

THE ARISE MANIFESTO

A Christian vision for a better world



ARISE

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**A Christian vision for a
better world**

2025 EDITION



ARISE

Arise is a global movement, mobilising Christians to campaign and take practical action to transform the world around us through evangelism, discipleship, fighting social injustice, eliminating poverty and restoring the environment.

The Arise Manifesto is our big picture, researched, Biblical, holistic and practical vision for a better world. It looks at what the Bible says, and what we can learn from the best data and the world's leading experts on the five major areas of evangelism, discipleship, social justice, development and the environment. It then draws these lessons together into a practical road map for the changes we need to see in our world.

We offer this report as a challenge and a call to action. We hope it will provoke debate, prayer and action, for governments, for church leaders, but most of all for us as individual Christians. We are not powerless – on the contrary – we really do have the power to change our world. We are all called to be world changers, to lead lives of meaning and purpose that make a difference. We are the ones that God has tasked with this challenge. We are the ones we have been waiting for ... Arise!

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SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

The world is messed up. Switch on the TV, read a newspaper or go online, and straight away it becomes clear we are living in a pretty broken and fractured world. Two out of every three people don't know Jesus.¹ There are 56 wars raging in the world at this very moment.² One in every three people lives under terrible human rights conditions.³ One in ten of us live in absolute poverty on less than \$1.90 a day.⁴ Greenhouse gas emissions have increased by more than 5000% since the industrial revolution began.⁵ The total wildlife of the earth, on which we all depend for survival, has dropped by two thirds over the last 50 years alone.⁶ This isn't the world our God wants, or that we as individual Christians want to see.

The great news is that we *can* begin to change this and make a difference. At the same time that we face such huge challenges, our potential as Christians to respond to them is vast. One in every three people globally is a Christian. Christianity is the world's largest and most globalised faith. It is the majority religion in every continent of the world except Asia, and in six out of seven of the world's most powerful G7 nations. Out of over 230 countries and independent territories in the world today, there are only 41 with a resident Christian population of less than 5%.⁷ The church is the largest civil society organisation in the world. Its adherents are collectively more wealthy and politically influential than those of any other faith. Most importantly of all, we follow the living Lord of the universe ***“who is able to do immeasurably more than all we ask or imagine, according to his power that is at work within us.”***⁸ The

¹ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020)

² *UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, Version 21.1*, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2021); Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg & Håvard Strand (2002) *Armed Conflict 1946–2001: A New Dataset. Journal of Peace Research* 39(5): 615–637.; Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Högladh, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). *Organized violence 1989–2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. Journal of Peace Research* 58(4).

³ *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House, (2021)

⁴ *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022)

⁵ *The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850–2018)*, Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)

⁶ *Living Planet Index*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2022)

⁷ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020)

⁸ Eph 3: 20

Father hears and answers our prayers,⁹ Jesus is with us “*always*”¹⁰ and the Holy Spirit guides us and gives us everything we could ever possibly need for the task.¹¹

If we come together, get mobilised and work for a Christian vision for a better world, we really can make a massive difference and begin to turn our world around. We can begin to see the number of people who come to know Jesus dramatically increase, conflict in our world reduce, human rights and democracy improve, poverty decline and our natural environment restored. Of course, there are millions of Christians who already live lives of radical service, as well as thousands of churches and Christian organisations doing amazing things in so many areas. But collectively, we are still not living up to our potential to really have a world changing impact. We are a sleeping giant. We need to come together, get mobilised and work for a Christian vision for a better world. We need to Arise!

This report is an attempt to bring us together and sketch out what a Christian vision for a better world might be, then consider how we can get mobilised to achieve it. We begin in [Part 1: The Mission of the Church](#) by considering theology. What actually is God’s big story in our world? What is the role of his church in delivering that story? What is the important role we each have to play as individual Christians in rolling that story out? We then suggest a process to discern what God’s vision for a better world might be. In [Parts 2 – 6](#) we follow this process and go on a journey to explore the shape of this vision together. We explore the five critical areas where the world needs to see transformation: [Evangelism](#), [Discipleship](#), [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#). We look at what a better world would mean in each of these areas, then consider where we have come from, where we are going and where we need to go next. This enables us to build a clear vision for a better world, together with the concrete steps we need to get there. (These steps are summarised in a box at the end of each section in the full report, and collected in the [Appendix](#).) Finally, in [Part 7: Mobilisation Plan](#) we address the practical matter of how the whole church, and we as individual Christians, can mobilise to bring about these transformations. Of course, we know our world will never be perfect until Jesus returns to usher in his kingdom in full, but it can and should be a lot better than it is now. In [Part 7](#) we find that surprisingly, the key to unlocking this vision and beginning to make it a reality lies not in the hands of politicians, economists or captains of industry, but with ordinary people like you and me living it out, just as Jesus always planned.

We offer this report and its vision for the church and the world in the twenty-first century, as both a challenge and a call to action. We hope it will provoke debate, prayer and action, for governments, for church leaders, but most of all for us as individual Christians. We hope it will play a part in helping to awake the sleeping giant of God’s people around the world. Now is our time. There is more to life than this. We are not powerless – on the contrary – we really do have the power to change our world. We are all called to be world changers, to lead lives of meaning and purpose that make a difference. We are the ones that God has tasked with this challenge. We are the ones we have been waiting for ... Arise!

PART 1: THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH

Turning first to theology, God’s story in our world is one of ‘creation’, followed by ‘fall’ as humanity turned away from God and broke the relationship between people and God, between

⁹ Matt 21: 21 – 22; Mark 11: 23 – 24; Matt 7: 7 – 11

¹⁰ Matt 28: 20

¹¹ Acts 1: 8; John 14: 26

people and other people, and between people and creation. However, then comes ‘redemption’ through Jesus’ death on the cross and resurrection, and finally the ‘glory’ of ‘new creation’ when Christ returns again to usher in his kingdom on earth in full.

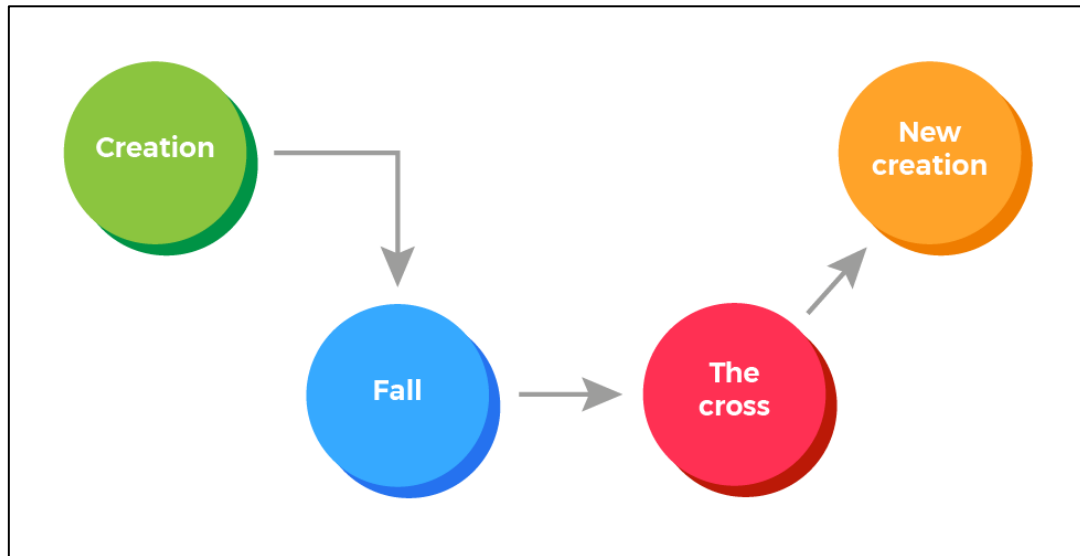


Figure i: God's story

We are currently living in the period between redemption and new creation. The battle has been won on the cross, and the role of the church, as well as our role as individual Christians, is to further extend this victory. We are to use all of our time, energy and resources to continue to expand the kingdom of God, working to restore the world to as close as possible to its state of new creation. We are to lead lives of meaning, purpose and significance, lives that matter and make a difference, lives of radical discipleship in every area, bringing the kingdom into this broken world with our daily actions. We are to arise! This process is all about restoring the broken relationships between people and God (evangelism and discipleship), between people and other people (social justice and development) and between people and creation (environment). This is a situation that the church can always improve, but one that will never be fully completed until Jesus returns.

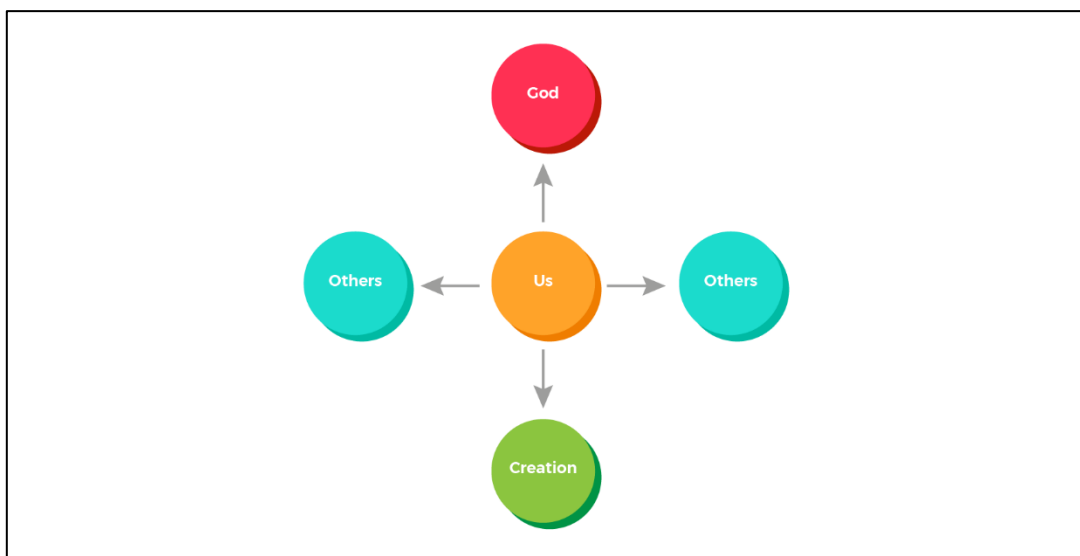


Figure ii: Restoring broken relationships

So if this is the aim of the church, then it needs a plan for how it is going to do it. In order to develop this plan, the church should first define what success looks like. Our near perfect world would be one where everyone knows Jesus (evangelism) and where everyone is daily growing deeper in their relationship with him (discipleship). It would also be a world where all wars are ended, where everyone enjoys fair human rights and lives in free democracies (social justice). It would be a world without extreme or relative poverty (development) and one where humanity lives in balance within the safe natural limits of the planet (environment).

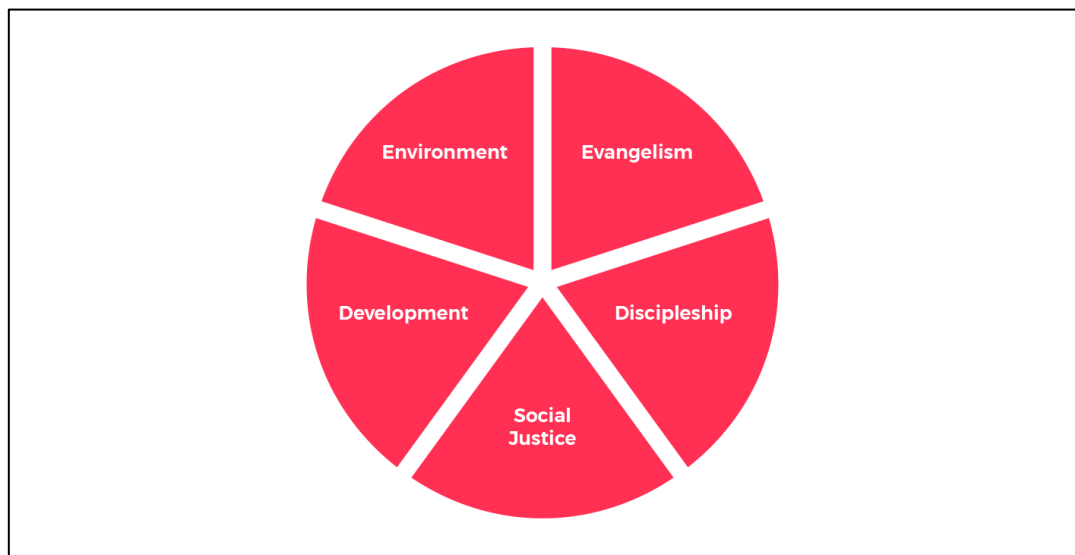


Figure iii: The mission of the church and every individual Christian

In order to determine how to reach this goal the church should:

- 1) First look at what the Bible says about each objective: evangelism, discipleship, social justice, development and the environment, then
- 2) Draw lessons from history about what has worked in the past to achieve these objectives, using the most accurate statistics and authoritative sources, organisations and experts in each field. (In this Summary most references have been omitted for the sake of brevity, but in the main report and the Bibliography, we have provided extensive references for each point.)

By following this process the church can develop a plan for how to begin to transform our world.

INDICATOR	SOURCE
Evangelism	
Number of people becoming Christians	- Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., <i>World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition</i>, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020) - Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., <i>World Christian Trends</i>, (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001) - Both drawn from the <i>World Christian Database</i>, hosted by the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at

	Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary
Discipleship	
Numbers of people making a whole range of behaviour changes that would indicate they are growing in their relationship with Jesus	Information not available
Social Justice	
Number of democracies	<i>Polity 5</i> , Center for Systemic Peace, (2018)
Number of people being tortured	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people being arbitrarily arrested or detained	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people with full access to legal rights and protection under the law	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people with freedom of religion	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people with freedom of expression	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Countries with a free press	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people facing gender, race, disability, sexual orientation or other discrimination	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of violent conflicts	• <i>Correlates of War</i>, Sarkees, Meredith Reid and Frank Wayman (2010). <i>Resort to War: 1816 - 2007</i>. Washington DC: CQ Press. • <i>UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset</i>, Version 21.1, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2021); Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg & Håvard Strand (2002) <i>Armed Conflict 1946–2001: A New Dataset</i>. <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 39(5): 615–637.; Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Högladh, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). <i>Organized violence 1989-2020, with a special emphasis on Syria</i>. <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 58(4).
Number of people dying in violent conflicts	• <i>PRIO Battledeaths Dataset</i>, Version 3.1, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2017); Lacina, Bethany & Nils Petter

	Gleditsch (2005) Monitoring trends in global combat: A new dataset of battle deaths', <i>European Journal of Population</i> 21(2–3): 145–166. • <i>UCDP Battle-Related Deaths Dataset, Version 21.1</i>, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, (2021); Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Högladh, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). Organized violence 1989-2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 58(4).
Number of people being injured in violent conflicts	Information not available
Development	
Number of people with sufficient food	<i>FAO Stat</i> , UN Food and Agriculture Organization, (2022)
Number of people with access to safe water	WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022)
Number of people with access to safe sanitation	WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022)
Number of people with sufficient housing	<i>Urban Indicators Database</i> , UN-Habitat, (2022)
Number of people with a good job/livelihood	<i>World Development Indicators</i> , World Bank, (2022)
Number of people with full education up to secondary level	Barro, R. & Lee, J-W., <i>Barro-Lee Estimates of Educational Attainment for the Population Aged 15 – 64 from 1950 to 2015</i> , (2021)
Number of people with full healthcare (physical and mental health)	• UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation, access via <i>World Development Indicators</i>, World Bank, (2022) • UN Population Division, access via <i>World Development Indicators</i>, World Bank, (2022)
Number of people with access to electricity	<i>Global Electrification Database</i> , <i>World Development Indicators</i> , World Bank, (2022)
Number of people with access to the internet	<i>International Telecommunication Union (ITU) World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database</i> , access via <i>World Development Indicators</i> , World Bank, (2022)

Levels of inequality within and between nations	World Inequality Database, (2022)
Environment	
Greenhouse gas emissions	<i>The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018)</i> , Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)
Biodiversity loss	<i>Living Planet Index</i> , World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2022)
Levels of deforestation or reforestation	<i>Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020</i> , Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020)
Percentage of land/sea turned over to human occupation and agriculture	<i>Protected Planet Report 2020</i> , International Union for Conservation of Nature & United Nations Environment Programme World Conservation Monitoring Centre, World Database on Protected Areas, (2020)
Pollution levels	Information not available
Percentage of waste vs percentage recycled	Information not available
Population growth	- Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., <i>World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition</i>, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020) - Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., <i>World Christian Trends</i>, (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001) - Both drawn from the <i>World Christian Database</i>, hosted by the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary - UN Population Division, access via <i>World Development Indicators</i>, World Bank, (2022)

Figure iv: Indicators to judge progress towards a better world

However, Jesus gave us two eternal principles: “***Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind and with all your strength***” and “***Love your neighbour as yourself***”,¹² to be worked out according to each context, rather than a detailed unchanging code of law, because the world changes and moves on. Therefore, the church’s plan shouldn’t be fixed and inflexible, but should evolve and adapt over time as we learn and as situations in the world change and old policies become irrelevant. Thus Arise will be updating this report every five years as our way of helping to ensure the vision Christians have for the change they want to see in the world stays fresh, up-to-date and relevant for each new period, season, era and generation.

¹² Matt 22: 34 – 40; Mark 12: 28 – 34; Luke 10: 25 – 28

Having defined success as five broad, interconnected areas – evangelism, discipleship, social justice, development and environment – let’s look at where we are with each. How far has the world come, and where do we need to go next?

PART 2: EVANGELISM

The 2000 years since Jesus’ life, death and resurrection have seen amazing church growth (Figure v). This began with an incredible period of expansion under the Roman Empire, up to and beyond the early fourth century when Christianity became the dominant religion in the Roman Empire under the emperor Constantine. Then followed a long period of setback in the Dark Ages and Middle Ages as the Eastern Roman Empire was conquered by Islamic armies, and the church in those lands began a long slow process of decline which continues to this day. During the same period the Western Roman Empire was overrun by barbarian invasions, then gradually reconverted to Christianity. In the 1200s it seemed as if the church was taking off again, as the Mongol empires decimated the non-Christian populations of Asia, and were initially receptive to Christianity, until they converted to Islam and brutally repressed their Christian populations, reversing these gains. It was not until the birth of the European colonial empires from 1500, that Christianity finally began to grow again and expand significantly beyond its European enclave, really taking off in the nineteenth century with the Protestant missionary movement. However, in the twentieth century Christianity began to decline as huge numbers in the traditionally Christian west abandoned it in favour of agnosticism and atheism, Islam remained largely untouched by Christian missionary efforts, and population growth in Asia outstripped growth in Christian majority parts of the world.

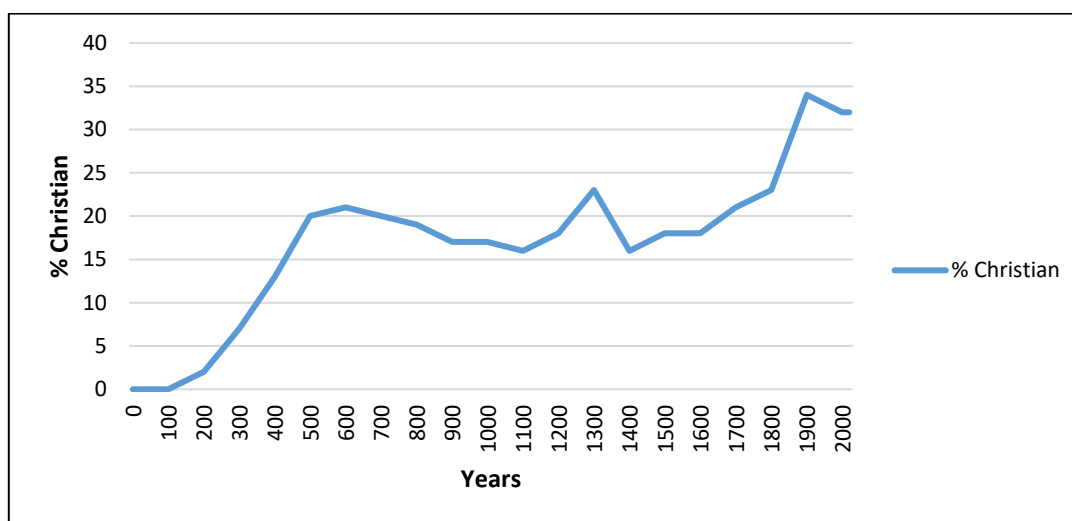


Figure v: Percentage of Christians in the global population ¹³

Moving forward, the challenge for the church today is to reverse that trend of decline over the last century and more, and begin to see, once again, radical and ambitious growth in the numbers of people becoming Christians. Thanks to the nineteenth and twentieth century missionary movements, Christianity has an amazing base from which to start that process of recovery – it is the most globalised religion forming the majority faith in every continent except Asia. Churches exist in every country, although in several they are underground due to persecution. Out of over 230 countries and independent territories in the world today, there

¹³ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020), p. 917

are only 41 with a resident Christian population of less than 5% and only 19 with less than 1%.¹⁴ Thus, although there is a need to send out small groups of Christians as [missionary communities](#) to plant new local churches in unreached places – particularly in Muslim-majority countries – overwhelmingly, the challenge for the twenty-first century and beyond is for the church to train and empower individual Christians in local congregations in every country for [local church evangelism](#).

Throughout history, the overwhelming majority of converts have turned to Christ through the slow steady witness of loyal Christians sharing the gospel with their friends and family through words and witness, and inviting them in to their warm and welcoming local churches. For the church to be most strategic and see the biggest results in this crucial area of evangelism, it should put less emphasis and focus on grand schemes, plans, slogans and conferences for world evangelisation. Instead it should focus on training and equipping individual Christians to share the gospel confidently, effectively and naturally with their friends, family and neighbours, releasing a workforce of billions with the potential to convert the world within a generation. The church should support the growing number of great initiatives around the world seeking to do this.



Figure vi: The vast majority of people who become Christians do so through the witness of friends and family. Therefore, the church must prioritise the training and equipping of ordinary Christians to successfully share their faith with confidence.

Arise has developed Equipped to Share (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share), a free course of five sessions that can be run in any local church, to empower individual Christians to talk with confidence about their faith, as our contribution to this crucial priority.

¹⁴ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020)

PART 3: DISCIPLESHIP

Turning to discipleship, the church has waxed and waned in its journey of obedience and personal discipleship with God over the last two millennia. There have been times in church history where we have failed catastrophically such as the Crusades or Inquisition, whilst at other times there has been a genuine rediscovery and desire to return to the heart of God with our ways and practices, such as the many revival movements. In our world today, different individuals and areas vary in their journey of discipleship, regardless of denomination or tradition. In terms of our corporate church life, we have seen a mushrooming and diverting of denominations and traditions over the past 2000 years. However, in the last century there has been a more encouraging move towards ecumenism; not through formal mergers of denominations, but with a greater emphasis on unity and working together.

Moving forward, the challenge for the church in our corporate life is to continue to vigorously pursue this trend towards unity. We must work together, downplaying our differences at the margins and focusing on our common shared beliefs and passions at the core. This will happen when we stop arguing about fine points of doctrine and focus on reaching out to our needy world in the four other great areas of the church's mission outlined in this report: evangelism, social justice, development and the environment. The more we work together to achieve these goals, the less significant our differences will become. God loves his church to be unified and as we pursue this end, we will be increasingly blessed and powerful in our witness to, and engagement with, the world.

In our personal discipleship there is no one simple solution. It is an ongoing lifelong journey of placing God and others at the centre of our lives, rather than ourselves. However, there are clear steps we can take one at a time, and which day after day will bring about real, deep and lasting change (summarised in the full report in [Part 3 on Discipleship](#)). We have grouped these under the headings: [prayer](#); [obedience, calling and direction](#); [personal attitude and integrity](#); [work, rest and health](#); [family life](#); [church life](#); [the work of the Holy Spirit](#); [spiritual warfare and persecution](#); [social justice, development and environment](#) and [leadership and unity in the church](#).

We encourage every Christian to run through the specific actions we should take in the boxes in [Parts 2](#) and [3](#) on [Evangelism](#) and [Discipleship](#) in the full report as a regular (perhaps monthly) spiritual health check on how we are doing in our journey of discipleship. This might sound overwhelming, but just try it. Pray through it as you go. You may find that you are doing really well already with many of these actions. With others, you may find God challenging you to take action and go further. Ultimately, how we progress in our discipleship is not up to our church leaders, it is us who must take the responsibility into our own hands to keep regularly reviewing how we are progressing in our walk with Jesus.

PARTS 4 – 6: SOCIAL JUSTICE, DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT

Turning to the issues of social justice, development and environment, we consider these in [Parts 4](#), [5](#) and [6](#) of the full report. For most of human history (certainly since the first great revolution: the agricultural revolution that began about 12,000 years ago and marked the end of the Stone Age hunter gatherer period) abject poverty, rural living, conflict, autocratic regimes and poor human rights have been the norms for society. In the last 200 years these norms have begun to change. Gradually the whole world has begun to transition towards

eliminating absolute poverty, dramatically reducing conflicts, significantly improving human rights, adopting democracy and an increased human population living mainly in urban centres (Figures vii – x). This process is furthest advanced in some areas (Europe and North America), catching up in others (Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia) and furthest behind in still more (Sub-Saharan Africa). However, it is a clear, encouraging trajectory everywhere. It is not a smooth unending upward curve. There have been huge setbacks, sometimes for decades, (indeed we may now be living through just such a downturn) and some communities are being left behind. There is also no reason for complacency; millions still suffer in poverty, enduring conflict, without human rights and under terrible repressive regimes. Progress needs to move much further and faster. But nevertheless the overall trend is clear and positive.

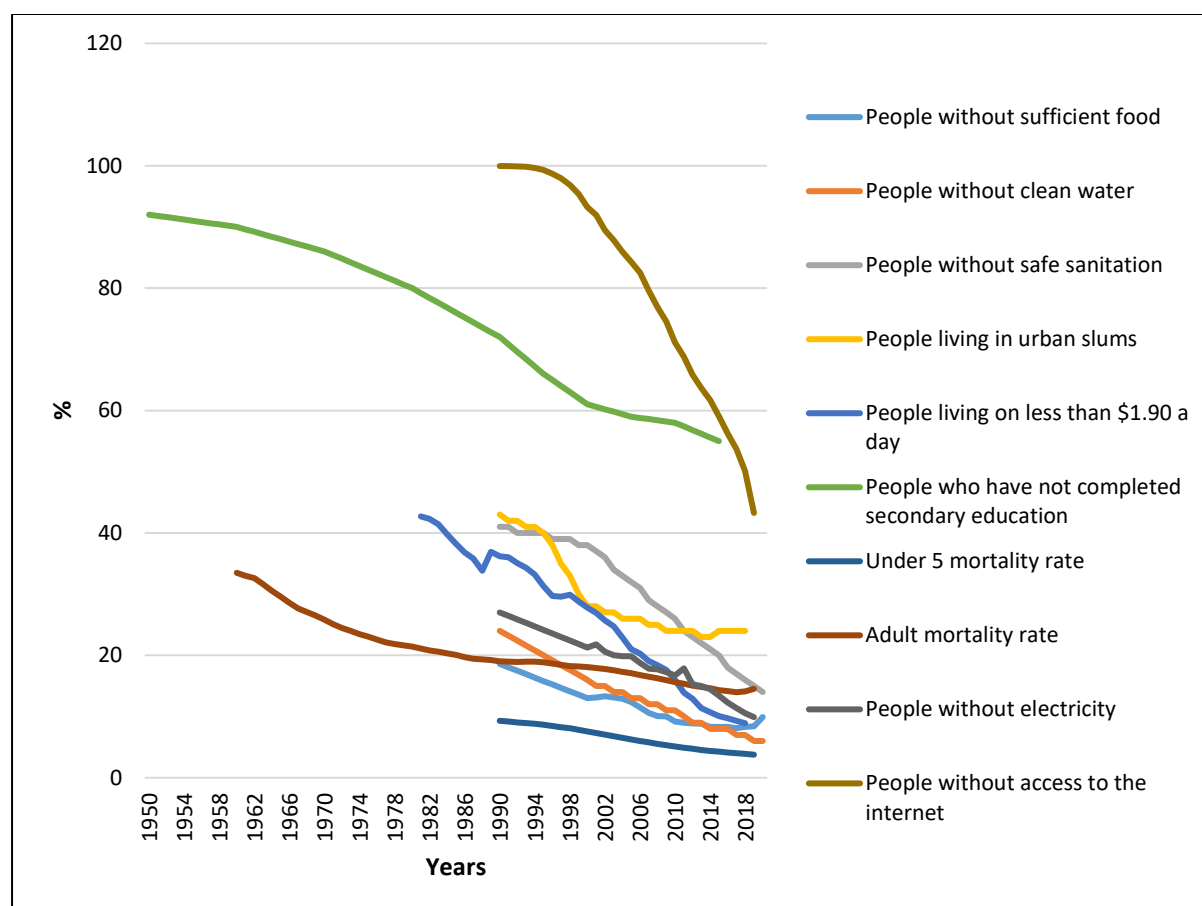


Figure vii: Global poverty trends by percentage ¹⁵

¹⁵ *FAO Stat*, UN Food and Agriculture Organization, (2022); WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022); *Urban Indicators Database*, UN-Habitat, (2022); *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); Barro, R. & Lee, J-W., *Barro-Lee Estimates of Educational Attainment for the Population Aged 15 – 64 from 1950 to 2015*, (2021); UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); UN Population Division, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); *Global Electrification Database*, *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); *International Telecommunication Union (ITU) World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database*, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022)

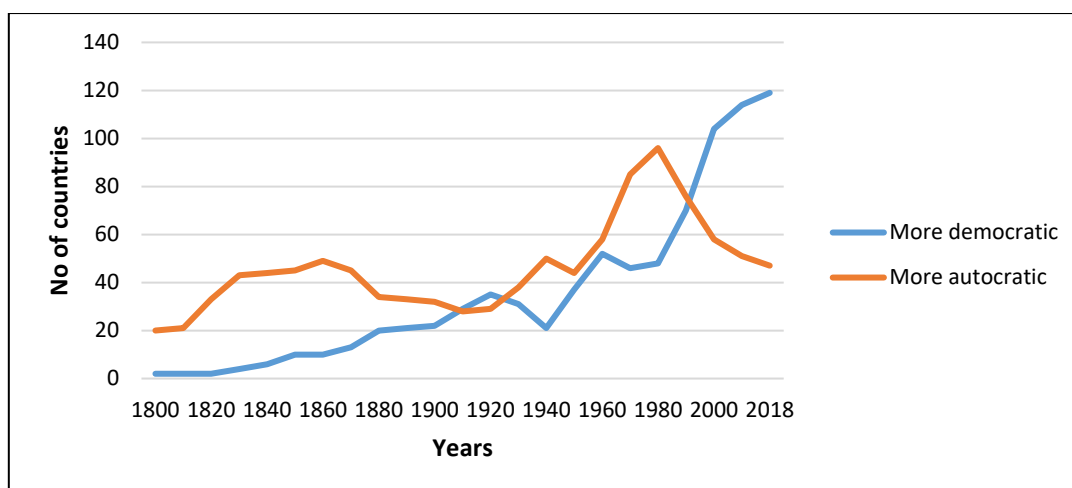


Figure viii: Number of democracies and autocracies in the world ¹⁶

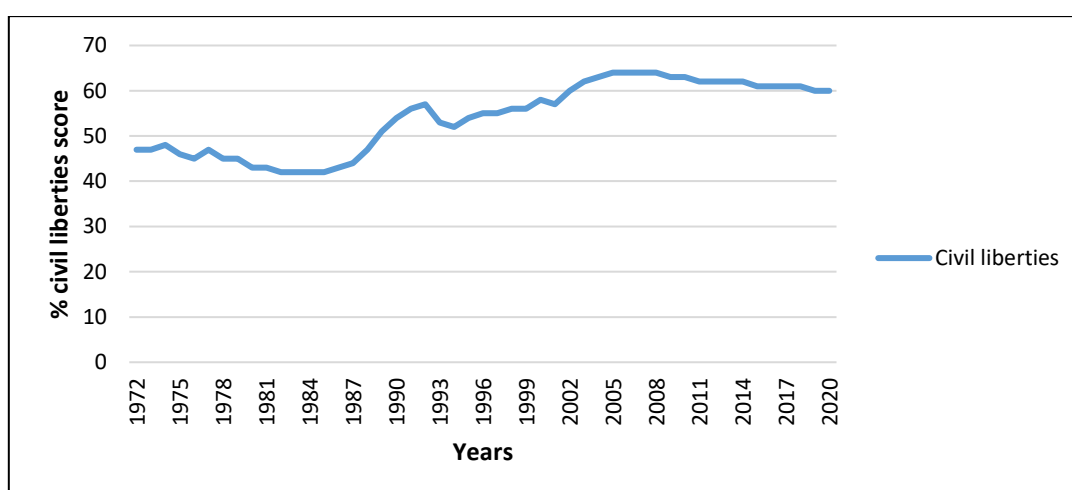


Figure ix: Civil liberty rates globally ¹⁷

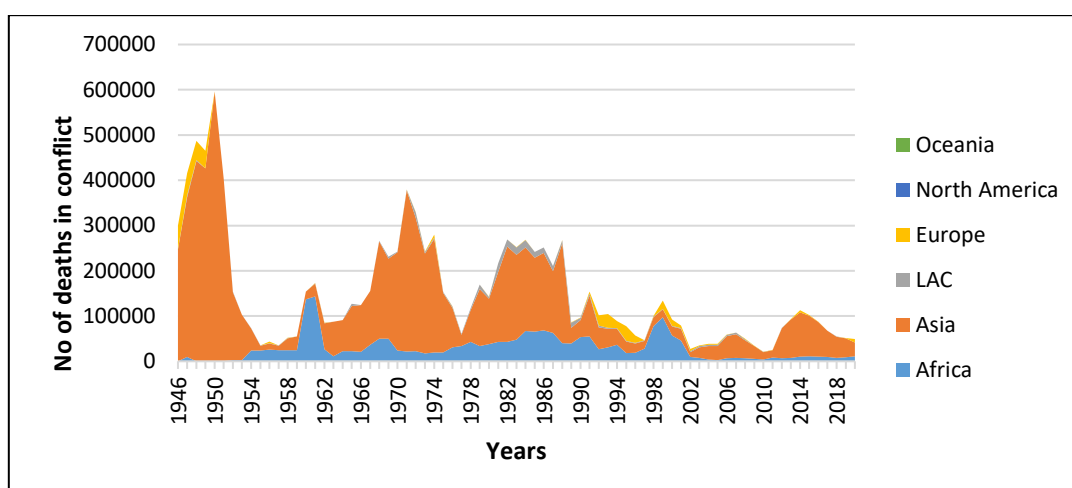


Figure x: Deaths in conflict in the world since 1946 ¹⁸

¹⁶ Polity 5, Center for Systemic Peace, (2018)

¹⁷ Freedom in the World, Freedom House, (2021)

¹⁸ PRIO Battleddeaths Dataset, Version 3.1, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2017); Lacina, Bethany & Nils Petter Gleditsch (2005) Monitoring trends in global combat: A new dataset of battle deaths', European Journal of

It appears to be the process of reducing poverty through development which has driven corresponding improvements in social justice. This has been a consequence of the second great revolution and leap forward in technological and social development in human history: the industrial revolution. It brought about changes which have lifted billions out of poverty around the world and shifted the majority of the world's population from rural small-holder subsistence farmers to urban workers in manufacturing and services. It also brought about many social changes; reducing conflict, improving human rights, reducing corruption, improving good governance, introducing democracy, and radically increasing the size of the global population. It is a process that is still going on all around us in the world we are living in. What we call 'development' today is really the continuing roll out of the industrial revolution around the world and all the associated accelerated technological and social changes it brings.

