The mother economy*. Paper presented to the IPRA General Conference in Leuven, Belgium, 2008, and presented to the Mother Summit in Karlsruhe, Germany, 2008. http://unboundedorganization.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Gift_economy.pdf.
- Virilio, Paul (1977/2006). *Speed and politics*. Translated by Mark Polizzotti. Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e). French original *Vitesse et Politique*, Paris: Édition Galilée, 1977.
- Wagner, Michael W., Kristen D. Deppe, Carly M. Jacobs, Amanda Friesen, Kevin B. Smith, and John R. Hibbing (2015). "Beyond survey self-reports: Using physiology to tap political orientations." In *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 27 (3), pp. 303–17. doi: 10.1093/ijpor/edu036.
- Walker, Sara Imari, P. C. W. Davies, and George F. R. Ellis (Eds.) (2017). *From matter to life: Information and causality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weber, Andreas (2016). *Biopoetics: Towards an existential ecology*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
- Welzer, Harald (2015). *Climate wars : What people will be killed for in the 21st century*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- White, Allen (2019). *Corporations in the crosshairs: From reform to redesign*. Boston, MA: Great Transition Initiative. <http://greattransition.org/images/White-Corporations-in-the-Crosshairs.pdf>.
- White, Frank (2014). *The overview effect: Space exploration and human evolution*. 3rd edition. Reston, VA: American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics.
- White, Judith B., Michael T. Schmitt, and Ellen J. Langer (2006). "Horizontal hostility: Multiple minority groups and differentiation from the mainstream." In *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 9 (3), pp. 339–58. doi: 10.1177/1368430206064638.
- Wilce, James M. (2009). *Language and emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkerson, Isabel (2020). *Caste: The origins of our discontents*. New York: Random House.
- Williams, Raymond (1965). *The long revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Wilson, David Sloan (2002). *Darwin's cathedral: Evolution, religion, and the nature of society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- World Commission on Environment and Development, and Gro Harlem Brundtland (1987). *Our common future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
en.wikisource.org/wiki/Brundtland_Report.
- World Health Organization (2013). *Mental health action plan 2013 – 2020*. Geneva: World Health Organization. www.who.int/mental_health/publications/action_plan/en/.
- Wright, Quincy (1942). "Political conditions of the period of transition." In *International Conciliation*, 379 (April, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Second Report – The Transitional Period and Papers Presented to the Commission), pp. 264–79.
www.unfor.info/transition_text.pdf.
- Yoshikawa, Muneo Jay (1980). *The "double swing" model of Eastern-Western intercultural communication*. Honolulu: Paper prepared for the Seminar on Communication Theory from Eastern and Western Perspectives, East-West Communication Institute.
- Yoshikawa, Muneo Jay (1987). "The 'double swing' model of intercultural communication between the East and West." In *Communication theory: Eastern and Western perspectives*, edited by D. Lawrence Kincaid. Chapter 22, pp. 319–29. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Notes

- ¹ See Lindner, 1996b, Lindner, 1996a, Lindner, 2000d, Lindner, 2000c, Lindner, 2000b.
- ² Lindner, 2022a. See also www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/book/07.php, from where you will be able to download the book as Pdf file as soon as it has been published.
- ³ See for the World Dignity University initiative (WDUi), www.worlddignityuniversity.org, www.humiliationstudies.org/education/education.php. See also Lindner, 2014.
- ⁴ Illies, 2021.
- ⁵ See Mosse, 1996, and read about emotional roles (for instance, a grieving widow, a jealous lover, an angry young man, a nervous, expectant father, and so forth) in Averill, et al., 1997, pp. 513–43.
- ⁶ See Foucault, 1975. See also Ueno, 2004.
- ⁷ Suttner, 1889. It has been deeply encouraging that our dignity work was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize three times. See '2015, 2016, and 2017 Nobel Peace Prize nomination', www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/142.php.
- ⁸ See, among others, Hartling, et al., 2020, *Raising our resilience in times of risk*. See also Reckwitz, 2019/2021. The human population on Earth can only achieve resilience through preventive thinking and planning, and this requires a world-system with constitutive rules that make dignifying foresight possible. This is the position of my book on dignity in solidarity.
- An important caveat: This proposition is not to be confused with the 'great reset' conspiracy narrative that is currently being disseminated by conspiracy entrepreneurs. This narrative has appropriated the 'shock doctrine' of Naomi Klein, 2007. The 'great reset' conspiracy narrative functions as a kind of container for many smaller conspiracy theories that gather under its umbrella. All follow a similar pattern of what could be called meta-humiliation entrepreneurship, which means surfing on the humiliation entrepreneurship that others perpetrate on the ground — 'smaller profiteers' profit from the suffering caused by 'larger profiteers'. See, among others, 'How the "great reset" of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy', by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in the section titled 'Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action' in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a. See also Dickey, 2020, for a deeper analysis of 'our obsession with the unexplained'. See a list of conspiracy theories at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_conspiracy_theories.
- 'There's an entire movement of anti-science, contrarianism, and hucksters who thrive on attention/clicks', says Ryan McNamara in 'Why your brain loves conspiracy theories: Who believes and why, and whether conspiracism is really getting way worse', by Robert Roy Britt, *Medium*, 8th September 2020,

<https://elemental.medium.com/why-your-brain-loves-conspiracy-theories-69ca2abd893a>. See also ‘The 13 most outrageous Covid-19 myths and misconceptions’, by Robert Roy Britt, *Medium*, 1st September 2020, <https://elemental.medium.com/the-13-most-outrageous-covid-19-myths-and-misconceptions-14f4b532abff>. See, furthermore, ‘Coronavirus conspiracy theories are dangerous — here’s how to stop them spreading’, by Stephan Lewandowsky and John Cook, *The Conversation*, 20th April 2020, <https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-conspiracy-theories-are-dangerous-heres-how-to-stop-them-spreading-136564>. Finally, read about a victim of scapegoating in Germany in ‘Germany’s Covid-19 expert: “For many, I’m the evil guy crippling the economy”’, by Laura Spinney, *The Guardian*, 26th April 2020, www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/26/virologist-christian-drosten-germany-coronavirus-expert-interview.

⁹ Lindner, 2022b.

¹⁰ I very much thank the President of the Club of Rome from 1999 to 2007, Prince El Hassan bin Talal, for his personal message from 19th May 2020, where he suggests the term *cogitocide*. He proposed the term *cogitosphere* in his Opening Address to the 2004 Annual Conference of the Club of Rome ‘On limits to ignorance: The challenge of informed humanity’, 11th–12th October 2004 in Helsinki, Finland. His address was titled *The challenge of informed humanity: From ‘infosphere’ to ‘cogitosphere’*. In this address, he calls on the Club of Rome to elevate the ‘Cogitosphere’, or the realm of thinking and reflection, ‘above that of the Infosphere in order to avoid sightless vision and to focus our deliberative process on the real challenges facing informed humanity’. See also notes 1779, 1780, and 1781 in this chapter, and note 4105 in chapter 12 in Lindner, 2022a.

Prince El Hassan bin Talal is an important international thinker and member of the Jordanian royal family, the uncle of the sitting King Abdullah II, and he is deeply engaged in conversations regarding issues of human rights and development and how they are increasingly integrated with security matters on the international agenda and in the Arab World. See, among others, bin Talal and Schwarz, 2013, ‘The responsibility to protect and the Arab World: An emerging international norm?’ in *Contemporary Security Policy*.

As one of the many expressions of cogitocide, we may identify the rise of conspiracy narratives. I could refer to many examples here, yet, I limit myself to the ‘great reset’ conspiracy narrative, as this functions as a kind of container for many smaller conspiracy theories that gather under its umbrella. All appear to follow a similar pattern of what could be called meta-humiliation entrepreneurship, which means surfing on the humiliation entrepreneurship that others perpetrate on the ground — ‘smaller profiteers’ profit from the suffering caused by ‘larger profiteers’. See, among others, ‘How the “great reset” of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy’, by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in note 27 in the Preface, and see the section titled ‘Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action’ in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

Note also the concept of mentacide in African-centred psychology, described as a perpetration that ‘employs societal institutions which project images, values, beliefs, and opinions which render correct orientation in ADP [African Descent People] void of its pro-African orientations to living by instilling in the psyche pro-Eurasian orientations to living with their corollary anti-African sentiments’, Daudi Azibo, 2014, p. 57.

I would contend that mentacidal dynamics are not only relevant to African-centred psychology. See also note 529 in chapter 2 in Lindner, 2022a, for African scholar Michael Chege’s warning against casting Africa as either ‘idyllic’ or ‘barbaric’.

¹¹ *Cogito, ergo sum* is a well-known philosophical proposition by philosopher René Descartes, meaning ‘I think, therefore I am’. *Cogito, ergo sum* originally appeared in French as *je pense, donc je suis* in 1637, in Descartes’ oeuvre *Discours de la méthode*. Descartes intended to say *dubito, ergo cogito, ergo sum*, or ‘I doubt, therefore I think, therefore I am’.

¹² *The challenge of informed humanity: From ‘infosphere’ to ‘cogitosphere’*, Prince El Hassan bin Talal’s Opening Address to the 2004 Annual Conference of the Club of Rome ‘On limits to ignorance: The challenge of informed humanity’, 11th–12th October 2004 in Helsinki, Finland.

¹³ HRH El Hassan Bin Talal refers to cultural theorist Paul Virilio, 1977/2006, originator of the concept of *dromology*, ‘the science of speed’, where he points at the media-driven acceleration that results in an infosphere that diminishes and engulfs the political subject — the accountable leader as much as the participatory citizen and the deliberative process itself. The outcome is what bin Talal calls *infoterror* and *infowar*, and what Virilio describes as the ‘aesthetics of disappearance’.

¹⁴ See the *Alain Elkann Interview: HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal*, 1st November 2020, www.alainelkanninterviews.com/hassan-bin-talal/: ‘Cogens — the use of one’s ability to think — is the most democratic expression I can think of, of commenting on public and private life’. Latin *cōgēns*, is the present active participle of *cōgō* or ‘drive together’, ‘compel’, from *cō* + *agō*, ‘drive’. See www.wordsense.eu/cogens/.

As one of the many expressions of cogitocide, we may identify the rise of conspiracy narratives. There is, for instance, the ‘great reset’ conspiracy narrative that functions as a kind of container for many smaller conspiracy theories that gather under its umbrella. All appear to follow a similar pattern of what could be called meta-humiliation entrepreneurship, which means surfing on the humiliation entrepreneurship that others perpetrate on the ground — ‘smaller profiteers’ profit from the suffering caused by ‘larger profiteers’. See, among others, ‘How the “great reset” of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy’, by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in note 27 in the Preface, and see the section titled ‘Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action’ in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁵ Theorist Raymond Williams, 1965, chronicles several examples. He describes the Victorians and their distinct way of experiencing being alive and organising basic human emotions into an overarching cultural system, he gives an account of the chivalry of the Middle Ages, and of the worldview reigning in China during the Tang-dynasty.

Psychologist Jan Smedslund, 2021, highlights the dependence of psychology on ‘temporarily stable contexts’:

Much in psychology is predictable because it occurs within limited domains of *dynamic equilibria*. These are behavioural systems maintained by temporarily stable contexts and consequences. Prototypes of dynamic equilibria in psychology are the rules that maintain societies, organisations, families and individuals. When these rules are modified, the systems change or disappear. The upshot is that the usefulness of the relevant empirical findings is limited by their localisation and longevity. It means that the status of empirical findings should be changed from being additions to a stable psychological store of knowledge, to being of limited and passing value. The major qualification is that progress may occur if one turns from passively calculating from given facts (statistics), to actively constructing new ones (introducing change).

See note 2275 in chapter 7 in Lindner, 2022a, for the attention emotions recently receive from historians, the recent ‘emotional turn’ in the field of history.

¹⁶ See Duckitt, 1989, and Duckitt and Fisher, 2003, Abstract:

Research has shown that social threat correlates with ideological authoritarianism, but the issues of causal direction and specificity of threat to particular ideological attitudes remain unclear. Here, a theoretical model is proposed in which social threat has an impact on authoritarianism specifically, with the effect mediated through social worldview. The model was experimentally tested with a sample of undergraduates who responded to one of three hypothetical scenarios describing a future New Zealand that was secure, threatening, or essentially unaltered. Both threat and security influenced social worldview, but only threat influenced authoritarianism, with differential effects on two factorially distinct subdimensions (conservative and authoritarian social control attitudes) and with the effects of threat mediated through worldview. There was a weak effect of threat on social dominance that was entirely mediated through authoritarianism. The findings support the proposed theoretical model of how personal and social contextual factors causally affect people’s social worldviews and ideological attitudes.

Suhay, 2015, writes about threat as a trigger of political behaviour, showing that physical threats such as terrorism may even lead non-authoritarians to behave like authoritarians, while more abstract social threats, such as the erosion of social norms or demographic changes, do not have the same effect. See for a readable summary, ‘The rise of American authoritarianism’, by Amanda Taub, *Vox*, 1st March 2016, www.vox.com/2016/3/1/11127424/trump-authoritarianism#change, where Jonathan Haidt speaks of a button being pushed that says, ‘In case of moral threat, lock down the borders, kick out those who are different, and punish those who are morally deviant’. The article goes on to describe the five policies that authoritarians generally and Donald Trump voters in particular are likely to support:

- using military force over diplomacy against countries that threaten the United States
- changing the Constitution to bar citizenship for children of illegal immigrants
- imposing extra airport checks on passengers who appear to be of Middle Eastern descent in order to

curb terrorism

- requiring all citizens to carry a national ID card at all times to show to a police officer on request, to curb terrorism, allowing the federal government to scan all phone calls for calls to any number linked to terrorism.

I thank William M. Lafferty for making me aware of this article.

See also ‘The best predictor of Trump support isn’t income, education, or age. It’s authoritarianism’, by Matthew MacWilliams, *Vox*, 23rd February 2016, www.vox.com/2016/2/23/11099644/trump-support-authoritarianism.

In his 2016 campaign to become president of the United States, Donald Trump skilfully targeted the fears related to terrorism and immigration among authoritarians, focussing less on topics such as abortion or small government, thus following the path scripted in Hetherington and Suhay, 2011.

See also Hardisty, 1999, and ‘Donald Trump’s presidential run began in an effort to gain stature’, by Maggie Haberman and Alexander Burns, *New York Times*, 12th March 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/03/13/us/politics/donald-trump-campaign.html?smprod=nytcore-ipad&smid=nytcore-ipad-share. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this article, and of Hardisty’s work already many years ago.

See, furthermore, an article highlighting that supporters of Donald Trump are average middle class, ‘Dangerous idiots: How the liberal media elite failed working-class Americans’, by Sarah Smarsh, *The Guardian*, 13th October 2016, www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/13/liberal-media-bias-working-class-americans.

Interestingly, views on parenting styles are the strongest predictors of authoritarianism. See the work on parenting styles by Feldman, 2003, 2013, and Hetherington and Weiler, 2009, and compare it with the work by Lakoff and Johnson, 1999. See also Lindner, 2005. The rise of ideals of equal dignity erodes boundaries that once were fixed and creates alternatives that were not present in the past, when, for instance, spanking was universally accepted as proper pedagogy.