As this revolution spreads into each nation, the poverty reduction that occurs appears to be a process driven by two distinct elements; the growing of a [strong and fair economy](#), and the provision of basic services for all through [tax and social spending](#). Both are needed for poverty reduction. Every nation that has developed has done so by instituting the legal framework and policies which have enabled it to develop a thriving and diverse domestic economy. This has been achieved through transferring the skills and technologies from other nations that have gone before, and gradually moving the economy up the value chain, from agriculture and the export of natural resources, to manufacturing, and eventually into services and the knowledge economy. This has directly lifted millions out of poverty, but not all. Economic development then is essential for poverty reduction, but in itself is not the same as poverty reduction. Successful nations have therefore also harnessed a proportion of the wealth generated by that thriving economy, through progressive and effective taxation systems. They have used it to provide education, healthcare, pensions, unemployment and incapacity benefits, social protection and basic services for their wider populations. This in turn drives down poverty for all.

Development is also the underlying cause which leads to progress in social justice. As nations started to develop strong and fair economies over the last 200 years, this created a growing educated middle class of merchants, businessmen, lawyers, students, journalists etc. within societies, which in turn formed peaceful [bottom-up civil society reform movements](#). These movements demanded taxation and social spending to provide basic services, as well as greater freedoms and rights, resulting in positive reform towards [democracy, human rights and good governance](#). Development also reduces the poverty which is the breeding ground for conflict. Development, together with the positive reforms in social justice, democracy, human rights and good governance that it unleashed, in turn helped stabilise international relations helping to [prevent major conflicts emerging](#) and [reduce and end small conflicts](#) within nations. These processes created the conditions which make peace more attractive than war to people on both sides of a conflict.

Population 21(2–3): 145–166.; *UCDP Battle-Related Deaths Dataset, Version 21.1*, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, (2021); Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Höglbladh, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). Organized violence 1989-2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. *Journal of Peace Research* 58(4).



Figure xi: Nations that have developed successfully, have done so through a proactive and flexible industrial and economic development strategy, which has moved their economy up the value chain from agriculture, to manufacturing, to services and the knowledge economy.

However, over the past 50 years or more we have increasingly learnt that this progress has come at a terrible price. Ironically, the same expanding global economy which has driven so much positive change in development and social justice, is based on fossil fuels and high physical consumption of natural resources. For the first time in human history, this has pushed us out of balance with our world. We are now changing our climate and degrading our environment in massive and dangerous ways as we place increasing pressure on natural **planetary boundaries** causing climate change, ocean acidification, mass extinctions, pollution, degrading land and fresh water resources, etc. (Figures xii – xvii). Such changes are devastating God’s wonderful creation, and are hitting the world’s poorest communities hardest, who have done the least to cause them. We have left the Holocene and entered the Anthropocene, the geological era where humanity changes the environment and biosphere in dangerous ways. If we continue along this path, we will fall off a cliff. Historically, whenever societies have out consumed and polluted their natural resource base, they have collapsed. We are now doing this on a global scale and face a collapse into a new global dark age, which will cause massive human suffering and loss of life, wiping out all the gains in development and social justice that we have seen. Furthermore, there is mounting evidence that the same process of economic development, which is driving down extreme poverty and improving social justice, is also increasing relative inequality, leading to social breakdown and social problems in otherwise ‘developed’ nations.

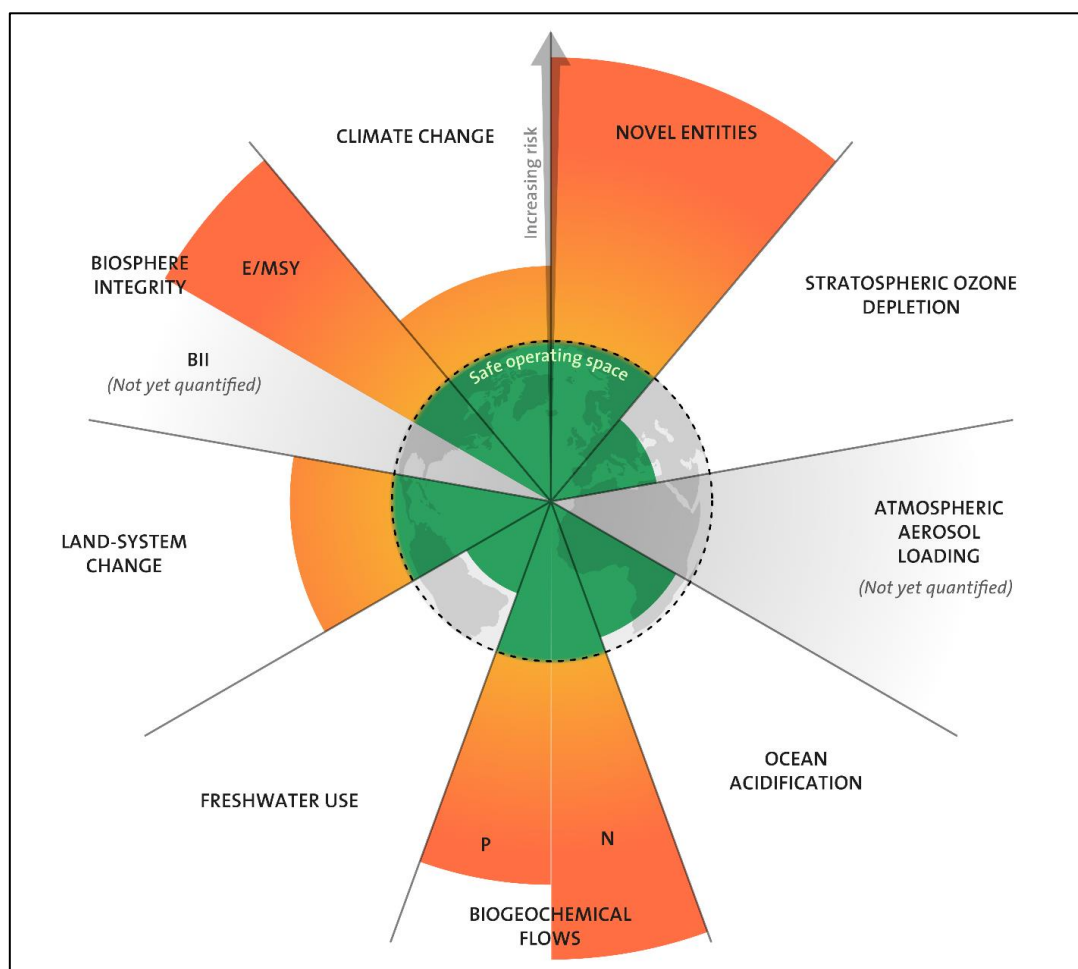


Figure xii: Planetary Boundaries under increasing pressure¹⁹

¹⁹ Designed by Azote for Stockholm Resilience Centre, based on analysis in Persson et al 2022 and Steffen et al 2015



Figure xiii: Climate change is leading to more extreme floods, droughts, storms, heatwaves, wildfires, sea-level rise, the growth of deserts, and numerous other changes, all of which impact the poorest hardest.

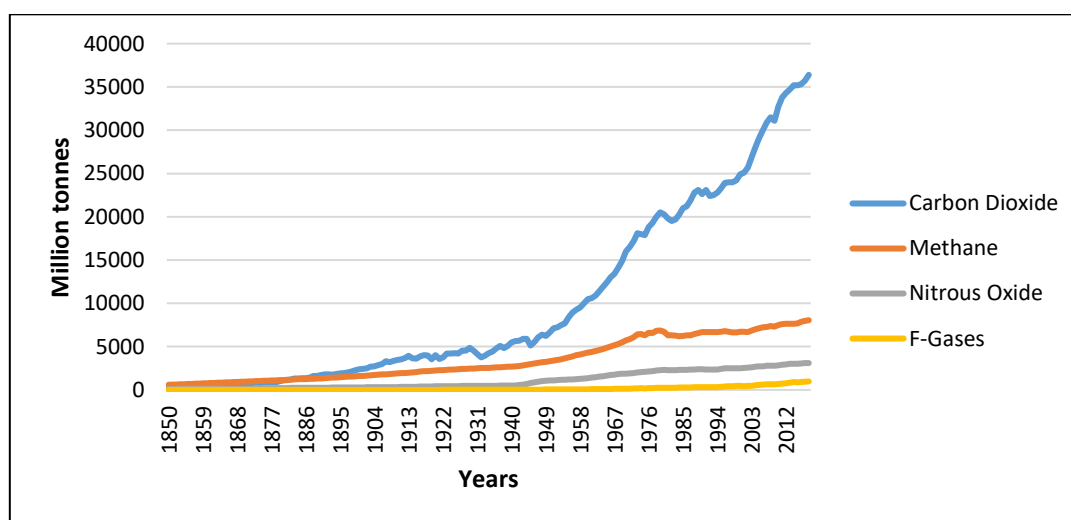


Figure xiv: Global greenhouse gas emissions ²⁰

²⁰ The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018), Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)

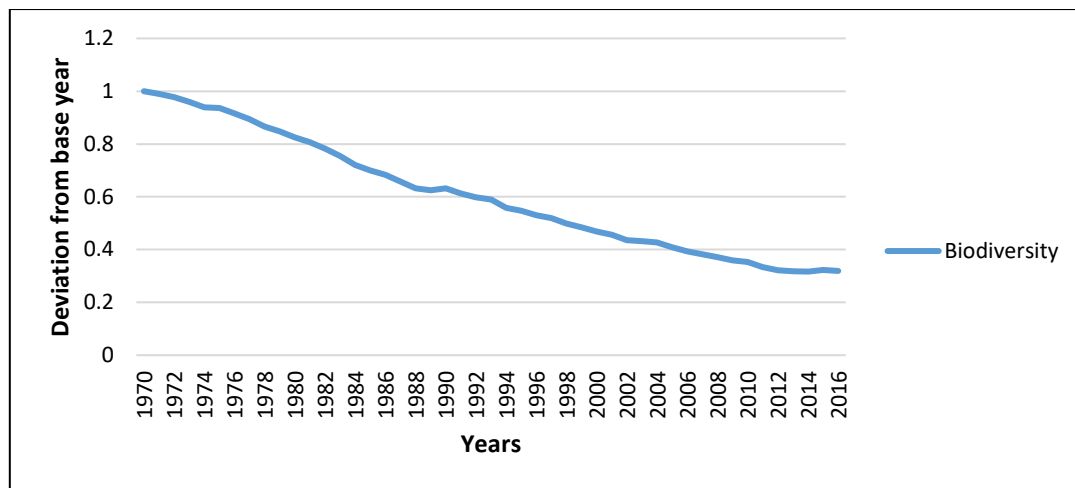


Figure xv: Changes in global biodiversity²¹

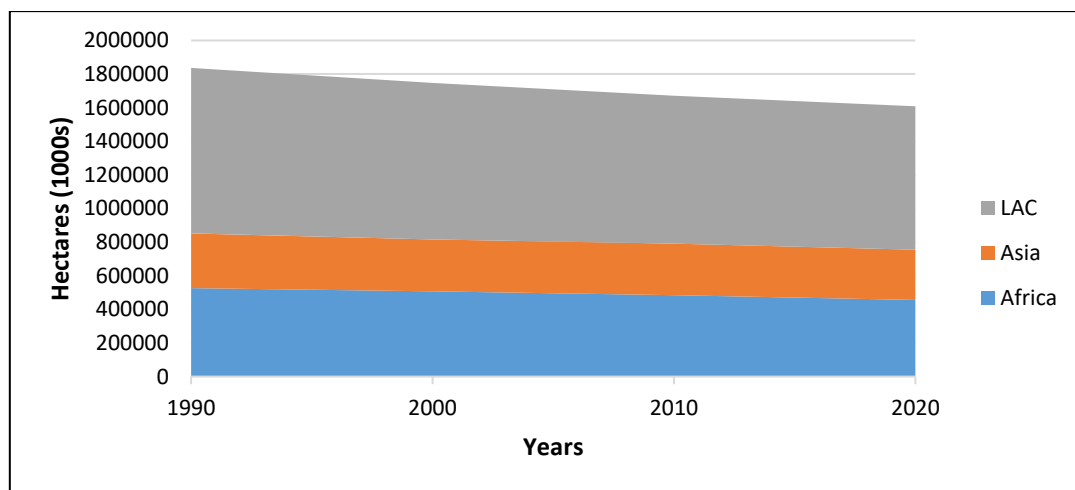


Figure xvi: Forest area in rainforest nations²²

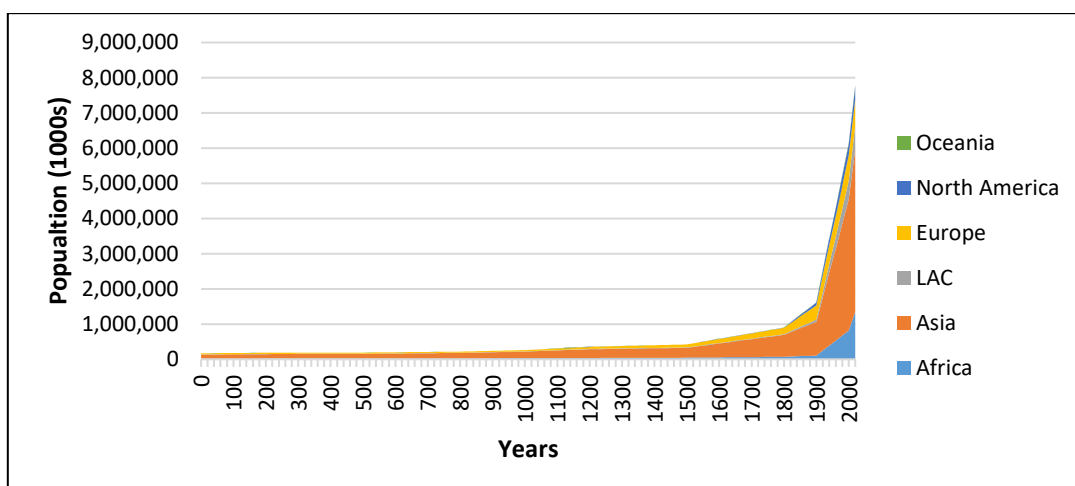


Figure xvii: Total world population over the last 2000 years²³

²¹ *Living Planet Index*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2022)

²² *Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020*, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020)

²³ Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), pp. 320 – 333; Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020), pp. 919 – 932

Going forward then, the great struggle for the church and the world in our generation is how we keep the best bits of the second great revolution (the driving down of poverty and improvements in social justice), and accelerate the trend of progress further and faster, whilst jettisoning the worst (the environmental destruction and growing inequality). This means shifting our global economy into a new global green and fair economy. This new economy must be based on 100% [clean energy](#), not greenhouse gas emitting. It must also shift from our current linear, extract-use-dispose economy to a [circular economy](#), where all products are sustainably produced and waste is eliminated and instead pushed back round the economy as inputs to other businesses, in a circular fashion. This would constitute the third great revolution, returning humanity to a position of living in balance with nature, whilst maintaining a thriving green economy that isn't based on high levels of physical consumption.



Figure xviii: The world needs a new global green and fair economic revolution, shifting to 100% clean energy and a circular economy, which reuses resources rather than consumes and dumps them as waste.

We are at a pivotal point in history where we either succeed in doing this, and move forward with eliminating extreme poverty and improving social justice whilst staying within safe environmental limits and minimising inequality, or we collapse back into a new global dark age. This is the greatest challenge ever faced by humanity. It falls to our generation to resolve. We need more than just one specific action. We need a new economic paradigm, a new world view and orthodoxy which captures the best of what works, but also embraces what we need to do that is new, in order to continue and complete the third great green economy revolution. That is why Arise has launched the 4 Shifts campaign (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/4-shifts).

Four Shifts economics captures the two great shifts that the world needs to secure a safe environmental *ceiling* that keeps us well within Planetary Boundaries: [clean energy](#) and the [circular economy](#). It then holds them together with the two great shifts we have seen that are necessary for guaranteeing the social development *floor* (below which no one should be allowed to fall): [strong and fair economies](#) from which nations can [tax and provide social spending](#) to meet basic needs. There are many specific actions under each of these shifts that governments need to take in order to transform our global economy to bring about the third great revolution to a green economy. Arise's Four Shifts campaign brings these together into a simple overall framework which the world can understand, and we as individual Christians

can sign up to and campaign for (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/4-shifts), so that we can work together to transform our world one step at a time.

SHIFT ONE: CLEAN ENERGY <i>From polluting fossil fuels to clean energy. Strengthen the global Paris Agreement on climate change to scale down the use of fossil fuels to zero emissions and scale up clean energy to 100% by 2030, banning the future use of fossil fuels. Bring in national climate change laws to implement it in every sector (energy, transport, buildings, industry etc.) in every nation.</i>	SHIFT TWO: CIRCULAR ECONOMY <i>From overconsumption and waste to the circular economy. Agree a global circular economy law to ban polluting activity, further human expansion into wild lands, the production of natural resources that takes out more than it puts back in, and all waste, in order to trigger the shift to a circular economy. Bring in national circular economy laws to implement it in every nation.</i>
SHIFT THREE: STRONG AND FAIR ECONOMIES <i>From aid and welfare dependent to self-sufficient and thriving strong and fair economies. Every government to develop a proactive national industrial and economic development strategy to create a diverse national economy that progressively moves up the value chain from agriculture to manufacturing to services to the knowledge economy, using whatever policies are most effective at each stage.</i>	SHIFT FOUR: TAX AND SOCIAL SPENDING <i>From economies that only work for the richest to societies which tax and provide social spending to also help the poorest. Agree a global tax and social spending agreement for every nation to collect tax at an amount equivalent to at least 45% of the national economy, one third from income taxes, one third from wealth taxes and one third from other taxes. Spend at least two thirds of this on healthcare, education and social protection (pensions, benefits etc.). Bring in national tax and social spending laws to implement it in every nation.</i>

Figure xix: Four Shifts economics

In addition, Four Shifts economics helps to drive the emergence of middle classes around the world, which (as we have seen) give rise to peaceful **bottom-up civil society reform movements**. These are the key force for driving **democracy, human rights and good governance**. Therefore, as well as the Four Shifts campaign, Arise is also helping individual Christians to support reform movements around the world struggling for greater democracy, human rights and good governance. You can get involved by signing up for Arise's weekly advocacy actions (www.ariseuk.org/sign-up), and joining a local Arise church-based group, thus helping Christians to lead the way in driving further and faster change towards the socially just world that God wants to see.

PART 7: MOBILISATION PLAN

Looking back across these five great areas of the mission of the church and every Christian – evangelism, discipleship, social justice, development and environment – we have therefore identified in [Parts 2 – 6](#) many lessons from the Bible and what has worked in the past that together form a Christian vision for a better world. However, it is one thing to know what needs to happen. But how do we actually translate that vision into meaningful reality? What is our mobilisation plan? Well, in both evangelism and discipleship, all the actions that need to be taken are by us as individual Christians, and the churches we are part of. No other group in society can do this. So here the power is clearly already in our hands to get on with it. However, in the areas of social justice, development and the environment there are other groups at play.

In any country we can group the primary actors in society who have an impact on social justice, development and the environment into three categories: the private sector (private companies, share-holder owned businesses, cooperatives etc.), government/state (including public sector services such as the police, military, some healthcare and education, etc.) and civil society (charities, faith groups, community groups, trade unions, academia, the media, society at large etc.). Turning first to the private sector; its role is to create the wealth in the national economy, provide the jobs and generate the cash in the system which helps people directly. It also provides the resource base which can be taxed by the state to provide public services. However, for all its strengths, the great weakness of business is that ultimately it must follow the most favourable route to maximise income and profit in order to survive. Thus, whilst the vast majority of people in business may want to do the right thing on social justice, development or the environment, if this will undermine the bottom-line performance of their company they can make some progress at the margins, but ultimately their hands are tied.

Society looks to the state to solve this problem by legislating to shift the way the economy functions in more socially positive directions. By legislating against harmful business practices, the state prevents business from making profit in those ways. This re-directs the economy and unlocks the innovative, entrepreneurial creativity and the huge financial resources of the private sector to make profits in more socially desirable directions. The other major roles of the state are to provide law, justice, peace and stability in society, and to tax the wealth generated by the private sector in order to provide public services for all, like education, healthcare and social protection. However, as with business, for all its strengths, the state also finds its hands tied. Even if the vast majority of people in government want to do the right thing, they cannot take major steps to improve social justice, development and environment if those steps are deeply unpopular with the public (either in democracies or autocracies) and therefore political suicide.

So whether it is business being constrained to only act in ways that customers are prepared to pay for, or government being constrained to only act in ways that are popular with the public, real power comes back to civil society, community, the public, ordinary people like you and me. When civil society finds its voice and influences public discourse and opinion, popular pressure encourages governments to take the actions and introduce the laws and policies required that we saw in our sections on [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and [Environment](#). This in turn unlocks progress from the private sector and drives it in socially positive directions, and we truly begin to see our world transformed at scale. This dynamic shouldn't surprise us. We need only think of all the major progressive social changes of the past 200 years: the end of the slave trade; preventing child labour; the Great Reform Act; women's suffrage; the Indian

independence movement; anti-apartheid; the spread of human rights; the spread of democracy; greater environmental standards; development itself. Ultimately, all began with demands for change from civil society and the wider public.

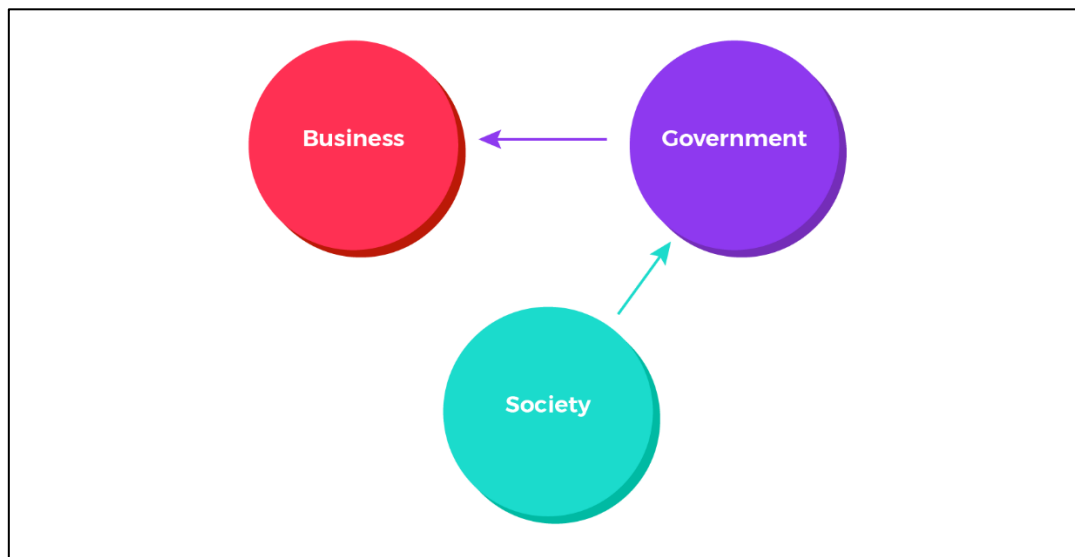


Figure xx: Civil society agitates for change to improve social justice, development and the environment. Government responds with legislation to implement these changes. Business adapts and drives investment and innovation in more socially positive directions, improving social justice, development and the environment.

In today's ever more globalised world we also need to consider how this dynamic plays out internationally, not just in each individual nation. As companies have become larger and able to move between countries more easily, they have been able to play nations off against each other, so that nations with the lowest levels of tax, and often the weakest laws on social justice, development and the environment attract the most investment. This risks creating a race to the bottom where nations cannot institute the right laws even if they want to, for fear of losing companies that are critical to their economy. During the twentieth century the institutions of global and regional governance emerged: the United Nations, European Union (and other regional unions), World Trade Organization, G7, G20, OECD etc. to enable nations to come together to tackle global problems like this that transcend national boundaries. Through these mechanisms, for all their imperfections and flaws, states can work together internationally in order to provide common laws, standards and level playing fields, stimulating peace, improving human rights and governance and driving international business in socially positive directions at a global level. Looking to the future, these international institutions and global deals are essential, because we need to continue to see the policies on social justice, development and the environment set out in [Parts 4, 5 and 6](#) of the full report adopted not just at a national level, but also internationally through global agreements.

However, ultimately no major nation can be forced to participate in such global deals, and they won't want to participate if it is unpopular with their public back home. Once again governments find their hands tied. In the end they must *want* to do a deal, which means they must be feeling significant domestic pressure for progress from their public. Therefore, in order to get the global deals we need to advance social justice, development and the environment, we need to see a global movement of domestic bottom-up reform movements emerging from civil society across different countries around the world. Such a movement is

especially key within the largest, most powerful G20 nations which have a controlling influence in any international process.

Ordinary Christians and the church must be at the heart of this global civil society movement for change. As we have seen, our resources as Christians to respond to the world's problems are vast. Whilst of course there are already many individual Christians, churches and Christian organisations doing wonderful work around the world, overall we have barely begun to unleash our potential to truly change our world. We are a sleeping giant with enormous untapped energy. All positive change must come from ordinary people like you and me, at the heart of civil society, and there is no more powerful group in the world to mobilise and shift civil society than the people of God, if we choose to find our voice, step up and speak out. If not us, then who will do this? If not now, then when? This is the task God is calling us to in this generation. He has placed us exactly where he needs us to be, in the nations, communities and situations where he needs us. Thus, in social justice, development and the environment, as well as evangelism and discipleship, ultimate power to effect change lies with ordinary Christians, like you and me. God is not looking to presidents, prime ministers, economists and captains of industry to change our world, he is looking to us.

We shouldn't be surprised at this. It is the way God has always worked. From the very beginning to the very end of the Bible, God has always raised up his people; ordinary people to challenge the powerful and change the world. We see Joseph and Moses influencing and challenging the pharaohs of Egypt. Later, the prophets did the same to the kings of Israel and Judah; and Daniel, Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah influenced Babylonian and Persian kings. In the New Testament, John the Baptist and Jesus himself spoke out against injustice from Herod, tax collectors, soldiers and Jewish religious authorities.



Figure xxi: To advance social justice, development and the environment, we need to see a global people movement demanding change. Such movements have driven the growth of democracy, reductions in poverty, and strengthening of human rights in the past. Christians have always been at the heart of such movements, and we must be at the heart of the global movement we need now.

This has also been true in more recent decades too. If we think back to the bottom-up nonviolent civil society reform movements of the past 200 years, Christians have been at the heart of so many of these. Christians successfully campaigned for the abolition of slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; for political and prison reform and improved worker rights in nineteenth century Britain; for the first social spending welfare states in nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe. They protected indigenous communities from colonial exploitation across Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC); Christian thinking hugely influenced Gandhi's people movements in South Africa and India; Christians protected Jewish communities in Nazi occupied Europe in the mid twentieth century. Later, Christians were at the heart of the US civil rights movement and spoke out for democracy, peace, reconciliation and development, and against oppressive regimes and corruption in many countries across post-colonial Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Christians have successfully advocated against the regimes of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, and against Augusto Pinochet in Chile. In the late 1980s and 1990s they were integral in the people movements in Poland, Russia and Eastern Europe which brought down Communism. They were also central to the movement that ended apartheid in South Africa. In more recent decades, Christians were at the heart of the Jubilee 2000 movement which cancelled billions of dollars of unpayable debt in developing countries, and in campaigning for action on the environment, including the achievement of the major 2015 *Paris Agreement* on climate change.

We are the inheritors of that amazing tradition of Christians standing up and speaking out in our generation. We are not powerless – on the contrary – we are the only ones who really do have the power to change our world. We are the ones we have been waiting for. We are the ones God is calling to Arise. We only need to find our voice, step up and speak out. But how do we actually do that? We can know and believe that in our heads and hearts, yet often that does not translate into meaningful action in our lives. We all lead busy lives. We are all overloaded by thousands of competing messages and demands vying for our time and attention every day. We need all the help we can get to begin to turn our vision into reality – in our lives and in our world – in manageable ways, one step at a time.

That is why Arise was set up. Instead of being overwhelmed with multiple good causes, Arise provides a one-stop shop, providing a holistic vision for the entire change we want to see in the world, together with actions to help you bring about that change, one step at a time. We exist to help convert your passion for change into action. We do this by focusing on two things ...

1. First, through this report we provide a holistic and Biblical Christian **vision** for a better world that is updated every five years.
2. Second, through our website we help ordinary Christians like you and me to **take one action each week to put that vision into practice**.

We take actions across the whole breadth of our vision for evangelism, discipleship, social justice, development and the environment for a changed world. However, we place particular focus upon the prioritised strategic interventions which we have seen are the most effective at the end of Parts 2 – 6 of the full report, and in this Summary. These are:

- a) **Evangelism**: mobilising ordinary Christians to share their faith confidently and effectively through our **Equipped to Share** course (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share),
- b) **Social Justice**: supporting bottom-up reform movements struggling to improve their societies around the world through our weekly campaign actions (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/reform-movements), and

- c) **Development and Environment**: campaigning for a third great green economy revolution to lift all out of poverty without wrecking the planet through our **Four Shifts** campaign (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/4-shifts).

(In addition we have seen how this report itself can be used as a simple spiritual health check for our journey of **Discipleship** by regularly looking at how we are doing against the actions in boxes for ordinary Christians in [Parts 2](#) and [3](#) of the full report.)

If the Christian vision for a better world that we explore together in this report resonates with you, then taking the first step to put this into action is the simplest thing in the world – go to the website and sign up to Arise (www.ariseuk.org/sign-up). We won't overload you. We will just email one practical, easy action each week that you can take. That's it! Do as many or as few of these as you can manage. We don't need your money and will never ask for it, but we do need you. Later you can go deeper and do more if you want to and as the Spirit prompts you, but starting with just one action a week (or whatever you can manage) makes this real and manageable. If you are interested, we can also connect you with other Christians in your church, community, town or city who have signed up to Arise, so we can encourage and support each other and work together for change.

As more and more of us Arise, the more and more powerful our movement will become. This is how God wants his people to be; dynamic, world changing, noticed and impactful. And when we, Jesus' followers, God's church, step up in this way, what a witness to our saviour we can be. How much more attractive to our world will our faith seem then! Will you join with us? Will you become part of the Arise movement? Together we can begin to change our world for the better. Now is our time. There is more to life than this. We are all called to be world changers, to lead lives of meaning and purpose that make a difference. No one else can do this apart from us. We have done it before and we can do it again. We are the ones God has tasked with this challenge in this generation. We are the ones we have been waiting for. Together we can do this. Join us today. Be part of something that will change the world forever ... Arise!

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD ARE HUGE ...

The world is messed up. Switch on the TV, read a newspaper or go online, and straight away it becomes clear we are living in a pretty broken and fractured world. Two out of every three people don't know Jesus.²⁴ There are 56 wars raging in the world at this very moment.²⁵ One in every three people lives under terrible human rights conditions.²⁶ One in ten of us live in absolute poverty on less than \$1.90 a day.²⁷ Greenhouse gas emissions have increased by more than 5000% since the industrial revolution began.²⁸ The total wildlife of the earth, on which we all depend for survival, has dropped by two thirds over the last 50 years alone.²⁹ This isn't the world our God wants, or that we as individual Christians want to see.

... BUT SO IS THE POTENTIAL OF THE WORLD'S CHRISTIANS

The great news is that we *can* begin to change this and make a difference. At the same time that we face such huge challenges, our potential as Christians to respond to them is vast. One in every three people globally is a Christian. Christianity is the world's largest and most globalised faith. It is the majority religion in every continent of the world except Asia, and in six out of seven of the world's most powerful G7 nations. Out of over 230 countries and independent territories in the world today, there are only 41 with a resident Christian population of less than 5%.³⁰ The church is the largest civil society organisation in the world. Its adherents are collectively more wealthy and politically influential than those of any other faith. Most importantly of all, we follow the living Lord of the universe ***“who is able to do immeasurably more than all we ask or imagine, according to his power that is at work within us.”***³¹ The

²⁴ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020)

²⁵ *UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, Version 21.1*, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2021); Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg & Håvard Strand (2002) *Armed Conflict 1946–2001: A New Dataset. Journal of Peace Research* 39(5): 615–637.; Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Högladh, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). *Organized violence 1989–2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. Journal of Peace Research* 58(4).

²⁶ *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House, (2021)

²⁷ *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022)

²⁸ *The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850–2018)*, Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)

²⁹ *Living Planet Index*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2022)

³⁰ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020)

³¹ Eph 3: 20

Father hears and answers our prayers,³² Jesus is with us “*always*”³³ and the Holy Spirit guides us and gives us everything we could ever possibly need for the task.³⁴

WE CAN BEGIN TO CHANGE OUR WORLD

If we come together, get mobilised and work for a Christian vision for a better world, we really can make a massive difference and begin to turn our world around. We can begin to see the number of people who come to know Jesus dramatically increase, conflict in our world reduce, human rights and democracy improve, poverty decline and our natural environment restored. Of course, there are millions of Christians who already live lives of radical service, as well as thousands of churches and Christian organisations doing amazing things in so many areas. But collectively, we are still not living up to our potential to really have a world changing impact. We are a sleeping giant. We need to come together, get mobilised and work for a Christian vision for a better world. We need to Arise!

THIS REPORT SUGGESTS AN APPROACH

This report is an attempt to bring us together and sketch out what a Christian vision for a better world might be, then consider how we can get mobilised to achieve it. We begin in [Part 1: The Mission of the Church](#) by considering theology. What actually is God’s big story in our world? What is the role of his church in delivering that story? What is the important role we each have to play as individual Christians in rolling that story out? We then suggest a process to discern what God’s vision for a better world might be. In [Parts 2 – 6](#) we follow this process and go on a journey to explore the shape of this vision together. We explore the five critical areas where the world needs to see transformation: [Evangelism](#), [Discipleship](#), [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#). We look at what a better world would mean in each of these areas, then consider where we have come from, where we are going and where we need to go next. This enables us to build a clear vision for a better world, together with the concrete steps we need to get there. (These steps are summarised in a box at the end of each section, and collected in the [Appendix](#).) Finally, in [Part 7: Mobilisation Plan](#) we address the practical matter of how the whole church, and we as individual Christians, can mobilise to bring about these transformations. Of course, we know our world will never be perfect until Jesus returns to usher in his kingdom in full, but it can and should be a lot better than it is now. In [Part 7](#) we find that surprisingly, the key to unlocking this vision and beginning to make it a reality lies not in the hands of politicians, economists or captains of industry, but with ordinary people like you and me living it out, just as Jesus always planned.

We offer this report and its vision for the church and the world in the twenty-first century, as both a challenge and a call to action. We hope it will provoke debate, prayer and action, for governments, for church leaders, but most of all for us as individual Christians. We hope it will play a part in helping to awake the sleeping giant of God’s people around the world. Now is our time. There is more to life than this. We are not powerless – on the contrary – we really do have the power to change our world. We are all called to be world changers, to lead lives of meaning and purpose that make a difference. We are the ones that God has tasked with this challenge. We are the ones we have been waiting for ... Arise!

³² Matt 21: 21 – 22; Mark 11: 23 – 24; Matt 7: 7 – 11

³³ Matt 28: 20

³⁴ Acts 1: 8; John 14: 26

PART 1: THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH

We begin our quest to develop a Christian vision for a better world where we should, by turning to the Bible and starting with our theology and an understanding of God's big story in our world.

WHAT IS GOD DOING IN THE WORLD? – CREATION, FALL, REDEMPTION, GLORY

God's story is one of creation, fall, redemption and glory. The story begins with the creation of the universe by God, as we read in the very first verse of the Bible, ***"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."***³⁵ The world was perfect, whole and complete, for ***"God saw all that he had made, and it was very good."***³⁶ Humanity lived in harmony and shalom in perfect relationship with God, each other, and creation. We hear how ***"The LORD God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it"***, and that God and his people together would go ***"walking in the garden in the cool of the day"***.³⁷ Humanity however has rebelled against God and gone our own way and sin has entered the world as a consequence. As Paul's letter to the Romans says ***"There is no one righteous, not even one; there is no one who understands, there is no one who seeks God. All have turned away, they have together become worthless; there is no one who does good, not even one ... Their feet are swift to shed blood; ruin and misery mark their ways, and the way of peace they do not know ... for all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God"***³⁸ This happened not just in humanity's heart, but also in the physical world. Decay entered God's creation for the first time and as a result, mortality, disease, storms, earthquakes and other natural disasters became normality. The fall essentially broke the world from the way it was meant to be. This can be characterised as broken relationships. The fall broke humanity's relationship with God, with each other, and with creation. We read how God said to Adam ***"Cursed is the ground because***

³⁵ Gen 1 – 2, see also Ex 20: 11; Nehemiah 9: 6; Job 38 – 41; Psalm 33: 6 – 9; Psalm 102: 25; Prov 8: 22 – 31; Isa 42: 5; Jer 10: 12; Jer 51: 15 – 16; John 1: 1 – 4; Acts 17: 24; Col 1: 16; Hebs 1: 10; Hebs 11: 3; Rev 10: 6 etc.

³⁶ Gen 1 – 2, see also 2 Sam 23: 4; Job 38 – 41; Psalm 19: 1 – 6; Psalm 65: 9 – 13; Psalm 104; Psalm 139: 14; Psalm 148; Prov 30: 24 – 31; Isa 40: 26; John 1: 1 – 4; 1 Cor 15: 21 etc.

³⁷ Gen 1 – 2; Gen 3: 8 – 9, see also John 1: 1 – 4

³⁸ Roms 1: 20 – 3: 20, 23, see also Gen 3; Psalm 14: 1 – 3; Psalm 143: 2; Isa 59: 1 – 16; John 1: 5, 9 – 11; John 3: 19 – 20; Roms 5: 12 – 21; 1 Cor 15: 21 – 22; Eph 2: 1 – 3; 1 John 2: 16; 1 John 3: 8 etc.

*of you; through painful toil you will eat food from it all the days of your life. It will produce thorns and thistles for you, and you will eat the plants of the field. By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food until you return to the ground, since from it you were taken; for dust you are and to dust you will return.”*³⁹

However, God so loved the world that he was not prepared to leave it in that state. When humanity was still in rebellion against him, he took the first step and came in the person of his son Jesus to suffer, die and rise again, in order to pay the price for our rebellion. As Jesus himself said *“the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many”*, and John testifies, *“This is how God showed his love among us: He sent his one and only Son into the world that we might live through him. This is love: not that we loved God, but that he loved us and sent his Son as an atoning sacrifice for our sins.”*⁴⁰ Jesus’ death and resurrection brought about the possibility of redemption for every person who will repent of their sins and turn back to God, *“For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life.”*⁴¹ Even more than this, Jesus’ life, death and resurrection began to bring in the kingdom of God, and began to restore and reconcile all things – humanity and the rest of creation – towards its pre-fall state of perfection. Jesus restores those broken relationships between humanity and God, but also between ourselves and others, and with creation. Thus, Paul tells us that God’s plan was *“through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether things on earth or things in heaven, by making peace through his blood, shed on the cross ... This is the gospel that you heard and that has been proclaimed to every creature under heaven”* and elsewhere that *“the creation waits in eager expectation for the children of God to be revealed. For the creation was subjected to frustration, not by its own choice, but by the will of the one who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself will be liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the freedom and glory of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning as in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time.”*⁴²

After he ascended, Jesus entrusted the continuation of this work – to advance the kingdom of God in the world – to his followers, God’s people, the church, to every one of us who calls ourselves a Christian. Jesus instructed them to *“go and proclaim the kingdom of God”*, to *“go, proclaim this message: ‘The kingdom of heaven has come near.’ Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse those who have leprosy, drive out demons. Freely you have received, freely give”*, so that, *“you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.”*⁴³ He didn’t leave them alone and unaided, but sent the Holy Spirit to empower them in this task. As Jesus told his followers, *“the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom*

³⁹ Gen 3: 17 – 23, see also Gen 5: 29; Deut 32: 10; Isa 41: 17 – 20; Isa 49: 8 – 10; Jer 2: 6; Hosea 4: 1 – 3; Hosea 6: 7; Roms 5: 14; Roms 8: 19 – 22; 1 Cor 15: 21 – 22; Rev 21: 4 – 5

⁴⁰ Matt 20: 28; 1 John 4: 9 – 10, see also Isa 53; Mark 10: 45; John 1: 29; John 3: 16 – 21; John 10: 10 – 18; John 12: 46; Roms 3: 21 – 27; Roms 4: 23 – 25; Roms 5: 1 – 2, 6 – 11; Roms 6: 3 – 11; Roms 10: 4, 9, 13; 2 Cor 5: 21; Eph 2: 1 – 9; Phil 2: 5 – 11; 1 Tim 2: 5 – 6; Titus 2: 14; 1 Pet 1: 18 – 21; 1 John 3: 16; Rev 5: 6 – 12 etc.

⁴¹ John 3: 16 – 21, 36, see also John 5: 24; John 6: 32 – 58; John 12: 46; Roms 1: 16; Roms 4: 23 – 25; Roms 5: 1 – 2, 6 – 11; Roms 6: 3 – 11; Roms 10: 4, 9, 13; Gal 2: 16, 20; 1 Tim 1: 15 – 16; 2 Tim 1: 8 – 10; Titus 2: 14; Titus 3: 3 – 7 etc.

⁴² Col 1: 15 – 20, 23; Roms 8: 19 – 22, see also 1 Chron 16: 30 – 33; Psalm 96: 10 – 13; Psalm 98: 7 – 9; Psalm 148: 6; Isa 9: 6 – 7; Isa 11: 6 – 9; Isa 49: 8 – 10; Isa 51: 3; Eze 47: 1 – 12; Matt 19: 28; Acts 3: 21; 2 Cor 5: 19; James 1: 18; Rev 3: 12; Rev 21 – 22 etc.

⁴³ Luke 9: 59 – 60; Matt 10: 7 – 8; Acts 1: 8, see also Isa 58: 2 – 7; Micah 6: 8; Zech 7: 2 – 12; Matt 6: 10, 33; Matt 9: 35 – 38; Matt 24: 14; Matt 25: 14 – 30; Matt 28: 18 – 20; Mark 6: 12 – 13; Mark 16: 15 – 18; Luke 9: 1 – 2; Luke 10: 9, 11; Luke 11: 2; Luke 12: 31 – 32; Luke 19: 11 – 26; John 14: 12; Acts 8: 12; Acts 19: 8; Acts 28: 23 etc.

*the Father will send in my name, will teach you all things and will remind you of everything I have said to you” for they were to be “clothed with power from on high.”*⁴⁴

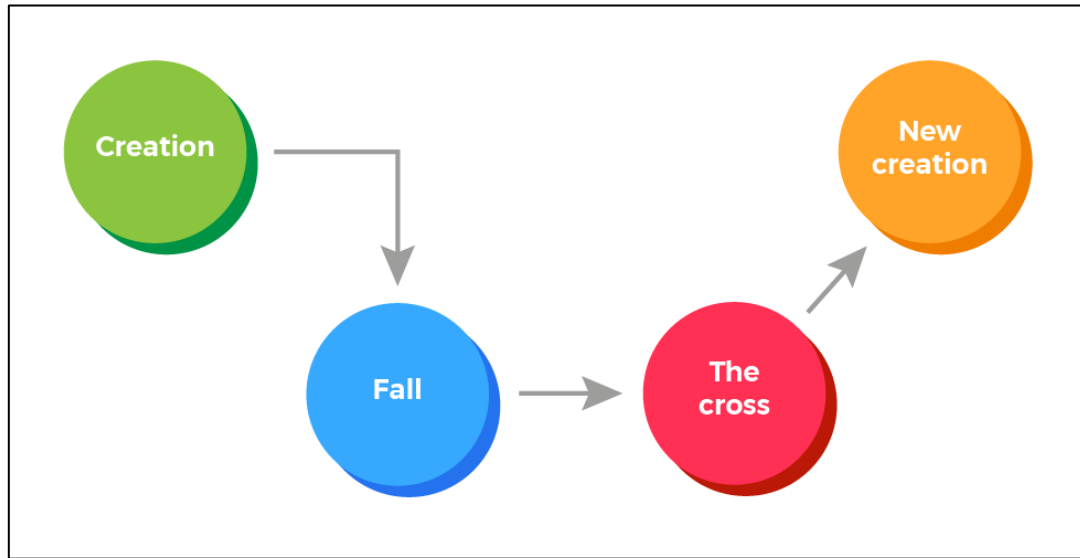


Figure 1.1: God's story

Whilst this work to grow and extend the kingdom must always continue, it will never result in a utopia. The work will only be completed when Christ himself returns in glory, ***“For the Son of Man is going to come in his Father’s glory with his angels”***,⁴⁵ ushering in the kingdom of God in full, restoring all broken relationships; between God and humanity, between humans, and between humans and creation, restoring all of creation to its pre-fall state of perfection with God. We hear in Revelation, ***“Look! God’s dwelling place is now among the people, and he will dwell with them. They will be his people, and God himself will be with them and be their God. ‘He will wipe every tear from their eyes. There will be no more death’ or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away”***, and in Isaiah, ***“The wolf and the lamb will feed together, and the lion will eat straw like the ox ... They will neither harm nor destroy on all my holy mountain”***.⁴⁶ Crucially, the restored kingdom in Revelation is noticeably different from the pre-fall world of Genesis. We have moved from a pre-fall ***‘garden’*** in Genesis to a ***‘Holy City’*** when the kingdom is restored in Revelation.⁴⁷ Thus our story is really one of creation, fall, redemption and new creation. There is a moving on, dynamic quality of the kingdom of God. It will be different from the pre-fall world.⁴⁸ Thus, scripture ends looking forward to this great day for ***“He who testifies to these things says, ‘Yes, I am coming soon’”*** and the Bible ends with a wholehearted ***“Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.”***⁴⁹

⁴⁴ John 14: 16 – 18, 26; Luke 24: 49, see also Matt 3: 11; Mark 1: 8; Luke 3: 16; John 7: 38 – 39; Acts 1: 4 – 5, 8; Acts 2: 1 – 18, 33, 38; Acts 8: 15 – 17; Acts 9: 17 – 18; Acts 10: 44 – 47; Acts 19: 1 – 7; 1 Cor 2: 10 – 16 etc.

⁴⁵ Matt 16: 27 – 28, see also Matt 19: 28 – 30; Matt 24: 30 – 31, 36 – 44; Matt 26: 64; Mark 13: 26 – 27; Mark 14: 61 – 62; Luke 9: 26 – 27; Luke 17: 22 – 30; Luke 21: 27; Acts 1: 11; 1 Thess 3: 13; Rev 19 – 22 etc.

⁴⁶ Rev 21 – 22; Isa 65: 17 – 25, see also 1 Chron 16: 30 – 33; Psalm 96: 10 – 13; Isa 2: 2 – 4; Isa 11; Isa 25: 6 – 9; Isa 35: 5 – 10; Dan 7: 13 – 28; Micah 4: 1 – 8; Matt 6: 10; Matt 19: 28 – 30; Luke 1: 32 – 33; Roms 8: 18 – 25; 1 Cor 15; 2 Cor 5: 19; Col 1: 15 – 20, 23; James 1: 18; 2 Peter 3: 7 – 13; Rev 3: 12; Rev 7: 14 – 17; Rev 12: 10 etc.

⁴⁷ Gen 1 – 3, Rev 21 – 22

⁴⁸ Isa 35: 5 – 10; Eze 47: 1 – 12; Zech 14: 5 – 11; Rev 3: 12; Rev 22

⁴⁹ Rev 22: 20

WHAT IS THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH? – ADVANCING THE KINGDOM OF GOD

So, if that is God’s big story across history, where are we now within that picture and what is our role now as his followers, his church? Essentially, we are now living in the period between the redemption (when Jesus won the victory through his death and resurrection), and the final glory (when he will return to fully establish his kingdom and that victory). Jesus spoke at great length about how he was bringing in the kingdom of God. We hear how ***“Jesus went through all the towns and villages, teaching in their synagogues, proclaiming the good news of the kingdom and healing every disease and sickness”*** and when the crowds tried to detain him for too long, he told them, ***“I must proclaim the good news of the kingdom of God to the other towns also, because that is why I was sent.”***⁵⁰ This was the task that he entrusted to all of us as his followers, who together make up his church, to continue after he ascended. As we have seen, this is not something we do alone, for Jesus sent the Holy Spirit to live, breathe in us, and guide us as we advance his kingdom.⁵¹ The mission of the church then, is to use all of our time, energy and resources to continue to expand the kingdom of God, for we read how Jesus gave his followers ***“power and authority to drive out all demons and to cure diseases, and he sent them to proclaim the kingdom of God and to heal the sick”*** with urgency so that ***“this gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world as a testimony to all nations”***.⁵² This can be seen as a continuation of that process of restoring those broken relationships between people and God (evangelism and discipleship), between people and other people (social justice and development), and between people and creation (environment).

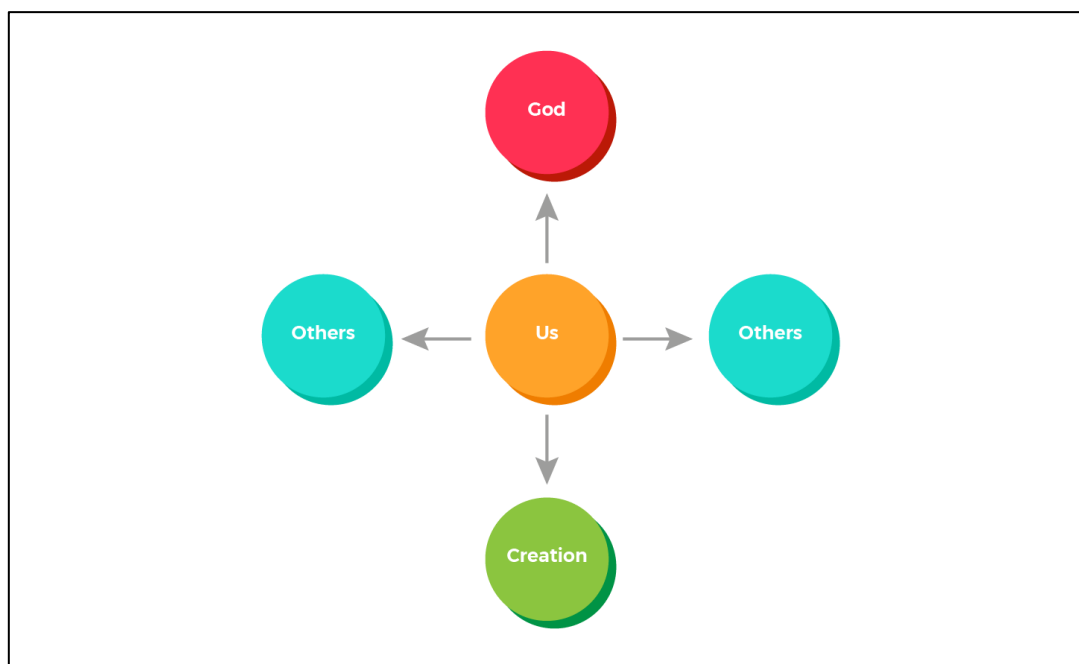


Figure 1.2: Restoring broken relationships

⁵⁰ Matt 9: 35 – 36; Luke 4: 43, see also Isa 42: 1 – 16; Matt 3: 2; Matt 4: 23 – 24; Matt 11: 2 – 5; Matt 12: 18 – 21, 28; Matt 21: 31 – 32; Mark 1: 14 – 15; Mark 11: 8 – 10; Luke 4: 16 – 21; Luke 7: 22; Luke 8: 1; Luke 9: 11; Luke 11: 20; Acts 1: 3 etc.

⁵¹ Matt 3: 11; Mark 1: 8; Luke 3: 16; Luke 24: 49; John 7: 38 – 39; John 14: 16 – 18, 26; Acts 1: 4 – 5, 8; Acts 2: 1 – 18, 33, 38; Acts 8: 15 – 17; Acts 9: 17 – 18; Acts 10: 44 – 47; Acts 19: 1 – 7; 1 Cor 2: 10 – 16 etc.

⁵² Luke 9: 1 – 2, 59 – 60; Matt 24: 14, see also Isa 58: 2 – 7; Micah 6: 8; Zech 7: 2 – 12; Matt 6: 10, 33; Matt 9: 35 – 38; Matt 10: 7 – 8; Matt 25: 14 – 30; Matt 28: 18 – 20; Mark 6: 12 – 13; Mark 16: 15 – 18; Luke 10: 9, 11; Luke 11: 2; Luke 12: 31 – 32; Luke 19: 11 – 26; John 14: 12; Acts 1: 8; Acts 8: 12; Acts 19: 8; Acts 28: 23 etc.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS HOLISTIC

The process of restoration includes spreading the good news of the gospel so that people might come to a personal relationship with God through Jesus' death and resurrection. However, it also includes restoring other aspects of this broken world to the way God originally intended them to be. That means meeting physical, social, economic and environmental needs, as well as spiritual ones. For much of history, large parts of the church have only focused on 'spiritual transformation'; evangelism and personal discipleship, and rejected the need to also advance the kingdom of God by addressing social injustice, poverty and environmental degradation. Other parts of the church at various times in history have done the opposite, uncomfortable with the need for spiritual transformation through evangelism and personal discipleship, they have emphasised tackling injustice, poverty or environmental sustainability instead. However, most of the church throughout history and today, and from all the main traditions and denominations around the world, recognises the holistic nature of mission in expanding the kingdom of God. Mission is about meeting all needs, not just spiritual, but also physical, social, economic and environmental. All should be held together in the holistic way Jesus worked and talked about the kingdom of God – this has often been described as 'Integral Mission'.

We hear this in the way Jesus set out his mission statement at the start of his ministry in the famous 'Nazareth manifesto', ***“He went to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and on the Sabbath day he went into the synagogue, as was his custom. He stood up to read, and the scroll of the prophet Isaiah was handed to him. Unrolling it, he found the place where it is written: ‘The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to set the oppressed free, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favour.’ Then he rolled up the scroll, gave it back to the attendant and sat down. The eyes of everyone in the synagogue were fastened on him. He began by saying to them, ‘Today this scripture is fulfilled in your hearing.’”*** Later when John the Baptist sent his disciples to see if Jesus truly was the coming messiah, Jesus once again describes a beautiful holistic picture of what the coming of the kingdom of God looks like, ***“Go back and report to John what you hear and see: The blind receive sight, the lame walk, those who have leprosy are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the good news is proclaimed to the poor.”***⁵³

WHAT IS THE MISSION OF EVERY CHRISTIAN? – PLAY OUR PART IN ADVANCING THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The holistic mission that Jesus entrusted to his church is our mission as followers of Jesus in our own individual lives. God's will for every Christian is to use all the time, money, gifts, freedoms, information, skills and other resources he has given us, to advance the kingdom of God in the places where we live and work. As Jesus said, the focus of our lives should be to ***“seek first his kingdom and his righteousness”, to “go and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you”, for “He has shown you, O mortal, what is good. And what does the LORD require of you? To act justly and to love mercy and to walk***

⁵³ Luke 4: 16 – 21; Matt 11: 2 – 5, see also Isa 42: 1 – 16; Isa 58: 2 – 7; Micah 6: 8; Zech 7: 2 – 12; Matt 4: 23; Matt 6: 10; Matt 9: 35 – 38; Matt 10: 7 – 8; Matt 12: 18 – 21; Mark 6: 12 – 13; Mark 16: 15 – 18; Luke 7: 22; Luke 9: 1 – 2, 11; Luke 10: 9 etc.

humbly with your God”, and “whoever believes in me will do the works I have been doing, and they will do even greater things than these”.⁵⁴

THE MISSION WON'T BE COMPLETED UNTIL JESUS RETURNS

The Bible is clear that the mission of the church, and every individual Christian to expand the kingdom of God will not be fully completed until Jesus returns, and indeed we may face significant opposition. A perfect world prior to Christ returning is not possible.⁵⁵ However, when Jesus does return, he will not burn up creation and whisk away those who know him to a ‘heaven’ in the sky, but he will come down to redeem and restore all of creation in an earthy and real way – the way he originally intended it to be. He will fully restore all the broken relationships between humanity and God, between humans, and between humans and creation, to establish in full the perfect kingdom of God.⁵⁶ Just as Jesus’ body was renewed and transformed, but still very real and physical, after his death and resurrection,⁵⁷ and ours too will be renewed and transformed into our heavenly, but still physical, bodies when he comes again,⁵⁸ so too the whole of creation, whilst it may similarly pass through some sort of tribulation, will be renewed, restored, healed and transformed to the way God always intended it to be, as the new heaven and earth.

Jesus explains how that day will see *“the renewal of all things, when the Son of Man sits on his glorious throne”*. In Micah we hear how *“He will judge between many peoples and will settle disputes for strong nations far and wide. They will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore”*, and Isaiah tells us *“The wolf will live with the lamb, the leopard will lie down with the goat, the calf and the lion and the yearling together; and a little child will lead them. The cow will feed with the bear, their young will lie down together, and the lion will eat straw like the ox. The infant will play near the cobra’s den, and the young child put its hand into the viper’s nest. They will neither harm nor destroy on all my holy mountain, for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the LORD as the waters cover the sea.”⁵⁹* In this context, all good works undertaken by the church and individual Christians before Christ returns will not be wasted, but will contribute to the final complete picture of restoration. Therefore, although we can never know completion and perfection, we can see the

⁵⁴ Matt 6: 33; Matt 28: 18 – 20; Micah 6: 8; John 14: 12, see also Isa 58: 2 – 7; Zech 7: 2 – 12; Eccles 12: 13; Matt 5: 13 – 16; Matt 6: 10; Matt 9: 35 – 38; Matt 10: 7 – 8; Matt 24: 14; Matt 25: 14 – 30; Mark 6: 12 – 13; Mark 16: 15 – 18; Luke 9: 1 – 2, 59 – 60; Luke 10: 9, 11; Luke 11: 2; Luke 12: 31 – 32; Luke 19: 11 – 26; Acts 1: 8; Acts 8: 12; Acts 19: 8; Acts 28: 23 etc.

⁵⁵ Matt 16: 27 – 28; Matt 19: 28 – 30; Matt 24: 30 – 31, 36 – 44; Matt 26: 64; Mark 13: 26 – 27; Mark 14: 61 – 62; Luke 9: 26 – 27; Luke 17: 22 – 30; Luke 21: 27; Acts 1: 11; 1 Thess 3: 13; Rev 19 – 22 etc.

⁵⁶ 1 Chron 16: 30 – 33; Psalm 96: 10 – 13; Isa 2: 2 – 4; Isa 11; Isa 25: 6 – 9; Isa 35: 5 – 10; Isa 65: 17 – 25; Dan 7: 13 – 28; Micah 4: 1 – 8; Matt 6: 10; Matt 19: 28 – 30; Luke 1: 32 – 33; Roms 8: 18 – 25; 1 Cor 15; 2 Cor 5: 19; Col 1: 15 – 20, 23; James 1: 18; 2 Peter 3: 7 – 13; Rev 3: 12; Rev 7: 14 – 17; Rev 12: 10; Rev 21 – 22 etc.

⁵⁷ Matt 28; Mark 16; Luke 24; John 20 – 21; Acts 1: 1 – 9; Acts 2: 31 – 33; Acts 13: 37; Roms 6: 3 – 11; 1 Cor 15; 2 Cor 4: 7 – 14; Phil 3: 20 – 21; Col 1: 15 – 22; 1 Tim 3: 16; 1 Pet 3: 18

⁵⁸ Roms 6: 3 – 11; 1 Cor 15; 2 Cor 4: 7 – 14; 2 Cor 5: 1 – 7, 17; Phil 3: 20 – 21; Col 1: 15 – 22

⁵⁹ Matt 19: 28 – 30; Micah 4: 1 – 8; Isa 11, see also 1 Chron 16: 30 – 33; Psalm 96: 10 – 13; Isa 2: 2 – 4; Isa 25: 6 – 9; Isa 35: 5 – 10; Isa 65: 17 – 25; Dan 7: 13 – 28; Matt 6: 10; Luke 1: 32 – 33; Roms 8: 18 – 25; 1 Cor 15; 2 Cor 5: 19; Col 1: 15 – 20, 23; James 1: 18; 2 Peter 3: 7 – 13; Rev 3: 12; Rev 7: 14 – 17; Rev 12: 10; Rev 21 – 22 etc.

world in a much better state than it is today. Thus, the role of the church⁶⁰ and every Christian,⁶¹ is to strive ceaselessly to expand the kingdom and to significantly improve our world. We are to lead lives of meaning, purpose and significance, lives that matter and make a difference, lives of radical discipleship in every area, bringing the kingdom into this broken world in our everyday actions. We are to Arise!

PROCESS FOR DEVELOPING A CHRISTIAN VISION FOR A BETTER WORLD

So, if our theology is to do all we can, with the time and resources we have, to advance the kingdom of God and bring the world to as close to a perfect state as possible before Jesus returns. Then, what is our clear and specific Christian vision of that better world, and what is our plan to achieve it? How do we figure this out?

The rest of this report attempts to develop just such a vision. Of course, this can only ever be ‘a’ Christian vision for a better world, not ‘the’ Christian vision for a better world. Not every Christian would agree with all aspects of it. Furthermore, any such vision will need to evolve and change with time, as knowledge and understanding grows (more on that later). Nevertheless, Arise believes that developing a Christian vision for a better world is essential for us as individual Christians, and the church as a whole, in order to be as inspired, relevant, strategic, focused and impactful as possible. So, as we go on this journey of exploration together, we shall use the following process to build up our vision:

- **Start with the end in mind** – First, as with any good strategy, we begin at the end, determining clearly what success would look like. What are we aiming for? Having established our goal, we turn to two key sources to figure out the steps to get there ...
 1. **What does the Bible say?** – What guidance do we have in the Bible about how to live our lives, and the kind of transformation God wants to see in the world? (Extensive Biblical references are given throughout the report. All quotes are from the New International Version.)⁶²
 2. **What does history teach us?** – Next we turn to the lessons of history. What has worked in the past to secure positive change and take us closer to the perfect world? (Extensive references from the most authoritative sources, organisations and experts for each field are provided throughout. Many more could be added, but space does not permit. Summary details for each reference are given in the footnotes throughout the report. Full publication details, editions, websites etc. are given in the Bibliography at the end. Further evidence is available from Arise on request.)
- **Bring it all together** – Having surveyed these sources, we bring the ideas and lessons together into a coherent and holistic vision for the better world we want to see, and the steps we need to take to get there.

⁶⁰ Isa 58: 2 – 7; Micah 6: 8; Zech 7: 2 – 12; Matt 6: 10, 33; Matt 9: 35 – 38; Matt 10: 7 – 8; Matt 24: 14; Matt 25: 14 – 30; Matt 28: 18 – 20; Mark 6: 12 – 13; Mark 16: 15 – 18; Luke 9: 1 – 2, 59 – 60; Luke 10: 9, 11; Luke 11: 2; Luke 12: 31 – 32; Luke 19: 11 – 26; John 14: 12; Acts 1: 8; Acts 8: 12; Acts 19: 8; Acts 28: 23 etc.

⁶¹ Isa 58: 2 – 7; Micah 6: 8; Zech 7: 2 – 12; Eccles 12: 13; Matt 5: 13 – 16; Matt 6: 10, 33; Matt 9: 35 – 38; Matt 10: 7 – 8; Matt 24: 14; Matt 25: 14 – 30; Matt 28: 18 – 20; Mark 6: 12 – 13; Mark 16: 15 – 18; Luke 9: 1 – 2, 59 – 60; Luke 10: 9, 11; Luke 11: 2; Luke 12: 31 – 32; Luke 19: 11 – 26; John 14: 12; Acts 1: 8; Acts 8: 12; Acts 19: 8; Acts 28: 23 etc.

⁶² Scriptures taken from the Holy Bible, New International Version®, NIV®. Copyright © 1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 by Biblica, Inc.™ Used by permission of Zondervan. All rights reserved worldwide. www.zondervan.com The “NIV” and “New International Version” are trademarks registered in the United States Patent and Trademark Office by Biblica, Inc.™

- **Implementation Plan** – Finally, having established the world we want to see and the steps we need to take to get there, we need to identify a concrete implementation plan to set these steps in motion.