Interestingly, authoritarians have stronger gag reflexes than liberals and react with strong disgust, for instance, to homosexual orientations, see Terrizzi, et al., 2010, or Rozin, et al., 2009. After 9/11, ‘the disgusting terrorist was constructed using the performativity of disgust’, explains Sara Ahmed, 2004. Ideologies are being experienced and embodied, they are not simply ideas or concepts, so Wilce, 2009. Listen also to *The United States of anxiety, episode 7: This is your brain on politics*, WNYC (non-profit, non-commercial, public radio stations located in New York City), 3rd November 2016, www.wnyc.org/story/united-states-of-anxiety-podcast-episode-7. In this WNYC broadcast the field of *biopolitics* is being explored, the biology of political differences. See, among others, French, et al., 2014, Hibbing, et al., 2014, Wagner, et al., 2015. Biological information systems seem to play a role in forming differences between conservatives and liberals: Conservatives respond differently to fear than liberals and lock onto negative images more, while liberals seek novelty, new and pleasurable stimuli: in short, conservatives are scared, while liberals are creative. The journalists collaborated with researchers for a pilot study that showed that those higher on the stress hormone cortisol voted less, and the cortisol baseline for Trump voters was twice as high as compared to Hillary Clinton voters.

¹⁷ See Herz, 1950. Under the conditions of a strong security dilemma, the Hobbesian fear of surprise attacks from outside one’s borders is inescapable for a nation and defines the limits of its space for action also in times of peace. Barry Posen, 1993, Russell Hardin, 1995, and Rose, 2000, discuss the emotional aspects of the security dilemma and how they play out not just between states, but also between ethnic groups.

An ever increasing amount of literature addresses related questions, among others, there is the anthropological literature in peace studies that researches the universality and inevitability of war versus the chances for peace, and that looks at the causes and effects of war and peace and its biological versus cultural explanations and inquires about tribal warfare versus that of states and its impact within and among tribes. See, among others, Sponsel, 2014, or Fry, 2013. See, furthermore, Collins, 2004, Hansen, 2000, Jervis, 1978, Job, 1992, Musah and Fayemi, 2000, Posen, 1993, Snyder, 1985, Snyder and Walters, 1999, and Schweller, 2011. See for the *critical turn* in international relations theory, the notion of positive security and the Copenhagen School, among others, Roe, 1999, 2005. I appreciate political scientist Jack S. Levy’s 2016 course ‘Theories of war and peace’ at Rutgers University, <http://home.uchicago.edu/~mjreese/CurrentStudents/LevyPS522.pdf>. Levy recommends, among others, Glaser, 1997, Montgomery, 2006, Schweller, 1996, Snyder and Jervis, 1999, and Tang, 2011.

¹⁸ Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus and Reeve, 2004.

¹⁹ Concrete military bunkers are a ubiquitous sight in Albania, with an average of 5.7 bunkers for every square kilometre (14.7 per square mile). The bunkers (Albanian: bunkerët) were built during the intensely Stalinist and anti-revisionist government of Enver Hoxha from the 1960s to the 1980s. By 1983 a total of 173,371 bunkers had been constructed around the country. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bunkers_in_Albania.

²⁰ Gergen, 2009, p. 360. See also my book *Gender, humiliation, and global security*, Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010. See, furthermore, ‘The sexism problem: Harassment drove me out of physics 30 years ago and little has changed. Why is scientific sexism so intractable?’ by Margaret Wertheim, *Aeon*, 31st May 2016, <https://aeon.co/essays/why-is-scientific-sexism-so-intractably-resistant-to-reform>.

²¹ See Eisler, 1987. Her most recent books are Eisler, 2007, and Eisler and Fry, 2019. It is a privilege to have Riane Eisler as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See more in note 247 in chapter 1 in Lindner, 2022a, and in chapter 3, look also for note 698 in Lindner, 2022a.

Among the many illustrations of how rank has been institutionalised across time, see, for instance, Jordan, 2012, or Kendi, 2019. See, furthermore, Wilkerson, 2020, exploring eight pillars — including divine will, bloodlines, and stigma — that underlie hierarchies of human rankings across civilisations.

²² See chapter 3 in my book on dignity in solidarity, Lindner, 2022a. See www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/book/07.php, from where you will be able to download the book as Pdf file as soon as it has been published.

²³ Linda Hartling in a personal communication, 5th October 2020.

²⁴ See Lindner, 2017.

²⁵ Koonz, 2003, p. 274, p. 274.

²⁶ Gergen, 2009, p. 360. See a vivid illustration in ‘A Palestinian writer and an Israeli writer exchange emails — and seek common ground’, by Sam Bahour and Nadav Eyal, 3rd June 2021, *Washington Post Magazine*, www.washingtonpost.com/magazine/2021/06/03/palestinian-writer-an-israeli-writer-exchange-emails-seek-common-ground/.

²⁷ Isabel Wilkerson, 2020, explained, ‘I think of caste as the bones and race as the skin... race is merely the signal and cue to where one fits in the caste system’. See *It’s more than racism: Isabel Wilkerson explains America’s ‘caste’ system*, by Terry Gross, Fresh Air, National Public Radio (NPR), 4th August 2020, www.npr.org/transcripts/898574852.

²⁸ See Kleinig, 2011, Kleinig and Evans, 2013.

²⁹ See Pettit, 1997.

³⁰ See Fuller, 2003, and Fuller and Gerloff, 2008. In a human rights context that stipulates that all human beings ought to be treated as equal in dignity and rights, hurtful psychological dynamics of humiliation are set in motion when socially constructed rankings are essentialised, for instance, when ‘women’ are regarded as lowly beings, or ‘children’, ‘the elderly’, ‘foreigners’, and so forth. It is a privilege to have Robert Fuller as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

³¹ In my work, I apply the *ideal-type* approach as described by sociologist Max Weber, 1904/1949. See Coser, 1977, p. 224:

Weber’s three kinds of ideal types are distinguished by their levels of abstraction. First are the ideal types rooted in historical particularities, such as the ‘western city’, ‘the Protestant Ethic’, or ‘modern capitalism’, which refer to phenomena that appear only in specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. A second kind involves abstract elements of social reality — such concepts as ‘bureaucracy’ or ‘feudalism’ — that may be found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. Finally, there is a third kind of ideal type, which Raymond Aron calls ‘rationalising reconstructions of a particular kind of behaviour’. According to Weber, all propositions in economic theory, for example, fall into this category. They all refer to the ways in which men would behave were they actuated by purely economic motives, were they purely economic men.

Michael Karlberg explains how analytical constructs never correspond perfectly with some presumably objective reality. See Karlberg, 2013, p. 9:

Care must be taken, therefore, not to reify these frames or over-extend the metaphors that inform them. These frames can, however, serve as useful heuristic devices for organising certain forms of inquiry and guiding certain forms of practice — such as inquiry into the meaning of human dignity and the application of this concept in fields such as human rights and conflict resolution.

I very much appreciate Louise Sundararajan's comments on the book *The nature and challenges of indigenous psychologies* by Carl Martin Allwood, 2018, that she shared with her Indigenous psychology task force on 3rd September 2018, based on her book chapter 'Indigenous psychologies', Sundararajan, et al., 2017. Sundararajan explains how to avoid that abstractions slide towards essentialism. In her view 'essentialism is abstraction mistaken as reality', as it is in the case of 'nation' or 'identity', 'whereas scientific theorising is abstraction treated as abstraction'. As an example she offers the model airplane, which nobody would mistake for reality, since it one can't fly in it. Also the pure form of the model does not lead to essentialism, 'because of the basic understanding that no reality exists in pure forms'. I appreciate her next example, namely, that of 'dirt' and she illustrates it by two approaches to reality (X):

A: X=dirt, elements, crystals, subatomic particles

B: X=dirt (elements, crystals, subatomic particles)

Sundararajan explains that in scientific investigations, as represented by A, 'abstraction is context dependent, each level of analysis generates its own abstraction such that there are multiple abstractions (dirt, elements, crystals, subatomic particles)', none of which has a higher status of 'essence' than the other. Essentialism is represented by B, where 'the term closest to the phenomenal world (dirt) is elevated to the status of reality, the essence of which is supposed to be captured by the more abstract terms'. Sundararajan then applies the example of dirt to notions such as culture, nation, and population. If one takes the approach of B, nation or population names reality, 'the essence of which is captured by abstractions'. By contrast, in A, 'abstractions are not inextricably yoked to serve the master script of nation or population which are treated as labels of convenience like any other'.

³² Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010, pp. 84–88.

³³ Many reject the phrase of honour killing and rather use the label *femicide*. See more in Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010, pp. 84–88. See also, among others, Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2000, Abu-Odeh and Ilkkaracan, 2000, or Al-Khayyat, 1990. See also 'Pillay urges Government action after "honour" killing of pregnant woman in Pakistan', United Nations Human Rights High Commissioner, 28th May 2014, www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14650&: Navi Pillay, the former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, stated that 'I do not even wish to use the phrase "honour killing" ... since ... there is not the faintest vestige of honour in killing a woman in this way'.

³⁴ See Lindner, 2000a.

³⁵ Egedius and Torp, 2016. Read more about Anders Torp on https://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anders_Torp, and www.nrk.no/norge/sterkt-mote-mellom-far-og-sonn-torp-1.12860506.

³⁶ See 'The history of ESG [Environmental, Social and Corporate Governance] in 5 cartoons: What next?', by Duncan Austin, *Medium*, 21st April 2020, <https://medium.com/@duncanastin/the-history-of-the-environmental-movement-in-5-cartoons-c5203d675c7a>. I thank Duncan Austin for his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'Corporations in the crosshairs: From reform to redesign', 20th November 2019, in response to White, 2019.

³⁷ Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland is the former Prime Minister of Norway. On 27th March 2020, she appeared in the Norwegian media explaining that the coronavirus crisis is 'a notified crisis'. Since 2018, she is co-chair of the Global Preparedness Monitoring Board (GPMB, <https://apps.who.int/gpmb/>). In 2018, she was asked by the World Bank and WHO to lead a report on how the world would deal with a global infectious and deadly epidemic. Together with the head of the International Red Cross, she brought together international experts and health politicians and the report came in September 2019. She said:

For too long, world leaders' approaches to health emergencies have been characterised by a cycle of panic and neglect... It is high time for urgent and sustained action. This must include increased funding at the community, national and international levels to prevent the spread of outbreaks. It also requires leaders to take proactive steps to strengthen preparedness coordination mechanisms across governments and society to respond quickly to an emergency.

See *World at risk from deadly pandemics: Expert group outlines steps to prepare for — and mitigate — the effects of a widespread global health emergency that could kill millions, damage global economy*, World Health Organisation, 18th September 2019, https://apps.who.int/gpmb/assets/annual_report/GPMB%20Press%20Release_Final.pdf.

³⁸ See ‘One root cause of pandemics few people think about: It’s our seemingly insatiable desire to eat meat’, by Paul Shapiro, *Scientific American*, 24th March 2020, <https://blogs.scientificamerican.com/observations/one-root-cause-of-pandemics-few-people-think-:> ‘Public health experts concerned about zoonotic diseases have for years been ringing the alarm about the industrial farming of animals’.

Michael Greger, 2006, calls factory farming a ‘perfect storm environment’ for infectious diseases. ‘If you actually want to create global pandemics’, he warns, ‘then build factory farms’.

See also *Fowl play: The poultry industry’s central role in the bird flu crisis*, GRAIN, 2006, https://web.archive.org/web/20120201005131/http://www.save-foundation.net/pdf/GRAIN_bird_flue_crisis.pdf.

³⁹ See also Lindner, 2020a. See also Jeffrey Sachs saying, ‘Long ago, the US Covid deaths ceased to be a tragic fact of nature, but became a fact of a fractured culture. America needs to embrace life, not death’. See ‘The real reason this pandemic is the deadliest to ever hit the US’, by Jeffrey D. Sachs, *CNN*, 22nd September 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/09/22/opinions/staggering-selfishness-pandemic-surpasses-deaths-1918-sachs/index.html>. Jeffrey Sachs is a professor and director of the Center for Sustainable Development at Columbia University and president of the United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network. I am proud of my many initiatives to bridge the gap between science that addresses the sociosphere and science that focusses on the ecosphere. With this aim in mind, I sat with Wallace S. Broecker of Columbia University’s Earth Institute on 3rd November 2005. He used the term ‘global warming’ in a scientific paper in 1975, a term that has since become part of our global lexicon.

⁴⁰ See my book titled *A dignity economy*, Lindner, 2012a. See more in note 3221 in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a. See also note 772 in chapter 3 in Lindner, 2022a, note 1591 in chapter 6, notes 2231 and 2266 in chapter 7, note 3967 in chapter 11, and note 4404 in chapter 12 in Lindner, 2022a.

I very much value the support of economy professor Ove Jakobsen, who wrote a deeply insightful review of my book on a dignity economy, see www.cultura.no/arkiv/pengevirke/evelin-lindner. He states in Jakobsen, 2018, that ‘in order to establish ecological economics as a radical new economy right for the 21st century, neoliberal economics needs to be replaced’.

⁴¹ See ‘Why climate deniers hate activists so much: Guilt’, by Rosie McCall, *Newsweek*, 27th September 2019, www.newsweek.com/climate-change-denialists-hate-activists-vulnerability-1461543. See also Dunlap and McCright, 2011, Hultman and Pulé, 2018, and Mann, 2021.

⁴² In 1971, the French oil company TotalEnergies was aware of the risk of global warming, see ‘An article from 1971 in the company’s magazine, *Total Information*, mentioned partial melting of ice caps, researchers found’, see ‘TotalEnergies accused of downplaying climate risks’, by Beth Timmins, *BBC News*, 21st October 2021, www.bbc.com/news/business-58989374.

ExxonMobil was aware of the risks at the latest in 1982, see ‘“So they knew”: Ocasio-Cortez questions Exxon scientist on climate crisis denial’, *Guardian News*, 23rd October 2019,

<https://youtu.be/FGVW9vJ773k>. In this recording, Martin Hoffert, a scientist consultant for Exxon Research and Engineering in the 1980s, responds to the New York congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. Hoffert testifies that ‘in 1982, Exxon scientists predicted how carbon dioxide levels would rise and heat the planet as humans burned more fossil fuels’. In other words, this is ‘evidence that the oil behemoth ExxonMobil had known since the 1970s about the potential for a climate crisis and intentionally sowed doubt about it’. See also *A review of Exxon’s knowledge and subsequent denial of climate change*, Greenpeace USA, www.greenpeace.org/usa/global-warming/exxon-and-the-oil-industry-knew-about-climate-change/exxons-climate-denial-history-a-timeline/.

In 1988, physicist and Nasa researcher James Edward Hansen testified before the United States Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, and warned of dangerous climate change.

See also notes 2010 and 2390 in chapter 7 in Lindner, 2022a, and note 2740 in chapter 9.

⁴³ ‘To win, Democrats need to end the backroom dealing’, by Jeffrey Sachs, *CNN*, 5th November 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/11/05/opinions/to-win-democrats-need-to-end-backroom-dealing-sachs/index.html>.

⁴⁴ ‘America's struggle at home’, by Jeffrey D. Sachs, *Project Syndicate*, 4th December 2021, www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/america-struggling-at-home-to-reverse-decades-neglect-by-jeffrey-d-sachs-2021-12.

⁴⁵ Watch *Die Erdzerstörer*, documentary by Jean-Robert Viallet film, Arte France, 2019, www.arte.tv/de/videos/073938-000-A/die-erdzerstoerer/.

⁴⁶ What is a ‘good life’ was the theme of my doctoral dissertation in medicine, see Lindner, 1993. See also Lindner, 2001a, and Lindner, 2000e.