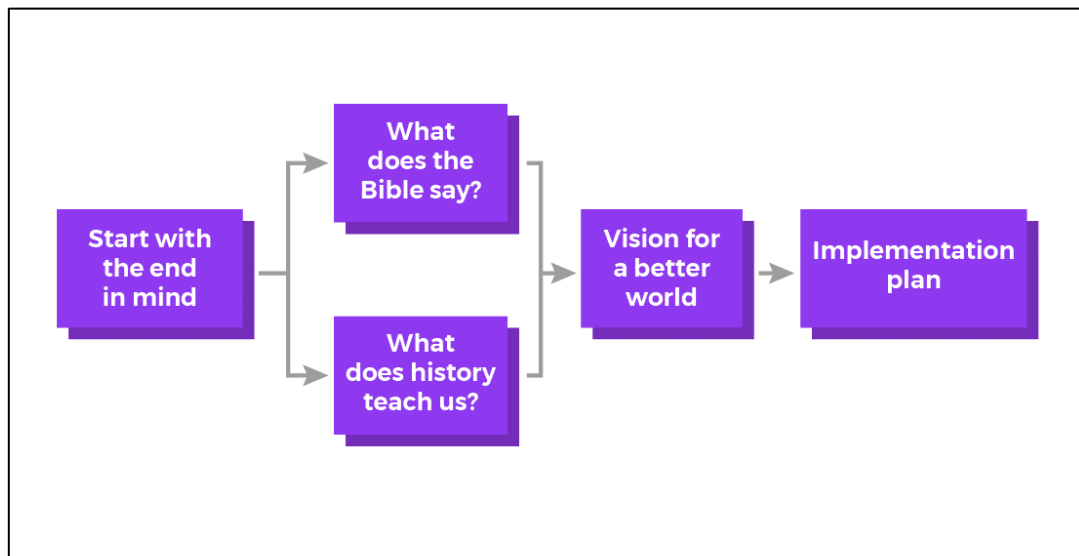


Figure 1.3: Process for developing a Christian vision for a better world

START WITH THE END IN MIND – WHAT DOES THE KINGDOM OF GOD/A PERFECT, RESTORED WORLD LOOK LIKE?

Starting at the beginning of this process then, let us consider what a perfect, restored world would look like? Arise believes there are five key characteristics of a holistic restored world, which form the focus of the following five parts of this report.

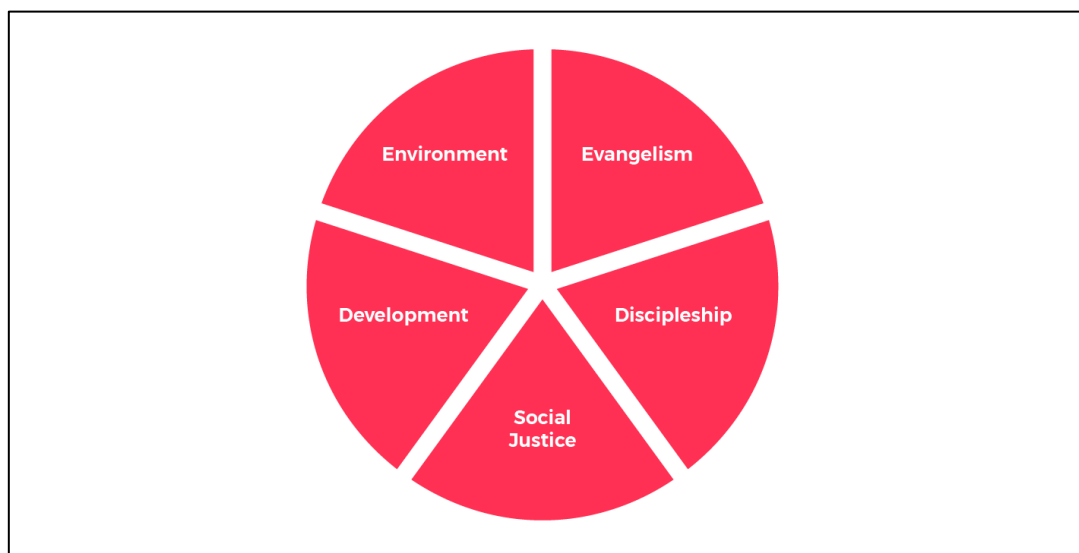


Figure 1.4: The mission of the church and every individual Christian

1) Evangelism

Perhaps foremost in our minds as Bible believing Christians, would be that everyone in the world would have been reconciled and restored in their relationship with God through repentance and a personal relationship with Christ. The Bible is clear that everyone needs to know Jesus and come to a personal faith in him. It is the duty of the church, and our duty as individual Christians, to bring this good news to all, and to convert as many as possible. Famously after Jesus rose from the dead, and before he ascended, one of the last things he did was to send his followers out to share the gospel in the ‘Great Commission’, ***“Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you.”*** Later, Paul modelled the sense of passion and urgency with which we should be sharing our faith when he said ***“Though I am free and belong to no one, I have made myself a slave to everyone, to win as many as possible. To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law ... so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law ... so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all people so that by all possible means I might save some. I do all this for the sake of the gospel”***. Thus, the first clear outcome for our vision is that the whole world, or as many people as possible, have a personal relationship with Jesus. We can summarise this objective as **Evangelism**.⁶³



Figure 1.5: Sharing the good news of Jesus with friends and family through evangelism, a core part of the mission of the church and every Christian.

⁶³ Matt 28: 19 – 20; 1 Cor 9: 19 – 22, see also Matt 18: 12 – 14; Matt 22: 2 – 10; Matt 24: 14; Mark 13: 10; Mark 16: 15 – 20; John 1: 7; 12 – 13; John 3: 14 – 21; John 6: 39 – 40; Acts 1: 8; Acts 5: 42; Roms 10: 14 – 15, 17; Phil 2: 10 – 11; 1 Tim 2: 3 – 4; 2 Pet 3: 9; Rev 14: 6 – 7 etc.

2) Discipleship

However, a few months spent in any church on the face of the earth will demonstrate that even when we do have a relationship with Jesus, all is not necessarily harmonious and perfect. Evangelism alone will not result in a perfect world. People who know Jesus also need to increasingly follow his teaching, and become more and more like him in their everyday lives. This means emptying ourselves entirely, reorientating our lives to put God and others first, and being obedient to God's will and calling in our lives. As the second letter to the Corinthians says, *"those who live should no longer live for themselves but for him who died for them and was raised again"*, and Peter urges *"make every effort to add to your faith goodness; and to goodness, knowledge; and to knowledge, self-control; and to self-control, perseverance; and to perseverance, godliness; and to godliness, mutual affection; and to mutual affection, love. For if you possess these qualities in increasing measure, they will keep you from being ineffective and unproductive in your knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."* Thus, the second clear outcome for our vision is that the whole world, or at least all Christians, are growing deeper in their relationship with Jesus. We can summarise this objective as **Discipleship**.⁶⁴

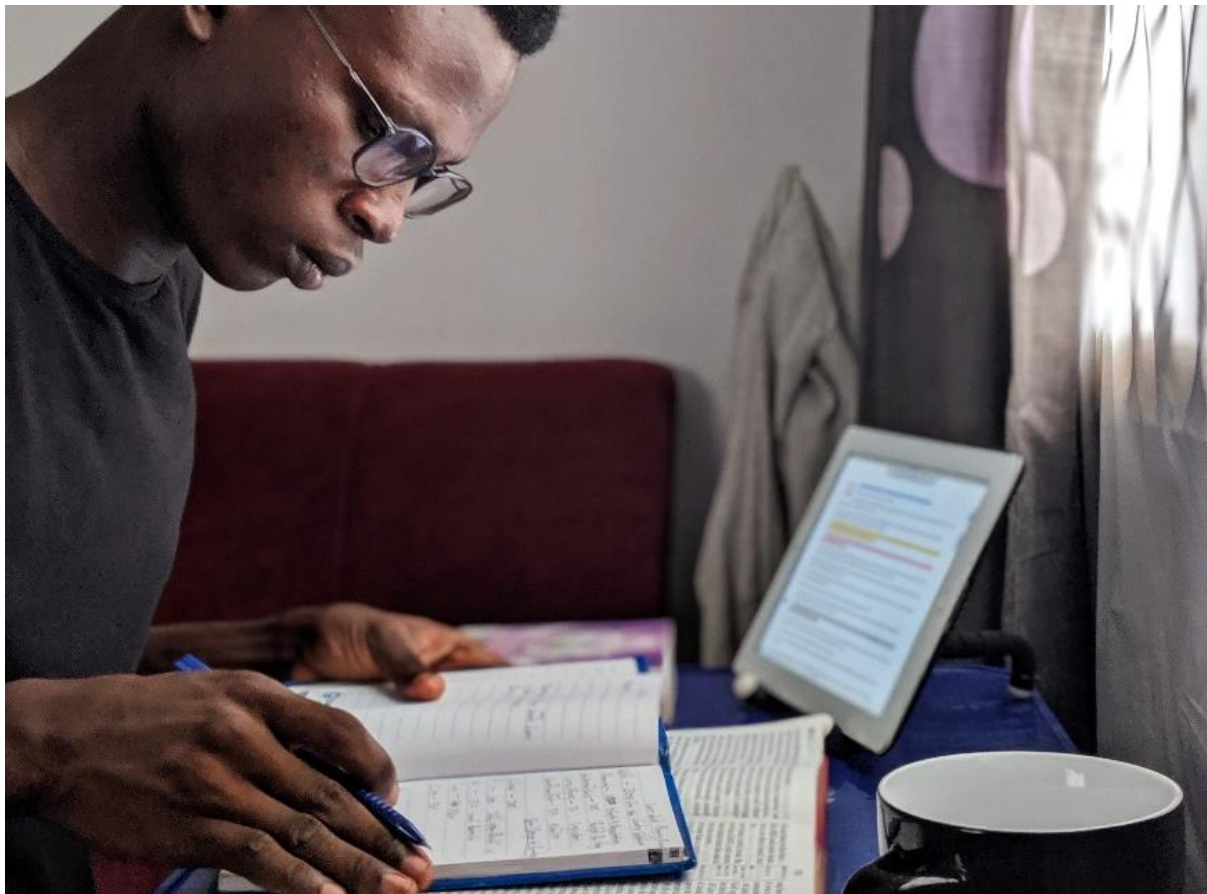


Figure 1.6: Growing in faith through discipleship, a core part of the mission of the church and every Christian.

⁶⁴ 2 Cor 5: 15; 2 Pet 1: 5 – 8, see also Matt 28: 19 – 20; Roms 5: 3 – 4; Roms 12 – 13; 1 Cor 9: 24 – 27; 1 Cor 13; 2 Cor 3: 18; Eph 4 – 6; Col 1: 10 – 12; 1 Thess 4: 1; 1 Tim 4: 7 – 8, 15 – 16; Hebs 12: 1 – 17; 1 Pet 4: 2; 1 John 2: 6 etc.

3) Social Justice

If everyone in the world were a Christian, and all perfectly disciplined, we should in theory end all injustice between human beings. However, as we have already seen, this is a process that will take a long time and will not be fully completed until Jesus returns. Therefore, in our current world there are millions of non-Christians and Christians who behave in enormously unjust ways and cause huge suffering as a result. This happens both at an individual level, but also in social and structural injustices which have become locked into the working of our societies. Throughout history, Christians, and humans in general, have proved themselves perfectly capable of being generous, humble and gracious to one other on a personal level, whilst owning slaves or supporting fascist policies at the same time. This is because social injustice is more complex than simple personal behaviour and morality. It relates to how systems are set up and maintained, not simply how individuals behave on a personal level. As such, it is essential for the church to address social justice and systemic sin, not just individual personal morality. We cannot wait until all are converted and all are disciplined to solve this.



Figure 1.7: Fighting for social justice, a core part of the mission of the church and every Christian.

We see this in the book of Isaiah, where God strongly confronts those who believe the right things and practice religious rituals, but neglect to address social injustice, ***“Is not this the kind of fasting I have chosen: to loose the chains of injustice and untie the cords of the yoke, to set the oppressed free and break every yoke? Is it not to share your food with the hungry and to provide the poor wanderer with shelter – when you see the naked, to clothe them, and not to turn away from your own flesh and blood? ... if you spend yourselves on behalf of the hungry and satisfy the needs of the oppressed, then your light will rise in the darkness, and your night will become like the noonday.”*** Again in the New Testament, Jesus made social justice central to his mission statement in Nazareth when he said ***“The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to set the oppressed free, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favour”***. Jesus too was scathing of those who believe

in God and follow religious practices but *“have neglected the more important matters of the law – justice, mercy and faithfulness”* and *“devour widows’ houses”*. The church therefore must have another strand of work focusing on social justice; to tackle conflict, oppression and abuse in our global society, whilst still outworking its goals of evangelism and discipleship. Our perfect world would also see no wars, no torture, no arrest or imprisonment without fair trial, democracy, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, no discrimination etc. We can summarise this objective as **Social Justice**.⁶⁵

4) Development

Our perfect world would also be one without poverty. It is tempting to think that poverty would end if all people became discipled Christians, and we tackled systemic social injustice. However, tackling poverty is not just about ending injustice, but also about technological advancements, as well as improvements in our understanding of how economic and social policies are best used. Both injustice and ignorance need to be addressed in order to tackle poverty. Therefore, our perfect world would also be one where poverty is ended.



Figure 1.8: Eliminating poverty through development, a core part of the mission of the church and every Christian.

We read that when God’s people entered the Holy Land they were instructed *“If anyone is poor among your fellow Israelites in any of the towns of the land the LORD your God is giving you, do not be hardhearted or tightfisted towards them. Rather be openhanded and freely lend them whatever they need ... Give generously to them and do so without a grudging heart ... be openhanded toward your fellow Israelites who are poor and needy in your land”*, and the Proverbs say *“The righteous care about justice for the poor”*. Later, in the New Testament, James tells us *“Religion that God our Father accepts as pure and*

⁶⁵ Isa 58: 6 – 10; Luke 4: 18; Matt 23: 23; Mark 12: 40; Luke 20: 47, see also Psalm 82: 3 – 4; Prov 13: 23; Prov 31: 8 – 9; Isa 1: 11 – 17; Isa 2: 2 – 4; Isa 59: 1 – 16; Jer 7: 1 – 11; Amos 5; Micah 4: 1 – 4; Micah 6: 8; Matt 12: 17 – 21; Matt 21: 12 – 13; Mark 11: 15 – 17; Luke 11: 42; Luke 18: 7 – 8; Luke 19: 45 – 46; James 1: 27 etc.

faultless is this: to look after orphans and widows in their distress” and the apostles instruct Paul that in all he does, he *“should continue to remember the poor, the very thing I had been eager to do all along.”* Thus, our perfect world would be one where poverty is eliminated – all have sufficient food to eat, access to safe water and sanitation, adequate housing, a job or livelihood, education, good healthcare (for both physical and mental health), and, in our modern world, access to electricity and the internet. It would also be a world where levels of inequality within and between nations are being reduced. We can summarise this objective as Development.⁶⁶

5) Environment

If this report had been written 50 years ago, we could probably stop here. We have defined our perfect world as one where all know Jesus, where all are discipled, and where systemic social injustice and poverty have been eliminated. However, evangelism, discipleship, social justice and development are all entirely dependent on a continuing healthy and flourishing natural environment, which provides the fresh water and food we need to survive, the clean air we need to breathe, the clothing we wear, the natural resources to build our homes and on which our economy is based, etc. For thousands of years, we have taken a healthy environment as a given. However, as our scientific understanding has advanced, we are increasingly aware that this is no longer the case. Our current high carbon, extreme pollution, mass consumption way of living is having a hugely damaging impact on the natural environment on which we all depend. For many Christians this has also prompted a re-examination of what the Bible says on this issue, and a re-discovery that it has always been clear that our world is created by God, owned by God, that creation is good, and that humanity is to be a loving steward of the natural resources of creation, not an exploiter. Finally, it is clear that through Jesus’ death and resurrection, God is redeeming and restoring not just humanity, but the whole of creation.

Our perfect world would therefore also be one where the natural environment flourishes and humanity does not pollute and degrade it but lives in balance with it. We read in Genesis that the first instruction God gave to humanity was to take care of his creation, for *“The LORD God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it”*. Proverbs adds *“The righteous care for the needs of their animals”*. As God told the Israelites when he led them into the Holy Land, *“The land must not be sold permanently, because the land is mine and you reside in my land as foreigners and strangers.”* Later the Psalms tell us *“The LORD is good to all; he has compassion on all he has made”* and that *“You, LORD, preserve both people and animals”*, for as we have seen through Jesus’ death and resurrection, not just humanity but *“creation itself will be liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the freedom and glory of the children of God.”* As such, the church must have a fifth and final objective in its vision – to protect the Environment.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Deut 15: 4 – 11; Prov 29: 7; James 1: 27; Gal 2: 10, see also Lev 25: 35 – 37; Deut 10: 17 – 18; Psalm 12: 5; Psalm 82: 3 – 4; Psalm 146: 7 – 9; Prov 14: 31; Isa 58; Matt 11: 2 – 6; Matt 19: 21; Mark 10: 21; Luke 7: 17 – 22; Luke 10: 25 – 37; Luke 12: 33; Luke 14: 12 – 14; Luke 18: 22; Luke 19: 8; Acts 10: 1 – 4 etc.

⁶⁷ Gen 1 – 2; Prov 12: 10; Lev 25: 11 – 12, 23; Psalm 145: 9 – 11, 15 – 17; Psalm 36: 6; Roms 8: 19 – 22, see also Gen 6 – 9: 17; Ex 23: 10 – 12; Lev 19: 23 – 25; Lev 22: 27 – 28; Deut 10: 14; Deut 11: 11 – 17; Psalm 104; Matt 6: 26, 28 – 30; Matt 10: 29 – 31; Luke 12: 6 – 7, 24, 27 – 28; Col 1: 15 – 20, 23; James 1: 18 etc.



Figure 1.9: Caring for the environment, a core part of the mission of the church and every Christian.

HOW CLOSE ARE WE TO THAT PERFECT WORLD? – INDICATORS

Having established what our perfect world would look like, we can set out clear indicators to investigate, which will tell us how close to that perfect world we really are. Figure 1.10 sets out the indicators for each of our five areas.

INDICATOR	SOURCE
Evangelism	
Number of people becoming Christians	- Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., <i>World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition</i>, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020) - Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., <i>World Christian Trends</i>, (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001) - Both drawn from the <i>World Christian Database</i>, hosted by the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at

	Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary
Discipleship	
Numbers of people making a whole range of behaviour changes that would indicate they are growing in their relationship with Jesus	Information not available
Social Justice	
Number of democracies	<i>Polity 5</i> , Center for Systemic Peace, (2018)
Number of people being tortured	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people being arbitrarily arrested or detained	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people with full access to legal rights and protection under the law	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people with freedom of religion	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people with freedom of expression	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Countries with a free press	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of people facing gender, race, disability, sexual orientation or other discrimination	<i>Freedom in the World</i> , Freedom House, (2021)
Number of violent conflicts	- Correlates of War, <i>Sarkees, Meredith Reid and Frank Wayman (2010). Resort to War: 1816 - 2007. Washington DC: CQ Press.</i> - UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, Version 21.1, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2021); Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg & Håvard Strand (2002) Armed Conflict 1946–2001: A New Dataset. <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 39(5): 615–637.; Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Höglbladh, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). Organized violence 1989-2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 58(4).
Number of people dying in violent conflicts	PRIO Battledaths Dataset, Version 3.1, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2017); Lacina, Bethany & Nils Petter

	Gleditsch (2005) Monitoring trends in global combat: A new dataset of battle deaths', <i>European Journal of Population</i> 21(2–3): 145–166. • <i>UCDP Battle-Related Deaths Dataset, Version 21.1</i>, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, (2021); Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Höglblad, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). Organized violence 1989-2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 58(4).
Number of people being injured in violent conflicts	Information not available
Development	
Number of people with sufficient food	<i>FAO Stat</i> , UN Food and Agriculture Organization, (2022)
Number of people with access to safe water	WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022)
Number of people with access to safe sanitation	WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022)
Number of people with sufficient housing	<i>Urban Indicators Database</i> , UN-Habitat, (2022)
Number of people with a good job/livelihood	<i>World Development Indicators</i> , World Bank, (2022)
Number of people with full education up to secondary level	Barro, R. & Lee, J-W., <i>Barro-Lee Estimates of Educational Attainment for the Population Aged 15 – 64 from 1950 to 2015</i> , (2021)
Number of people with full healthcare (physical and mental health)	• UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation, access via <i>World Development Indicators</i>, World Bank, (2022) • UN Population Division, access via <i>World Development Indicators</i>, World Bank, (2022)
Number of people with access to electricity	<i>Global Electrification Database</i> , <i>World Development Indicators</i> , World Bank, (2022)
Number of people with access to the internet	<i>International Telecommunication Union (ITU) World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database</i> , access via <i>World Development Indicators</i> , World Bank, (2022)

Levels of inequality within and between nations	World Inequality Database, (2022)
Environment	
Greenhouse gas emissions	<i>The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018)</i> , Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)
Biodiversity loss	<i>Living Planet Index</i> , World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2022)
Levels of deforestation or reforestation	<i>Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020</i> , Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020)
Percentage of land/sea turned over to human occupation and agriculture	<i>Protected Planet Report 2020</i> , International Union for Conservation of Nature & United Nations Environment Programme World Conservation Monitoring Centre, World Database on Protected Areas, (2020)
Pollution levels	Information not available
Percentage of waste vs percentage recycled	Information not available
Population growth	- Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., <i>World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition</i>, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020) - Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., <i>World Christian Trends</i>, (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001) - Both drawn from the <i>World Christian Database</i>, hosted by the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary - UN Population Division, access via <i>World Development Indicators</i>, World Bank, (2022)

Figure 1.10: Indicators to judge progress towards a better world

As we journey together, we will look at these indicators in turn. The data source for each indicator is considered by experts to be the most authoritative in the field, covering the longest time series, and encompassing the most comprehensive global data. Arise has then looked to the latest thinking and understanding of many of the world's leading experts in each field to help draw out the lessons from history that emerge from these data sources. In several areas the ideal information is not available, and so here we must rely solely on what the Bible tells us. It is also important to note here that when it comes to social justice there are huge areas of discrimination and inequality relating to issues such as gender, race, ethnicity or religious persecution. Rather than look at these separately as discrete issues, we will focus on complete human rights and equality for all, which of course if fully applied would address all these crucial issues.

So, by starting with the desired end in mind, we find we have already come to our first major recommendation for governments around the world. This definition of success and the associated indicators is very different to the current measures of success used by country governments around the world to plan and make decisions. These indicators are usually based around much narrower economic definitions of success, such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), as opposed to the fuller Biblical picture of life stretching across the areas of social justice, development and environment that we have seen. Therefore, our first recommendation is that ...

Governments should:

- Adopt the indicators of success under [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and [Environment](#) used in this report as national metrics to guide their actions, rather than using solely economic indicators like GDP

EVOLVING VISION

A final point to note before we move into [Part 2](#) is that any vision and plan that we come up with can never become fixed and unchanging permanently. The world changes and evolves. Almost any manifesto or legal code can be perfect for its times but rapidly fall out of date. Wonderfully, this is something Jesus recognised. Rather than give a detailed legal code, as the founders of most world faiths did, Jesus calls us to focus on the principles and spirit behind the law. When asked, he said that the whole of the Old Testament law could be summed up in two underlying principles, ***“Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind.”*** *This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like it: ‘Love your neighbour as yourself.’ All the Law and the Prophets hang on these two commandments.*⁶⁸ Rather than become fixed on one vision, plan or legal system that worked well ... once; our job as Christians is to figure out what that looks like in each new generation as the world moves forward. We will find, in multiple areas, that the Bible will give us overall timeless principles, and a study of history will give us lessons about how to implement those principles in practice. Therefore, whilst we need a clear vision for a better world and a practical plan for how we will go about achieving it, this can never become fixed and rigid, but will need to evolve as we apply these principles, learn and improve in a changing world. Therefore, Arise will be updating this report every five years, as a way of helping to ensure this Christian vision for a better world evolves and improves as we continually learn, and stays fresh, up-to-date and relevant for each new period, season, era and generation. Thus, we can hold before us an ever evolving, holistic, Biblical, Christian vision of a better world to guide our efforts, work and action, to gradually transform our world, step-by-step, until the day Jesus returns in glory to complete the work he began on the cross.

⁶⁸ Matt 22: 34 – 40, see also Lev 19: 18; Deut 6: 5; Deut 10: 12; Deut 11: 13; Josh 22: 5; Matt 7: 12; Matt 19: 19; Mark 12: 28 – 34; Luke 6: 31; Luke 10: 25 – 28; Roms 13: 8 – 10; Gal 5: 14; James 2: 8; 1 John 4: 7 – 21



PART 2: EVANGELISM

We begin our journey by considering what the Bible and history teach us about the great calling to evangelise the world. In the Bible we encounter a two-fold way of sharing the Christian faith: first, missionary communities plant local churches, and second, the members of those churches evangelise the local area. This is the fundamental model for evangelism that we will also see played out in history. We have therefore grouped specific points under these two broad headings.

1) WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY?

Missionary communities

After Jesus ascended to heaven to be with the Father, the early church initially remained in Jerusalem, in obedience to Jesus' command to *"stay in the city"* until he sent the Holy Spirit to empower them.⁶⁹ Later, following the martyrdom of Stephen (and after the Spirit had been received), *"a great persecution broke out against the church in Jerusalem, and all except the apostles were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria ... Those who had been scattered preached the word wherever they went."*⁷⁰ From this point, the global evangelism mission Jesus had given his church to *"go and make disciples of all nations"* really began.⁷¹ Christians travelled to new areas to preach the gospel. We often think of these great pioneers of the early church, such as Peter or Paul, going alone, but in almost every instance they were travelling as Jesus instructed, at least *"two by two"*. We see this with Peter and John, Paul and Barnabas, Barnabas and John Mark, or Paul and Silas. We also see wider groups – *"Paul and his companions"*, such as Timothy, Luke, Philemon, Titus, Aquila and Priscilla.⁷² Taking the gospel to a new area alone can be very hard. Going together, groups of Christians can support

⁶⁹ Luke 24: 46 – 53, see also Acts 1: 4 – 9

⁷⁰ Acts 8: 1 – 4

⁷¹ Matt 28: 19 – 20, see also Matt 24: 14; Mark 13: 10; Mark 16: 15 – 16, 20; Luke 24: 47; Acts 1: 8; Acts 8: 4; 1 Cor 9: 19 – 22; 1 Tim 2: 3 – 4; 1 Tim 3: 16; 2 Pet 3: 9; Rev 14: 6 etc.

⁷² Mark 6: 7; Luke 10: 1; Acts 8: 25; Acts 15: 36 – 41; Acts 16: 3 – 6, see also Acts 13 – 14; Acts 17: 1, 14 – 15; Acts 18: 18 – 19; Acts 19: 22; Acts 20: 4 – 6; Roms 16: 3, 7, 9, 21; 2 Cor 1: 19; Phil 2: 22; Phil 4: 3; 1 Thess 1: 1 etc.

each other, and even form the nucleus of a new local church around which others can then join. We see this model continuing to be used very successfully long after the New Testament period, for example, in the missionary monastic communities of the early Middle Ages or in today's church planting movements and house churches.⁷³

The early Christians listened to God and were led to the places he wanted them to go by the Holy Spirit. Philip was told to ***“Go south to the road – the desert road – that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza”***, Simon Peter that ***“three men are looking for you ... Do not hesitate to go with them, for I have sent them”***, and Paul ***“had a vision of a man of Macedonia standing and begging him, ‘Come over to Macedonia and help us.’ After Paul had seen the vision, we got ready at once to leave for Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to preach the gospel to them”***, amongst many other examples.⁷⁴ It is notable throughout Acts that God used these missionary communities to particularly target the cities, especially the capitals. We hear of the gospel being preached in Azotus, Lydda, Joppa, Caesarea, Antioch, Paphos, Perga, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Attalia, Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus and ultimately Rome, as missionary communities travelled through what is today Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and Italy.⁷⁵ This intentional targeting of cities appears to have continued as a successful tactic throughout the Roman period and even today.⁷⁶ Cities are cosmopolitan places where many people meet. Throughout history they have tended to be places where new ideas and communities could form, where those new ideas could have a disproportionately high impact in a nation relative to their size, because of their strategic location, and from where they could then spread out into rural areas.

Wherever these missionary communities went, they used local culturally specific methods of communicating the gospel. As Paul says, ***“To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law ... so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law ... so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all people so that by all possible means I might save some.”*** We see this in Peter arguing from the scriptures to convince the Jews, ***“Fellow Jews and all of you who live in Jerusalem, let me explain this to you; listen carefully to what I say. These people are not drunk, as you suppose. It's only nine in the morning! No, this is what was spoken by the prophet Joel ... Fellow Israelites, listen to this: Jesus of Nazareth was a man accredited by God to you by miracles, wonders and signs, which God did among you through him, as you yourselves know”*** or in Paul arguing from Greek philosophy to convince hellenistic gentiles, ***“Paul then stood up in the meeting of the Areopagus and said: ‘People of Athens! I see that in every way you are very religious. For as I walked around and looked carefully at your objects of***

⁷³ Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), pp. 131 – 132, 162 – 170, 178 – 179, 297 – 302, 393, 396 – 399, 519; Johnstone, P., *The Church is Bigger than you Think*, (1998), pp. 72 – 77, 166 – 167, 169, 180; Neill, S., *A History of Christian Missions*, (1990), pp. 57 – 67 etc.

⁷⁴ Acts 8: 26, 29, 39 – 40; Acts 10: 19 – 20, Acts 16: 6 – 10, see also Luke 24: 49, Acts 1: 4 – 9; Acts 9: 10 – 17; Acts 11: 11 – 12; Acts 13: 2 – 4; Acts 16: 6 – 7; Acts 18: 9 – 11, 20 – 21; Acts 20: 22; Acts 23: 11 etc.

⁷⁵ Acts 8: 5, 40; Acts 9: 32, 38; Acts 10: 23 – 24; Acts 11: 20; Acts 13: 4 – 5, 13 – 14, 51 – 54; Acts 14: 6, 20 – 25; Acts 16: 8, 12; Acts 17: 1, 10, 15, Acts 18: 1, 18 – 19; Acts 19: 21; Acts 23: 11; Roms – 2 Thess etc.

⁷⁶ Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), pp. 238 – 255; MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), pp. 156 – 160, 164 – 165; Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp. 238 – 255 etc.

*worship, I even found an altar with this inscription: TO AN UNKNOWN GOD. So you are ignorant of the very thing you worship – and this is what I am going to proclaim to you.”*⁷⁷

These missionary communities didn't just preach the gospel, win local converts and then leave, abandoning them. They planted new local churches, ensuring new believers were grouped together into communities. We are told that as they moved on from the places where they had won local converts, ***“Paul and Barnabas appointed elders for them in each church and, with prayer and fasting, committed them to the Lord”***.⁷⁸ Furthermore, missionary communities ensured that new local churches were not left isolated, but connected into the wider global church. They did this by sending others to visit them, writing to them and re-visiting them to strengthen and encourage them, such as when Paul ***“travelled from place to place throughout the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples.”*** Thus, these local churches became part of the wider family of God, with ties of fellowship to all Christians.⁷⁹

Once a local church was planted, responsibility for evangelising that local area transferred to the local church.⁸⁰ We never see missionary communities planting in areas where a local church already exists. When missionary communities visited, they worked with and through the existing local churches to bolster their ministry to evangelise their local area. They never went around existing local churches or re-planted the same area. In just one example, Paul writes to the church already planted in Rome by another missionary community to tell them, ***“I planned many times to come to you ... in order that I might have a harvest among you, just as I have had among the other Gentiles.”***⁸¹ (Of course this may have involved sending people into existing but dormant churches to revive them, as it does today.) Even when the existing local churches had huge problems, the emphasis was on reforming, reviving and continuing to work through them, as all the letters of the New Testament show, not giving up on them and planting new local churches in their area. Thus, when there was deep division and wrong teaching in the churches around Antioch, rather than give up on them and replant new churches, the church in Jerusalem wrote ***“To the Gentile believers in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia”***, with clear instruction to correct misunderstanding and divisions, sending ***“Judas and Silas to confirm by word of mouth what we are writing”***.⁸² This is still a major challenge for the church. As David B Barrett and Todd M Johnson observe in their study *World Christian Trends*, ***“Today, as we look back over the entire 20th century, we see that although Christian resources were more than adequate for evangelizing the world, 9 out of every 10 new missionaries sent out went to work among already Christian peoples.”***⁸³ This approach weakens our strategic focus and impact. It undermines Christian unity, and often achieves little more than simply winning converts who are already Christians from one local church or

⁷⁷ 1 Cor 9: 19 – 22; Acts 2: 5 – 41; Acts 17: 2 – 4, 16 – 34, see also John 4: 4 – 42; Acts 3: 9 – 26; Acts 7: 2 – 53; Acts 9: 20; Acts 13: 5, 13 – 43; Acts 14: 1; Acts 15; Acts 18: 4, 19, 26; Acts 19: 8; 1 Cor 10: 33 etc.

⁷⁸ Acts 14: 21 – 23, see also Acts 15: 36, 41; Acts 16: 2, 5, 13 – 18, 40; Acts 17: 4 – 10, 12, 14, 34; Acts 18: 2 – 3, 7 – 8, 18, 23, 26; Acts 20: 1 – 2, 7 – 8, 17 – 31; Roms 16: 3 – 23; 1 Cor 1: 2; 1 Cor 11: 18; Gal 1: 2; Col 4: 15 – 16; 1 Thess 1: 1; Titus 1: 5; Philem 1: 2; Rev 1: 4, 11 etc.

⁷⁹ Acts 18: 23, see also Acts 14: 21 – 23; Acts 15: 23 – 33, 36 – Acts 16: 5; Acts 18: 27; Acts 19: 1 – 7; Acts 20: 1 – 2, 7 – 12, 17 – 38; Roms – 1 Tim, Titus; James 1: 1; 1 Pet 1: 1; 3 John 1: 5 – 8; Rev 1: 4 etc.

⁸⁰ Acts 2: 41 – 47; Acts 4: 1 – 4, 23 – 33; Acts 5: 12 – 14, 42; Acts 6: 7; Acts 9: 31; Acts 13: 48 – 49; Acts 16: 5; Phil 1: 14, 27; Phil 2: 14 – 16; Col 1: 6; Col 4: 5 – 6; 1 Thess 1: 1, 7 – 8; 1 Thess 4: 11 – 12; Philem 1: 6; 1 Pet 2: 12, 15; 1 Pet 3: 15 etc.

⁸¹ Roms 1: 7 – 15, see also Acts 8: 14 – 25; Acts 9: 26 – 43; Acts 11: 19 – 26; Acts 14: 21 – 23; Acts 18: 24 – 28; Acts 19: 1 – 20; Acts 21: 4, 8, 25; 2 Cor 10: 15 – 16; 3 John 1: 5 – 8 etc.

⁸² Acts 15: 1 – 33, see also Acts 8: 14 – 25; Acts 11: 19 – 26; Acts 14: 21 – 23; Acts 16: 4; Acts 18: 24 – 28; Acts 19: 1 – 7; Acts 20: 6 – 12, 17 – 38; Roms – Rev etc.

⁸³ Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), p. 761, see also pp. 762 – 768 and Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M., *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009) pp. 288 – 289 etc.

denomination to another. The Biblical model is that missionary communities are sent to unreached areas only.

Finally, although all Christians are called to share their faith,⁸⁴ in the New Testament church it is clearly understood that some also have a specific calling on top of this to spend the majority of their time specialising in evangelism. We see this in the early church in Jerusalem, where following a dispute concerning the daily distribution of food to needy widows the twelve Apostles were clear, ***“It would not be right for us to neglect the ministry of the word of God in order to wait on tables. Brothers and sisters, choose seven men from among you who are known to be full of the Spirit and wisdom. We will turn this responsibility over to them and will give our attention to prayer and the ministry of the word.”***⁸⁵ Both roles were important, but the Apostles were clear about their special calling to evangelism, as indeed others will have a special calling to issues like development or social justice. We suggest that it is Christians with this special calling to evangelism that should go out as missionary communities to plant new churches. So, in summary ...

The church should:

- Send missionaries to unevangelised areas where there are no Christians
- Send those called to be ‘evangelists’
- Send missionaries out together in groups as missionary communities
- Be led by the Holy Spirit as to where to send them
- Target the cities, especially the capitals, for particular focus
- Equip missionary communities to use locally culturally specific methods of evangelism
- Support missionary communities to plant new local churches
- Connect these new local churches to the wider global church
- Don’t send missionary communities to plant churches in areas where local churches already exist, even where existing churches are dormant and nominal. Instead support revival within these local churches and their evangelistic ministries

Local church evangelism

In the early Christian community, once a new local church was planted in an area by a missionary community, responsibility for evangelising that local area transferred from the founder missionary community to the members of the local church. We see this in the way the original local church in Jerusalem engaged in evangelism, ***“Every day they continued to meet together in the temple courts. They broke bread in their homes and ate together with glad and sincere hearts, praising God and enjoying the favour of all the people. And the Lord added to their number daily those who were being saved.”*** We also see this in the actions of the many other local churches that were planted later in the New Testament. Thus, the apostle Paul could write to the church that had been planted by a missionary community in Colosse, ***“the Gospel is bearing fruit and growing throughout the whole world – just as it has been***

⁸⁴ Matt 10: 18 – 20, 32 – 33; Matt 13: 23; Acts 4: 4, 23 – 29; Acts 8: 1, 4; 1 Cor 7: 16; Phil 1: 14, 27; Phil 2: 14 – 16; Col 1: 6; Col 4: 5 – 6; 1 Thess 1: 1, 7 – 8; 1 Thess 4: 11 – 12; 2 Tim 1: 7 – 8; Titus 2: 7 – 10; Philem 1: 6; 1 Pet 2: 12, 15; 1 Pet 3: 1 – 2, 15 etc.

⁸⁵ Acts 6: 2 – 4, see also Acts 9: 15; Acts 13: 1 – 5; Acts 18: 5; Acts 21: 8; Acts 26: 16 – 20; Roms 15: 15 – 16; 1 Cor 1: 17; Gal 2: 7 – 8; Eph 4: 11; Col 1: 25; 1 Tim 2: 7; 2 Tim 1: 11; 2 Tim 4: 5 etc.

*doing among you since the day you heard it and truly understood God's grace.”*⁸⁶ Throughout the life of the early church there was a relentless focus on evangelism. We are told how *“Day after day, in the temple courts and from house to house, they never stopped teaching and proclaiming the good news that Jesus is the Messiah.”*⁸⁷ Every Christian took part in sharing the gospel as a fundamental part of the role we all have to play to advance the holistic kingdom of God, even those who didn't have a specific calling to spend the majority of their time as evangelists. Thus Peter urges all of us to *“Always be prepared to give an answer to everyone who asks you to give the reason for the hope that you have.”*⁸⁸

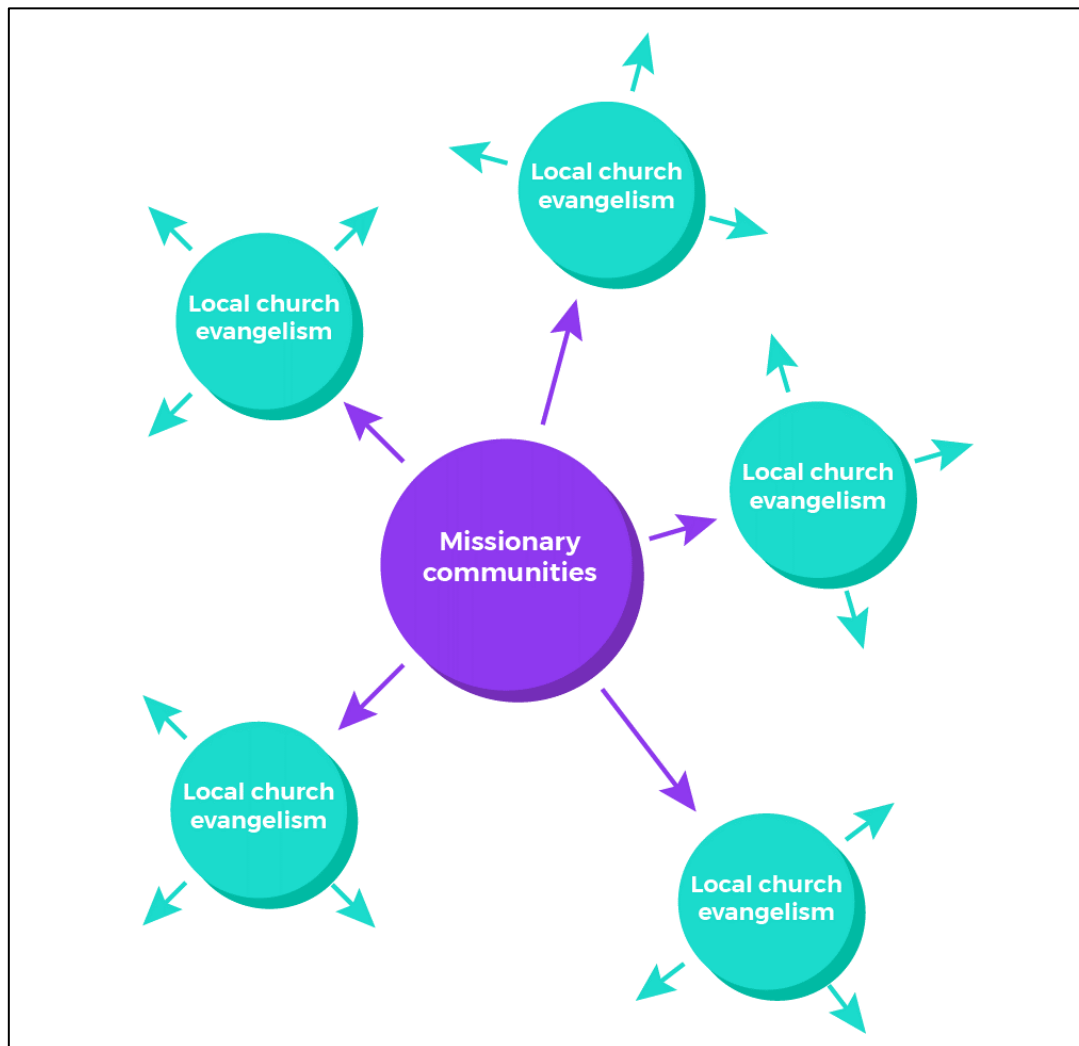


Figure 2.1: Missionary communities plant local churches, which then lead the work of evangelism in their local area.

The early Christians ensured that all their outreach was covered in prayer. They first prayed to God to provide the courage and the words to share their faith; *“Now, Lord, consider their*

⁸⁶ Acts 2: 41 – 47; Col 1: 6, see also Acts 4: 1 – 4, 23 – 33; Acts 5: 12 – 14, 42; Acts 6: 7; Acts 9: 31; Acts 13: 48 – 49; Acts 16: 5; Phil 1: 14, 27; Phil 2: 14 – 16; Col 4: 5 – 6; 1 Thess 1: 1, 7 – 8; 1 Thess 4: 11 – 12; Philem 1: 6; 1 Pet 2: 12, 15; 1 Pet 3: 15 etc.

⁸⁷ Acts 5: 12 – 14, 42, see also Matt 28: 19 – 20; Mark 16: 15 – 16, 20; Luke 10: 2; Acts 1: 8; Acts 2: 46 – 47; Acts 6: 1 – 4; Acts 8: 4; 1 Cor 9: 19 – 22; Col 1: 6; Col 4: 5 – 6; 2 Tim 1: 7 – 8; Philem 1: 6; 1 Pet 3: 15 etc.

⁸⁸ 1 Pet 3: 15, see also Matt 5: 14 – 16; Matt 9: 37 – 38; Matt 10: 32 – 33; Matt 13: 23; Mark 4: 20; Mark 8: 38; Luke 8: 15; Luke 9: 26; Luke 10: 2; Luke 12: 8 – 9; John 15: 27; Acts 8: 1 – 4; Acts 18: 1 – 4; 1 Cor 7: 16; Phil 1: 14 – 18, 27; Phil 2: 14 – 16; Phil 4: 3; Col 1: 6; Col 4: 5 – 6; 1 Thess 4: 12; 2 Tim 1: 8; Philem 1: 6 etc.

threats and enable your servants to speak your word with great boldness."⁸⁹ Then they prayed for those with whom they were sharing their faith, as Paul says in his letter to the Romans, ***"Brothers and sisters, my heart's desire and prayer to God for the Israelites is that they may be saved."***⁹⁰ They would spend lots of time with non-Christians and take every opportunity to be sociable and in conversation with those around them. They didn't wait for people to come into 'church' to hear the gospel, but went out to take the message to others at the local village well, in the temple in Jerusalem, from house to house, on the roadside, in the synagogues, by rivers where people washed their clothes, in the market place, before councils and courts, in lecture halls, wherever people were.⁹¹

Often, they opened the way to conversations about faith by demonstrating Jesus' love through their actions. They modelled a radical, open, loving and unified community that met the needs of its members, and the wider local community. For example, we read that in Jerusalem, ***"there were no needy persons among them. For from time to time those who owned land or houses sold them, brought the money from the sales and put it at the apostles' feet, and it was distributed to anyone who had need."***⁹² Later the early church father, Tertullian (160 – 220 AD), reported that non-believers would remark ***"See how they love one another!"***,⁹³ whilst the Emperor Julian (331 – 361 AD), who brutally opposed Christianity, complained that ***"These impious Galileans (Christians) not only feed their own poor, but ours also"***.⁹⁴ The practical love demonstrated by the early churches appears to have been a major factor contributing to the rapid growth of faith in the Roman world.⁹⁵ In other instances, miracles of healing, and other signs and wonders that demonstrated Jesus' power, provided opportunities for 'faith conversations'. In just one example we hear how in Iconium ***"Paul and Barnabas spent considerable time there, speaking boldly for the Lord, who confirmed the message of his grace by enabling them to perform signs and wonders."***⁹⁶ This was a central element of early church evangelism that Christians today should re-embrace. We will look at this in more detail in Part 3 when we look at [The work of the Holy Spirit](#).

As well as opening up opportunities to share their faith through demonstrating practical love and miracles, it is clear that the early Christians took every opportunity to bring their faith naturally into their everyday conversations. No doubt, as today, most of the people they talked to weren't interested and moved the conversation on to something else. However, some were ready and did respond with interest, allowing the early Christians to go deeper, turning these 'faith conversations' into 'gospel conversations'. (For talking about faith in general terms is great, but ultimately people need to hear about Jesus' death and resurrection if they are to come into the wonders of a personal relationship with God.) The New Testament presents many great examples of this. We see Philip coming alongside an Ethiopian official and opening a

⁸⁹ Acts 4: 29 – 31, see also Eph 6: 19 – 20; Col 4: 3 – 4

⁹⁰ Roms 10: 1, see also Matt 5: 44; Matt 6: 10; Luke 6: 28; Luke 22: 32; John 17: 20 – 21; Acts 4: 29 – 30; Acts 8: 24; Acts 26: 28 – 29; Eph 6: 19 – 20; Col 4: 3 – 4; 2 Thess 3: 1; 1 Tim 2: 1 – 4 etc.

⁹¹ John 4: 4 – 43; Acts 2: 46; Acts 3; Acts 5: 12, 20 – 21, 25, 42; Acts 8: 26 – 39; Acts 9: 20; Acts 13: 5, 14 – 48; Acts 14: 1; Acts 16: 13; Acts 17: 2 – 3, 10, 17 – 34; Acts 18: 4, 7 – 8; Acts 19: 8 – 9 etc.

⁹² Acts 4: 32 – 35, see also Matt 5: 13 – 16; Acts 2: 41 – 47; Acts 6: 1 – 7; 1 Cor 7: 12 – 16; Phil 1: 27; Phil 2: 14 – 16; Col 4: 5 – 6; 1 Thess 4: 11 – 12; 1 Tim 5: 25; Titus 2: 7 – 10; 1 Pet 2: 12, 15; 1 Pet 3: 1 – 2 etc.

⁹³ Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, (197), 39: 7

⁹⁴ Julian, *Letter to Arsacius*, (c 362)

⁹⁵ Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), pp. 44, 59 – 60; Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), pp. 37 – 38; MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), pp. 159 – 160 etc.

⁹⁶ Acts 14: 3, see also Matt 15: 30 – 31; Mark 2: 12; Mark 16: 17 – 20; Luke 7: 15 – 17; John 2: 11; Acts 2: 1 – 4; 12 – 4; 12; Acts 4: 22; Acts 8: 5 – 8; Acts 9: 35 – 42; Acts 13: 9 – 12; Acts 16: 25 – 30; Roms 15: 18 – 19; 1 Cor 2: 4 – 5 etc.

conversation in which he shares his faith by asking *“Do you understand what you are reading?”* Similarly, Barnabas and Paul in Psidian Antioch start a conversation in which they can talk about Jesus by going to the synagogue and coming alongside the local Jews. As a result, the invitation was given, *“Brothers, if you have a word of exhortation for the people, please speak”*. Finally, even Jesus created such an opportunity when he simply came alongside a Samaritan woman at a well and asked her *“Will you give me a drink?”*⁹⁷ Arise recommends that we follow that model and try turning ‘everyday conversations’ into ‘faith conversations’, and ultimately ‘gospel conversations’ at least once a day. When we have got into a good routine, work our way up to doing it once with every person we are in conversation with during the day.



Figure 2.2: We should follow the practice of the early church, and share our faith naturally with friends and family in our everyday conversations.

When the early Christians had these conversations, they did not seek to argue others into faith. They sought merely to witness to what they had seen and heard, and introduce people to Jesus to allow them to make a choice whether to follow him or not. They accepted that on any given day many of those who heard would not respond. As Jesus showed in the parable of the sower, much of the seed falls *“along the path”*, *“on rocky places”* and *“among thorns”* but some on *“good soil”*. Therefore, rather than keeping on coming back to the same small group of listeners, they simply moved on and kept broadcasting the message as far and wide as possible, so that those who were ready could respond.⁹⁸ The early Christians were interested in making disciples of Jesus, not simply winning converts. Those who were interested were not simply

⁹⁷ Acts 8: 30 – 40; Acts 13: 5, 13 – 43; John 4: 4 – 43, see also Luke 4: 15 – 21; Acts 7: 1 – 53; Acts 17: 2 – 4, 16 – 34; Acts 22, Acts 24 – 26; 1 Cor 9: 19 – 22; 1 Cor 10: 27 – 33; Phil 2: 14 – 16; Col 4: 5 – 6; 1 Pet 3: 15 etc.

⁹⁸ Matt 13: 3 – 23; Mark 4: 1 – 20; Luke 8: 4 – 15, see also Matt 10: 14; Matt 22: 2 – 10; Mark 6: 11; Luke 10: 10 – 11; Luke 14: 16 – 24; Acts 13: 43, 51; Acts 14: 4 – 7; Acts 17; Acts 18: 6; Acts 19: 8 – 10 etc.

preached to, converted and forgotten, but invited into the life of their local church community. In just one example, Peter preaches to the crowd in Jerusalem, and we hear how ***“Those who accepted his message were baptised, and about three thousand were added to their number that day. They devoted themselves to the apostles’ teaching and to fellowship, to the breaking of bread and to prayer.”***⁹⁹ The early Christians therefore walked with, taught, disciplined and instructed those who came to faith within the context of their loving local church community. So, in summary ...

The church should:

- Keep a relentless focus and intentionality on evangelism
- Help the local church take responsibility for evangelising its local area once the missionary community has planted it
- Build loving, open and radically generous local church communities that attract others

Individual Christians should:

- Be sharing our faith, rather than just leaving it to a few ‘evangelists’
- Pray that God would give us the courage and the words to share our faith
- Pray daily for all the people we will be coming into contact with that day to come to faith
- Spend lots of time with non-Christians
- Take every opportunity to be sociable and in conversation with non-Christians
- Be radically loving, kind and generous to all
- Pray for healing and other miracles as a witness to Jesus
- Turn ‘everyday conversations’ into ‘faith conversations’ by finding a natural way of mentioning our faith in the context of whatever conversation we are having. Start by doing this once a day, working up to doing it once with every person we are in conversation with during the day. Most won’t be interested and will move the conversation on and that’s fine, but some will respond and with them we can go deeper and move from a ‘faith conversation’ into a ‘gospel conversation’ and talk about Jesus
- Keep creating these opportunities and broadcasting the Christian message far and wide with all we come into conversation with, rather than keep coming back to the same few who may not be interested
- Invite, involve and embed those who do respond in the life of our local church community
- Take time to walk with these people within that local church environment as they ask questions, explore, come to make a commitment and beyond, truly making disciples, not just converts

2) WHAT DOES HISTORY TEACH US?

Where have we come from?

Having considered what the Bible teaches us about early church evangelism, let us now consider how their successors fared, and how the growth of the church has waxed and waned in the 2000 years since (Figures 2.3 – 2.4).

⁹⁹ Acts 2: 41 – 47, see also Matt 4: 18 – 22; Matt 9: 9; Matt 16: 24; Matt 19: 21; Matt 28: 19 – 20; Acts 5: 14 – 16; Acts 6: 1; Acts 9: 17 – 19, 26 – 28; Acts 13: 42 – 44; Acts 14: 21; Acts 17: 4 – 7; Acts 19: 9 – 10 etc.

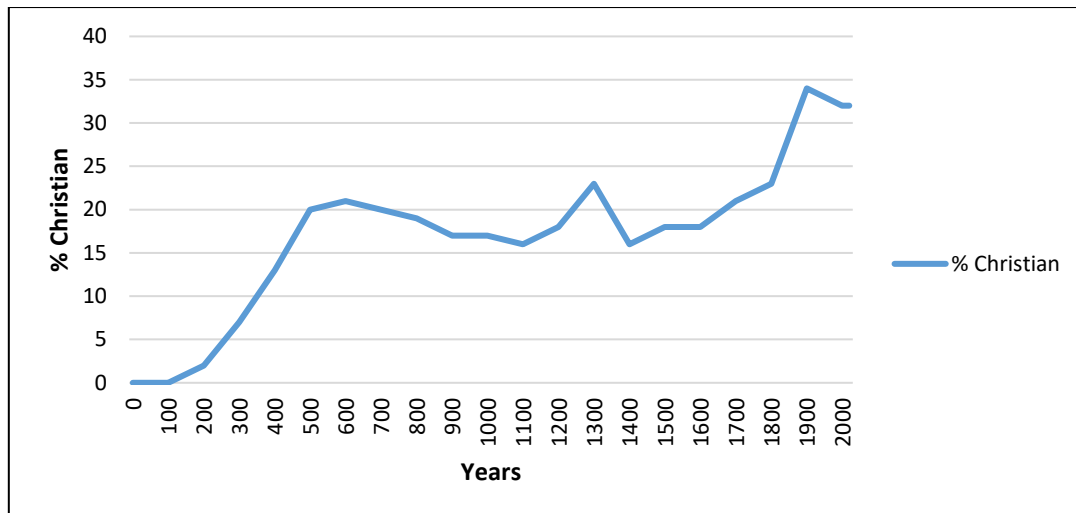


Figure 2.3: Percentage of Christians in the global population ¹⁰⁰

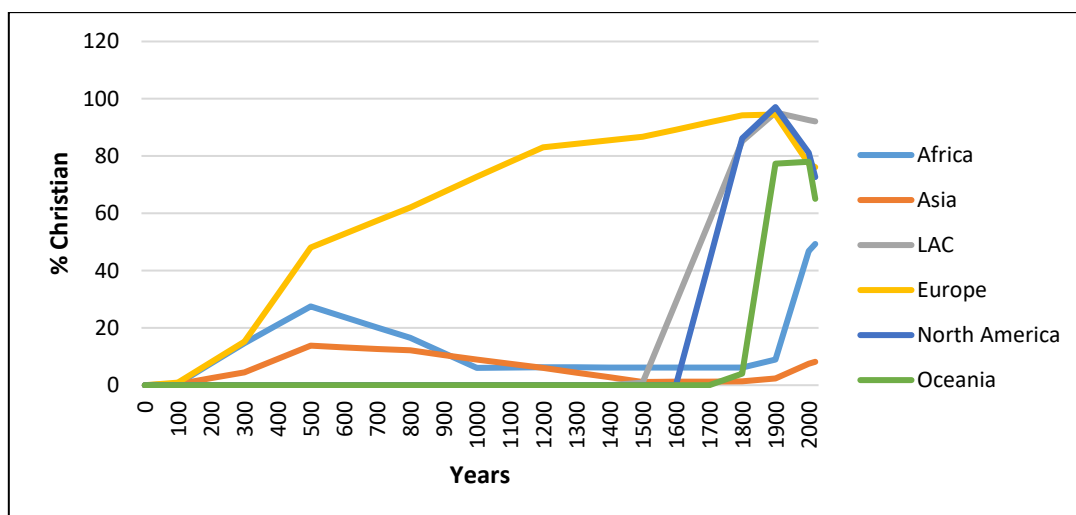


Figure 2.4: Percentage of Christians in each continent ¹⁰¹

Initially, we see a story of phenomenal growth in Africa, Asia and Europe during the first 600 years or so as the early church continued after New Testament times to grow rapidly within the Roman Empire, eventually taking it over and expanding far beyond its boundaries. As W Ward Gasque says in the *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, ***“By the middle of the second century, little more than a hundred years after the death and resurrection of Jesus, flourishing churches existed in nearly all the provinces between Syria and Rome ... A century later, a significant Christian minority existed in almost every province of the Empire and also in several countries to the east. After another fifty years, around AD 300, Christians formed a majority in parts of the provinces of Africa and Asia Minor ... Finally, the Emperor himself began to support Christianity in AD 312.”*** ¹⁰² This is a hugely exciting and encouraging period from which we have much to learn.

¹⁰⁰ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, Third Edition, (2020), p. 917

¹⁰¹ Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), pp. 320 – 333; Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, Third Edition, (2020), pp. 919 – 932

¹⁰² Gasque, W. W., *The Church Begins* in Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), p. 43, see also pp. 42 – 159; Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), pp. 29 – 39, 97 – 104, 518; Grim, B. J. & Johnson, T. M., *The World’s Religions in Figures*, (2013), p. 211 etc.

There then followed many centuries when growth in Christianity stalled. In Europe, pagan tribes overtook the Western Roman Empire bringing about the Dark Ages, and in Asia and Africa, the Eastern Roman Empire was overtaken by the emergence of Islam. In the east, Christianity declined under Islam, a trend that continues to this day. In *Operation World*, one of the two globally recognised most authoritative sources on Christian demography, and one of the key sources for this report, Jason Mandryk explains how **“After the Muslim invasions of the 8th Century, Christianity was suppressed or wiped out in the lands of the Middle East where the early Church first took root.”**¹⁰³ In the west however, the church gradually reasserted itself, converting the pagan peoples of Europe. As Diarmaid MacCulloch says in *A History of Christianity*, **“the Western Church convert(ed) Europe piece by piece between the thousand years which separated Constantine I from the conversion of Lithuania in 1386”.** It was **“one of the most successful periods in the expansion of the faith, when all Europe became Christian”.**¹⁰⁴ These two trends resulted in a static or slightly declining global picture from the seventh to the fifteenth century, with a relatively brief exception in the 1200s, when the Mongol empires decimated the non-Christian populations of Asia, and were initially receptive to Christianity. This increased the proportion of the world’s population that was Christian significantly, before the Mongol empires converted to Islam and brutally repressed the Christian population, reducing its size again.

After almost a millennium, this stalled global picture began to change again around 1500 AD when Western European Christendom crossed the Atlantic and the age of colonial empire began. From around 1500 AD in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), 1600 AD in North America, and 1800 AD in Oceania, Christianity was introduced and rapidly became the dominant faith. Stephen Neill’s study *A History of Christian Missions* shows that **“If we compare the Christian situation in 1600 with that in 1500, we are aware at once of an immense difference. Europe has burst its bonds ... With the expansion of Europe, and often in advance of it, has gone the expansion of the Church”**, and by 1800 **“In almost every country the Church had a bridgehead.”**¹⁰⁵ Whilst much of this amazing work was done by missionary communities acting in love, sometimes conversion in this period was forced and accompanied by much bloodshed. In *Church History in Plain Language*, Bruce L Shelley describes how **“At times it was some courageous and selfless Franciscan or Jesuit winning by persevering love. At others, it was some troop of ruthless Christian conquerors forcing baptism upon natives at the point of the sword.”**¹⁰⁶ Clearly such an approach to mission is completely un-Biblical and should never be replicated again.

Globally, growth in the Christian faith really took off in the nineteenth century. This was partly because the largely Christian nations of Europe and North America industrialised and developed ahead of other parts of the world, increasing their birth rate and thus the overall

¹⁰³ Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), p. 74; see also Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp. 8, 48 – 54, 122 – 125, 134, 143, 150 – 153; Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), p. 204 etc.

¹⁰⁴ MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), p. 342; see also pp. 319 – 362; Overly, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), pp. 105, 108 – 109, 114 – 115, 118 – 119, 122 – 126; Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 180, 189 – 192 etc.

¹⁰⁵ Neill, S., *A History of Christian Missions*, (1990), pp. 150, 177; see also the rest of pp. 120 – 204; Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), pp. 348 – 353, 368 – 384; MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), pp. 689 – 731 etc.

¹⁰⁶ Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), p. 292, see also pp. 293 – 302; Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), pp. 226 – 23, 236 – 237, 274 – 275, 302 – 313; Overly, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), pp. 170 – 171 etc.

proportion of the world's population that were Christians. However, the other major factor during this period was the incredible work of the nineteenth century Protestant missionary movement, which brought the gospel to lands which had never heard it before throughout the European colonial empires and beyond. Patrick Johnstone describes this phenomenon in his book, *The Church is Bigger than you Think*, ***“It was a movement that, despite its many weaknesses, was to lead to an astonishing and unprecedented expansion and growth of the Church over the following 200 years. Over the period the largely isolated, introspective Protestant Church in north-west Europe was transformed into a global multi-cultural family of churches in which those of European origin were to be a distinct minority.”***¹⁰⁷

However, in the last century this positive trend has flattened and started to reverse. This is primarily due to the enormous growth of atheism and agnosticism in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), North America and Oceania. The second edition of the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, describes this as ***“the meteoric growth of secularism in its religious forms ... From a miniscule presence in 1900, a mere 0.2% of the globe, these systems had mushroomed to 20.8% of the globe by 1980.”*** Although, as a global percentage, this has been declining again since the late twentieth century, with religion proving to be more robust than once suspected. Nevertheless, in absolute numbers, atheism and agnosticism ***“are today increasing at an extraordinary rate of 8.5 million new converts each year, and are likely to reach one billion adherents soon. A large percentage of their members are the children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren of persons who in their lifetimes were practicing Christians. No Christian strategist in 1900 had envisaged such a massive rate of defection from Christianity within its 19th-century heartlands.”***¹⁰⁸

More encouragingly, we can see this decline being partly offset by the staggering growth in the number of converts to Christianity from traditional animist faiths, especially in sub-Saharan Africa in the last century. *The World's Religions in Figures*, another work from the Centre for the Study of Global Christianity, relates how ***“Over the past 100 years Africa has experienced the most profound transformation in religious populations of any continent. The most dramatic numerical increase of Christians in the world occurred on the continent in the twentieth century, growing from 11 million (9.3%) in 1910 to 494 million (48.3%) by 2010.”*** In recent decades Asian countries, such as China and Korea, have also seen dynamic growth, for ***“Of the (top 10) countries with the fastest Christian growth between 1910 and 2010, seven were in Africa and three in Asia ... In the period 2000 – 10, the fastest growth is found in Asia (seven countries) and Africa (three countries).”***¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Johnstone, P., *The Church is Bigger than you Think*, (1998), p. 27, see also pp. 25 – 31, 83, 94 – 101; Neill, S., *A History of Christian Missions*, (1990), pp. 213 – 334; Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), pp. 472 – 493 etc.

¹⁰⁸ Barrett, D. B., Johnson, T. M. & Kurian, G. T., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Second Edition*, (2001), p. 5, see also pp. 3 – 5; *Christianity in its Global Context, 1970 – 2020*, Center for the Study of Global Christianity, (2013), pp. 7, 44 – 53, 62 – 67; Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), pp. 4, 16, 51, 74 – 87 etc.

¹⁰⁹ Grim, B. J. & Johnson, T. M., *The World's Religions in Figures*, (2013), pp. 81, 14, see also pp. 11 – 16, 38, 81 – 83, 115, 210, 213; Barrett, D. B., & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001) pp. 3 – 5, 9, 75, 843, 911, 918; Johnstone, P., *The Church is Bigger than you Think*, (1998), pp. 101 – 115 etc.



Figure 2.5: There has been staggering growth in the church in Africa in the last century.