⁴⁷ The opposition between *substantivist* and *formalist* economic models was proposed by Karl Polanyi in 1944, see Polanyi and Joseph E. Stiglitz (Foreword), 1944/2001. See more in chapter 9 in Lindner, 2022a. During the first six years of my life, I had the privilege of growing up in a context of rural communal solidarity, and this experience still gives me strength today, several decades later.

⁴⁸ Anthropologist Stuart Plattner, 1989, disagrees with Polanyi insofar as he posits that generalisation across different societies is indeed possible, as Western and non-Western economics are not so different, and that this is true particularly now, as globalisation impacts all world regions so that there are no untouched pre-industrial societies left, and conditions of resource scarcity exist everywhere in the world. Anthropologist James C. Scott stands on the substantivist side.

See also the work of Survival International, www.survivalinternational.org.

⁴⁹ Carson, 1962. See also *American experience: Rachel Carson*, documentary film directed by Michelle Ferrari, Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), 2017, www.pbs.org/video/2365935530/, www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/rachel-carson/. I thank Linda Hartling for sharing this wonderful film with me. Incidentally, the relationship between Linda and me can be described very much like the one between Rachel Carson and Dorothy Freeman. Earlier, Linda Hartling showed me another film that also relates to our relationship, *Not for ourselves alone: The story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony*, a documentary film by Ken Burns, 1999, National Public Radio (NPR) and WETA, www.pbs.org/stantonanthony/.

⁵⁰ See ‘Will humans be extinct by 2026?’ *Arctic News*, <http://arctic-news.blogspot.com/p/extinction.html>. See, furthermore, ‘Climate collapse and near term human extinction: A speech by Guy Mcpherson, the global research news hour episode 70’, by Michael Welch, *Global Research*, 14th June 2014, www.globalresearch.ca/guy-mcpherson-on-climate-collapse-and-near-term-human-extinction/5386102. See more in the context of the *Seneca cliff* in note 1805 in Lindner, 2022a.

⁵¹ The year 1972 saw the first *Limits to growth* report, commissioned by the Club of Rome, and revisited again by Ugo Bardi, 2011. I remember Erhard Eppler, a German politician of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and founder of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), saying in 1972: We doubt whether this is good for people:

- ever wider roads for more and more cars
- ever larger power plants for ever more energy consumption
- More and more complex packaging for increasingly questionable consumer goods
- ever larger airports for ever faster planes
- more and more pesticides for ever richer harvests
- and, not to forget, more and more people on an increasingly narrow globe.

See ‘Sozialdemokratische Betrachtungen über „Wirtschaftswachstum oder Lebensqualität?“’, 11th April 1972, https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1110&language=german.

Translated by Lindner from the German original:

Wir zweifeln, ob dies gut für die Menschen sei:

- immer breitere Straßen für immer mehr Autos
- immer größere Kraftwerke für immer mehr Energiekonsum
- immer aufwendigere Verpackung für immer fragwürdigere Konsumgüter
- immer größere Flughäfen für immer schnellere Flugzeuge
- immer mehr Pestizide für immer reichere Ernten
- und, nicht zu vergessen, immer mehr Menschen auf einem immer enger werdenden Globus.

⁵² Lindner, 2012b. See also Raskin, 2014, p. 4: ‘The Rio+20 Summit could muster only a constricted vision of a greener economy, bookending a quarter century of the decline of hope’.

⁵³ See, among others, www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/pics12.php#summit2012.

⁵⁴ Greta Thunberg had a forerunner, her name was Severn Suzuki. As a twelve-year-old, she spoke at the Earth Summit Rio92 to the leaders of the world. Her speech was hailed by everyone, it was felt to be deeply touching. Twenty years later, she came back to the Rio+20 Summit and her message was the following: ‘nothing has happened!’ See *Severn Suzuki’s speech at Rio92*, 1992, published on 28th February 2007 by Evandro Barboza, <https://youtu.be/5g8cmWZOX8Q>. See what she said twenty years later, at Rio+20, *Severn Cullis-Suzuki revisits historic ‘92 speech; Fights for next generation*, published on 21st June 2012 by Democracy Now! <https://youtu.be/z5qcFpPlsYI>.

See also *Severn Suzuki’s speech at Rio+20*, 2012, published on 20th June 2012 by ONU Brasil, <https://youtu.be/1FmSxmpitBA>: ‘After 20 years, the 12 year-old-girl, who made a speech in front of the Chief of States at RIO92, came back to Rio de Janeiro to tell what she wants for the future of the planet’.

⁵⁵ The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights enshrined human dignity in its preamble, ‘Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world...’, and this implies obligations or responsibilities. The InterAction Council proposed the Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities on 1st September 1997, see www.interactioncouncil.org/publications/universal-declaration-human-responsibilities. The InterAction Council is an independent non-profit organisation that brings together former world leaders to mobilise their energy, experience, and international contacts in an effort to develop recommendations and foster cooperation and positive action around the world.

Read also Pierre Calamé in his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of ‘Corporations in the crosshairs: From reform to redesign’, 18th November 2019, in response to White, 2019:

What is at stake is the very definition of responsibility: moving from the limited responsibility and liability which characterises each of the stakeholders and, as a result, gives birth to our societies of illimited irresponsibility, to an enlarged definition befitting the reality of our global interdependences. But this effort to enlarge the definition cannot be limited to economic or financial actors. It also concerns the states, the local authorities, the non-governmental organizations, and the citizens themselves. We must develop a Universal Declaration of human responsibilities endorsed by as many actors as possible, each stakeholder translating this Declaration into a Charter of societal responsibilities which should be the basis of its social contract.

Calamé refers to ethics of *respons-ability*, see the International Alliance for Responsible and Sustainable Societies at www.alliance-respons.net.

There is also the notion of *co-responsibility* towards future generations that was inspired by philosophers Karl Otto Apel, 1988, and Hans Jonas, see Jonas, 1979/1984, and Morgan and Jonas, 1985. Apel placed responsibility at the centre of his philosophy, as he regarded responsibility as one of the three basic norms of human coexistence.

⁵⁶ ‘What do US Capitol attack and the West’s Ovid-19 death rates have in common? The answer lies in the philosophical underpinnings of societies’, by Kishore Mahbubani, For *The Straits Times*, National University of Singapore, 2nd February 2021, www.nus.edu.sg/newshub/news/2021/2021-02/2021-02-02/RATES-pA18-st-2feb.pdf. Kishore Mahbubani is a Singaporean civil servant, a career diplomat, and an academic. From 1971 to 2004, he served as Singapore’s Permanent Representative to the United Nations and held the position of President of the United Nations Security Council between January 2001 and May 2002.

⁵⁷ Raskin, et al., 2002. See also Raskin, 2008, and Brangwyn and Hopkins, 2008. See, furthermore, Raskin, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2021. What we see at work is what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu called *deferred elimination*: Authorities invite critics to exhaust themselves for promises that ultimately are empty. See Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970/1990.

⁵⁸ World Commission on Environment and Development and Brundtland, 1987.

⁵⁹ Raskin, 2014, p. 4. Jan Servaes shared the same experience at our 2014 Annual Conference of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies, ‘Returning dignity’, in Chiang Mai, Thailand, 8th–12th March 2014, see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/23.php. Servaes was Chair Professor and Head of the Department of Media and Communication at the City University of Hong Kong and UNESCO Chair in Communication for Sustainable Social Change, and Director of the SBS Center Communication for Sustainable Social Change (CSSC) at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA, among others. Similar conclusions come from social psychologist Harald Welzer in Germany. Also he observes that many awareness raising efforts seem to avoid their very own implementation. See ‘Das Öko-Update: Öko. Fake

News seit 1972', by Harald Welzer, *taz, die tageszeitung*, 12th June 2018, www.taz.de/!166704/. See also Welzer, 2015.

As historian Yuval Harari, 2015/2016, puts it, not least the idea of infinite growth contradicts just about everything we know about the universe, any seven-year-old child can easily explain that infinite economic growth in a finite space with defined survival conditions for human life form is an impossibility. In other words, the problem is not lack of awareness.

I resonate with John Bunzl's observation that the psychic pain this situation causes is immense. 'Whether we're men or women', he writes, 'the competitive market system forces us to do what we know may be wrong or harmful. It forces us to act against our deepest values and convictions. And this pain accumulates internally within each of us as a growing sense of guilt and repression, and externally in the form of worsening global problems'. See 'How market patriarchy is degrading men and women', by John Bunzl, *Medium*, 2nd February 2018, https://medium.com/@johnbunzl_93216/how-market-patriarchy-is-degrading-men-and-women-7427e2e590af.

See also note 3868 in chapter 11 in Lindner, 2022a.

⁶⁰ Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970/1990, p. 159.

⁶¹ For the Sustainable Development Goals, see <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs>. If the exponential growth curve of Goal 8 were to be taken seriously, it would undermine the success of the other goals. Goal 8 of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals: 'Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all', www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/economic-growth/. See an interdisciplinary introduction to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that looks at all SDGs and their progress and challenges and is offered by Johan Schot, a historian working in the field of science and technology policy. See www.edx.org/course/the-un-sustainable-development-goals-an-interdisci?gclid=EAIaIQobChMIiILQ_qOR7QIViNPtCh1Vzg-4EAAYASAAEgL4TfD_BwE.

Consider also Inger Andersen, UNEP Executive Director, who warns, 'There's this idea out there that we have to log, mine, and drill our way to prosperity. But that's not true. By embracing circularity and re-using materials we can still drive economic growth while protecting the planet for future generations', see *New trade rules vital to protecting the planet*, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 20th November 2020, www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/new-trade-rules-vital-protecting-planet.

I resonate with the conclusion of the member of the Club of Rome Stefan Brunnhuber that the monetary system is the missing link in the debate of sustainability. See Brunnhuber, 2021, and Lietaer, et al., 2012. This is why I wrote the book *A dignity economy*, Lindner, 2012a.

Green New Deal proposals suffer from the same problem, as they intend to implement public policies built on the same economic principles that led to ecocide and sociocide in the first place. For European efforts, see, for instance, 'Statement by President von der Leyen on delivering the European Green Deal', European Commission, Brussels, 14th July 2021,

https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_21_3701.

See also 'Beware UN food systems summit Trojan horse', by Jomo Kwame Sundaram, *Inter Press Service*, www.ipsnews.net/2021/07/beware-un-food-systems-summit-trojan-horse/.

For an easy-to-read text on financial instability, see, among others, 'The stock market is one black swan away from the greatest reset in history: How a hidden stock market crash exposed the illusion of stability', by Concode, *Medium*, 15th May 2021, <https://medium.com/concode/the-financial-system-is-a-lot-more-fragile-than-were-led-to-believe-7303fb6bcac8>.

⁶² Scholar of human needs Ian Gough, 2017, p. 56. In his book *Heat, greed and human need*, Gough refers to an eudaimonic psychology definition of three universal needs, *autonomy*, *competence*, and *relatedness*, see page 44. Katherine Trebeck, a research and policy adviser with Oxfam, summarises Gough's definition of basic needs on 17th July 2019, on www.opendemocracy.net/en/oureconomy/book-review-heat-greed-and-human-need/:

...basic needs encompass physical health, autonomy of agency (mental health, cognitive understanding, opportunities to participate), and critical autonomy. They are satisfied by access to things such as adequate food and water, protective housing, safe work environment, healthcare, and significant primary relationships, and in turn optimised by freedoms from (civic and political rights), freedoms to (rights of access to need satisfiers), and political participation.

I resonate with Trebeck's appreciation of Gough's work, as it helps those who are 'sceptical about the merit of wellbeing as individual self-reported happiness in the hedonic sense'. While it is true that preferences and

wants depend on context, which means that it is not advisable to make simplistic assumptions about how people feel, ‘human needs are objective, plural, non-substitutable and satiable’, Gough, 2017, p. 3.

⁶³ ‘Covid-19 has revealed a pre-existing pandemic of poverty that benefits the rich’, by Philip Alston, outgoing UN special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, *The Guardian*, 11th July 2020, www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/jul/11/covid-19-has-revealed-a-pre-existing-pandemic-of-poverty-that-benefits-the-rich. See also Hickel, 2018, and *The parlous state of poverty eradication: Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Advance Unedited Version*, Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, NYU School of Law, 2nd July 2020, <https://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Alston-Poverty-Report-FINAL.pdf>.

⁶⁴ Ury, 1999, p. 108.

⁶⁵ It was a privilege for me to meet William Ury at the State of the World Forum in the Co-existence Initiative conference in Belfast, Northern Ireland, 2nd – 9th May 1999.

⁶⁶ I shared my adaptation of Ury’s categorisation, for instance, in my book *Making enemies: Humiliation and international conflict*, Lindner, 2006b, p. 26. See more in chapter 12 in Lindner, 2022a.

⁶⁷ See, among others, Götze and Joeres, 2020. The English translation of his article is *The climate pollution lobby: How politicians and business leaders are selling the future of our planet*. See also *The world failed on all of its biodiversity targets. What happens next?* by Louisa Casson, Greenpeace, 23rd September 2020, www.greenpeace.org/international/story/45215/failed-global-biodiversity-targets/. See also note 1928 in chapter 7 in Lindner, 2022a.

In my work, I compare the inflection point of the Neolithic Revolution with the Great Divide that separated Homo sapiens’ close relatives, the panins, into two groups. See note 2718 in chapter 9 in Lindner, 2022a.

⁶⁸ For ‘harvesting’ from all cultures, see, among others, Lindner, 2007. See more in note 166 in the introduction to Part I. I thank Adair Linn Nagata for inviting me to write this article and for welcoming me into her classes at Rikkyo University in Tokyo. It is a privilege to have Adair Linn Nagata as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See also Wright, 1942, and Goonatilake, 1998, on ‘mining civilisational knowledge’. Much more has been written since 2007 on this topic, here are just some recent examples, Dupré, 2015, Schlichtmann, 2017, Cabrera, 2017, May and Daly, 2020, or Townsend, 2020.

⁶⁹ Shilpa Pandit in a personal communication to and Louise Sundararajan’s Indigenous Psychology Task Force, 29th October 2018.

⁷⁰ Watch ecologist Marluca Bonifácio Martins from the Department of Coordenação de Zoologia of the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi in Belém, Pará, Brasil, on www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/33.php#daynine.

⁷¹ Louise Sundararajan in a personal communication, 19th October 2018.

⁷² Louise Sundararajan in a personal communication, 22nd October 2018. Sundararajan acknowledges that ‘sloppy uses’ of the term ‘indigenous’ are widespread. Also the term ‘aboriginal’ may not be respectful. Rather, the intention must be, Sundararajan states, ‘to avoid the mistake of using people as a symbol for one’s own values (‘women’ as a symbol of purity, the ‘indigenous’ as a symbol of our lost virtues, and so on), thereby denying the humanity of the other’.

See also ‘Why Native Americans do not separate religion from science’, by Rosalyn R. LaPier, *The Conversation*, 21st April 2017, <http://theconversation.com/why-native-americans-do-not-separate-religion-from-science-75983>.