Taken together, these trends show that globally, Christianity has been in slight decline for the last century and more, dropping from 34% of the global population in 1900 to 32% in 2020. David B Barrett and Todd M Johnson bring this together into a profound challenge for all Christians in their book, *World Christian Trends*, ***“The most startling statement below, for persons unfamiliar with it, is that the percentage of Christians in the world has remained virtually unchanged at 34% year after year since 1900. The fact conceals the reality that (a) Christianity has made enormous progress, especially numerically, in many areas of the world throughout the twentieth century, but (b) at the same time it has also suffered catastrophic losses in many other unrelated areas. Result? The two trends have exactly cancelled each other out ... One immediate consequence is that the proportion of the world which consists of non-Christians has also remained virtually unchanged at 66% since 1900. In a vast range of secular measures, such as the huge medical endeavour to stamp out disease and epidemics worldwide, or the global attempt to increase literacy to 100% any percentage stuck at 34% for a whole century would be considered an unacceptable failure.”***

¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Barrett, D. B., & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), p.75

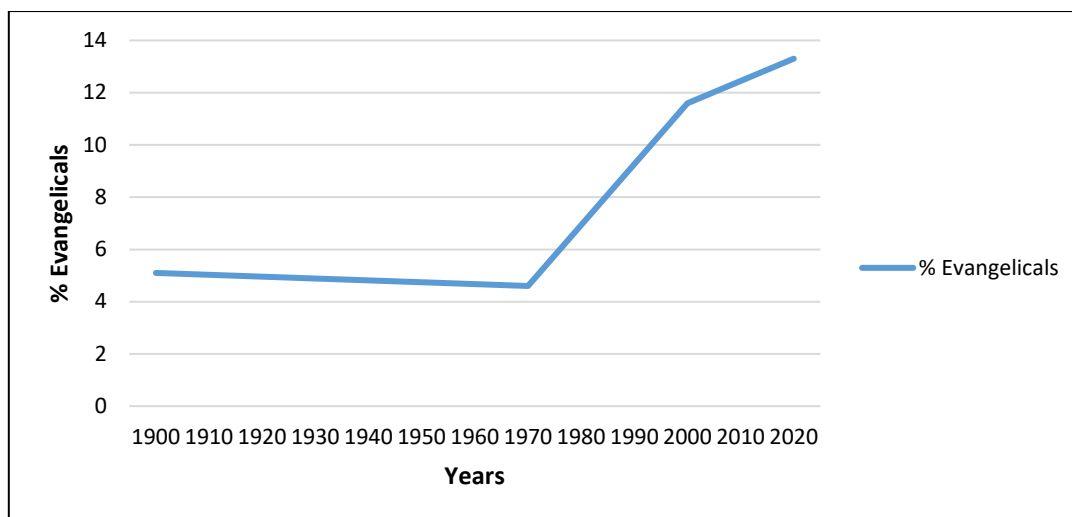


Figure 2.6: Percentage of evangelical Christians in the global population ¹¹¹

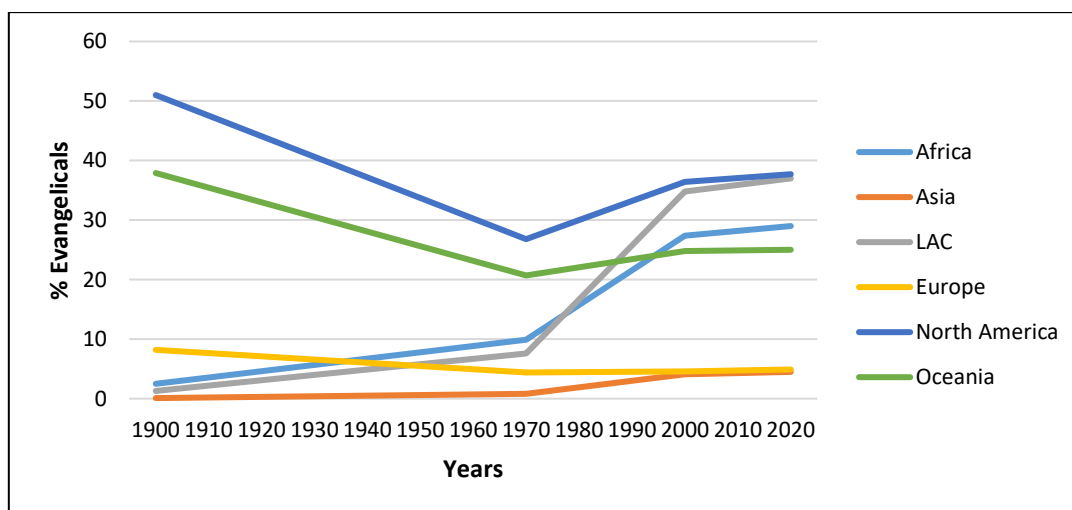


Figure 2.7: Percentage of evangelical Christians in the total population of each continent ¹¹²

It is worth noting that beneath this total figure – which includes a lot of very ‘nominal’ Christian belief – in recent decades, the proportion of the total population in every continent that describes itself as ‘evangelical’, ‘pentecostal’ or ‘charismatic’ has been growing remarkably (after declining for most of the twentieth century) (Figures 2.6 – 2.7). This offers some encouragement. According to Bruce L Shelley in *Church History in Plain Language*, “**Modest assessments claim they account for just more than one in four Christians today, though the number and influences may be much greater.**” ¹¹³ Of course there are millions of devout Christians of every denomination, many of whom would not identify with these labels, but this does at least give us some sense of the different picture between ‘nominal’ and ‘committed’ Christian belief.

¹¹¹ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020), p. 918

¹¹² Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020), pp. 919 – 932

¹¹³ Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), p.498, see also pp. 494 – 506; *Christianity in its Global Context, 1970 – 2020*, Center for the Study of Global Christianity, (2013), pp. 7 – 8, 16 – 19; Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp. 54 – 55, 67, 76 – 79, 96, 105, 115, 139, 174 – 193, 265, 291 etc.

Patterns of conversion

Looking back across the last 2000 years or more, we see that where the church has been operating in predominantly pagan, polytheistic or animist regions, it has generally been successful in winning widespread converts. This was the case in the ancient Roman Empire, Europe in the Dark Ages, or sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Asia during the colonial and post-colonial period. Where it has encountered more developed belief systems, especially in Asia, conversion rates have been slower. As David J Bosch comments in *Transforming Mission*, “**by and large, Christianity has not been very successful among those peoples who are adherents to what often (perhaps incorrectly) is termed the great religions – Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc.**”¹¹⁴ However, in the last few decades we are beginning to see a positive trend in these areas as well, with large numbers converting to Christianity in countries such as Korea, China and amongst the dalits in India.¹¹⁵

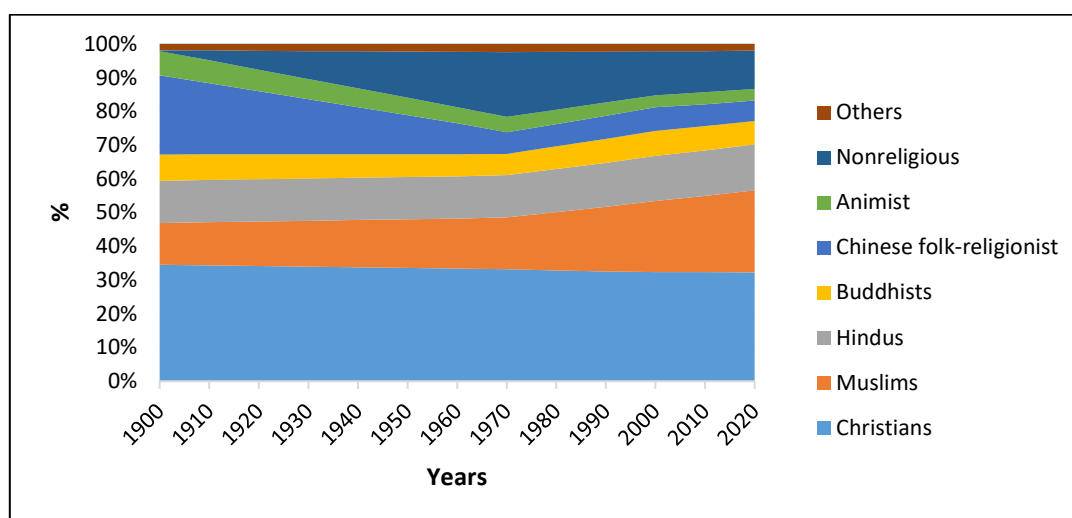


Figure 2.8: Changes in the percentage of global religious adherents of different faiths since 1900¹¹⁶

Conversely, there are two broad historical contexts where the church has declined. The first is in the geographic areas covered by Islam since the seventh century. The second is in the western world from the time of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and especially since 1900, where the church has lost massive numbers to agnosticism and atheism. The future global religious picture is effectively a race between Christianity, Islam and agnosticism/atheism. As *Operation World* puts it, “**Cultural influence, proselytism and birthrates would indicate that global religious dominance will be contested by three main forces – Christianity, Islam and non-religion. All other faiths are limited to a specific region and/or are not growing. Non-religious people tend to have the lowest birthrates, but the trend toward secularisation in many parts of the world has sustained and even swelled their numbers. Proportionately, few convert to Islam, but high birthrates and low apostasy rates have propelled Islam to 22,9% of the human population. Christianity has declined slightly**

¹¹⁴ Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), p. 477, see also pp. 476 – 481; T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp. 6 – 15, 34 – 35, 44 – 45, 60 – 65, 134 – 153; Johnstone, P., *The Church is Bigger than you Think*, (1998), pp. 115 – 116, 213, 265 – 268 etc.

¹¹⁵ *Christianity in its Global Context, 1970 – 2020*, Center for the Study of Global Christianity, (2013), pp. 7, 34 – 37; Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), pp. 4, 8, 59 – 60, 66; Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp. 48, 134, 142, 144 etc.

¹¹⁶ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020), pp. 918

*from 34.5% in 1990 to 32.3% in 2010. The precipitous decline of the past 30 years in Europe has been offset by the growth in Asia and Africa. Where it does occur, Christian growth has been from both conversion and natural birthrates.”*¹¹⁷ It is worth looking at these two areas of special challenge in a little more detail.

Agnosticism/atheism is a special challenge

The west has experienced a dramatic decline in belief (measured through declining church attendance and other indicators) since the Enlightenment, but especially in the twentieth century. This has come out of a growing understanding of science which questions a literal interpretation of some of the early parts of Genesis, and over time has led to a wider questioning of Christian faith.



Figure 2.9: Agnosticism/atheism is a special challenge in the west, where the church has dramatically declined in the last century.

The church has not yet found a way to reinvent itself and to communicate the gospel in a manner that recaptures the western public mind, in order to bring about a dramatic reversal in this decline, something we desperately need to see. We are still to discover a post-Enlightenment Christianity that has mass popular appeal. Diarmaid MacCulloch captures this challenge as he closes his sweeping, *A History of Christianity*, “*The more interesting*

¹¹⁷ Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), p. 21, see also pp. 16, 22 – 27, 38 – 40, 63 – 66, 69 – 71, 74 – 87; *The Future of World Religions*, Pew Research Center, (2015); Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), pp. 8, 39 – 40, 52 – 53, 60, 73, 84, 761 – 769, 843 – 844, 912 – 918 etc.

*conundrum for Christianity is a society in which polite indifference has replaced the battles of the twentieth century: Europe, which is not so much a continent as a state of mind, to be found equally in Canada, Australasia and a significant part of the United States. Can there be a new Christian message of tragedy and triumph, suffering and forgiveness to Europeans and those who think like them? ... Can the many faces of Christianity find a message which will remake religion for a society which has decided to do without it?"*¹¹⁸

Muslim-majority countries are a special challenge

Alongside the decline of Christianity in the west, the other major area of decline has been right across the Muslim world. There are two obvious institutional beliefs within Islam which help explain the massive decline of the church in areas that have come under Islamic domination. The first is the dhimmi system. In classical Islam the world is divided into Muslims, other peoples of the book (Jews and Christians), and polytheists (animists, polytheists etc.). According to historic Islamic scripture and tradition, polytheists are simply to be converted or executed, whilst peoples of the book are permitted to continue in their traditions as dhimmi peoples, tolerated minorities. Whilst dhimmis were not forced to convert, they were subjected to numerous restrictions, institutionalised discrimination etc. Thus, over the centuries, where predominantly Christian regions in the Middle East, North Africa and other areas came under Islamic dominance, there has been a constant pressure to convert to Islam in order to enjoy the full benefits of society. This has resulted in a gradual dwindling of Christian populations in these areas. Thus, in *A History of Christian Missions* Stephen Neill notes that after the Arab conquests, Christians *“suffered certain hardships, and had to endure loss of equality and privilege. They were second-class citizens and tax-payers, and could never hope to rank with the Muslim overlords ... A number of Christians rose comparatively high in government service, though there was ceaseless pressure on them to improve their position by turning Muslim, and a great many of them yielded to this pressure ... The ancient Eastern Churches lost their dominant position in government and in the world of thought. They were constantly drained of their resources through the defection of so many of their young men.”* This is a trend which continues today.¹¹⁹

Alongside this issue is the classical Islamic teaching of apostasy. Under this rule, any adult male Muslim who converts to another faith should be executed. The human rights organisation, Christian Solidarity Worldwide, sets this out in a rigorous study of the fate of apostates from Islam, *No Place to Call Home*, *“Although the Qur’an does not prescribe a temporal punishment for apostasy, the vast majority of traditional Islamic theology and jurisprudence has advocated the death penalty for a mentally sane male apostate and life-long imprisonment or harsh treatment for a female apostate.”* These *“traditional views on apostasy continue to dominate popular Muslim opinion.”* In the modern world, the death penalty for apostasy is seldom enforced, even in the most extreme states. However, even when it is not, apostasy remains illegal in more than twenty nations, and individual converts face massive persecution and rejection from society and their own families. *“Apostates are subject to gross and wide-ranging human rights abuses including extra-judicial killings by state-related agents or mobs; honour killings by family members; detention, imprisonment,*

¹¹⁸ MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), p. 1016; see also Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), pp. 349 – 519; Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp.55, 104 – 105 etc.

¹¹⁹ Neill, S., *A History of Christian Missions*, (1990), p. 55, see also pp. 56, 112 – 114, 179 – 180, 444 – 448; MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), pp. 261 – 263, 273 – 278, 483, 495 – 499, 854 – 855, 920 – 927, 1005; Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), pp. 190, 208, 579 etc.

torture, physical and psychological intimidation by security forces; the denial of access to judicial services and social services; the denial of equal employment or education opportunities; social pressure resulting in loss of housing and employment; and day-to-day discrimination and ostracism in education, finance and social activities. The affect of all this on the personal lives of apostates and their families can be significant and far-reaching.”

¹²⁰ Taken together with the dhimmi law, this results in both a pressure to convert to Islam, and a barrier which prevents Muslims from converting out of Islam into Christianity or any other faith.



Figure 2.10: The Muslim-world is a special challenge to reach with the gospel.

There are several important caveats to note when considering this sensitive subject. First, when this system emerged in the seventh century, the allowance of dhimmi peoples to continue to live and worship under significant restrictions was nevertheless considerably more enlightened, moderate and tolerant than the behaviour of the Christian church at the time and in later centuries. Second, whilst this is demonstrably the position of classical Islamic theology, it has very often not been followed to the letter in many Muslim majority countries, any more than Christian countries or churches have always followed orthodox Christian teaching. Thus, at many points in history, dhimmis and other peoples have been treated with considerably more tolerance, whilst at other times, they have been treated even more harshly, with execution or forced conversion. For example, in *A History of Christianity* Diarmaid MacCulloch describes how in the nineteenth century ***“the Ottoman ruler’s pursuit of Tanzimat (‘reorganisation’) brought modernising reforms in edicts of 1839 and 1856 which dismantled the millet system of separate religious communities. This provoked a good deal of resentment from Muslims,***

¹²⁰ *No place to call home*, CSW, (2008) p. 4; see also pp. 1 – 116; *Which countries still outlaw apostasy and blasphemy*, Pew Research Center, (29 Jul 2016); Neill, S., *A History of Christian Missions*, (1990), pp. 56, 117, 179, 359, 424 etc.

*who now saw former second-class status groups claim equality with themselves”, yet in the same century the Ottoman empire also saw “a series of massacres of Dyophysite Christian mountain communities by Kurds in what is now Iranian Azerbaijan” and “a series of massacres of Armenians in the Caucasus and further south during the 1890s, which included the burning alive in 1895 of several thousand Armenians in their cathedral in Urfa”.*¹²¹ Finally, it is important to note that many Muslim academics, theologians, secularists, moderates and liberals would today challenge this historic traditional position of Islam in relation to both dhimmi and apostasy law. Again, as Christian Solidarity says in their report *No Place to Call Home*, ***“An increasing number of contemporary Muslim thinkers, particularly those residing in the West, have called for a re-evaluation of the shari’a position on the death penalty for apostasy and return to a more faithful interpretation based on the Qur’an.”***¹²² Nevertheless, despite these important considerations, both historically and today Christians and other non-Muslims in most majority-Muslim contexts face a degree of institutionalised discrimination in the form of pressure to convert, and an abhorrence of apostasy, which has prevented Muslims from converting to other faiths.

Local church evangelism becomes the primary factor for the future

Despite these areas of setback and challenge, today Christianity is the largest religion in the world, with approximately a third of all people identifying themselves as Christians. Christianity is also the most globalised religion. It is the majority religion in every continent in the world except Asia. Churches exist in every country, although in several they are underground due to persecution. Out of over 230 countries and independent territories in the world today, there are only 41 with a resident Christian population of less than 5% and only 19 with less than 1%.¹²³ Therefore, although there is still a need to send out small groups of Christians as missionary communities to plant new local churches in unreached places (particularly in Muslim-majority countries), in many ways the job of the missionary communities is largely completed. The church has been planted around the world, and the bulk of the evangelism that needs to take place today should be focused on effective local church evangelism by ordinary Christians, like you and me.

For example, in the UK, the evangelist, J John, quotes survey results indicating why people who are not yet Christians come to church. These show ***“1% come because they were visited by Christians, 2% come because of the church programme – they’ve come along to a holiday club, a senior citizens’ lunch, toddler group and so on, 3% come because of bereavement, 3% come because of Sunday school, 6% walk through the door because they see some publicity, 8% come because of some personal contact they’ve had with the minister or church staff, and 77% come because friends or relatives invited them.”*** Similarly, speaking about church growth in Asia, Operation World says ***“The recent growth of the Church has largely been through the work of national workers, local evangelists and ordinary believers. These churches are, more than ever, Asian in structure, style and leadership – taking forms relevant for those they are trying to reach”***, and again specifically in reference to South Asia,

¹²¹ MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), p. 855, see also pp. 259 – 267, 273 – 278, 483, 495 – 499, 854, 920 – 927; *Freedom of religion and the persecution of Christians 2016*, Open Doors, (2016), pp. 3, 5, 8 – 23; Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), pp. 112, 156, 252 etc.

¹²² *No place to call home*, CSW, (2008), p. 4; see also pp. 6, 25, 27 – 31, 33; Donnelly, J., *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, (2013), pp. 79 – 80; *Moving Away from the Death Penalty*, OHCHR, (2015), pp. 198 – 200 etc.

¹²³ Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020)

but which could be applied to any continent, *“The vast majority of Kingdom increase in this region is through the faithful witness of indigenous believers sharing the good news village by village and town by town.”* Again, writing in an *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, W Ward Gasque show this same approach being used to enormous effect during the Roman Empire, one of the most successful periods of mass evangelism in history, *“Early Christianity in no way depended solely upon professional leaders for its practice and growth. Each Christian was both ‘priest’ and ‘missionary’ ... All were active in sharing the message of Christ with others.”* The point is further reinforced by Michael A Smith in the same publication, *“Personal witness was by far the most common method of evangelism used by Christians, because it was the easiest to organise. Personal friendship formed the basis for bringing many people to Christ ... Celsus mentions how Christians with little or no education seized every opportunity to witness to people, and even when confronted by educated pagans would not stop pushing their opinions.”*¹²⁴



Figure 2.11: The vast majority of people who become Christians do so through the witness of friends and family. Therefore, the church must prioritise the training and equipping of ordinary Christians to successfully share their faith with confidence.

The amazing power of local congregations of ordinary Christians being mobilised for friendship evangelism can be demonstrated by using a simple thought experiment (Figures 2.12 – 2.13). Imagine a dynamic and successful missionary with a major global reach, who successfully converts an incredible 10,000 people every year. After 34 years of this astonishing ministry, they will have converted a staggering 340,000 people. Conversely, imagine yourself, a normal, average everyday Christian. Instead of 10,000 people, give yourself a far, far less

¹²⁴ John, J., *The Natural Evangelism Course*, (2014), p. 37; Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), pp. 19, 60, 66; Gasque, W. W., *The Church Begins*, & Smith, M. A., *Spreading the Good News*, in Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), pp. 44, 59 – 60 etc.

ambitious, but more realistic target of converting just one person every year. Next, imagine that person also manages to convert just one person each year, and that person also converts just one person a year, and so on. Thus, in the first year there is just one of you, after another year there are two, the year after that there are four and so on. If we continue this process for the same period of 34 years, we reach the staggering total of 8,589,934,592 converts, more than the entire population of the planet. Throughout this whole period of time, you as the starting individual have only converted 34 people, compared to our stellar missionary's 340,000, but the collective impact of the church mobilised, empowered and confident to share its faith has transformed the world.

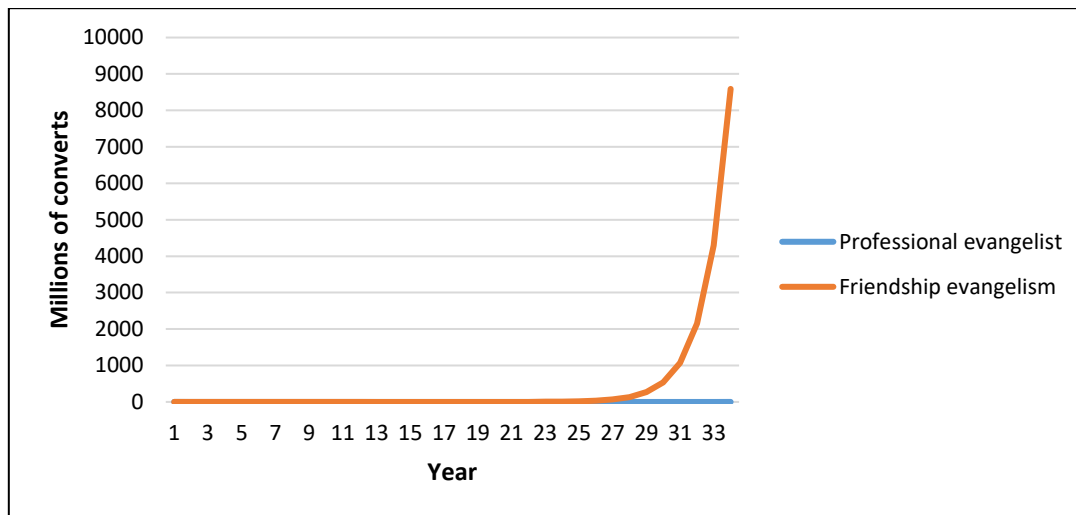


Figure 2.12: Local friendship evangelism vs professional evangelist

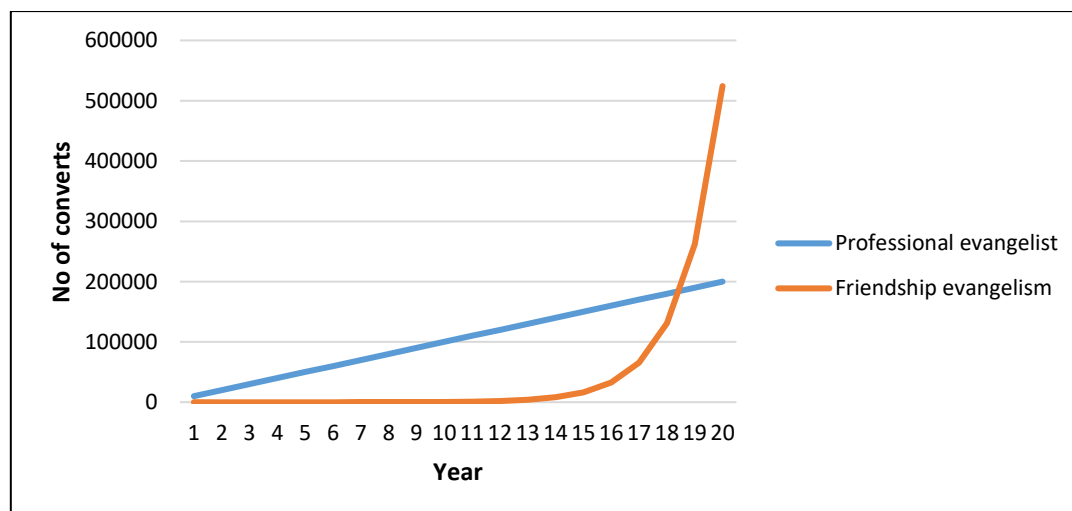


Figure 2.13: Local friendship evangelism vs professional evangelist – first 20 years

This thought experiment becomes even more staggering when we consider that obviously we aren't starting in a world with only one Christian. As we saw earlier, one in three people is already a Christian; 2.5 billion. If every Christian already in the world today were to truly grasp the potential of this simple friendship evangelism model, and each commit to seek to convert just one person each year, we would see the entire world converted to Christianity in less than two years. Of course, the real world is more complex than this statistical exercise. Christians are not distributed equally and many, or even most of us, are not active in

evangelism. Nevertheless, the point is clear that it is the grassroots personal evangelism of people like you and me that has the potential to yield the biggest results, if we can be equipped, trained and mobilised.¹²⁵

WHERE DO WE NEED TO GO NEXT?

There are a number of key lessons that we can extract from our consideration of evangelism over the last 2000 years, to help form part of our vision for achieving a better world.

Missionary communities

Our examination of history indicates that missionary communities have been extremely effective in church planting around the world, and as a result it is now local church evangelism from the churches they have planted which will be most significant for the future. However, there is still an important role for missionary communities and some key lessons we can draw from history as major priorities for the church in the twenty-first century. First, the church should prioritise reaching the Islamic world as one of the two major areas in the world where the gospel has failed to have significant impact. In other countries, such as those where the gospel has come up against significant resistance from atheist/agnostic, Hindu and Buddhist belief systems, there are large indigenous churches that can lead evangelism. In large parts of the Islamic world this isn't the case, and missionary communities still have a major role to play. As the Centre for the Study of Global Christianity's report *Christianity in its Global Context* says, ***"The countries in which there is least personal contact between religionists are overwhelmingly Muslim-majority countries. On a regional basis, only 10% of individuals in Western Asia and 11% in Northern Africa are thought to have personal contact with a Christian."***¹²⁶ Therefore a key priority must be to continue to research, develop and support effective ways of reaching Muslims with the gospel, and to support local churches and underground believers in Muslim-majority nations to send out more missionary communities to plant local churches both in their own countries, and neighbouring Muslim-majority nations.

Another lesson for the church is that the gospel travels more easily within cultures than across them. Therefore, missionary communities should be sent to plant churches from social groups that are as culturally and ethnically close as possible to those they are seeking to reach. In *Operation World*, Jason Mandryk notes that in South Asia whilst there is much success ***"the gospel has rarely jumped across ethno-linguistic or caste boundaries"***, and that to do so requires that ***"new languages, new cultures and new methods of ministry must be learned"***. Where churches have been phenomenally successful it is precisely because ***"These churches are, more than ever, Asian in structure, style and leadership – taking forms relevant for those they are trying to reach."*** Similarly, in Africa ***"The vast bulk of Africa's unreached are Muslim many of them practicing an African brand of folk Islam. As demonstrated in West Africa, East Africa and elsewhere, sub-Saharan Africans can be extremely effective at winning Muslims to Jesus and are doing so to greater effect than ever."*** Consequently, ***"The***

¹²⁵ Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp.316 – 319; Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), pp. 759 – 769; Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), p. 19 etc.

¹²⁶ *Christianity in its Global Context, 1970 – 2020*, Center for the Study of Global Christianity, (2013), pp. 8, see also p. 79; *The Future of World Religions*, Pew Research Center, (2015), pp. 5 – 18, 25 – 26, 29 – 37, 40, 43, 47 – 52, 70 – 80, 143 – 150, 154 – 165; Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), pp. 9 – 10, 40, 52 – 58, 60, 73, 80 – 84, 761 – 769, 912 – 918 etc.

missionary force is increasingly African and multi-continental and less Western. Much sensitivity and humility is required for effective ministry that reaches the unevangelised and defers to the maturity and vision of the growing African Church.” As Philip Ball says in *Critical Mass*, his study of the dynamics of human group behaviour, *“transmission of cultural ideas depends on how much common ground already exists.”*¹²⁷ As well as sending missionary communities, the church should also make maximum use of multi-media channels such as radio, TV, internet and, of course, Bible translation and scripture resources. These are ministries that have been used incredibly effectively to spread the gospel, particularly to isolated and hostile areas, over the last 100 years.¹²⁸ So, in summary ...

The church should:

- Focus research and resources on reaching the Islamic world
- Send missionary communities from social groups that are as culturally and ethnically close as possible to those they are seeking to reach
- Make effective use of radio, TV and internet ministries to share the gospel

Local church evangelism

The lessons from history indicate that the simple sharing of faith by ordinary Christians with local friends, family and neighbours, should be the key focus for driving evangelism around the world in the twenty-first century. William Carey, the famous ‘father of modern missions’, saw this, as Bruce L Shelley describes in *Church History in Plain Language*, *“He held that the foreign missionary can never make more than a small contribution to the accomplishment of the work that has to be done, and that therefore the development of the local ministry is the first and greatest of all missionary considerations.”* Similarly, David J Bosch in *Transforming Mission*, like so many other experts in this area, rightly celebrates the crucial role that ordinary Christians played in the growth of the early church in the Roman Empire, one of the most successful periods of Christian growth in history, *“Of far greater significance for mission than the ministry of the peripatetic preacher or the monk was the conduct of early Christians, the ‘language of love’ on their lips and in their lives ... In the final analysis it was not the miracles of itinerant evangelists and wandering monks that impressed the populace – miracle workers were a familiar phenomenon in the ancient world – but the exemplary lives of ordinary Christians”*. He goes on to lament that since that time; *“For almost nineteen centuries and in virtually all ecclesiastical traditions ministry has been understood almost exclusively in terms of the service of ordained ministers.”* He then rightly celebrates that we are now beginning to return to that original understanding of the enormous potential of ordinary Christians for mission, for *“The movement away from ministry as the monopoly of ordained men to ministry as the responsibility of the whole people of God, ordained as well as non-ordained, is one of the most dramatic shifts taking place in the church today.”* Or as David B Barrett and Todd M Johnson put it in *World Christian Trends*, *“It is important to realise that evangelising Christians, the evangelising Church, consists almost entirely of lay persons – non-ordained, non-professional Christians, engaged full-time in secular occupations in the secular world. In the vast majority of Christian*

¹²⁷ Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), pp. 66, 60, 34, 38; Ball, P., *Critical Mass*, (2005), p. 427; see also pp. 428 – 436; Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp. 48 – 49, 104, 138, 142 – 144 etc.

¹²⁸ Johnstone, P., *The Church is Bigger than you Think*, (1998), pp. 230 – 240; Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), pp. 9 – 10, 13, 60, 64 – 65, 69 – 70; Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), pp. 5, 8, 42 – 45, 639 – 650, 684 – 691, 765, 843 – 844 etc.

*denominations across the world, the laity number from 99.0% to 99.9% of the entire membership of the church ... In 1954 the WCC's (World Council of Churches) first survey Evangelism stated, 'Laymen are on the frontier, served by the ministry whose function is to equip the people of God for its mission.' Nearly every lay believer meets in his daily work people who are outsiders or even (in many parts of the world) persons who are unevangelised or unreached by the Gospel.'*¹²⁹

Therefore, the church must prioritise the training and equipping of ordinary Christians to successfully share their faith with confidence, in order to see a real step change in the successful sharing of the gospel. This is why Arise has developed Equipped to Share (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share), a free course of five sessions that can be run in any local church, to empower individual Christians to talk with confidence about their faith, as our contribution to this crucial priority. The course also helps us to make our church services welcoming and relevant places to invite our non-Christian friends.



Figure 2.14: We must ensure our local churches are places where people are warmly welcomed, and can find love and friendship.

We must expand our concept of the local church, from a single congregation meeting in a single building to a networked local church, where many communities can meet around a core congregational space. These can include small groups, Alpha groups, discipleship courses, mothers and toddlers groups, mid-week services, men's and women's meetings, youth groups, older peoples groups, the group that meets in the pub on Sunday night, the church football team etc. All of these groups are equally valid parts of a networked local church where non-believers

¹²⁹ Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), p. 391; Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), pp. 191, 467, see also pp. 192, 211 – 212, 468 – 474; Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), p. 667, see also pp. 665 – 674, 765; Mandryk, J., *Operation World*, (2010), pp. 19, 60, 66 etc.

can be invited, make friends, settle into and be discipled. As Nicky Gumbel, leader of the enormously successful global evangelism movement, Alpha, has said, ***“People will come to church for many reasons, but they will stay for only one – friendship. People aren’t looking for a friendly church; they’re looking for a church where they can make friends.”*** Local churches that are structured in such a way to foster, build and support those friendships will be the most successful.¹³⁰ As local churches get larger as more people join them as a result of successful friendship evangelism by ordinary Christians, they will need to further split and subdivide into new local churches in the same area.

To further assist this process of local church based friendship evangelism, the church should focus research and resources on reaching the post-Enlightenment agnostic/atheist western world. As we have seen, the future of faith in our world is largely a race between Islam, Christianity and agnosticism/atheism. We have already observed that having impact in the Muslim world is mainly a job for missionary communities to plant local churches where they are lacking. However, in the post-Christian western world, local churches exist but are in dramatic decline. As the *Atlas of Global Christianity* puts it, ***“Discernible today is a globalisation of secularism and pluralism, which are becoming the Zeitgeist in the postmodern West and beyond ... Christianity in the West suffers from an image problem. Christianity has ceased to be an attractive religion among the younger generation.”***¹³¹ The church has yet to develop a way of communicating Christianity to the post-Enlightenment agnostic/atheist world that has widespread popular traction and this must be a major focus. As we do this, particular focus must be placed on young people. There is a large amount of academic research suggesting that most people make major decisions about their world view, such as coming to follow Jesus, in their formative years. Afterwards, many of course will still come to know Jesus, but it becomes harder for them to take that step.

History shows that when the church has experienced rapid growth, such as during: the ancient Roman Empire; the European Dark Ages; the colonial and post-colonial period of Sub-Saharan Africa; or within parts of Asia today, there has been the sense in the zeitgeist of Christianity as an emerging, confident force, and the faith of the future. Thus, in *A History of Christian Missions*, Stephen Neill writes of the church in the Roman Empire, ***“the favourable attitude of the emperor produced a complete change in the situation of the Christian Church. From obscurity it emerged into brilliance, from obloquy to the height of popularity. Crowds pressed into it ... Christianity was fashionable, and the majority of men, then as now, found it convenient to follow the fashion. It seems likely that the number of Christians in the empire at least quadrupled itself in the century that followed Constantine.”*** We see similar cultural momentum with the growth of Islam in Asia and North Africa during the Middle Ages (and arguably in the west today), and with agnosticism/atheism in the west during the twentieth century.¹³²

Re-capturing the cultural mood and the zeitgeist is key for Christianity to be once more seen as the faith of the future. In our modern world, this overwhelmingly means that the church

¹³⁰ Nicky Gumbel: ‘People come to church for many reasons, they stay for one – friendship’, Christian Today, (2014); see also Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), p. 414; Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), pp. 44, 58 – 60, 62, 586 etc.