⁷³ Ingrid Fuglestedt in a personal communication, 17th October 2011. See also the work of zooarchaeologist Sarah Pleuger, who observes that research was for a long time ‘based on a linear model of human development and almost inevitably from a mobile life to sedentism and finally to urbanisation. It was mainly a matter of othering “nomadic” groups from sedentary civilisations’. In her opinion, ‘this approach and treatment of nomadic groups has no place in research today’. See *‘A close coexistence of humans and animals’: Interview with Sarah Pleuger on livestock farming in eastern Mongolia*, by Judith Wonke, Gerda Henkel Stiftung, 10th July 2021, https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/livestock_farming. See also note 3252 in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

See, furthermore, Ryan and Jethá, 2010, and ‘The *New York Times* misleads on monogamy: Why do even the best journalists mislead readers about human sexual evolution?’ by Christopher Ryan, *Psychology Today*,

16th September 2013, www.psychologytoday.com/blog/sex-dawn/201309/the-new-york-times-misleads-monogamy.

In my work, I compare the inflection point of the Neolithic Revolution with the Great Divide that separated Homo sapiens' close relatives, the panins, into two groups. See note 2718 in chapter 9 in Lindner, 2022a.

⁷⁴ Research on *multi-level selection* has shown that altruists often lose out within groups, but groups with more altruists win. See, for instance, Wilson, 2002. See also 'The indigenous "people of wildlife" know how to protect nature', by Baher Kamal, *Inter Press Service*, 10th March 2017, www.ipsnews.net/2017/03/the-indigenous-people-of-wildlife-know-how-to-protect-nature/. See, furthermore, *Indigenous peoples and climate change: Emerging research on traditional knowledge and livelihoods*, edited by Ariell Ahearn, Martin Oelz and Rishabh Kumar Dhir, International Labour Organization (ILO), 16th April 2019, www.ilo.org/global/topics/indigenous-tribal/publications/WCMS_686780/lang--en/index.htm. See also our 33rd Annual Dignity Conference in the Brazilian Amazon, 28th August–7th September 2019, where we were introduced to traditional knowledge and livelihoods first hand. See more in note 52 in the Preface.

For a definition of indigeneity, and a view on the difference between Indigenous and indigenous, please see note 72 in this Preface, see the common *Indigenous worldview* manifestations described by Four Arrows (Wahinkpe Topa of Cherokee and Muscogee Creek ancestry, aka Donald Trent Jacobs) presented in note 701 in chapter 3, and consider the *substantivist* economic model conceptualised by Karl Polanyi discussed in chapter 9 in Lindner, 2022a.

⁷⁵ The Long Now Foundation was established in 01996 (sic) to foster long-term thinking and responsibility in the framework of the next 10,000 years. The Long Now Foundation uses five-digit dates, the extra zero is to solve the deca-millennium bug which will come into effect in about 8,000 years. See <http://longnow.org>.

⁷⁶ Fuglestvedt, 2018, p. 397. It is a great privilege to have Ingrid Fuglestvedt's support for my dignity work. See, furthermore, 'The key to a sustainable economy is 5,000 years old', by Ellen Brown, *Web of Debt & TRANSCEND Media Service*, 2nd September 2019, <https://ellenbrown.com/2019/08/30/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/>, and www.transcend.org/tms/2019/09/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/. See also Graeber, 2011, for the insight that Indigenous communities used to practice mutual sharing and *giving forward* rather than *exchange*, and consider the *substantivist* economic model conceptualised by Karl Polanyi discussed. See more in note 1998 in chapter 7 in Lindner, 2022a. See also the work of zooarchaeologist Sarah Pleuger, who observes that research was for a long time 'based on a linear model of human development and almost inevitably from a mobile life to sedentism and finally to urbanisation. It was mainly a matter of othering "nomadic" groups from sedentary civilisations'. In her opinion, 'this approach and treatment of nomadic groups has no place in research today'. See '*A close coexistence of humans and animals*': Interview with Sarah Pleuger on livestock farming in eastern Mongolia, by Judith Wonke, Gerda Henkel Stiftung, 10th July 2021, https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/livestock_farming.

⁷⁷ See anthropologist James C. Scott, 1990, 1998, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2017. Anthropologist James Suzman, 2020, p. 101, confirms, 'For 95 per cent of our species' history, work did not occupy anything like the hallowed place in people's lives that it does now'. See also Suzman, 2019. See also the work of zooarchaeologist Sarah Pleuger, who observes that research was for a long time 'based on a linear model of human development and almost inevitably from a mobile life to sedentism and finally to urbanisation. It was mainly a matter of othering "nomadic" groups from sedentary civilisations'. In her opinion, 'this approach and treatment of nomadic groups has no place in research today'. See '*A close coexistence of humans and animals*': Interview with Sarah Pleuger on livestock farming in eastern Mongolia, by Judith Wonke, Gerda Henkel Stiftung, 10th July 2021, https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/livestock_farming. See also note 3252 in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

⁷⁸ 'The worst mistake in the history of the human race', by Jared Diamond, *Discover Magazine*, May 1987, pp. 64–66, www.ditext.com/diamond/mistake.html:

Archaeologists studying the rise of farming have reconstructed a crucial stage at which we made the worst mistake in human history. Forced to choose between limiting population or trying to increase food production, we chose the latter and ended up with starvation, warfare, and tyranny.

See also the work of zooarchaeologist Sarah Pleuger, who observes that research was for a long time 'based on a linear model of human development and almost inevitably from a mobile life to sedentism and finally to urbanisation. It was mainly a matter of othering "nomadic" groups from sedentary civilisations'. In her opinion, 'this approach and treatment of nomadic groups has no place in research today'. See '*A close*

coexistence of humans and animals: Interview with Sarah Pleuger on livestock farming in eastern Mongolia, by Judith Wonke, Gerda Henkel Stiftung, 10th July 2021, https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/livestock_farming. See also note 3252 in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

See, furthermore, Manning, 2004, Hemenway, 2009, or Harari, 2014, who share the view that the agricultural revolution was history's 'biggest fraud'. See, furthermore, 'Is sustainable agriculture an oxymoron?' Toby Hemenway, *Permaculture Activist*, Number 60, May 2006, www.patternliteracy.com/203-is-sustainable-agriculture-an-oxymoron.

⁷⁹ See, among others, Gepts, et al., 2012.

⁸⁰ The 'automatic' theory indicates that the advent of agriculture made it possible for larger groups to become sedentary, and this view entails three positive appraisals that I do not resonate with, namely, that sedentary lifestyle represents progress, together with agriculture, and that this has arisen from human inventiveness. It could also be the other way round, three times negative, namely, that foragers faced the shrinking of their territory, i.e. *circumscription*, and that many only very reluctantly turned to a sedentary lifestyle and to *intensification*, to domesticating plants and animals, in sum, to agricultural systems. Indeed, many of our pre-Neolithic ancestors resisted sedentism and plough agriculture, they tried to hold on to their mobile subsistence, and together with anthropologist and political scientist James C. Scott I applaud them for that. See Scott, 1990, 1998, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2017. Anthropologist James Suzman, 2020, p. 101, confirms, 'For 95 per cent of our species' history, work did not occupy anything like the hallowed place in people's lives that it does now'. See also Suzman, 2019, *Affluence without abundance: What we can learn from the world's most successful civilisation*, namely, the Bushmen.

See also the evaluation of archaeologist Ingrid Fuglestedt, shared in a personal communication, 17th October 2011: 'Egalitarian hunter-gatherers, especially the animists, are the best societies this world has ever witnessed. This is not a reference to the Garden of Eden; it is to acknowledge that some systems are better than others in taking care of everybody's integrity, both human and animal'.

See, furthermore, David Suzuki, 1992, who explored the ecological wisdom of Native Peoples from around the world. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of David Suzuki's work.

My views are also shared by people like Werner Pfeifer, born in 1964 and raised in Namibia, where he lived with San (Bushmen), and is now offering bush craft courses in cooperation with traditional San. See www.lcfn.info.

⁸¹ David Suzuki, 1992, explored the ecological wisdom of Native Peoples from around the world. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of David Suzuki's work.

For a definition of *indigeneity*, and a view on the difference between Indigenous and indigenous, please see note 72 in the Preface.

See Graeber, 2011, for the insight that Indigenous communities used to practice mutual sharing and *giving forward* rather than *exchange*. See also the common *Indigenous worldview* manifestations described by Four Arrows (Wahinkpe Topa of Cherokee and Muscogee Creek ancestry, aka Donald Trent Jacobs) presented in note 701 in chapter 3 in Lindner, 2022a, and consider the *substantivist* economic model conceptualised by Karl Polanyi.

⁸² See Scott, 2009.

⁸³ Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010, pp. 30–31.

⁸⁴ Binary opposites — such as high and low, inside and outside, person and animal, life and death, are at the core of structural anthropology's concept of culture. It is connected with names such as Claude Levi-Strauss and draws on Hegel's 'thesis, antithesis, and synthesis'. See also the work done on spatial metaphors by Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, and Lakoff and Johnson, 1999.

⁸⁵ I appreciate the summary of political researcher Noha Tarek in her contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'Feminism and revolution: Looking back, looking ahead', 13th May 2018, in response to the essay of the same title by Julie Matthaei, 2018:

The 'Great Chain of Being', in which human dominates over life / nature / animals and plants, man dominates over woman, adult dominates over child, the able-bodies / healthy / powerful dominates over the disabled / ill / weak, the White dominates over the Black (and this is not only in Western societies, but in all societies), the wealthy / elite dominates over the poor / mass, the citizen / national dominates over the immigrant / stranger / foreigner, (recently) the Northerner dominates over the Southerner, & finally God 'Almighty & Powerful' dominates over everyone else!

It is a privilege to have Noha Tarek as an esteemed member in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

⁸⁶Matsumoto, 1988.

⁸⁷Coleman, 2000, p. 118.

⁸⁸ Lewis, 1961.

⁸⁹ Circumscription theory has been developed by anthropologist and curator of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, Robert Leonard Carneiro. See, among others, Carneiro, 1970, 1988, 2000, 2010, 2012, and Carneiro, 2018. See, furthermore, Sanderson, 2007, and Schacht, 1988. Carneiro acknowledges that his circumscription theory has famous forerunners, see Carneiro, 2018, p. 53: ‘The line of succession in recognising the importance of a restricted environment in engendering political integration thus runs from Cieza de León through Ephraim Squier to Herbert Spencer’. I have taken my inspiration from Carneiro’s work. While he describes circumscription as the mechanism that led to state formation, I use his reflections in a broader sense. It is a privilege to have Robert Carneiro as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. I mourn his passing in 24th June 2020.

⁹⁰ Every year in November or December, from 2009 until 2019, when he grew too old, I paid anthropologist Robert Carneiro a visit in his office in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, near the former office of Margaret Mead. I mourn his passing in 24th June 2020 and treasure his 2018 book that he gave to me in his office on 8th November 2018, with his warm dedication, ‘To the incomparable Evelin, who, with one cast of her net encompasses the world. With esteem and affection, Bob’.

⁹¹ Carneiro, 2018, p. 5. I thank Robert Carneiro for gifting this book to me in his office in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, on 8th November 2018. I thank him for his warm dedication: ‘To the incomparable Evelin, who, with one cast of her net encompasses the world. With esteem and affection, Bob’.

Carneiro’s theory replaced the formerly reigning ‘automatic’ theory that suggested that the invention of agriculture made the production of a food surplus possible, thus permitting ‘certain individuals to be withdrawn from primary food production so they could devote themselves to non-subsistence activities’, so they could become ‘specialists in all manner of arts and crafts, as well as in other sorts of activities such as those that developed into the political and religious institutions characterising the early state’. See Carneiro, 2018, pp. 4–5. See also James C. Scott, 2017. The ‘automatic’ theory was offered by archaeologists such as Robert Braidwood and Gordon Childe.

⁹² Arendt, 1969, p. 85. See also notes 1238 and 1239 in chapter 5, and note 4137 in chapter 12 in Lindner, 2022a.

⁹³ See ‘Britain appoints minister for loneliness amid growing isolation’, by Lee Mannion, *Reuters*, 17th January 2018, www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-politics-health/britain-appoints-minister-for-loneliness-amid-growing-isolation-idUSKBN1F61I6. See also *PM commits to government-wide drive to tackle loneliness. Theresa May will host a reception and set out the government’s plans to tackle loneliness*, press release, Prime Minister’s Office, 10 Downing Street, Office for Civil Society, and The Rt Hon Theresa May MP, 17th January 2018, www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-commits-to-government-wide-drive-to-tackle-loneliness.

For Japan, see ‘Japan: “Minister of loneliness” tackles mental health crisis’, by Julian Ryall, *Deutsche Welle*, 23rd April 2021, www.dw.com/en/japan-minister-of-loneliness-tackles-mental-health-crisis/a-57311880: ‘Increasing social and economic isolation is causing Japan’s suicide rate to climb, with working women and single mothers most at risk. The newly appointed “minister of loneliness” plans to alleviate this phenomenon’.

Extended loneliness diminishes immunity, a risk factor that is particularly relevant in times of a virus pandemic. See an easy-to-read article, ‘Activating the Vagus nerve might lower your Covid-19 risk: While physical distancing and masks are crucial, social interaction could calm the immune system and turn down inflammation’, by Markham Heid, *Medium*, 25th November 2020, <https://elemental.medium.com/activating-the-vagus-nerve-might-lower-your-covid-19-risk-e08ed0ce7a04>. See the book *Loneliness: Human nature and the need for social connection* by Cacioppo and Patrick, 2008, and Cacioppo, et al., 2015, Cohen, et al., 2012, Hanscom, et al., 2020. See, furthermore, the work on loneliness by economist Noreena Hertz, 2020.

⁹⁴ See ‘Men in dark times: How Hannah Arendt’s fans misread the post-truth presidency’, by Rebecca

Panovka, *Harper's Magazine*, August 2021, <https://harpers.org/archive/2021/08/men-in-dark-times-hannah-arendt-post-truth/>. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this article. Hannah Arendt's thesis of the *banality of evil* published after she covered the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Israel, was interpreted by some as a defense of Eichmann. See Arendt, 1963. She defended her thesis in 'Truth and politics', *New Yorker*, 25th February 1967, p. 49, www.newyorker.com/magazine/1967/02/25/truth-and-politics, see also <https://idanlandau.files.wordpress.com/2014/12/arendt-truth-and-politics.pdf>.

⁹⁵ Eric and Mark, 2020.

⁹⁶ Professor of Sustainability Studies Maurie Cohen in his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'After the pandemic: Which future?' 29th May 2020.

⁹⁷ Filipino environmentalist Walden Bello in his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'After the pandemic: Which future?' 12th May 2020. As one of the many expressions of how the extreme right captures global discontent, we may identify the rise of conspiracy narratives. There is, for instance, the 'great reset' conspiracy narrative that functions as a kind of container for many smaller conspiracy theories that gather under its umbrella. All appear to follow a similar pattern of what could be called meta-humiliation entrepreneurship, which means surfing on the humiliation entrepreneurship that others perpetrate on the ground — 'smaller profiteers' profit from the suffering caused by 'larger profiteers'. See, among others, 'How the "great reset" of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy', by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See also note 27 in the Preface.

⁹⁸ Linda Hartling in a personal communication, 30th June 2019. Hartling would prefer to use a terminology of 'unmooring' rather than 'unfreezing'.

⁹⁹ See McCauley, et al., 2013. It is a privilege to have Clark McCauley as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See also my 2017 book *Honor, humiliation, and terror*.