¹³¹ Lee, M., *Future of Global Christianity*, in Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009); pp. 104 – 105, see also p. 55; Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), pp. 349 – 519; Gladwell, M., *The Tipping Point*, (2015) etc.

¹³² Neill, S., *A History of Christian Missions*, (1990), p. 41, see also pp. 25 – 26, 35 – 36, 40, 288 – 289; Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), pp. 191 – 194; MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), pp. 164 – 165 etc.

must draw on lessons from fields such as psychology, sociology and marketing, to craft and communicate a positive and attractive picture of Christianity through the media. As Malcolm Gladwell says in *The Tipping Point*, his famous book on runaway social phenomena, there are real answers to the *“two simple questions that lie at the heart of what we would all like to accomplish as educators, parents, marketers, business people, and policymakers. Why is it that some ideas or behaviours or products start epidemics and others don’t? And what can we do to deliberately start and control positive epidemics of our own?”*, for ultimately, *“There is a simple way to package information that, under the right circumstances, can make it irresistible. All you have to do is find it.”*¹³³ So, in summary ...

The church should:

- Massively focus on training and empowering ordinary Christians in local congregations to share the gospel confidently and naturally with their friends, family and neighbours through initiatives like Arise’s Equipped to Share course, www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share
- Make church services as welcoming as possible to non-believers
- Promote networked local churches, where the focus is on multiple congregational spaces around the main meeting: small groups where non-Christians can be invited, such as, Alpha groups, discipleship courses, mother and toddler groups, mid-week services, men’s and women’s meetings, youth groups, older people’s groups, the group that meets in the pub on Sunday night, the church football team etc.
- Sub-divide churches into multiple local churches in the same area when they become too full to make meeting together practical
- Particularly focus research and resources on communicating the gospel effectively to the post-Enlightenment agnostic/atheist western world
- Particularly focus on communicating the gospel effectively to young people
- Proactively engage with the media, projecting a positive image of Christianity which creates fertile cultural soil for conversion

PRIORITISE

Taken together, these lessons from the Bible and history provide a detailed plan for the church, and for us as individual Christians, to be released into powerful world-changing evangelism. They are all important, and they all need to be done. However, if we could do just one thing it must be to ...

- Massively focus on training and empowering ordinary Christians in local congregations to share the gospel confidently and naturally with their friends, family and neighbours through initiatives like Arise’s Equipped to Share course, www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share

We have seen how it is ordinary people, like you and me, sharing our faith powerfully and effectively that will have the greatest impact for the gospel. This is why Arise has developed Equipped to Share (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share), a free course of five sessions that can be run in any local church, to empower individual Christians to talk with confidence about their faith, as our contribution to this crucial priority. For the church to be

¹³³ Gladwell, M., *The Tipping Point*, (2015), pp. 14, 132; see also Heath, C. & Heath, D., *Made to Stick*, (2008); Ball, P., *Critical Mass*, (2005) etc.

most strategic and see the biggest results in this crucial area of evangelism, it should put less emphasis on professional evangelists, rallies, slogans and conferences for evangelism. Instead it should focus on training and equipping individual Christians to share the gospel confidently, effectively and naturally with their friends, family and neighbours, releasing a workforce of billions with the potential to convert the world within a generation.



PART 3: DISCIPLESHIP

Once we have come into a personal relationship with Jesus, there begins a lifelong journey of growing deeper in our faith. Having considered what needs to happen in our world in our first area of evangelism, we now turn to our second: discipleship. In this Part of the report we will rely solely on what the Bible because there is no readily available statistical information relating to the church's progress with discipleship over the last 2000 years. Fortunately (and unsurprisingly) there is no shortage of excellent lessons we can distil from the Bible to guide us in our discipleship. As in [Part 2](#), we have grouped these lessons together under particular themes.

1) WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY?

Prayer

The foundation of our relationship with God, and the primary way communication flows between us, is prayer. Throughout the Old and New Testament, the people of God are instructed to pray regularly to him, for we hear how they should ***“in every situation, by prayer and petition, with thanksgiving, present your requests to God.”***¹³⁴ They did this when they met together as a community, like the early Christians in Jerusalem who ***“all joined together constantly in prayer.”***¹³⁵ They also did this privately as individuals, one-to-one with God, often going away to find a quiet place where they wouldn't be interrupted, as Jesus regularly did. We frequently read how ***“Very early in the morning, while it was still dark, Jesus got up, left the house and went off to a solitary place, where he prayed.”***¹³⁶ A practical way to do this today is to ensure that we all have a daily 'quiet time' in prayer, ideally first thing in the morning. Jesus then gave us a wonderful model to follow in the Lord's prayer: ***“This, then,***

¹³⁴ Phil 4: 6, see also Psalms; Matt 6: 5 – 13; Mark 1: 35; Luke 9: 28; Luke 11: 1 – 13; John 16: 23 – 24; Acts 2: 42; Roms 12: 12; Eph 6: 18 – 19; Col 4: 2 – 4; 1 Thess 5: 17; Hebs 5: 7; James 5: 13 – 18; Jude 1: 20 etc.

¹³⁵ Acts 1: 14, see also 1 Sam 7: 5; Joel 1: 14; Matt 18: 19 – 20; Luke 9: 28 – 36; Acts 3: 1; Acts 4: 24 – 31; Acts 12: 5 – 12; Acts 16: 25; Acts 20: 36; Acts 21: 5 etc.

¹³⁶ Mark 1: 12, 35, see also 1 Kings 19; Matt 4: 1; Matt 6: 5 – 6; Matt 14: 13, 23; Matt 15: 29; Matt 26: 36 – 46; Mark 6: 46; Mark 14: 32 – 42; Luke 4: 1, 42; Luke 5: 16; Luke 6: 12; Luke 9: 18; Luke 22: 39 – 46 etc.

*is how you should pray ...*¹³⁷ Our quiet time should include giving thanks and worship (*“Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name”*),¹³⁸ prayer for others and the world (*“your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven”*),¹³⁹ prayer for ourselves and our day ahead (*“Give us today our daily bread”*),¹⁴⁰ repentance for anything we have done wrong since we last repented (*“forgive us our debts”*)¹⁴¹ and prayer for protection from spiritual attack (*“lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one”*).¹⁴²



Figure 3.1: Prayer, the foundation of our relationship with God.

We should not just broadcast our wishes at God, but include a time of listening to anything he may want to say to us. We may get a general sense God is saying something, see pictures, or be given passages of scripture or particular words. In just one example from the Bible, David made a constant practice of listening to God for his will. We hear how *“David inquired of the LORD. ‘Shall I go up to one of the towns of Judah?’ he asked. The LORD said, ‘Go up.’*

¹³⁷ Matt: 6: 9 – 13; Luke 11: 1 – 4

¹³⁸ Matt: 6: 9; Luke 11: 2, see also 1 Sam 2: 1 – 10; Psalms; Jer 32: 16 – 21; Dan 6: 10; Habak 3: 2 – 19; Acts 13: 2; Acts 16: 25; 2 Cor 1: 11; Col 1: 3; 1 Thess 1: 2; 1 Thess 5: 18; 2 Tim 1: 3; Philem 1: 4 etc.

¹³⁹ Matt 6: 10; Luke 11: 2, see also Matt 7: 7 – 11; Luke 22: 32; John 17: 9 – 26; Acts 12: 5 – 12; Acts 14: 23; Acts 28: 8; Roms 1: 9; Roms 10: 1; Roms 15: 30 – 31; 2 Cor 1: 11; Eph 6: 18 – 19; 1 Thess 1: 3; 1 Tim 2: 1 – 2; 3 John 1: 2 etc.

¹⁴⁰ Matt 6: 11; Luke 11: 3, 5 – 10, see also Gen 24: 12 – 15, 42 – 45; 2 Sam 15: 31; 2 Kings 20: 1 – 6; Psalms; Matt 21: 22; Mark 11: 23 – 24; Luke 1: 13; John 14: 13 – 14; John 15: 7, 16; John 16: 23 – 24; Roms 1: 10 etc.

¹⁴¹ Matt 6: 12, 14 – 15; Luke 11: 4, see also 1 Sam 7: 2 – 6; 1 Kings 8: 33 – 36, 46 – 50; 2 Kings 22: 19; 2 Chron 7: 13 – 14; Nehemiah 1: 5 – 11; Job 42: 1 – 6; Psalm 25: 11; Psalm 32; Psalm 51; Jonah 3; Rev 3: 3, 19 etc.

¹⁴² Matt 6: 13; Luke 11: 4, see also 1 Chron 21: 1 – 8; Job 1: 6 – 2: 7; Matt 26: 41; Mark 14: 38; Luke 11: 4; Luke 22: 31 – 32, 40, 46; John 17: 11 – 15; James 4: 7; 1 Pet 5: 8 – 9; 1 John 2: 13 – 14; 1 John 4: 3 – 4; 1 John 5: 4 – 5, 18 – 19; Rev 2: 10, 13 etc.

*David asked, ‘Where shall I go?’ ‘To Hebron,’ the LORD answered.”*¹⁴³ We should also read our Bibles in our quiet times, a practice of studying scripture, which once again was strongly followed by the people of God throughout the Bible, for ***“All scripture is God-breathed and is useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness, so that the servant of God may be thoroughly equipped for every good work.”***¹⁴⁴ As well as praying with others as a community, and alone as individuals in a daily routine, the people of God in the Bible prayed throughout their days, calling out to God in ad hoc ways as the need arose. In just one example, Nehemiah tells us that despite being ***“very much afraid”***, in the middle of a conversation with the Persian King Artaxerxes, ***“I prayed to the God of heaven, and I answered the king, ‘If it pleases the king ... let him send me to the city in Judah where my ancestors are buried so that I can rebuild it.’ ... And because the gracious hand of my God was on me, the king granted my requests.”***¹⁴⁵ Prayer is never far from the lips of God’s people throughout the Bible. Whenever they pray, they are instructed to keep their prayers simple and short, as Jesus said ***“when you pray, do not keep on babbling like pagans, for they think they will be heard because of their many words.”***¹⁴⁶ They are also told to persevere in prayer, as we do not always see immediate results. Jesus explained this to his disciples with the parable of the persistent widow, ***“to show them that they should always pray and not give up.”***¹⁴⁷ So, in summary ...

Individual Christians should:

- Have a daily ‘quiet time’, ideally in the morning. This should involve ...
 - Going to a quiet place where we won’t be interrupted
 - Thanking and worshipping God
 - Repenting of anything wrong we have done since we last repented
 - Reading the Bible
 - Spending a few minutes asking God if there is anything he wants to say to us and quietly listening
 - Praying for others and our world
 - Praying for ourselves and our day ahead
 - Praying for protection
- Pray in ad hoc ways throughout our day as we need to
- Pray together with other Christians in church and when we meet
- Pray simple and short prayers
- Persevere in our prayers

Obedience, calling and direction

Throughout the Bible amazing things happen when God’s people are obedient to the things he asks them to do. We see this – time after time – in God’s calling to Abraham, Moses, Gideon, Samuel, David, Jonah, Paul and many others, such as the disciples, who ***“left everything”*** when

¹⁴³ 2 Sam 2: 1, see also Judges 18: 5 – 6; Judges 20: 18, 23, 26 – 28; 1 Sam 9: 15 – 16; 1 Sam 22: 5, 10, 13, 15; 1 Sam 23: 2, 4, 10 – 12; 1 Sam 30: 8; 2 Sam 5: 19, 23 – 25; Jer 21: 2; Jer 42: 1 – 3; Acts 13: 2; Roms 8: 26 etc.

¹⁴⁴ 2 Tim 3: 15 – 17, see also Nehemiah 8 – 9; Psalm 1: 1 – 3; Dan 9: 2; Matt 21: 42; Matt 22: 29; Mark 12: 10, 24; Luke 4: 21; Luke 24: 27 – 32; Acts 8: 27 – 39; Acts 17: 11; Acts 18: 24; Roms 15: 4; 1 Tim 4: 13 etc.

¹⁴⁵ Nehemiah 2: 2 – 8, see also Gen 20: 17; Gen 24: 12 – 15; Judges 15: 18 – 19; Judges 16: 28; 1 Chron 5: 20; 2 Chron 13: 14 – 15; Jonah 2; Acts 7: 59 – 60; Acts 4: 24 – 31; Acts 20: 36; Acts 21: 5 etc.

¹⁴⁶ Matt 6: 7 – 8, see also Mark 12: 40; Luke 20: 47

¹⁴⁷ Luke 18: 1 – 8, see also Ex 2: 23 – 25; Dan 10: 12; Acts 10: 4; Roms 1: 9 – 11; Roms 12: 12; 2 Cor 1: 11; Eph 1: 15 – 17; Phil 1: 3 – 5; 1 Thess 1: 2 – 3; 2 Tim 1: 3; James 5: 7 – 8, 10 – 11 etc.

Jesus said ***“Follow me”***.¹⁴⁸ This obedience to God is deeply prized, as an expression of our faith in him. In one wonderful passage in Hebrews, the characters of the Old Testament are praised for their obedient faithfulness to God for ***“faith is confidence in what we hope for and assurance about what we do not see. This is what the ancients were commended for ... who through faith conquered kingdoms, administered justice and gained what was promised; who shut the mouths of lions, quenched the fury of the flames, and escaped the edge of the sword”***.¹⁴⁹ Essentially, the job of each of us as Christians is to ‘figure out what God wants you to do and go and do it’. As Jesus himself put it, the focus and purpose of our lives is to simply ***“seek first his Kingdom and his righteousness”***¹⁵⁰ and if we do that, we find that all the other things of life: money, family, career, will naturally follow.

Arise suggests a simple, practical way to discern God’s guidance, both for our individual calling and in major life decisions, drawn from Biblical principles. First (as we saw in our last section on [Prayer](#)), we should find a quiet place¹⁵¹ and there (again as we saw in our last section), listen to God for this.¹⁵² We should then time limit our listening. We live in the real world, where we have to get on and make decisions. We should set aside an appropriate timeframe to listen to God (hours, weeks, a month or two etc.) for guidance, but then make a decision, to the best of our ability, once this time period is over. In the Bible, God’s people set aside a night or a day or two for seeking his will and listening, rather than waiting forever. For example, we read in the book of Judges, ***“all the Israelites, the whole army, went up to Bethel, and there they sat weeping before the LORD. They fasted that day until evening and presented burnt offerings and fellowship offerings to the LORD. And the Israelites inquired of the LORD.”***¹⁵³ When we have made a decision, we should check it against the Bible¹⁵⁴ and share with Christian friends to elicit their prayers and advice. As Paul tells us when we listen to God in church ***“Two or three prophets should speak, and the others should weigh carefully what is said.”***¹⁵⁵ We should also consider writing it down, and then reviewing our current life situation and daily routine to see if there is anything we need to change in order to do whatever God is asking of us. It is not enough to have simply heard from him, we need to make sure we are actually putting it into practice in reality as well. As Jesus said, ***“My mother and brothers are those who hear God’s word and put it into practice.”***¹⁵⁶

Once we are outworking his calling, we will find – just like all the characters of the Bible – that alongside the great excitement of living life to the full,¹⁵⁷ we will also face doubt, spiritual

¹⁴⁸ Luke 5: 10 – 11, 27 – 28, see also Judges 6: 8 – 26; 1 Sam 3; 1 Sam 16: 1 – 13; Jonah 1: 1 – 2; Matt 4: 18 – 22; Matt 9: 9; Mark 1: 16 – 20; Mark 2: 14; John 1: 35 – 51; Acts 7: 2 – 8, 30 – 36; Acts 9: 3 – 20 etc.

¹⁴⁹ Hebs 11, see also Ex – Deut; Judges; 1 Kings – 2 Chron; Isa – Mal; Acts 7: 2 – 8, 30 – 36; Acts 8: 26 – 27; Acts 9: 3 – 20; Acts 10: 3 – 33; Acts 13: 2 – 4; Acts 16: 6 – 10; Acts 18: 9 – 11; Acts 20: 22 – 23 etc.

¹⁵⁰ Matt 6: 33, see also Matt 12: 50; Matt 26: 36 – 42; Mark 3: 35; Mark 14: 32 – 36; Luke 12: 31; Luke 22: 39 – 42; John 8: 28 – 29; John 12: 49 – 50; Eph 6: 6; Hebs 10: 36; 1 Pet 4: 2; 1 John 2: 17 etc.

¹⁵¹ 1 Kings 19; Matt 4: 1; Matt 6: 5 – 6; Matt 14: 13, 23; Matt 15: 29; Matt 26: 36 – 46; Mark 1: 12, 35; Mark 6: 46; Mark 14: 32 – 42; Luke 4: 1, 42; Luke 5: 16; Luke 6: 12; Luke 9: 18; Luke 22: 39 – 46 etc.

¹⁵² Judges 18: 5 – 6; Judges 20: 18, 23, 26 – 28; 1 Sam 9: 15 – 16; 1 Sam 22: 5, 10, 13, 15; 1 Sam 23: 2, 4, 10 – 12; 1 Sam 30: 8; 2 Sam 2: 1; 2 Sam 5: 19, 23 – 25; Jer 21: 2; Jer 42: 1 – 3; Acts 13: 2; Roms 8: 26 etc.

¹⁵³ Judges 20: 18, 23, 26 – 28, see also Judges 6: 36 – 40; Judges 18: 5 – 6; 1 Sam 9: 6 – 9; 1 Sam 10: 20 – 24; 1 Sam 30: 8; 2 Sam 2: 1; 2 Sam 5: 19, 23 – 25; Matt 26: 36 – 46; Mark 14: 32 – 42; Luke 22: 39 – 46 etc.

¹⁵⁴ Nehemiah 8 – 9; Psalm 1: 1 – 3; Dan 9: 2; Matt 21: 42; Matt 22: 29; Mark 12: 10, 24; Luke 4: 21; Luke 24: 27 – 32; Acts 8: 27 – 39; Acts 17: 11; Acts 18: 24; Roms 15: 4; 1 Tim 4: 13; 2 Tim 3: 15 – 17 etc.

¹⁵⁵ 1 Cor 14: 26 – 29, see also Roms 12: 2; 2 Cor 13: 5; Gal 6: 4; 1 Thess 5: 19 – 21; 1 John 4: 1 – 6

¹⁵⁶ Luke 8: 21, see also Isa 58: 2 – 7; Eze 33: 31; Micah 6: 8; Zech 7: 2 – 12; Matt 7: 21, 24 – 27; Matt 21: 28 – 31; Luke 6: 46 – 49; John 14: 21; Phil 4: 9; 1 Tim 5: 4; James 1: 22 – 25; James 2: 14 – 26 etc.

¹⁵⁷ Matt 13: 44; Matt 19: 27 – 29; Mark 10: 28 – 30; Luke 18: 28 – 30; John 10: 10; Roms 15: 13; Eph 4: 1; Phil 3: 7 – 9; Col 1: 10 – 12; 1 Tim 6: 19; 1 Pet 1: 8; Jude 1: 24

attack, criticism from others, setbacks and times when everything seems to have gone wrong. We will need to learn to persevere, as James says ***“Brothers and sisters, as an example of patience in the face of suffering, take the prophets who spoke in the name of the Lord. As you know, we count as blessed those who have persevered. You have heard of Job’s perseverance and have seen what the Lord finally brought about.”***¹⁵⁸ Finally, we need to periodically pause to listen to God to check we are still on track and to review the progress we have made. And in all of this we need a healthy dose of common sense. Often we won’t hear anything specific. That’s fine. We have given God the opportunity to speak which delights him, and he will speak if he wants to. For many of us, for large parts of our lives there is not one specific thing God is asking us to do, other than just get on with the amazing task he has already set us to advance his kingdom and transform our world. This alone is a glorious calling, and often all we are being asked by God is to just get on with it. As the prophet Micah said ***“He has shown you, O mortal, what is good. And what does the LORD require of you? To act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God”*** or Jesus commanded ***“go, proclaim this message: ‘The kingdom of heaven has come near.’ Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse those who have leprosy, drive out demons. Freely you have received; freely give.”***¹⁵⁹ So, in summary ...

Individual Christians should:

- Go to a quiet place where we won’t be interrupted
- Ask God what he wants us to do about a particular major decision and quietly listen
- Set a time when we will end our time of listening and make the decision as best we can
- Check our decision against the Bible
- Get prayers and advice about our decision from other Christians
- Write up the decision we make
- Review our current situation and daily routine to see if there is anything we need to change to make our decision a reality
- Persevere in the direction we have felt called to go when we face setbacks
- Regularly listen to God again and review the progress we are making

Personal attitude and integrity

The Bible has much to instruct us as people of God in our personal attitude, and in the integrity we should display as we engage with others in our world. We are to be radically loving to all, loving our neighbours as ourselves. As the letter to the Galatians says, ***“Let us not become weary in doing good, for at the proper time we will reap a harvest if we do not give up. Therefore, as we have opportunity, let us do good to all people, especially to those who belong to the family of believers.”***¹⁶⁰ In particular, we are to spend time with the needy in our society: the poor, the marginalised, the unpopular, those society rejects, as this is what Jesus did. As he said, ***“When you give a luncheon or dinner, do not invite your friends, your brothers or***

¹⁵⁸ James 5: 10 – 11, see also Matt 5: 10 – 12; Matt 13: 21; Roms 15: 4 – 5; 2 Cor 4: 8 – 9, 17; 2 Thess 1: 4 – 5; 2 Tim 2: 3, 8 – 12; Hebs 10: 32 – 36; Hebs 12: 1 – 11; James 1: 2 – 4, 12; 1 Pet 4: 12 – 19; Rev 2: 3 etc.

¹⁵⁹ Micah 6: 8; Matt 10: 7 – 8, see also Isa 58: 2 – 7; Zech 7: 2 – 12; Matt 4: 23; Matt 6: 33; Matt 9: 35 – 38; Matt 11: 2 – 5, 12; Matt 28: 18 – 20; Mark 6: 12 – 13; Mark 16: 15 – 18; Luke 4: 16 – 21; Luke 9: 1 – 2; Luke 10: 9, 17; Luke 12: 31; John 14: 20; Acts 1: 8

¹⁶⁰ Gal 6: 9 – 10, see also Lev 19: 18; Matt 7: 12; Matt 19: 19 Matt 22: 34 – 40; Mark 12: 28 – 34; Luke 6: 31; Luke 10: 25 – 28, 33 – 37; John 13: 34 – 35; John 15: 12 – 13, 17; Roms 12: 10; Roms 13: 8 – 10; 1 Cor 13: 1 Cor 16: 14; 2 Cor 1: 4; Gal 5: 14; Eph 4: 32; Phil 2: 4; Col 3: 12 – 14; James 2: 8; 1 Pet 3: 8 – 11; 1 John 4: 7 – 21 etc.

*sisters, your relatives, or your rich neighbours ... But when you give a banquet, invite the poor, the crippled, the lame, the blind, and you will be blessed.”*¹⁶¹ When anyone interrupts our lives with a need, we should drop whatever we are doing and help. People come first. This is what Jesus did, and no one in history had a more important job to do than him. If he can make time, then so can we. Jesus did this, even in the midst of deepest grief, when he had just been told of the murder of John the Baptist, *“When Jesus heard what had happened, he withdrew by boat privately to a solitary place. Hearing of this, the crowds followed him on foot from the towns. When Jesus landed and saw a large crowd, he had compassion on them and healed their sick.”*¹⁶² In engaging with others, we should be *“quick to listen, slow to speak”*¹⁶³ and we should show no favouritism. As Paul says to Timothy, *“I charge you, in the sight of God and Christ Jesus and the elect angels, to keep these instructions without partiality, and to do nothing out of favouritism.”*¹⁶⁴ We should respect our elders, as Peter instructs *“you who are younger, submit yourselves to your elders”*.¹⁶⁵ And we should be hospitable to all who need it. As the letter to the Hebrews urges, *“Do not forget to show hospitality to strangers, for by so doing some people have shown hospitality to angels without knowing it.”*¹⁶⁶

In our approach to life, the Bible constantly encourages us to be bold and courageous. This is not about how confident we feel. None of us can control how we feel, and therefore we shouldn't beat ourselves up about it. We can only control what we do. Being bold and courageous means doing what we believe is the right thing, even when it is unpopular, or will have negative consequences for us, or we are fearful. The more we choose to be bold and courageous, the more the feeling of confidence will naturally follow. As Joshua was famously told by God when he entered the Holy Land, *“Be strong and courageous. Do not be afraid; do not be discouraged, for the LORD your God will be with you wherever you go.”*¹⁶⁷ We are to seek wisdom, education, knowledge and understanding. In just one example from the Bible, God was delighted with Solomon when he asked – not for wealth, riches, honour, the death of his enemies or long life, but instead – for *“wisdom and knowledge, that I may lead this people”*.¹⁶⁸ In our engagement with others, we should always try to be positive, upbeat and optimistic, even when we don't feel like it. After all, we already know the end of our story, and God's big story in our world, and it is a very happy one. We have every reason for hope. As Paul urges, *“Rejoice always”*, and the book of Proverbs says *“the cheerful heart has a continual feast.”*¹⁶⁹

¹⁶¹ Luke 14: 12 – 24, see also Psalm 41: 1; Matt 9: 9 – 13; Matt 11: 19; Mark 2: 14 – 17; Luke 5: 27 – 32; Luke 7: 34 – 50; Luke 15: 1 – 10; Luke 19: 5 – 10; John 4: 7 – 9; Roms 12: 16; James 2: 1 – 9 etc.

¹⁶² Matt 14: 13 – 14, 35 – 36, see also Matt 8: 16; Matt 9: 2, 18 – 22, 27, 32, 36; Matt 19: 2, 13 – 15; Matt 20: 29 – 34; Mark 1: 30 – 34, 40 – 2: 3, 13; Mark 5: 21 – 43; Mark 6: 33 – 34, 54 – 56; Mark 10: 1, 46 – 52; Luke 8: 4, 27, 40 – 48; Luke 9: 11; Luke 17: 12 – 14; Luke 18: 15 – 16, 35 – 43 etc.

¹⁶³ James 1: 19, see also Prov 15: 28; Prov 17: 27 – 28; Prov 18: 13; Prov 21: 23; Prov 29: 20

¹⁶⁴ 1 Tim 5: 21, see also Ex 23: 3; Lev 19: 15; Acts 10: 34 – 35; Roms 2: 9 – 11; Roms 12: 16; 1 Cor 11: 17 – 34; Col 3: 23 – 25; James 2: 1 – 9; James 3: 17

¹⁶⁵ 1 Pet 5: 5, see also Lev 19: 32; 1 Tim 5: 1 – 2; Titus 2: 2 – 5

¹⁶⁶ Hebs 13: 2, see also Gen 18: 1 – 8; Gen 26: 30; Job 31: 32; Matt 25: 35 – 46; Acts 16: 15; Acts 28: 30; Roms 12: 13; Roms 16: 23; 1 Tim 3: 2; 1 Tim 5: 10; Titus 1: 8; 1 Pet 4: 9; 3 John 1: 5 – 8 etc.

¹⁶⁷ Josh 1: 6 – 9, 18, see also Deut 31: 6 – 8, 23; Josh 10: 25; 1 Chron 22: 13; 1 Chron 28: 20; 2 Chron 32: 7 – 8; Prov 28: 1; Acts 4: 29 – 31; Acts 28: 30 – 31; 1 Cor 16: 13; 2 Cor 3: 4 – 5, 12; 1 Thess 5: 14; 2 Tim 1: 7 etc.

¹⁶⁸ 2 Chron 1: 7 – 12, see also 1 Kings 3: 5 – 14; Job 28; Psalm 90: 12; Psalm 119: 12; Proverbs; Dan 1: 17 – 20; Dan 2: 20 – 23; Acts 6: 3; Eph 1: 17; Col 1: 9; Col 3: 16; James 1: 5; James 3: 13 – 17 etc.

¹⁶⁹ 1 Thess 5: 16; Prov 15: 13, 15, see also Prov 17: 22; Roms 8: 23 – 39; Roms 12: 11 – 12; Roms 15: 4, 13; 1 Cor 13: 7; 2 Cor 3: 12; 2 Cor 4: 16 – 18; 2 Cor 5: 6 – 8; Gal 5: 22; Col 1: 11 – 12 etc.

We should be humble, for Jesus told his followers ***“whoever wants to become great among you must be your servant, and whoever wants to be first must be slave of all”***.¹⁷⁰ We should also ***“be patient with everyone”*** in all situations.¹⁷¹ We are to ***“be self-controlled”***.¹⁷² We are to be law abiding, as Paul instructed Titus, ***“Remind the people to be subject to rulers and authorities, to be obedient”***.¹⁷³ This is unless the law compels us to compromise our faith, which obviously we should never do, in which case, like Peter and the apostles, ***“We must obey God rather than human beings!”***¹⁷⁴ For those of us living in democracies, we should always exercise our freedom and vote. The Bible was of course written long before any modern democracies emerged. However, it does state that those in positions of national authority have been placed there by God and are to exercise their responsibilities justly, an area we will explore more fully in [Part 4 on Social Justice](#). For now, we note that in modern democracies the ultimate authority lies with the people – you and me – and thus, we are to follow this Biblical injunction and engage in the democratic process by always using our vote in the way we believe God would want.¹⁷⁵ In our engagement in the world, we are to be ***“as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves”***.¹⁷⁶ We should therefore not be naïve about what is happening around us and the motives people may have, whilst at the same time, ensuring that for our part we always act with complete integrity.

As well as these behaviours of attitude and integrity discussed above, there are also a range of things the Bible tells us we must not do. We are not to gossip or criticise others behind their backs, for ***“A perverse person stirs up conflict, and a gossip separates close friends.”***¹⁷⁷ We should not mock or tease others, as the Psalms say ***“Blessed is the one who does not walk in step with the wicked or stand in the way that sinners take or sit in the company of mockers”***.¹⁷⁸ We should not judge others, for Jesus urged us ***“Do not judge, or you too will be judged. For in the same way you judge others, you will be judged”***.¹⁷⁹ Neither should we lie, as Paul tells us ***“each of you must put off falsehood and speak truthfully to your neighbour”***.¹⁸⁰ Neither should we grumble or complain, but ***“Do everything without grumbling or arguing”***.¹⁸¹ We should try to stay calm and not get angry no matter how provoked, James urges us all to be ***“slow to become angry, because human anger does not***

¹⁷⁰ Mark 10: 42 – 45, see also Prov 3: 34; Prov 11: 2; Matt 18: 4, 10; Matt 23: 1 – 12; Mark 9: 35; Luke 14: 8 – 11; Luke 18: 9 – 14; John 13: 4 – 17; Roms 12: 3, 10, 16; Eph 4: 2; Phil 2: 3; James 3: 13; 1 Pet 5: 5 – 6 etc.

¹⁷¹ 1 Thess 5: 14, see also Prov 15: 18; Prov 16: 32; Prov 19: 2, 11; Prov 21: 5; Prov 25: 15; Roms 12: 12; 1 Cor 13: 4; 2 Cor 1: 6; 2 Cor 6: 6; Gal 5: 22; Eph 4: 2; Col 1: 11; Col 3: 12; 2 Tim 3: 10; 2 Tim 4: 2; Rev 3: 10 etc.

¹⁷² Titus 2: 2, 5 – 6, 12, see also Prov 16: 32; Prov 25: 28; Prov 29: 11; Acts 24: 25; Gal 5: 23; 1 Thess 5: 6 – 8; 1 Tim 3: 2; 2 Tim 1: 7; 2 Tim 3: 3; Titus 1: 8; 1 Pet 1: 13; 1 Pet 4: 7; 1 Pet 5: 8; 2 Pet 1: 6 etc.

¹⁷³ Titus 3: 1, see also Ezra; Nehemiah; Esther; Daniel; Matt 17: 24 – 27; Matt 22: 16 – 21; Matt 23: 2 – 3; Mark 12: 14 – 17; Luke 3: 12 – 13; Luke 20: 21 – 25; Acts 23: 5; Roms 13: 1 – 7; 1 Pet 2: 13 – 14, 17 etc.

¹⁷⁴ Acts 5: 29 – 32, see also Dan 1; Dan 3; Dan 6; Matt 10: 17 – 20; Mark 13: 11; Luke 12: 11 – 12; Luke 21: 12 – 15; Acts 4: 19 – 20; Acts 23: 1 – 3; Eph 3: 1; Eph 4: 1; Philem 1: 1; Rev 13 – 14 etc.

¹⁷⁵ Deut 17: 14 – 20; Deut 31: 7 – 8, 14, 23; Josh 1: 1 – 9; Judges 2: 16, 18; 1 Sam 10: 1, 19 – 24; 1 Sam 16: 1; 2 Sam 5: 10, 12; 1 Chron 28: 4 – 10; Prov 21: 1; Dan 2: 21, 37; Dan 5: 18 – 19; Roms 13: 1 – 7; Col 1: 16 etc.