¹⁰⁰ 'When restless billionaires trip on their toys', by Andrew Ross Sorkin, *New York Times*, 11th January 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/01/12/business/dealbook/billionaires-who-trip-on-their-toys.html. *Amusing ourselves to death: Public discourse in the age of show business*, a book by Neil Postman, 1985. See, furthermore, 'Survival of the richest: The wealthy are plotting to leave us behind', by Douglas Rushkoff, *Medium*, 5th July 2018, <https://medium.com/s/futurehuman/survival-of-the-richest-9ef6cddd0cc1>.

¹⁰¹ 'Reflections for a new year', by Roberto Savio, *Other News*, 2nd January 2020, www.other-news.info/2020/01/reflections-for-a-new-year/. See also 'The Bolsonaro thing: Historical facts do not repeat themselves, but they can rhyme, like the verses of a long poem', by Jean Wyllys, *Open Democracy*, 7th October 2020, www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/la-cosa-bolsonaro-en/.

¹⁰² See the section titled 'Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action' in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁰³ See, for instance, *Impfgegner — Wer profitiert von der Angst?* by Lise Barnéoud, Marc Garmirian, Colette Camden, Flora Bagenal, Arte France, 2021, www.arte.tv/de/videos/103025-000-A/impfgegner-wer-profitiert-von-der-angst/. See also the 'great reset' conspiracy narrative that has appropriated the 'shock doctrine' of Naomi Klein, 2007. It is like a container for many smaller conspiracy theories to gather under its umbrella. See, among others, 'How the "great reset" of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy', by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in note 27 in the Preface of Lindner, 2022a, and see the section titled 'Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action' in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁰⁴ Eriksen, 2016, p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ Meg Holden, professor of Urban Studies and Geography, in her contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'Thinking globally, acting locally?' 24th July 2019.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* See also the work of Hannah Arendt, 1969, on the difference between violence and power. For her, power and violence are opposites: where one is absolute, the other does not exist.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ See more in note 46 in the Preface, notes 2368 and 2389 in chapter 7, or note 4310 in chapter 12 in Lindner, 2022a.

See as a promising example AlphaFold, an artificial intelligence programme that performs predictions of protein structure. See <https://alphafold.ebi.ac.uk/>.

¹⁰⁹ Gilad and Junginger, 2010. The German title of this book is *Strategische Kriegsführung für Manager*, English *Strategic Warfare for Managers*. See also www.clausewitz.org.

For sociologist Max Weber as well, war was a kind of natural phenomenon of political history, a form of unavoidable ‘eternal struggle of nations’ (ewiges Ringen der Nationen) comparable to economic competition, only that economic war is conducted with ‘peaceful ammunition’ (friedliche Kampfmittel). See Bruhns, 2014, p. 63. I thank Hinnerk Bruhns for sharing his work on Max Weber with me. The first two conferences of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies were inspired and hosted by Hinnerk Bruhns, and supported by Michel Wieviorka at the Maison des Sciences in 2003 and 2004, see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeetings.php. It is a privilege to have Hinnerk Bruhns and other renowned colleagues as esteemed members in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See also note 2412 in chapter 8 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹¹⁰ See *The corporation*, a documentary film by law professor Joel Bakan, directed by Mark Achbar and Jennifer Abbott, 2003, see www.bibliotecapleyades.net/sociopolitica/sociopol_globalelite08.htm. See also *The corporation: The pathological pursuit of profit and power* by Bakan, 2004. I thank ecological economist, environmental scientist and futurist Richard Sanders for making me aware of this work. See also: • *L'irrésistible ascension d'Amazon / Der unaufhaltsame Aufstieg von Amazon*, documentary film by David Carr-Brown, 2018, Arte France, www.arte.tv/fr/videos/058375-000-A/l-irresistible-ascension-d-amazon/. See also Malet, 2013.

• *Quand les multinationales attaquent les États / Die Macht der Konzerne*, documentary film by Laure Delesalle, 2016, Arte France, www.arte.tv/fr/videos/069785-000-A/quand-les-multinationales-attaquent-les-etats/.

¹¹¹ *A dignity economy*, Lindner, 2012a.

¹¹² ‘Why our civilization is collapsing, in one word: If it feels like everything is breaking down, that’s because it is. Here’s why’, by Umair Haque, *Eudaimonia*, 4th December 2021, <https://eand.co/why-our-civilization-is-collapsing-in-one-word-bdd652e1e7a>.

¹¹³ See Mosse, 1996, and read about emotional roles (for instance, a grieving widow, a jealous lover, an angry young man, a nervous, expectant father, and so forth) in Averill, et al., 1997, pp. 513–43.

¹¹⁴ See Foucault, 1975. See also Ueno, 2004.

¹¹⁵ See Lindner, 2017.

¹¹⁶ Gergen, 2009, p. 360. See a vivid illustration in ‘A Palestinian writer and an Israeli writer exchange emails — and seek common ground’, by Sam Bahour and Nadav Eyal, 3rd June 2021, *Washington Post Magazine*, www.washingtonpost.com/magazine/2021/06/03/palestinian-writer-an-israeli-writer-exchange-emails-seek-common-ground/.

¹¹⁷ King Jr, 1967. We thank Libby & Len Traubman for making us aware of this quote!

¹¹⁸ See, among others, Harari, 2018, or Cohen, 2015/2018.

¹¹⁹ Lorde, 1984.

¹²⁰ In chapters 4–9 in my book *A dignity economy*, Lindner, 2012a, I walk through some of the humiliating effects that flow systemically from present-day economic arrangements. See also the book by Sarah Jaffe, 2016, *Necessary trouble*. See more in note 3221 in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a. See also note 772 in chapter 3, note 1591 in chapter 6, notes 2231 and 2266 in chapter 7, note 3967 in chapter 11, and note 4404 in chapter 12 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹²¹ See my book *Gender, humiliation, and global security*, Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010. Martin Luther King Jr. said in his speech at the Southern Methodist University on 17th March 1966:

A doctrine of black supremacy is as dangerous as a doctrine of white supremacy. God is not interested in the freedom of black men or brown men or yellow men. God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race, the creation of a society where every man will respect the dignity and worth of personality.

In the spirit of King's words, I attempted to respond to friends who think that it is time for black supremacy. They attribute to melanin-deficient (white) people the inherent desire to destroy those with darker skin. I wrote in January 2021:

The dominator model of society was a human adaptation to changing circumstances some millennia ago, and by now, this adaptation has reached the end of its usefulness. It causes *omnicide* now — the destruction of everything, including supremacists of whatever kind — the entire Titanic is sinking. The dominator model was an adaptation that emerged all over the globe and it forms a systemic push for (male) supremacy. Whichever group happened to be victorious in competition of domination during the past millennia developed a sense of supremacy, at least until they were toppled and others became the new dominators. The 'white-black' dichotomised definition of racism could thus be described as a kind of historical accident. Had the Chinese emperor decided to continue the Chinese globalisation campaign in the 1500s, there would not have been a British empire, and 'yellow' people might have set out to dominate all others.

The solution is not for the oppressed to become the new dominators, particularly not on a sinking ship, as much as it is understandable for victims of oppression to turn their pain against their oppressors whenever an opportunity opens up. Infighting is a luxury as long as the ship is not sinking — infighting only hastens the demise. A second-order transition towards all-inclusive collaboration is needed that transcends competition for domination altogether and withdraws the basis for supremacy of all kinds, be they male or female or white or black.

'[African Descent People] must forsake the white man's [culture] ... and return, as far as possible, to genuine African values and identity', says scholar Michael Bradley, 1992, pp. 243–244, priding African peacefulness and White aggressiveness (Bradley faults early Neanderthal influence). I would suggest that humanity as a whole needs to forsake competition for domination and turn to humble interconnectedness. I see it as a fundamental attribution error to attribute inherent aggressiveness to humans only because aggressive behaviour is part of the human repertoire and the dominator model of society has institutionalised it, an error independent from whether one is proud of such behaviour from the perspective of the dominator (White supremacists, for instance), or bemoans it from the perspective of the victim (Blacks, women, and so on).

¹²² Ute Frevert, director of the Centre for the History of Emotions in Berlin, wrote a book titled *The politics of humiliation: A modern history*, see Frevert, 2017/2020. See an introduction into the book in 'The Internet has normalised collective shaming. What are the political costs?' by Joanna Bourke, *Prospect Magazine*, 7th May 2020, www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/politics-of-humiliation-ute-frevert-review-joanna-bourke: 'From fraternity houses to welfare applications, shame has long circulated in public life. A new book seeks to broaden our understanding of this complex and often destructive emotion'.

¹²³ Lenz and Ramberg, 2008. See also Pedersen, 2012.

¹²⁴ Crott and Berthung, 2012.

¹²⁵ *Erzähl es niemandem! Eine deutsch-norwegische Liebesgeschichte*, Film von Klaus Martens, phoenix, www.phoenix.de/sendungen/dokumentationen/erzaehl-es-niemandem-a-1295900.html, and www.spielofilm.de/trailer/16445/erzaehl-es-niemandem#30567.

¹²⁶ Lindner, 2001b.

¹²⁷ See, for instance, Hammond, 1998. In research, the ecological validity of a study means that the methods, materials and setting of the study must approximate the real-world that is being examined. Ecological validity is not the same as external validity. A study may possess external validity but not ecological validity, and vice versa, even though improved ecological validity of an experiment usually improves also the external validity.

¹²⁸ I highly appreciate the approach of sociologist Maggie O'Neill, 2007, who bases her work on the theoretical concept of ethno-mimesis, an inter-connection of sensitive ethnographic work and visual representations. It is both a methodological tool and a process for exploring lived experience, for instance, that of displacement, exile, belonging, and humiliation. It is a privilege to have her as esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See also the field of transpersonal psychology. In the mid-1990s, Rosemarie Anderson and William Braud developed *intuitive inquiry* and *integral inquiry*, which, together with *organic inquiry* seeks 'to invite everyone involved in research to engage the possibility of being transformed in some way by their

participation’, see Anderson and Braud, 2011, p. 1.

Note in this context also the work of Hussein Abdilahi Bulhan, 1985, 2015. Watch *The art of survival* by Dr. Hussein A. Bulhan, TEDxHargeisa, 26th April 2018, <https://youtu.be/sHkpEDD41Z0>, and see his book *Losing the art of survival and dignity*, Bulhan, 2013. I learned tremendously from meeting with Dr. Bulhan in his office near his house in Hargeisa in Somaliland as part of my doctoral research on 10th December 1998. His verdict was, I paraphrase, ‘Charity is humiliating, it is disempowering. The Western view of Africans is deeply humiliating. The image which the West has of the African person is that it is a superficial person who needs food and shelter and will play music and be happy upon receiving it. The West sees Africans as easy-going creatures, as a kind of lobotomised Westerners. After de-colonisation, it was said that the Africans are now depressed because their “father” is gone and they are now lost like children’. Bulhan pointed at a dynamic that I observe all around the world, and the avoidance of which is foundational to my entire work: He reported that there are indeed individuals from the West who really want to help, yet, there are also institutional structures that were established long time ago and that are humiliating. Upon entering such an organisation, after some time — often after something like two years — the well-willing Western helper will be ‘programmed’.

See also the book *Road to hell: The ravaging effects of foreign aid and international charity*, a book written by Michael Maren, 1997, and read by every aid worker I met when I conducted my doctoral research in Africa in 1998 and 1999.

¹²⁹ See Taylor, 1992.

¹³⁰ As to the topic of human nature, see Lindner, 2019, *Human nature, honor, and dignity: If we continue to believe in the evilness of human nature, we may be doomed*, a book proposal:

I suspect that the survival of humankind on planet Earth may depend on how the story of human nature is narrated... I consider the topic of human nature, with all its intriguing aspects, to be perhaps the most important topic for humankind.

See also my book *Honor, humiliation, and terror*, Lindner, 2017, chapter 3: ‘Also human nature and cultural diversity fell prey to the security dilemma’.

A vast body of literature is available. See the work of primatologist and ethologist Frans de Waal, 2009, who disagrees with the proverb *Homo homini lupus est* (man is wolf to man) by saying that it both fails to do justice to canids and denies the inherently social nature of our own species. See also the work of anthropologists William Ury and Robert Carneiro, as well as of world-systems scholar Christopher Chase-Dunn, all discussed in chapter 9 in Lindner, 2022a.

Furthermore, see note 440 in chapter 2, and the section titled ‘Some definitions of human nature threaten human survival’ in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹³¹ Meg Holden, professor of Urban Studies and Geography, in her contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of ‘Thinking globally, acting locally?’ 24th July 2019.

¹³² See, for instance, Michael Maren, 1997, and his book on a humanitarian worker’s ‘road to hell’. This book had been read by almost every humanitarian aid worker I met in Africa in 1998 and 1999 when I carried out my doctoral research, and all resonated with its sad message. I met many idealists who tried to solve problems for people on the ground, while those in power positions, including in humanitarian organisations, were often beholden to the power hierarchy they were part of, in fear of otherwise losing their position and privileges. See also Hancock, 1989, or Fontan, 2012. We thank Anton Verwey, formerly UNHCR, for offering deep insights into this predicament by sharing his difficult path with us in our 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik in 2016. See www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/27.php.

The World Health Organization, 2013, in its *Mental health action plan 2013–2020*, underlines the need to strengthen mental health services globally, and the uncertainty as to how this can be carried out in a sensitive, ethical, and academically sound manner. I have encountered many related dilemmas, not least during my seven years of working in Egypt as a psychologist. I learned what also Hunt, et al., 2014, point out, namely, that expatriate health care professionals can only promote dignity when they place emphasis ‘on the shared humanity of those who provide and those who receive assistance’, and when they acknowledge ‘limits and risks’ related to their contributions. Many times, I have observed how detrimental it is when organisations from the Global North operate on the unquestioned idea that their knowledge and expertise will enable any society to develop. See also Pupavac, 2004. See also note 557 in chapter 2 in Lindner, 2022a, on definitions of health.

See, furthermore, ‘Towards a new activism to effectively support a transition to a post-growth economy’, by Micha Narberhaus, *Kosmos — Journal for Global Change*, Fall, Winter 2014, www.kosmosjournal.org/article/towards-a-new-activism-to-effectively-support-a-transition-to-a-post-growth-economy/. Narberhaus describes ‘the frustrations that civil society change agents are experiencing’ when ‘long-held beliefs about who they are and how they as activists can bring about change in the world’ collapses. I thank Anamaria Aristizabal for making me aware of this article, in her contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of ‘Feminism and revolution: Looking back, looking ahead’, 4th May 2018, in response to the essay of the same title by Julie Matthaei, 2018.

¹³³ Azibo, 2014, p. 48.

¹³⁴ Chege, 1996, pp. 39–40.

¹³⁵ Smedslund, 2021, section 6. See more of Smedslund’s work in note 540 in chapter 2, and in notes 590–594 in chapter 3 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹³⁶ Raskin, 2014, p. 7.

¹³⁷ See Yoshikawa, 1980, 1987.

¹³⁸ Buber, 1923/1937. See also Louise Sundararajan in a personal communication, 12th October 2020, where she points at cultural differences that are embedded in language and are independent of what the individual thinks and feels consciously. She refers to Hall, et al., 1987, p. 287, saying that the term *comparison* (*p’i*) in the *Confucian Analects* ‘is always a “comparison” of likenesses, not differences’. The Chinese notion of harmony capitalises on similarity/affinity and thus is different from the Western notion of dialogue where dialogue presupposes difference and requires the other to retain his or her difference. See also notes 411 and 412 in chapter 2 in Lindner, 2022a, noting that also Linda Hartling and I regard ‘the relation’ itself as having causal effects.

¹³⁹ See also the notion of *catuṣkoṭi* employed particularly by Buddhist thinker Nagarjuna around 150–250 CE, meaning that the dwelling place of those who know is between ‘is’ and ‘is not’. *Catuṣkoṭi* is a ‘four-cornered’ system of argumentation that involves the systematic examination of each of the 4 possibilities of a proposition, P: (1) P; that is being, (2) not P; that is not being, (3) P and not P; that is being and that is not being, and (4) not (P or not P); that is neither being nor that is not being. See also Priest, 2018. See also Ricard and Thuan, 2000/2004, p. 77, quoting Nagarjuna, *The fundamental treatise on the middle way*:

‘There is’, means clinging to eternal substance,
‘There is not’ connotes the view of nihilism.
Thus in neither ‘is’ nor ‘is not’
Is the dwelling place of those who know.

¹⁴⁰ See Martin, et al., 2001.

¹⁴¹ See Martin, et al., 2001.

¹⁴² See, for instance, Battle, 1997. Watch also scholar Joy Ndwandwe explain *ubuntu* on 26th April 2013 in our 2013 Annual Dignity Conference in Stellenbosch, South Africa, titled ‘Search for dignity’, 24th–27th April 2013, <http://youtu.be/usyyqVdnDgI>. Nelson Mandela explained *ubuntu* as follows, see https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/17/Experience_ubuntu.ogv:

A traveller through a country would stop at a village and he didn’t have to ask for food or for water. Once he stops, the people give him food and attend him. That is one aspect of Ubuntu, but it will have various aspects. Ubuntu does not mean that people should not address themselves. The question therefore is: Are you going to do so in order to enable the community around you to be able to improve?

In 2021, unfortunately, ‘this spirit of ubuntu, was totally non-existent, when Black mobs, in major cities and towns in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, went on rampage’, writes professor Hoosen Vawda in ‘South Africa: The long walk to freedom and a short walk to nowhere’, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 26th July 2021, www.transcend.org/tms/2021/07/south-africa-the-long-walk-to-freedom-and-a-short-walk-to-nowhere/.

¹⁴³ Linda Hartling in a personal communication, 27th July 2019.

¹⁴⁴ For ‘harvesting’ from all cultures, see, among others, Lindner, 2007. See more in note 166 in the introduction to Part I in Lindner, 2022a. I thank Adair Linn Nagata for inviting me to write this article and

for welcoming me into her classes at Rikkyo University in Tokyo. It is a privilege to have Adair Linn Nagata as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

See also Wright, 1942, and Goonatilake, 1998, on ‘mining civilisational knowledge’. Much more has been written since 2007 on this topic, here are just some recent examples, Dupré, 2015, Schlichtmann, 2017, Cabrera, 2017, May and Daly, 2020, or Townsend, 2020.

¹⁴⁵ *Sakoku*, or ‘closed country’, was the isolationist foreign policy of the Japanese Tokugawa shogunate. For a period of 214 years, from 1633 to 1853, relations and trade between Japan and other countries were severely limited, nearly all foreign nationals were barred from entering Japan and common Japanese people were kept from leaving the country. See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sakoku>.

¹⁴⁶ Note the disagreement on out-marriage (African Descent People dating non-ADP) between Dr. Jeanette Davidson, professor at the University of Oklahoma in African and African American Studies, and Daudi Azibo, theorist in African-centred psychology, where Davidson sees out-marriage as something that is acceptable, while Azibo regards it as an expression of mental illness. See also note 736 in chapter 3 in Lindner, 2022a. See Azibo, 2014, p. 122:

Specifically, client’s outmarriage and amalgamation behaving cannot receive one iota of support as such from the practitioner who at the same time is obligated to render all other professional support the client may need. This contrasts 180° with Davidson’s position (Davidson, 1992, p. 150): ‘Clinicians need to expose negative biases in theories about interracial relationships and direct the attention of couples and their families toward relationship strengths’. Her position appears misguided and, moreover, it is abhorrent to the absolute psychological model underpinning the Azibo Nosology II which permits no middle ground on, is non-vacillatory toward, and completely adamant about outmarriage and amalgamation by ADP subject to Eurasian supremacy domination as mental illness.

On page 121 of his *Nosology II*, Azibo quotes Mwalimu Bomani Baruti and his insight that ‘successfully oppressed people desperately seek the love of their oppressors’, Crawford, 2000, p. 119, and Paulo Freire’s observation ‘that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and is domesticating’. It is therefore that ‘amalgamation/outmarriage is improperly motivated, one reason it qualifies as psychologically inappropriate abnormal behaviour in otherwise normal persons’, concludes Azibo, 2014, p. 121. On page 116, Azibo quotes Cheikh Anta Diop as saying that ‘mankind originated in Africa, it was necessarily negroid before becoming white through mutation ... at the end of the last glaciation in Europe’, Diop, 1982, p. 28. Azibo encourages ADP mental health workers to take Diop’s insight into account and query ADP patients who contemplate out-marriage with a white person: ‘Why would you (or Who would) want to become or follow a mutation especially since you/ADP embody the original human being?’

¹⁴⁷ Ethno-pluralism is a concept that is closely associated with movements such as the Nouvelle Droite, the Identitarian Movement, and French academic and philosopher Alain de Benoist. Ethno-pluralism positions itself against multiculturalism, globalisation, and one world doctrines in which every region becomes culturally identical.

See also the book *Exodus* by Paul Collier, 2013, mentioned above.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Gott hat Kaczyński den Hintern zugekehrt’, ein Gespräch mit dem großen Oppositionellen Adam Michnik, ein Interview von Jan Puhl, Warschau, *Der Spiegel*, 29th November 2021, www.spiegel.de/ausland/adam-michnik-ueber-polen-gott-hat-kaczynski-den-hintern-zugekehrt-a-e42ddb3-707d-4b14-8960-d0c227a46a61, p. 83: ‘Es geht in diesen Parteien darum, die vermeintliche Vorherrschaft der Schwulen, Kosmopoliten und Liberalen in Europa zu brechen’.

¹⁴⁹ Expert in international relations Steven Roach, 2019. It is a privilege to have Steven C. Roach as an esteemed member in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

¹⁵⁰ Roach, 2019, p. 102.

¹⁵¹ Roach, 2019, p. 113.

¹⁵² Roach, 2019, p. 78.

¹⁵³ Roach, 2019, p. 114.

¹⁵⁴ Roach, 2019, p. 113.

¹⁵⁵ Roach, 2019, p. 124.

¹⁵⁶ Roach, 2019, p. 74.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Moral and ethical realism and unbounded organization’, by Howard Richards, *Research Outreach*, 2019, <https://researchoutreach.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Howard-Richards.pdf>.

¹⁵⁸ See, among others, Hartling, et al., 2020, *Raising our resilience in times of risk*. See also Reckwitz, 2019/2021. The human population on Earth can only achieve resilience through preventive thinking and planning, and this requires a world-system with constitutive rules that make dignifying foresight possible. This is the position of my book on dignity in solidarity.

An important caveat: This proposition is not to be confused with the ‘great reset’ conspiracy narrative that is currently being disseminated by conspiracy entrepreneurs. This narrative has appropriated the ‘shock doctrine’ of Naomi Klein, 2007. The ‘great reset’ conspiracy narrative functions as a kind of container for many smaller conspiracy theories that gather under its umbrella. All follow a similar pattern of what could be called meta-humiliation entrepreneurship, which means surfing on the humiliation entrepreneurship that others perpetrate on the ground — ‘smaller profiteers’ profit from the suffering caused by ‘larger profiteers’. See, among others, ‘How the “great reset” of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy’, by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in the section titled ‘Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action’ in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a. See also Dickey, 2020, for a deeper analysis of ‘our obsession with the unexplained’. See a list of conspiracy theories at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_conspiracy_theories.

‘There’s an entire movement of anti-science, contrarianism, and hucksters who thrive on attention/clicks’, says Ryan McNamara in ‘Why your brain loves conspiracy theories: Who believes and why, and whether conspiracism is really getting way worse’, by Robert Roy Britt, *Medium*, 8th September 2020, <https://elemental.medium.com/why-your-brain-loves-conspiracy-theories-69ca2abd893a>. See also ‘The 13 most outrageous Covid-19 myths and misconceptions’, by Robert Roy Britt, *Medium*, 1st September 2020, <https://elemental.medium.com/the-13-most-outrageous-covid-19-myths-and-misconceptions-14f4b532abff>. See, furthermore, ‘Coronavirus conspiracy theories are dangerous — here’s how to stop them spreading’, by Stephan Lewandowsky and John Cook, *The Conversation*, 20th April 2020, <https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-conspiracy-theories-are-dangerous-heres-how-to-stop-them-spreading-136564>. Finally, read about a victim of scapegoating in Germany in ‘Germany’s Covid-19 expert: “For many, I’m the evil guy crippling the economy”’, by Laura Spinney, *The Guardian*, 26th April 2020, www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/26/virologist-christian-drosten-germany-coronavirus-expert-interview.

¹⁵⁹ Lindner, 2022b.

¹⁶⁰ I thank former President of the Club of Rome Prince El Hassan bin Talal for making me aware of Charles Kindleberger, the intellectual architect of the Marshall Plan, and his argument ‘that the disastrous decade of the 1930s was as a result of American failure to provide global public goods after it had replaced Great Britain as the leading global power’. See *Alain Elkann Interviews: HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal*, 1st November 2020, www.alainelkanninterviews.com/hassan-bin-talal/.

I am always dismayed when my work is misunderstood as a justification of the Second World War, or of war and genocide in general. My aim is the stark opposite. By trying to understand the dynamics of humiliation, I wish to prevent war and genocide, I do *not* condone it. Humiliation is *not* a legitimate justification for violence. See more in note 608 in chapter 3, and see also my discussion of *cross backs* in chapters 8 and 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁶¹ William Ian Miller, 1993, *Humiliation: And other essays on honor, social discomfort, and violence*. Book description:

His scenarios are based on incidents from his own college town and from the Iceland of the sagas. He also makes incursions into the emotional worlds represented in the Middle English poem, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, and in some of the works of Shakespeare, Dostoyevsky, and others. Indeed, one theme that gradually becomes specific is how meaning travels from one culture to another. Ancient codes of honor, he insists, still function in contemporary American life.

¹⁶² Lindner, 2000b. See also Lindner, 1996b, Lindner, 1996a, Lindner, 2000d, Lindner, 2000c. See, furthermore, note 736 in chapter 3 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁶³ Lucius Anneus Seneca, circa 65 CE/1917–1925, Letter 91: On the lesson to be drawn from the burning of Lyons, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Moral_letters_to_Lucilius/Letter_91. See also MacKenzie, 2020, and ‘Complex systems theory explains why Covid crushed the world: The more complicated and efficient a system gets, the more likely it is to collapse altogether’, by Debora MacKenzie, *OneZero*, 22nd July 2020, <https://onezero.medium.com/complex-systems-theory-explains-why-covid-crushed-the-world-a2cf5c0f9176>.

¹⁶⁴ I highly recommend Ruben Nelson’s Don Michael Day Presentation *Civilization next: How human nature is about to change trajectory*, San Francisco, February 2019, <https://vimeo.com/320297382>. Ruben (Butch) Nelson is the executive director of Foresight Canada, and he calls for new ‘co-creative eco-personal cultures’. It is a privilege have Ruben Nelson’s support for our dignity work. See more in note 1805 in chapter 7, and note 2754 in chapter 9, notes 4149, 4201, 4282, and 4368 in chapter 12 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁶⁵ See ‘Climate change: 12 years to save the planet? Make that 18 months’, by Matt McGrath, environment correspondent, *BBC News*, 23rd July 2019, www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-48964736. Altogether, the amount of literature that validates that there is only have a very short time window available to act is vast. See, among many other coverages, Rockström and Gaffney, 2021. See more in chapter 7 in Lindner, 2022a.

We held our 33rd Annual Dignity Conference in the Amazon of Brasil, in Marabá and Belém in the State of Pará, a ‘Caravan’ conference titled ‘Cultivating good living Amazon: Nurturing solidarity with Mother Earth’, 28th August–7th September 2019. The forest had just been set on fire and school children had read McGrath’s article. They gave to us a ‘cry-for-help’ letter to bring it to everyone in the world who might be interested, downloadable from www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/33.php#letter. See the situation through my eyes at <https://youtu.be/fBY2TOIXILU>, and see our Dignity Letter in October at <https://conta.cc/2p9oKfG>.

¹⁶⁶ See classic publications by McNeill and McNeill, 2003, or Chaisson, 2001. See also Spier, 2010, Harari, 2014, 2015/2016. See, furthermore, the 2016 Stanford University’s 125th Commencement Address by historical documentary filmmaker Ken Burns, 12th June 2016, <http://news.stanford.edu/2016/06/12/prepared-text-2016-stanford-commencement-address-ken-burns/>. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this address.

I highly recommend listening also to the Earth Charter podcast with Gus Speth titled ‘A new consciousness and the eight-fold way towards sustainability’. See <https://earthcharter.org/podcasts/gus-speth/>. It was a privilege for me to be introduced to Gus Speth by Margrit Kennedy in 2010, and to meet him in person at the Thirtieth Annual E. F. Schumacher Lectures ‘Voices of a New Economics’, in New York City on 20th November 2010.

¹⁶⁷ Umair Haque is the son of renowned Pakistani economist Nadeem Haque. It is a privilege to know that Umair Haque was inspired by my work. He wrote on 27th December 2018, ‘...your work on humiliation is something i was fascinated to discover a few years ago, i more or less devoured it, and it became a big influence on the way i try to rethink economics. i think it’s both very insightful in these times and very powerful’.

See ‘Why organizations and leaders need to solve real problems again: Six principles for creating the future’, by Umair Haque, *Eudaimonia*, 13th April 2018, <https://eand.co/why-organizations-and-leaders-need-to-solve-real-problems-again-88607f47f275>:

What are the later tertiary and quaternary problems that will result from our primary problems? Climate change? Waves of refugees, conflicts, upheaval. Extremism? Torn alliances, shredded social contracts, instability, war. Stagnation? Something like a reversion to a feudal caste society, replete with nobles and peasants. A dark of regress looms — all because we are not solving the real problems, the primary problems, which, like Pandora’s Box, are giving birth to a swirling hurricane of later ones. So: principle one. Solve primary problems (before they become secondary, tertiary, quaternary ones)... Here’s a list of fake problems. Efficiency. Productivity. Speed. Performance. Profitability. Growth. Revenues...

¹⁶⁸ You can listen to this quote here, *MLK: A bootless man cannot lift himself by his bootstraps*, WLRN 91.3 FM, 17th January 2014, www.wlrn.org/news/2014-01-17/mlk-a-bootless-man-cannot-lift-himself-by-his-bootstraps. WLRN-FM is a class C1 FM station on 91.3 and is the main public radio station for South Florida and the Keys based in Miami, U.S.A. The Poor People’s Campaign, or Poor People’s March on Washington, was a 1968 effort to gain economic justice for poor people in the United States, organised by

Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the wake of King's assassination in April 1968. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this quote.

¹⁶⁹ *Space exploration — A powerful symbol of global cooperation*, NASA's Jim Zimmerman interviewed by Susan T. Coleman in the Peacebuilding Podcast, 13th December 2016, <http://us11.campaign-archive1.com/?u=e5c2110f5cc4fe346c79bf3d1&id=06298a46ca&e=e7c4dd8362>. I thank Judit Révész for making me aware of this interview.

See also *24 hours of reality: 'Earthrise'*, by Amanda Gorman, Climate Reality, 4th December 2018, <https://youtu.be/xwOvBv8RLmo>: 'It is a hope that implores us at an uncompromising core to keep rising up for an Earth more than worth fighting for'. See <http://climaterealityproject.org>.

¹⁷⁰ White, 2014.

¹⁷¹ Anderson, 2016.

¹⁷² A creative ecology of the living — a *biopoetics* — is developed by philosopher and biologist Andreas Weber, 2016, explaining why mind and life are coextensive. See the book description:

Meaning, feeling and expression — the experience of inwardness — matter most in human existence. The perspective of biopoetics shows that this experience is shared by all organisms. Being alive means to exist through relations that have existential concern, and to express these dimensions through the body and its gestures. All life takes place within one poetic space which is shared between all beings and which is accessible through subjective sensual experience. We take part in this through our empirical subjectivity, which arises from the experiences and needs of living beings, and which makes them open to access and sharing in a poetic objectivity. Biopoetics breaks free from the causal-mechanic paradigm which made biology unable to account for mind and meaning. Biology becomes a science of expression, connection and subjectivity which can understand all organisms including humans as feeling agents in a shared ecology of meaningful relations, embedded in a symbolical and material metabolism of the biosphere.

¹⁷³ Researchers let students play the prisoner's dilemma game and when they framed the situation by telling them that this is a community game, the students cooperated. Other students were told that this is a Wall Street game, and they cheated on each other. See, among others, Axelrod, 2006, Liberman, et al., 2004, Imhof, et al., 2007, Nowak and Highfield, 2011.

See also Bernstein, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1990, 2000. I thank Vidar Vambheim for reminding me of Bernstein's work. Bernstein introduced the concept of framing to describe how control of mental frames is used to regulate thinking and behaviour in educational contexts. Bernstein conceptualises framing as a mental process and a technique to exclude certain aspects of reality from entering the communication. See also Chong and Druckman, 2007.

The significance of the frame becomes visible in the Great Divide that separated chimpanzees from bonobos. The Neolithic Revolution resembles this divide insofar as it marked *Homo sapiens'* journey from a bonobo context of material abundance to a chimpanzee context of circumscription. The task now is to return to a bonobo context, in this case not one of material abundance but of non-material abundance in a global knowledge society. The community/partnership frame could also be called 'bonobo frame', while the Wall Street/dominator frame could be seen as a 'chimpanzee frame'. See note 2718 in chapter 9 in Lindner, 2022a:

Community frame = partnership model of society (Riane Eisler) = bonobo frame

Wall street frame = dominator model (Riane Eisler) & capitalism = chimpanzee frame

An important caveat: My thinking should not be confused with the 'great reset' conspiracy narrative that is currently being disseminated by conspiracy entrepreneurs. This narrative has appropriated the 'shock doctrine' of Naomi Klein, 2007. In fact, my thinking represents the opposite of this conspiracy narrative. See, among others, 'How the "great reset" of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy', by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in note 27 in the Preface, and see the section titled 'Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action' in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁷⁴ As to the topic of human nature, see Lindner, 2019, *Human nature, honor, and dignity: If we continue to believe in the evilness of human nature, we may be doomed*, a book proposal:

I suspect that the survival of humankind on planet Earth may depend on how the story of human nature is narrated... I consider the topic of human nature, with all its intriguing aspects, to be perhaps the most important topic for humankind.

See also my book *Honor, humiliation, and terror*, Lindner, 2017, chapter 3: 'Also human nature and cultural diversity fell prey to the security dilemma'. Furthermore, see note 440 in chapter 2, and the section titled 'Some definitions of human nature threaten human survival' in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

Note also the book titled *Terror, love and brainwashing: Attachment in cults and totalitarian systems*, by social psychologist Alexandra Stein, 2017.

¹⁷⁵ Raskin, 2021. See also the work of Iris Bohnet, 2016, whose research shows the limited success of training programmes. Diversity training programmes often fail, and also 'individual effort' is not necessarily successful because it 'invites backlash'. She recommends 'behavioural design' through 'de-biasing organisations'.

¹⁷⁶ See, for instance, the work of futurist Johan Schot, who speaks of the need for a *second deep transition*. See his talk of the role of narratives in socio-technological transformations given at the conference 'Narratives in Times of Radical Transformation', 19th–20th November 2020, organised by the Institute of Vocational Education and Work Studies at the Technische Universität Berlin, the IASS in Potsdam, Berlin, the Kokoro Research Center at Kyoto University, Japan, and the International Association for Analytical Psychology (IAAP). See <http://narrativeoftransformation-2020.org>. See also Lindner, 2012a.

¹⁷⁷ The Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss developed the notion of the 'depth of intention', the 'depth of questioning' or 'deepness of answers'. Greater depth means continuing to ask questions at the point at which others stop asking. Næss wrote 'our depth of intention improves only slowly over years of study. There is an abyss of depth in everything fundamental', see Næss, 1978, p. 143. Warwick Fox, 2000, in his paper 'Intellectual origins of the "depth" theme in the philosophy of Arne Næss', explains on page 5:

The extent to which a person discriminates along a chain of precizations (and, therefore, in a particular direction of interpretation) is a measure of their depth of intention, that is, the depth to which that person can claim to have understood the intended meaning of the expression.

See also Fox, 1992. Arne Næss was a pillar of the Foundational Conference of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme de l'Homme in Paris, 12th–13th September 2003. See www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/02.php. Arne Næss was a highly esteemed member in the global advisory board of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

¹⁷⁸ 'Adam Smith's invisible hand is at our throats', by John Scales Avery, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 14th December 2020, www.transcend.org/tms/2020/12/adam-smiths-invisible-hand-is-at-our-throats-2/. It is a privilege to have John Scales Avery as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See also note 3308 in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a. See more on Adam Smith's deliberations in the section titled 'Economic systems are human-made and no laws of nature' in chapter 10, and in the section 'Well-intended solutions have often unintended consequences' in the same chapter.

¹⁷⁹ Ostry, et al., 2016. See also 'International Monetary Fund (IMF) calls for wealth tax to help cover cost of Covid pandemic: Fiscal monitor says rich should pay more tax on temporary basis to help support poor and vulnerable', by Larry Elliott, *The Guardian*, 7th April 2021, www.theguardian.com/business/2021/apr/07/imf-wealth-tax-cost-covid-pandemic-rich-poor.

¹⁸⁰ Smith, 1776, volume I, book III, chapter III, p. 415. See chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a, for more on Adam Smith's deliberations, look for the section titled 'Economic systems are human-made and no laws of nature', and for the section 'Well-intended solutions have often unintended consequences'.

¹⁸¹ See 'Dollars to doughnuts: The shape of a new economy', Kate Raworth, author of *Doughnut economics: Seven ways to think like a 21st century economist*, talks with Tellus Senior Fellow Allen White, *Great Transition Initiative*, December 2019, https://greattransition.org/publication/dollars-doughnuts?mc_cid=21353b6809&mc_eid=b420ad9e5a:

To understand the portrayal of humanity in economics, we must go back to the nuanced arguments of Adam Smith. Smith argued that self-interest helps to make markets work, but he also recognised that our concern for others is essential to making society work. Indeed, he celebrated and championed our sense of justice, our generosity, and our public spirit.

Over time, Smith's nuanced portrait was stripped back and simplified, resulting in the caricature we know as 'economic man', which assumes that individuals behave rationally, with complete knowledge, while seeking to maximise personal utility, or satisfaction. The more that students learn about this 'economic man', the more they say they value traits such as self-interest and competition over altruism and collaboration. Who we tell ourselves we are shapes who we become: the model remakes the person, in this case, not for the better.

See as an illustration a portrait of Czech billionaire and investor Daniel Křetínský in 'Die merkwürdigen Geschäfte des Milliardärs Křetínský', by Simon Book, Frank Dohmen, and Kristina Gnirke, *Der Spiegel* 26/21, 26th June 2021, www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/unternehmen/daniel-kretinsky-und-seine-merkwuerdigen-geschaefte-der-schrotthaendler-und-sein-imperium-a-8a3716e8-0002-0001-0000-000178073172?context=issue, pp. 52–56.

Market interaction erodes moral values, this is the result of experiments conducted by economists Falk and Szech, 2013. See also the work of Frans de Waal on *inequity aversion*. See Brosnan and de Waal, 2014. See more in the beginning of chapter 9 in Lindner, 2022a, and in chapter 3 of my 2017 book *Honor, humiliation, and terror*.

As to the erosion of the sociosphere, see, among others, *Americans' stress, worry and anger intensified in 2018*, by Julie Ray, Gallup, 25th April 2019, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/249098/americans-stress-worry-anger-intensified-2018.aspx>: 'Americans among the most stressed in the world'. See also Legendre, 2007, Mullainathan, 2013, and Blanchflower and Oswald, 2017. See for more recent publications, among others, Kurt Anderson, 2020, *The unmaking of America*, Jessica Bruder, 2017, *Surviving America in the twenty-first century*, Anne Helen Petersen, 2020, *How millennials became the burnout generation*, Heather Cox Richardson, 2020, *How the South won the civil war: Oligarchy, democracy, and the continuing fight for the soul of America*, or Isabel Wilkerson, 2020, *The origins of our discontents*.

¹⁸² Eriksen, 2016, p. vii.

¹⁸³ John Robinson, professor of global affairs and public policy, in his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'After the pandemic: Which future?' 11th May 2020.

¹⁸⁴ 'Nazi hippies: When the New Age and far-right overlap: Both the New Age and the far-right are drawn to conspiracy theories', by Jules Evans, *Medium*, 6th September 2020, <https://gen.medium.com/nazi-hippies-when-the-new-age-and-far-right-overlap-d1a6ddcd7be4>. This article chronicles how close Nazi Germany once was to notions of wholeness/holism/whole earth/eco-fascism: 'Greens today who think all we need to save the world is a "paradigm shift" to an ecocentric world-view should realise you can hold such a view and also be a fascist'. See more in note 27 in the Preface, and see the section titled 'Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action' in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁸⁵ See, among others, 'The conspirituality report: If they got out of QAnon or that anti-vax group... Give them space online, listen generously, be kind', by Matthew Remski, *Medium*, 12th April 2021, <https://matthewremski.medium.com/if-they-got-out-of-qanon-or-that-anti-vax-group-e8ad124b14f1>:

Over the next months and years, there will be many people exiting cultic bonds and beginning the often torturous process of healing their brains, hearts, and relationships. Some will have the resources to become activists who can reach out to their former communities. They'll be exiting QAnon, alt-right groups, anti-vax mom groups, anti-lockdown rally groups, anti-mask groups, and the online subscription communities of narcissistic messianic wellness influencers who offer love in one hand and terror in the other. Many will have suffered from a triple isolation: from the outside world, from fellow members who offered toxic alliances disguised as friendship — and to whom they could not confess their doubts — and from their own sense of internal guidance.

See more on moral foundations theory in notes 794–796 in chapter 3 in Lindner, 2022a. Social psychologists Jonathan Haidt and his colleagues conclude from their studies that conservatives are better than liberals in keeping a group together and accomplish shared goals, while liberals are more effective in achieving justice within the group. While liberals are universalists and try to balance compassion and fairness, conservatives are more parochial. Conservatives can easily describe liberal views — and they are taken aback by what they see as liberals' lack of respect for 'the natural' order and hierarchy — while liberals cannot as easily put themselves into the shoes of conservatives.

See also note 2206 in chapter 7 in Lindner, 2022a, on the difference between the Anglo-Saxon realm and continental Europe. See 'Cowboy-Kitsch: Zwischen linken Parolen und schräger Freiheitsliebe: Die Neue Rechte ist vollkommen verwirrt', ein Essay von Richard David Precht, *Der Spiegel* 25/21, 18th June 2021,

www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/richard-david-precht-die-neue-rechte-ist-vollkommen-verwirrt-a-dc292fb5-0002-0001-0000-000177967156?context=issue. *Minarchism* — min(imal) + -archy (government) + -ism (system) = ‘system of minimal government’ — became a popularised concept in the 1960s through the American philosopher Robert Nozick, 1974, and had nineteenth-century Britain as main proponent.

Interestingly, however it seems to get imported into Germany now.

My tentative analysis is that those who in former times might have fled ‘big government’ in Central Europe by migrating to America, now try to establish themselves as ‘lone cowboys’ within Germany, following the warnings of right wing fascists against left wing fascists. A combination of *loss aversion* (see note 3179 in chapter 10) and the *Thucydides trap* (see note 3747 in chapter 11) seems to be at work. A ‘bully’ in power may transform into a ‘cry-bully’ when dethroned. I observe all sides locking themselves into ever stauncher moralism, all sides call for freedom, freedom from the oppression they see coming from the other side. One side wants freedom *from* diversity, while the other side desires freedom *for* diversity. All sides fight for a ‘natural order’, the right side for a traditional parochial order, the left side for a rainbow order.

¹⁸⁶ Research on multi-level selection has shown that altruists often lose out within groups, but groups with more altruists win. See, for instance, Wilson, 2002. See more about free-riding and social loafing in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

As for the invalidation of the suffering that inequality causes, read a passionate personal account in ‘Toxic positivity is turning us into terrible people: Inequality relies on emotional invalidation’, by Jessica Wildfire, *Medium*, 25th July 2021, <https://aninjusticemag.com/toxic-positivity-is-turning-us-into-horrible-people-4bee83ca635e>:

We live in a culture steeped in toxic positivity. Everyone has to perform upbeat, socially acceptable attitudes 24/7. We treat negative emotions as contagious. We don’t let anyone express sadness or vulnerability, because we’re afraid we’ll catch it. We force everyone to find a silver lining. We expect them to tack a happy ending onto every story, even if they have to lie. If they can’t, we invalidate them. We dictate how they should feel, and how they should express themselves.

See more in note 343 in chapter 2 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁸⁷ Linda Hartling in a personal communication, 10th June 2021. See for Linda Hartling’s work, among others, Hartling, 1996, Hartling and Luchetta, 1999, Hartling, 2008, Hartling, et al., 2008, and Hartling, 2020. See a selection of publications that we wrote together: Lindner, et al., 2011, Hartling, et al., 2013a, Hartling, et al., 2013b, Hartling, et al., 2013c, Lindner and Hartling, 2014, Lindner, et al., 2012, Hartling and Lindner, 2016, Hartling and Lindner, 2018c, Hartling and Lindner, 2018b, a, Hartling, et al., 2020. See also Lindner, 2011, and Chowdhury, et al., 2020.

¹⁸⁸ See, for instance, Lindner and Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network members, 2006–2021, or Lindner, 2006a. We are highly aware of the risks posed by *horizontal hostilities*, or the irony that the more shared issues overlap — in our case the wish to transcend humiliation and nurture dignity — the greater the risk for a sense of betrayal to arise, the greater the urge to defend one’s own position with angry disappointment. Since we consider our dignity mission to be aligned with being ‘moderates’, we wish to primarily ‘work *for* a new future’ and are aware of the antipathy from ‘extremists’ who wish to focus on ‘fighting *against* old injustices that persist’. See White, et al., 2006, and also ‘What are “horizontal hostilities?” (and why are they especially relevant to the GOP today?)’, by Laura Martocci, *Psychology Today*, 29th April 2017, www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/you-can-t-sit-us/201704/what-are-horizontal-hostilities:

Consider the antipathy that extremists have toward moderates. Confrontational and boasting a ‘take no prisoners’ mind-set, they have nothing but derision for more tolerant, middle-of-the-road positions. Those who would compromise signal that they have sold out or betrayed the party / cause. And the betrayal by moderates is more heinous than straightforward opposition to their cause. That is, in an attempt to bring moderates ‘in line,’ extremists can turn to dominant systems of discrimination and oppression to disenfranchise ‘add-on’ issues that are the stuff of compromise). Given these dynamics, it is hardly a stretch to see how horizontal hostilities are a stepping-stone on the path to institutionalised bullying. If the cause does not fizzle out due to splintering, one or another position becomes dominant. At the point of triumph, the majority will quickly create laws and policies that cement their position, to ensure it is not undermined from below.

On the notion of ‘job’, see also note 2294 in chapter 7, and note 3947 in chapter 11 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁸⁹ Kemal Taruc, senior scholar based in Indonesia, in his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of ‘Thinking globally, acting locally?’ 26th July 2019:

The wisdom of organisational change states that institutions (companies, cities, municipalities, organisations — all as abstract entities) do not change. But people do. Then, perhaps, we should go back to the pedagogy of Paulo Freire (www.beautifultrouble.org/theory/pedagogy-of-the-oppressed) and the goal of building the ‘ideal speech’ condition among all human actors, as described by Jürgen Habermas (namely, when communication between individuals is governed by basic, implied rules). I think this could only be done if we organised ourselves as effectively as (as good as to be able to counteract) the way global corporations and the military operations are doing in pursuing their imperial thrusts. This could be done without being trapped into the unnecessary romantic ideals of ‘localism’ or ‘horizontalism’ as a priori concepts. The Global Transformative Collaboration among multi-local human actors is perhaps what we are lacking today.

It is a privilege to have Kemal Taruc as an esteemed member in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

¹⁹⁰ Paul Raskin’s *Great Transition* theory differentiates between ‘proximate drivers’ and ‘ultimate drivers’, where proximate drivers are the direct institutional and technological levers of social-ecological change, while the ultimate drivers are values, knowledge, power, culture, all of which shapes society and the human experience in greater depth. See Raskin, et al., 2002, figure 9, p. 50, and accompanying text. See also Mackey, 2020.

An important caveat: Paul Raskin’s thinking should not be confused with the ‘great reset’ conspiracy narrative that is currently being disseminated by conspiracy entrepreneurs. This narrative has appropriated the ‘shock doctrine’ of Naomi Klein, 2007. In fact, Raskin’s thinking represents the opposite of this conspiracy narrative. See, among others, ‘How the “great reset” of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy’, by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in note 27 in the Preface, and see the section titled ‘Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action’ in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a.

¹⁹¹ Our concept of ‘labour of love’ is an invitation into meaningful living, it is not an exploitative trap for the profit of others, as author Sarah Jaffe, 2021, so convincingly warned against in her book *Work won’t love you back: How devotion to our jobs keeps us exploited, exhausted, and alone*. We continuously are in dialogue in our fellowship about the difficulties of balancing between *horizon 1* (the dominant system at present, ‘business as usual’) and *horizon 3* (a viable future) as formulated in the ‘three horizons’ framework by International Futures Forum (IFF) members and other futures practitioners. See www.internationalfuturesforum.com/three-horizons. See also H3Uni, a University for the Third Horizon, www.h3uni.org.

For the dilemma of informal versus formal organisation, see also TESS (Towards European Societal Sustainability), a European research project to explore the role of community-based initiatives in transitioning to a sustainable and low-carbon Europe. See the final publishable summary report, 2017, www.tess-transition.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/TESS-Final_report_2017.pdf.

¹⁹² Ninety years ago, economist John Maynard expected that by 2030 people would only work three hours a day and turn their attention to art, culture, and metaphysics. See Keynes, 1932. His thoughts are revisited by contemporary economists now, see, for instance, the book *The infinite desire for growth* by economist Daniel Cohen, 2015/2018. In chapters 4–9 in my book *A dignity economy*, Lindner, 2012a, I walk through some of the humiliating effects that flow systemically from present-day economic arrangements and come to the same conclusions. See more in note 3221 in chapter 10 in Lindner, 2022a. See also note 772 in chapter 3, note 1591 in chapter 6, notes 2231 and 2266 in chapter 7, and note 3967 in chapter 11 in Lindner, 2022a. It is a privilege to have Geneviève Vaughan, the ‘mother’ of gift economy, as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. It was a great honour to have her with us in our 24th Workshop on Humiliation and Violent Conflict, Columbia University, 4th–5th December 2014. See also Armstrong and Vaughan, 2007, Vaughan, 2007, 2008. In our work with the dignity community, Linda Hartling and I attempt to realise an approach to money that is not always easy to explain to the mainstream mindset. On 6th August 2020, Linda Hartling listed some of the pieces of ‘friendly admonishment’ we have received from people:

Linda and Evelin, your efforts are not practical. Perhaps you have an ulterior motive? In any case, you will fail in your endeavours in the long run. You should be able to raise money through your community or by reaching out to benevolent funders. You are naive about money. You are fools for not capitalising monetarily on the topic you study. If your work is worthy, it should be easy to get funding. People in your community have money, why not ask them? Why not charge registration fees or membership fees? Why not have a ‘Go Fund Me’ account? Why not get a corporate sponsor who wants to ‘do good’ in the world?

Linda Hartling concluded: ‘Rather than recognising that it has been a minor miracle to sustain the work for seventeen years without using humiliating money-making tactics, it seems we must continue to endure the doubters and the sceptics who treat us with suspicion for failing to buy into the monetary charity game. I’m thankful that we are not owned by any “benevolent” donor. I’m thankful we have had the capacity to move the work forward while protecting the integrity of the message’.

¹⁹³ Howard Richards in a personal communication, 31st December 2017.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. In my 2017 book on terror, I wrote on page 146: ‘Terrorism, corruption, trafficking of drugs and people, bank crashes, tax evasion, industrial torture of animals, social and ecological dumping on a global scale, all are seen as unavoidable externalities to this monocapitalism, while they may be the truest children of its logic, sometimes even its pillars’.

¹⁹⁵ With our work, we attempt to create memory and coherence. We work to realise the best of what *hyper-history* has to offer in a situation where the post-Westphalian equation is breaking up, namely, the equation of ‘political multiagent systems = nation State = citizenship = land = story’, where ‘an ontology of interactions replaces an ontology of entities, or, with a word play, ings (as in interact-ing, process-ing, network-ing, do-ing, be-ing, etc.) replace things’. See Floridi, 2017. We thank Prince El Hassan bin Talal for making us aware of Floridi’s work.

¹⁹⁶ Miller and Stiver, 1997, p. 24.

¹⁹⁷ Stafford and Stafford, 2003, p. 41.

¹⁹⁸ Lindner, 2020b.

¹⁹⁹ *Is life fundamental?* by Sara Imari Walker, BEYOND: Center for Fundamental Concepts in Science, Arizona State University Blue Marble Space Institute of Science, The Foundational Questions Institute, 2012, http://fqxi.org/data/essay-contest-files/Walker_SIWalker_FQXI_essay.pdf. See more in note 2856 in chapter 9 in Lindner, 2022a. Sara Imari Walker received her Ph.D. in Physics and Astronomy and is member of the leadership council for the space science research and education non-profit Blue Marble Space and a researcher at the Blue Marble Space Institute of Science. See also Walker, et al., 2017.

²⁰⁰ See also our webpage ‘declarations and campaigns for equal dignity’, www.humiliationstudies.org/intervention/declarations.php.

²⁰¹ Carson, 1962.

²⁰² Greta Thunberg had a forerunner, her name was Severn Suzuki. As a twelve-year-old, she spoke at the Earth Summit Rio92 to the leaders of the world. Her speech was hailed by everyone, it was felt to be deeply touching. Twenty years later, she came back to the Rio+20 Summit and her message was the following: ‘nothing has happened!’ See *Severn Suzuki’s speech at Rio92*, 1992, published on 28th February 2007 by Evandro Barboza, <https://youtu.be/5g8cmWZOX8Q>. See what she said twenty years later, at Rio+20, *Severn Cullis-Suzuki revisits historic ‘92 speech; Fights for next generation*, published on 21st June 2012 by Democracy Now! <https://youtu.be/z5qcFpPlsYI>.

See also *Severn Suzuki’s speech at Rio+20*, 2012, published on 20th June 2012 by ONU Brasil, <https://youtu.be/1FmSxmpitBA>: ‘After 20 years, the 12 year-old-girl, who made a speech in front of the Chief of States at RIO92, came back to Rio de Janeiro to tell what she wants for the future of the planet’.

²⁰³ The Nobel Peace Prize for 2007 was awarded to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and former US Vice President Al Gore. See www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2007/gore/facts/.

²⁰⁴ The Paris Agreement, <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement>.

²⁰⁵ Meadows, et al., 2004, p. xvi. The first *Limits to growth* report, commissioned by the Club of Rome, was published in 1972. The report was revisited again by Ugo Bardi, 2011.

²⁰⁶ For the Sustainable Development Goals, see <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs>. If the exponential growth curve of Goal 8 were to be taken seriously, it would undermine the success of the other goals. See an interdisciplinary introduction to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that looks at all SDGs and their progress and challenges and is offered by Johan Schot, a historian working in the field of science and technology policy. See www.edx.org/course/the-un-sustainable-development-goals-an-interdisci?gclid=EAIaIQobChMIILQ_qOR7QIViNpTCh1Vzg-4EAAYASAAEgL4TFd_BwE.

Consider also Inger Andersen, UNEP Executive Director, who warns, ‘There’s this idea out there that we have to log, mine, and drill our way to prosperity. But that’s not true. By embracing circularity and re-using materials we can still drive economic growth while protecting the planet for future generations’, see *New trade rules vital to protecting the planet*, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 20th November 2020, www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/new-trade-rules-vital-protecting-planet.

I resonate with the conclusion of the member of the Club of Rome Stefan Brunnhuber that the monetary system is the most important and crucially missing link in the debate of sustainability. See Brunnhuber, 2021, and Lietaer, et al., 2012. This is why I wrote the book *A dignity economy*, Lindner, 2012a.

Green New Deal proposals suffer from the same problem, as they intend to implement public policies built on the same economic principles that led to ecocide and sociocide in the first place. For European efforts, see, for instance, ‘Statement by President von der Leyen on delivering the European Green Deal’, European Commission, Brussels, 14th July 2021,

https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_21_3701.

See also ‘Beware UN food systems summit Trojan horse’, by Jomo Kwame Sundaram, *Inter Press Service*, www.ipsnews.net/2021/07/beware-un-food-systems-summit-trojan-horse/.

For an easy-to-read text on financial instability, see, among others, ‘The stock market is one black swan away from the greatest reset in history: How a hidden stock market crash exposed the illusion of stability’, by Concode, *Medium*, 15th May 2021, <https://medium.com/concode/the-financial-system-is-a-lot-more-fragile-than-were-led-to-believe-7303fb6bcac8>.

²⁰⁷ See ‘The history of ESG [Environmental, Social and Corporate Governance] in 5 cartoons: What next?’, by Duncan Austin, *Medium*, 21st April 2020, <https://medium.com/@duncanaustrin/the-history-of-the-environmental-movement-in-5-cartoons-c5203d675c7a>. I thank Duncan Austin for his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of ‘Corporations in the crosshairs: From reform to redesign’, 20th November 2019, in response to White, 2019.

²⁰⁸ ‘From the non-aligned movement to active non-alignment: History and lessons’, by Roberto Savio, *Wall Street International Magazine*, 8th May 2021, <https://wsimag.com/economy-and-politics/65727-from-the-non-aligned-movement-to-active-non-alignment>. Savio explains that he has witnessed a historical ‘triple process’ in his lifetime, first decolonisation, then the Non-Aligned Movement, and then the Group of 77. After WWII, ‘something new was developing’ in the colonies, ‘especially among the national elites, many of whom had had access to higher education, often in the major universities: a growing sense of dignity, frustration and injustice’. The Bandung conference in 1955 was attended by 29 countries, most of them newly independent, it was a conference about ‘Afro-Asian solidarity and the struggle against colonial rule’. It was inspired by the keen awareness that these countries ‘represented the majority of the human race’, and it was driven by the hopeful spirit ‘that this was only the beginning of a process of dignity and freedom which, however long it lasted, would change the world forever’. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was born in Bandung, but even more so in 1956 in a meeting convened by Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito on the island of Brioni off the Dalmatian coast, with the message that ‘there is no peace without global security, and this means an end to the domination of one country over the others’. India’s leader Jawaharlal Nehru, when asked whether Moscow or Washington was more dangerous, answered, ‘whoever wants to dominate, puts himself in the same category’. The non-aligned movement was formerly established in the Belgrade conference in 1961, with the Afro-Asian component remaining its backbone. The Group of 77 that was founded in 1964 in Geneva had a more Latin American identity. The greatest moment in the history of the United Nations and multilateralism came in 1974, Savio reports, when the UN General Assembly adopted ‘a visionary blueprint for a plan for global governance’, with ‘the idea of a New Economic Order based on greater international justice, peace, cooperation and respect for the rights of developing countries’.

²⁰⁹ ‘From the non-aligned movement to active non-alignment: History and lessons’, by Roberto Savio, *Wall Street International Magazine*, 8th May 2021. The demise began with the North-South Summit in Cancún in 1981. Among the 22 participating heads of state was Ronald Reagan, newly elected President of the United States, and British Premier Margaret Thatcher. Reagan, supported by Thatcher, made four points, namely,

first, ‘the system of democracy on which the United Nations was based had become a straightjacket for the United States’, second, ‘trade and private initiative had to be the basis of international relations ... ‘trade, not aid’, third, states were ‘an obstacle to private initiative’, and fourth, ‘he alone was capable of determining what American interests were’. Upon hearing this, Tanzania’s leader Julius Nyerere was ‘indignant’ and said at a coffee break with a very loud voice to ‘a very annoyed Indira Ghandi’, ‘Here the worst of colonialism and the worst of imperialism have come together, and history is going backwards...’.

See also the book *The unmaking of America*, by author Kurt Anderson, 2020, who titled the third part of his book ‘Wrong Turn’, pointing at the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan.

²¹⁰ A draft of the 4,000-page report by the International Panel on Climate Change was leaked in June 2021. See ‘Climate: we are not doing enough: The Keeling Curve continues to rise steadily’, by John Scales Avery, *Wall Street International Magazine*, 17th July 2021, <https://wsimag.com/economy-and-politics/66415-climate-we-are-not-doing-enough>. John Scales Avery is a theoretical Chemist at the University of Copenhagen. He is the Chairman of the Danish National Group of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs (Nobel Peace Prize, 1995). It is a privilege to have John Scales Avery as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

On 9th August 2021, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) launched *AR6 climate change 2021: The physical science basis*, representing the first part of its Sixth Assessment Report, see www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg1/. The first line of the report summary reads, ‘It is unequivocal that human influence has warmed the atmosphere, ocean and land’. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is a body of the United Nations that is mandated to provide objective scientific information relevant to understanding human-induced climate change. See also ‘IPCC report: ‘Code red’ for human driven global heating, warns UN chief’, *United Nations News*, 9th August 2021, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/08/1097362>.

See more in note 1783 in chapter 7, and note 3993 in chapter 12 in Lindner, 2022a.