¹⁷⁶ Matt 10: 16, see also Matt 21: 23 – 27; Matt 22: 15 – 40; Mark 11: 27 – 33; Mark 12: 13 – 34; Luke 20: 1 – 8, 20 – 40; Acts 23: 6 – 9

¹⁷⁷ Prov 16: 28, see also Psalm 101: 5; Prov 11: 12 – 13; Prov 17: 4; Prov 20: 19; Prov 25: 9 – 10; Prov 26: 20; Roms 1: 29; 2 Cor 12: 20; 1 Tim 3: 11; 1 Tim 5: 13; 3 John 1: 10

¹⁷⁸ Psalm 1: 1, see also Psalm 35: 16; Prov 3: 34; Prov 9: 12; Prov 13: 1; Prov 14: 6; Prov 17: 5; Prov 22: 10; Prov 24: 9, 17 – 18; Prov 26: 18 – 19; Prov 29: 8; Prov 30: 17; Isa 28: 22; Isa 29: 20; Isa 57: 4; Hosea 7: 5 etc.

¹⁷⁹ Matt 7: 1 – 5, see also Zech 7: 10; Luke 6: 37 – 42; Roms 2: 1 – 4; Roms 14: 1 – 13, 22; 1 Cor 4: 5; Col 2: 16; James 4: 11 – 12

¹⁸⁰ Eph 4: 25, see also Lev 19: 11; Psalm 5: 6; Hosea 4: 2; Amos 5: 10; Micah 6: 12; Nahum 3: 1; Mark 7: 22; Roms 1: 29; Roms 3: 13; 2 Cor 6: 7; Col 3: 9; 1 Tim 1: 10; 1 Pet 2: 1; Rev 14: 5; Rev 21: 8; Rev 22: 15 etc.

¹⁸¹ Phil 2: 14, see also Ex 15: 24; Ex 16: 2, 7; Ex 17: 3; Num 11: 1; Num 14: 2, 27 – 35; Num 16: 11, 41; Deut 1: 27; Psalm 106: 25; John 6: 41; 1 Cor 10: 10; James 5: 9; Jude 1: 16 etc.

*produce the righteousness that God desires.”*¹⁸² Neither therefore should we be argumentative, for *“the Lord’s servants must not be quarrelsome”*.¹⁸³ We are not to be envious or jealous of other people, as the letter to the Galatians says *“Let us not become conceited, provoking and envying each other.”*¹⁸⁴ We should not look at anyone with lust but instead follow Job’s example, who was able to say *“I made a covenant with my eyes not to look lustfully at a young woman.”*¹⁸⁵

We should never make an oath or swear by anything, as Jesus said *“do not swear an oath at all: either by heaven ... or by the earth ... All you need to say is simply ‘Yes’ or ‘No’”*.¹⁸⁶ We should also avoid swearing, cursing, blaspheming or using profanities, for as James urged, *“With the tongue we praise our Lord and Father, and with it we curse human beings, who have been made in God’s likeness. Out of the same mouth come praise and cursing. My brothers and sisters, this should not be.”*¹⁸⁷ We should not be hypocritical, as Jesus challenged us, *“Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother’s eye and pay no attention to the plank in your own eye? ... You hypocrite, first take the plank out of your eye”*.¹⁸⁸ We should also pay any debts we have incurred, and ideally avoid getting into debt, or putting up security for anyone else in debt, in the first place, as the book of Proverbs says, *“Do not be one who shakes hands in pledge or puts up security for debts; if you lack the means to pay, your very bed will be snatched from under you.”*¹⁸⁹

Jesus also tells us not to worry, urging us *“do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will worry about itself”*.¹⁹⁰ As we have already seen, we cannot choose how we feel, but we can choose how we act. So if we find ourselves worrying and dwelling on something, we should not feel guilty about that. Instead what we can do when we notice we have mentally gone back to it again, is each time make a choice to think about something else. Over time, this will encourage us out of the cycle of worry. We will explore this further below under [Spiritual warfare and persecution](#). Finally, across the Old and New Testament the Bible is clear that we should worship God alone and not engage in any other sort of worship or spiritual activity. In just one of many instances throughout the Bible, we are warned *“Do not turn to mediums or seek out spiritists”*.¹⁹¹ So, in summary ...

Individual Christians should:

- Be radically loving to all, loving our neighbour as ourselves
- Interrupt what we are doing to make time for others if they need us – put people first

¹⁸² James 1: 19 – 20, see also Prov 14: 17, 29; Prov 15: 18; Prov 17: 27; Prov 19: 19; Prov 22: 24 – 25; Prov 27: 4; Prov 29: 11, 22; Matt 5: 21 – 22; 2 Cor 12: 20; Gal 5: 20, 22; Eph 4: 31; Col 3: 8; Titus 1: 7 etc.

¹⁸³ 2 Tim 2: 14, 23 – 24, see also Prov 15: 18; Prov 17: 14, 19; Prov 18: 19; Prov 19: 13; Prov 20: 3; Prov 22: 10; Prov 26: 21; Isa 58: 4, 9; 1 Cor 1: 11; 1 Cor 3: 3; Phil 2: 14; 1 Tim 3: 3; Titus 3: 9 – 11; James 4: 1 etc.

¹⁸⁴ Gal 5: 20 – 21, 26, see also Ex 20: 17; Deut 5: 21; 2 Sam 11 – 12; Psalm 37: 1; Roms 1: 29; Roms 7: 7 – 8; Roms 13: 9, 13; 1 Cor 3: 3; 1 Cor 13: 4; 2 Cor 12: 20; Titus 3: 3; James 3: 14 – 16; James 4: 2; 1 Pet 2: 1 etc.

¹⁸⁵ Job 31: 1, see also Num 15: 39; 2 Sam 11 – 12; Prov 6: 25; Habak 2: 15; Matt 5: 27 – 28; Col 3: 5; 1 Thess 4: 4 – 5; 1 Pet 4: 3; 2 Pet 2: 18; 1 John 2: 16

¹⁸⁶ Matt 5: 33 – 37, see also Lev 5: 4; Deut 5: 11; Deut 23: 22; Hosea 4: 15; James 5: 12

¹⁸⁷ James 3: 9 – 10, see also Ex 20: 7; Ex 22: 28; Lev 22: 32; Deut 5: 11; Psalm 10: 7; Psalm 59: 12; Isa 33: 19; Hosea 4: 2; Roms 3: 14; Eph 5: 4; Col 3: 8; 1 Tim 1: 13, 20; 2 Tim 3: 2; 2 Pet 2: 10 – 12 etc.

¹⁸⁸ Luke 6: 37 – 42, see also Psalm 26: 4; Matt 6: 1 – 6, 14 – 18; Matt 7: 1 – 5; Matt 15: 1 – 9; Matt 22: 18; Matt 23; Matt 24: 51; Mark 7: 1 – 13; Luke 13: 10 – 17; 1 Tim 4: 2; 1 Pet 2: 1; 1 John 3: 18 etc.

¹⁸⁹ Prov 22: 26 – 27, see also Prov 6: 1 – 5; Prov 11: 15; Prov 17: 18; Roms 13: 8

¹⁹⁰ Matt 6: 25 – 34, see also Psalm 37: 1; Prov 24: 19; Matt 10: 19 – 20, 26, 28 – 31; Matt 13: 22; Mark 4: 19; Luke 8: 14; Luke 12: 22 – 32; Luke 21: 34; Phil 4: 6; 1 Pet 5: 7; 1 John 4: 18 etc.

¹⁹¹ Lev 19: 4, 31, see also Ex 20: 3 – 5, 23; Deut 5: 7 – 9; Judges 2: 11 – 13; 1 Sam 7: 3 – 4; 1 Kings 14: 9, 15; 2 Kings 16: 2 – 4; Psalm 4: 2; Isa 2: 6, 8, 18, 20; Acts 19: 18 – 19; 1 Cor 5: 11; Gal 5: 20; 1 John 5: 21 etc.

- In particular, look out for the needy and marginalised
- Be quick to listen and slow to speak
- Show no favouritism
- Respect our elders
- Be hospitable
- Be bold and courageous
- Seek wisdom, education, knowledge and understanding
- Choose to be upbeat and optimistic
- Be humble – don't show off our good deeds looking for praise
- Be patient
- Be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves
- Be self-disciplined
- Be law abiding, unless the law compels us to compromise our faith
- Vote
- Not gossip or criticise others behind their backs
- Not mock or tease others
- Not judge
- Not lie
- Stay calm and not get angry with others
- Not be envious or jealous
- Not look at other women or men with lust
- Not make an oath or swear by anything
- Not swear, blaspheme or use profanities
- Not worry
- Not be argumentative
- Not grumble or complain
- Not be hypocritical
- Not get into debt
- Worship God alone and not engage in any other sort of worship or spiritual activity

Work, rest and health

Throughout the Bible, the people of God are taught to be hard working. Work, whether paid or voluntary, is good, and it is healthy for us to work hard and well, with purpose, rather than live lives of dissolute self-centred leisure. Paul tells us, ***“Whatever you do, work at it with all your heart, as working for the Lord, not for human masters”***¹⁹² However, this is always to be balanced with significant times of rest, relaxation, time off work doing the things we enjoy and long periods of holiday and celebration. God made us to both work hard, and to enjoy times of rest and relaxation to re-charge. God is a God of fun, laughter, joy and delight, as well as challenge and hard work. The Sabbath model of six parts work, to one part rest, (with significant extra holiday thrown in on top) is a good ratio to follow. From the earliest times, God's people were encouraged ***“Six days do your work, but on the seventh day do not work, so that your ox and your donkey may rest, and so that the slave born in your household and***

¹⁹² Col 3: 23, see also Ex 20: 9; Lev 23: 3; Deut 5: 13; Prov 6: 6 – 11; Prov 10: 4 – 5, 26; Prov 12: 11, 14, 24, 27; Prov 13: 4; Prov 14: 23; Prov 15: 19; Prov 18: 9; Prov 20: 4, 13; 2 Thess 3: 6 – 15; Titus 3: 14 etc.

the foreigner living among you may be refreshed." ¹⁹³ Alongside this healthy work/life balance, we are told to eat healthily, and not be greedy or to get drunk for both spiritual and health reasons. In just one instance, the book of Proverbs urges ***“Do not join those who drink too much wine or gorge themselves on meat, for drunkards and gluttons become poor, and drowsiness clothes them in rags.”*** ¹⁹⁴ This guidance, together with the general principle that we want to be active for as long as possible in order to serve God with maximum longevity, points to the Biblical principle that we should keep ourselves healthy. ¹⁹⁵ With our modern understanding of health, we can add that we should take regular exercise, have sufficient sleep, wash and clean ourselves daily, and avoid smoking or taking drugs. Furthermore, if we follow the other practices discussed in this Part 3 of the report, these will also help to promote good mental health. So, in summary ...

Individual Christians should:

- Work hard
- Balance this with significant time off to rest, relax and have fun
- Eat healthily and not be greedy
- Not get drunk
- Take daily exercise
- Get enough sleep
- Not smoke
- Not take drugs
- Wash and clean ourselves daily

Family life

In addition to the lessons we have considered for our own personal walk with God, the Bible has much to teach us about wider family life. As followers of Jesus, we are advised that it is better to remain single if we can. This is for purely practical reasons, as without the responsibility of a spouse and children to raise, we will have more time to dedicate to our calling to advance God's kingdom in the world. Thus, when the disciples asked Jesus if it is better not to marry, he replied ***“Not everyone can accept this word, but only those to whom it has been given”*** for ***“there are those who choose to live like eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. The one who can accept this should accept it.”*** ¹⁹⁶ However, both Jesus and Paul recognised that this would be too difficult for many of us, and if so, then it is permissible to get married. Indeed, marriage is an institution created and blessed by God, for ***“He who finds a wife finds what is good and receives favour from the LORD.”*** ¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Ex 23: 12, see also Gen 2: 1 – 3; Ex 20: 8 – 11; Lev 23; Num 28: 16 – 29: 39; Deut 5: 12 – 15; Deut 16: 1 – 17; Ezra 6: 19 – 22; Esther 9: 18 – 32; Matt 11: 28 – 30; Mark 6: 31 – 32; Luke 7: 34; John 2: 1 – 11 etc.

¹⁹⁴ Prov 23: 20 – 21, 29 – 35, see also Prov 20: 1; Prov 25: 16, 27; Prov 28: 7; Isa 5: 11 – 12, 22; Luke 21: 34; Roms 13: 13; 1 Cor 5: 11; 1 Cor 6: 10; Gal 5: 21; Eph 5: 18; 1 Thess 5: 7; 1 Tim 3: 3, 8; Titus 1: 7; Titus 2: 2 – 3; 1 Pet 4: 3 etc.

¹⁹⁵ Job 27: 3 – 4; Psalm 104: 33; Psalm 146: 2; Prov 3: 7 – 8; Prov 4: 20 – 22; 1 Cor 9: 24 – 27; Eph 5: 28 – 29; Phil 1: 21 – 26; 1 Tim 4: 8; 1 Tim 5: 23

¹⁹⁶ Matt 19: 10 – 12, see also Matt 22: 23 – 30; Mark 12: 18 – 25; Luke 20: 27 – 36; 1 Cor 7

¹⁹⁷ Prov 18: 22, see also Gen 2: 24; Deut 20: 7; Matt 19: 3 – 12; Mark 10: 2 – 12; Luke 16: 18; 1 Cor 7; Eph 5: 21 – 33; Col 3: 18 – 19; 1 Tim 3: 2, 12; 1 Tim 4: 2 – 3; 1 Tim 5: 14; Titus 1: 6; Hebs 13: 4; 1 Pet 3: 1 – 7 etc.

If we marry, it should be with another Christian.¹⁹⁸ This is not a petty rule that discriminates against true love, rather, it is for our own benefit and to protect us. There is a level of intimacy and connection between two believers in a marriage, which can never be achieved when one is not a Christian. However, if we are already married when we become Christians we should not leave our partners, unless they choose to leave us. As Paul instructs, ***“If any brother has a wife who is not a believer and she is willing to live with him, he must not divorce her. And if a woman has a husband who is not a believer and he is willing to live with her, she must not divorce him.”***¹⁹⁹ In this context, or if our spouse has died, we may marry again, for we hear, ***“A woman is bound to her husband as long as he lives. But if her husband dies, she is free to marry anyone she wishes”***.²⁰⁰ Otherwise, we should be married to one partner for life, for ***“what God has joined together, let not no one separate.”***²⁰¹

We should only divorce for reasons of unfaithfulness, for as Jesus said, ***“anyone who divorces his wife, except for sexual immorality, and marries another woman commits adultery.”***²⁰² We are to be loving, kind and devoted to our spouses, a husband concerned with ***“how he can please his wife”*** and a wife with ***“how she can please her husband”***.²⁰³ Sex is given as a wonderful gift from God to be enjoyed between a man and a woman within the context of marriage, for from the earliest times ***“a man leaves his father and mother and is united to his wife, and they become one flesh.”***²⁰⁴ If we are blessed with children, we are to love them and raise them well, as Paul urges ***“do not exasperate your children; instead, bring them up in the training and instruction of the Lord.”***²⁰⁵ We are also instructed to ***“Honour your father and your mother”*** and obey them.²⁰⁶ Finally, we should financially support wider family members who can’t support themselves. Thus, Paul urges ***“if a widow has children or grandchildren, these should learn first of all to put their religion into practice by caring for their own family and so repaying their parents and grandparents, for this is pleasing to God”***, so that the church can focus on helping those in the greatest need, who have no other support.²⁰⁷ So, in summary ...

Individual Christians should:

- Remain single if we can, but ...
- Marry if we find it too difficult to remain single
- Only marry another Christian
- Stay with our spouses if we were already married before we became Christians, unless they choose to leave us

¹⁹⁸ Ex 34: 15 – 16; Deut 7: 3 – 4; Josh 23: 12 – 13; Judges 3: 6 – 7; 1 Kings 11: 2 – 10; Ezra 9 – 10; Nehemiah 10: 30; Nehemiah 13: 23 – 27; 1 Cor 7: 39; 1 Cor 9: 5; 2 Cor 6: 14

¹⁹⁹ 1 Cor 7, see also 1 Pet 3: 1 – 7

²⁰⁰ 1 Cor 7, see also Roms 7: 2 – 3

²⁰¹ Matt 19: 3 – 9, see also Mal 2: 14 – 16; Mark 10: 2 – 12; Luke 16: 18; 1 Cor 7; Eph 5: 21 – 33; Col 3: 18 – 19; 1 Tim 3: 2, 12; Titus 1: 6; Hebs 13: 4

²⁰² Matt 19: 3 – 9, see also Matt 5: 31 – 32; Mark 10: 2 – 12; Luke 16: 18

²⁰³ 1 Cor 7, see also Gen 11 – 23: 2; Gen 24: 67; Deut 24: 5; Ruth; Prov 5: 18 – 20; Prov 31: 10 – 31; Song of Solomon; Isa 62: 5; Joel 1: 8; Eph 5: 21 – 33; Col 3: 18 – 19; Titus 2: 4 – 7; 1 Pet 3: 1 – 7

²⁰⁴ Gen 2: 24, see also Song of Solomon; Mal 2: 14 – 16; Matt 5: 27 – 28; Matt 19: 4 – 6, 18; Mark 10: 6 – 9, 19; Luke 18: 20; John 8: 3, 11; Roms 2: 22; Roms 7: 2 – 3; 1 Cor 5: 1 – 2; 1 Cor 6: 15 – 20; 1 Cor 7; 1 Tim 5: 9; Hebs 13: 4; 2 Pet 2: 14 etc.

²⁰⁵ Eph 6: 4, see also Prov 13: 22; Prov 15: 5; Prov 19: 18; Prov 22: 6, 15; Prov 29: 15, 17; Mal 4: 6; Matt 7: 9 – 11; Luke 11: 11 – 13; 2 Cor 12: 14; Col 3: 21; 1 Tim 3: 4 – 5, 12; 1 Tim 5: 10; Titus 1: 6; Titus 2: 4 etc.

²⁰⁶ Ex 20: 12, see also Lev 19: 3; Deut 5: 16; Prov 6: 20 – 23; Prov 13: 1; Eze 22: 7; Matt 15: 4; Mt 19: 19; Mark 7: 10; Mark 10: 19; Luke 18: 20; Roms 1: 30; Eph 6: 1 – 3; Col 3: 20; 1 Tim 3: 4, 12; 2 Tim 3: 2 etc.

²⁰⁷ 1 Tim 5: 3 – 8, 16, see also Lev 21: 3; Lev 22: 13; Lev 25: 25; Num 27: 1 – 11; Deut 25: 5 – 10; Ruth 2 – 4

- Only consider re-marrying if our non-Christian spouse has left us or our Christian spouse has died, otherwise ...
- Stay married for life
- Divorce only for reasons of unfaithfulness
- Be loving, kind and devoted to our spouses
- Enjoy sex within marriage
- Love and raise our children well
- Honour and obey our parents
- Support wider family members who can't support themselves

Church life

The book of Acts and the letters of Paul, James, Peter and John also have much to teach us about the way Christians in the early church lived their wider corporate church life together. They were all active members of a local church. Christianity is a team sport. It is done in community with others. Thus, we hear how in the early church in Jerusalem ***“all the believers used to meet together in Solomon’s Colonnade”*** and later, in other towns and cities, the local believers would regularly ***“come together as a church”***.²⁰⁸

They practiced one adult baptism, which tended to be very informal and occurred immediately when someone came to faith. As the Ethiopian eunuch said when Philip had led him to faith, ***“Look, here is water. What can stand in the way of my being baptised?” And he gave orders to stop the chariot. Then both Philip and the eunuch went down into the water and Philip baptised him.***²⁰⁹ They regularly celebrated communion together (again often more informally than we do today) as a key way of remembering Jesus’ amazing death and resurrection for us all, ***“For whenever you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes.”***²¹⁰

They worshipped together, as Paul urged the Ephesians ***“be filled with the Spirit, speaking to one another with psalms, hymns and songs from the Spirit. Sing and make music from your heart to the Lord”***,²¹¹ and were also encouraged to ***“confess your sins to each other”***.²¹² They regularly fasted and prayed, as Jesus said, not *if* but ***“when you fast, put oil on your head and wash your face, so that it will not be obvious to others that you are fasting, but only to your Father ... who sees what is done in secret”***.²¹³ There is no indication of how frequently this was, but it was certainly regular. Arise would suggest doing this once a week, eating only an evening meal on that day, if your health permits.

²⁰⁸ Acts 5: 12; 1 Cor 11: 18, 33, see also Acts 2: 44 – 47; Acts 11: 22, 26; Acts 19: 9 – 10; Roms 16: 1, 5, 23; 1 Cor 1: 2; 1 Cor 14: 23, 26; 1 Cor 16: 19; Gal 1: 2; Col 4: 15 – 16; Philem 1: 2; Hebs 10: 25; James 2: 2 etc.

²⁰⁹ Acts 8: 12 – 13, 16, 36 – 38, see also Matt 28: 19; John 3: 5; Acts 2: 38, 41; Acts 9: 18; Acts 10: 47 – 48; Acts 16: 15, 33; Acts 18: 8; Acts 22: 16; Gal 3: 27; Eph 4: 5; Col 2: 12; Hebs 6: 2; Hebs 10: 22; 1 Pet 3: 21 etc.

²¹⁰ 1 Cor 11: 18 – 34, see also Matt 26: 26 – 29; Mark 14: 22 – 25; Luke 22: 14 – 20; Acts 2: 42, 46; 1 Cor 10: 16 – 17

²¹¹ Eph 5: 4, 19 – 20, see also Psalms; Acts 2: 46 – 47; Acts 13: 2; Roms 15: 6, 9 – 11; 1 Cor 14: 26; Gal 1: 22 – 24; Phil 4: 4 – 6; Col 3: 16; 1 Tim 2: 1; Hebs 13: 15; 1 Pet 2: 9; Rev 5: 8 – 14; Rev 7: 9 – 12 etc.

²¹² James 5: 16, see also 1 Sam 7: 3 – 6; Ezra 10; Nehemiah 9 – 10; Luke 19: 1 – 10; Acts 19: 18 – 20

²¹³ Matt 6: 16 – 18, see also Judges 20: 26; 1 Sam 7: 6; 2 Sam 1: 12; 1 Kings 21: 27; 2 Chron 20: 3; Ezra 8: 21, 23; Matt 4: 2; Matt 9: 15; Mark 2: 20; Luke 2: 37; Luke 4: 2; Luke 5: 35; Acts 13: 2 – 3; Acts 14: 23 etc.



Figure 3.2: Worshipping together is a core part of church life.

They taught and disciplined each other, all participating in the church service. The letter to the Colossians says ***“teach and admonish one another with all wisdom”***, for – the letter to the Romans explains – ***“you yourselves are full of goodness, filled with knowledge and competent to instruct one another.”***²¹⁴ In particular, they encouraged each other. In Macedonia Paul ***“travelled through that area, speaking many words of encouragement to the people”***.²¹⁵ They were taught to respect and obey their church leaders. In 1 Thessalonians we are encouraged ***“to acknowledge those who work hard among you, who care for you in the Lord and who admonish you. Hold them in the highest regard in love”***.²¹⁶ They tried not to be a stumbling block to others, abstaining from particular practices if other Christians found them offensive. Thus, Paul tells us ***“If your brother or sister is distressed because of what you eat, you are no longer acting in love. Do not by your eating destroy someone for whom Christ died.”***²¹⁷

Similarly to the Israelites in the Old Testament, the early Christians lent money to each other without charging interest, and eventually cancelled any loans that could not be repaid. As God had instructed, ***“Do not charge a fellow Israelite interest, whether on money or food or anything else”***.²¹⁸ Jesus and his disciples, and the first church in Jerusalem, went even further than this, holding all things together in common, as we hear ***“All the believers were one in***

²¹⁴ Col 3: 16; Roms 15: 14, see also Roms 12: 4 – 12; 1 Cor 12 – 14; Eph 4: 11 – 16; 1 Thess 5: 14; 1 Tim 4: 26, 11, 13; 1 Tim 5: 17; 2 Tim 2: 2, 24 – 26; 2 Tim 4: 2; Titus 1: 9; Titus 2; Hebs 5: 12 etc.

²¹⁵ Acts 20: 1 – 2, see also Acts 11: 23; Acts 14: 21 – 22; Acts 15: 31 – 32, 36, 41; Acts 16: 40; Acts 18: 22 – 23, 27; Roms 1: 11 – 12; Roms 12: 8; 1 Cor 14: 31; Eph 4: 29; 1 Thess 5: 11, 14; 2 Tim 4: 2 etc.

²¹⁶ 1 Thess 5: 12 – 13, see also Ex 22: 28; Matt 23: 2 – 3; Acts 23: 5; 1 Tim 5: 17 – 18; Hebs 13: 7, 17

²¹⁷ Roms 14: 1 – 15: 7, see also Acts 16: 3; Acts 21: 20 – 26; 1 Cor 8; 1 Cor 10: 14 – 32; 2 Cor 6: 3

²¹⁸ Deut 23: 19 – 20, see also Ex 22: 25 – 27; Lev 25: 35 – 37; Deut 15: 1 – 3; Deut 31: 10; Nehemiah 5; Nehemiah 10: 31; Psalm 15: 5; Eze 18: 7 – 8, 12 – 13, 16 – 17; Eze 22: 12 – 13

heart and mind. No one claimed that any of their possessions was their own, but they shared everything they had.”²¹⁹ Later in the New Testament, we find this wasn’t always practiced, but nevertheless, the global Christian family showed extraordinary generosity to each other, meeting each other’s needs as they arose. We hear that when the prophet Agabus **“through the Spirit predicted that a severe famine would spread over the entire Roman world ... The disciples, as each one was able, decided to provide help for the brothers and sisters living in Judea.”**²²⁰ Therefore, we don’t all need to live in communes (although some may well be called to this), but when we become Christians we immediately enter a global Christian family, and should share and give to one another as there is need, just as we should with our biological family. Thus, Paul tells us **“Share with the Lord’s people who are in need”** and James says **“Suppose a brother or a sister is without clothes and daily food. If one of you says to them, ‘Go in peace; keep warm and well fed,’ but does nothing about their physical needs, what good is it?”**²²¹ Of course we should also be radically generous with those beyond that Christian family as well, as we will explore when we consider [Social Justice, Development and the Environment](#).²²² So, in summary ...

Individual Christians should:

- Attend a local church weekly and be active members
- Receive one adult baptism as soon as possible after we become Christians
- Regularly take communion, and also do it more informally when we eat together
- Worship with other Christians in church
- Fast regularly
- Teach, admonish and disciple each other, and all participate in church services
- Respect and obey our leaders
- Confess our sins to each other
- Not be a stumbling block to others
- Lend to each other without charging interest
- Hold all things in common with other Christians

The work of the Holy Spirit

In the New Testament, Jesus tells us that after he went to be with the Father, he sent the Holy Spirit to bless and fill his church, to dwell in us and empower us to fulfil the ministry he gave us to advance his kingdom on earth. After receiving the Spirit, the early church passed it on, teaching that Christians need to be baptised by the Holy Spirit after they have been baptised with water. This comes through other Christians laying hands on them and praying for them to receive the Spirit. Thus, we hear how in the early church, Peter and John were sent to the new believers in Samaria, **“When they arrived, they prayed for the new believers there that they might receive the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit had not yet come on any of them;**

²¹⁹ Acts 4: 32 – 35, see also Matt 27: 55 – 56; John 12: 6; John 13: 29; Acts 2: 44 – 45; Acts 6: 1 – 6

²²⁰ Acts 11: 27 – 30, see also Matt 25: 31 – 46; Roms 12: 13; Roms 15: 25 – 28; 1 Cor 11: 18 – 22; 1 Cor 16: 1 – 4; 2 Cor 8 – 9; 1 Tim 5: 3 – 16; 1 Tim 6: 17 – 19; Hebs 6: 10; James 1: 9 – 11; James 2: 1 – 9, 15 – 17; 1 John 3: 17 etc.

²²¹ Roms 12: 13; James 2: 1 – 9, 15 – 17, see also Mark 10: 28 – 30; Luke 18: 28 – 30; Matt 25: 31 – 46; Acts 11: 27 – 30; Roms 15: 25 – 28; 1 Cor 16: 1 – 4; 2 Cor 8 – 9; Gal 6: 9 – 10; 1 Tim 5: 3 – 16; Hebs 6: 10; 1 John 3: 17 etc.

²²² Deut 15: 4, 7 – 14; Psalm 37: 21; Prov 11: 24 – 28; Prov 28: 27; Matt 5: 42; Matt 19: 21 – 26; Mark 10: 21 – 27; Mark 12: 41 – 44; Luke 6: 30; Luke 10: 25 – 37; Luke 16: 19 – 31; Luke 18: 22 – 27; Luke 19: 8; Luke 21: 1 – 4; Acts 10: 2, 4, 31; 1 Tim 6: 17 – 18 etc.

they had simply been baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then Peter and John placed their hands on them, and they received the Holy Spirit.”²²³ Of course the Holy Spirit fills and guides us in all things. However, there are some very specific ‘supernatural’ expressions of his work that we will particularly explore in this section. The Bible teaches that there are specific spiritual gifts such as wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, prophecy, distinguishing between spirits, tongues and the interpretation of tongues, visions and dreams. As Peter said, quoting the prophet Joel, **“In the last days, God says, I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy, your young men will see visions, your old men will dream dreams.”**²²⁴ This should not be taken as a definitive list, but examples of some of the key spiritual gifts. The Holy Spirit can also bless us in other ways. We should eagerly seek spiritual gifts by praying and asking God for them, as the early church in Jerusalem did when they prayed **“Now, Lord, consider their threats and enable your servants to speak your word with great boldness. Stretch out your hand to heal and perform signs and wonders through the name of your holy servant Jesus.”** After they prayed, the place where they were meeting was shaken. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.”²²⁵

Spiritual gifts are wonderful and should be used when we meet to encourage and build up the whole local church, but in a way that is inclusive and edifying to all. As Paul says **“Now to each one the manifestation of the Spirit is given for the common good.”**²²⁶ Paul therefore teaches that **“If anyone speaks in a tongue, two – or at the most three – should speak, one at a time, and someone must interpret ... Two or three prophets should speak, and the others should weigh carefully what is said.”**²²⁷ The gift of tongues can also be used in our private worship without interpretation, for **“If there is no interpreter, the speaker should keep quiet in the church and speak to himself and to God.”**²²⁸ Beyond spiritual gifts, Jesus commands his followers to **“drive out demons”**²²⁹ and **“heal the sick”**.²³⁰ We hear that his followers also **“anointed many sick people with oil”**.²³¹ He even commands us to **“raise the dead”**.²³² All of this happens in the power of the Holy Spirit. Such ‘supernatural’ miracles are an important indicator that the kingdom of God is coming into our world, since they look forward to the time when God’s kingdom will be restored in full when Jesus returns, and the physical brokenness of creation that results in demonic possession, sickness and even death will be no more.²³³ So, in summary ...

Individual Christians should:

- Receive and pass on the baptism of the Holy Spirit by the laying on of hands and prayer

²²³ Acts 8: 15 – 17, see also Matt 3: 11; Mark 1: 8; Luke 3: 16; Luke 24: 49; John 7: 38 – 39; John 14: 16 – 18, 26; Acts 1: 4 – 5, 8; Acts 2: 1 – 18, 33, 38; Acts 9: 17 – 18; Acts 10: 44 – 47; Acts 19: 1 – 7; 1 Cor 2: 10 – 16 etc.

²²⁴ Acts 2: 1 – 18, see also Joel 2: 28 – 29; Mark 16: 17 – 18; Acts 4: 29 – 31; Acts 10: 44 – 47; Acts 19: 6; Roms 12: 6 – 8; Roms 15: 18 – 19; 1 Cor 1: 7; 1 Cor 12 – 14; Hebs 2: 4; James 1: 17; 1 Pet 4: 10 – 11 etc.

²²⁵ Acts 4: 29 – 31, see also 1 Cor 12: 31; 1 Cor 14: 1, 5, 12 – 13, 39; Eph 1: 17; Col 1: 9; James 1: 5

²²⁶ 1 Cor 12 – 14, see also Acts 2: 14 – 18; 1 Pet 4: 10 – 11; 1 John 4: 1 – 6

²²⁷ 1 Cor 14, see also 1 Thess 5: 19 – 21; 1 John 4: 1 – 6

²²⁸ 1 Cor 14, see also Roms 8: 26 – 27; 1 Cor 13: 1

²²⁹ Matt 10: 1, 8, see also Mark 3: 14 – 15; Mark 6: 7, 13; Mark 9: 38 – 40; Mark 16: 17; Luke 9: 1, 49 – 50; Luke 10: 17 – 20; John 14: 12; Acts 5: 16; Acts 8: 7; Acts 16: 16 – 18; Acts 19: 11 – 12 etc.

²³⁰ Luke 10: 9, see also Matt 10: 1, 8; Mark 6: 13; Mark 16: 18; Luke 9: 1 – 2, 6; Acts 3: 1 – 10, 16; Acts 4: 9 – 10, 14, 22, 30; Acts 5: 15 – 16; Acts 8: 7; Acts 9: 32 – 35; 1 Cor 12: 9, 28 – 30; James 5: 14 – 16 etc.

²³¹ Mark 6: 13, see also James 5: 14

²³² Matt 10: 8, see also 2 Kings 4: 11 – 37; 2 Kings 8: 5 – 6; 2 Kings 13: 21; Matt 9: 23 – 26; Matt 11: 5; Luke 7: 12 – 15, 22; Luke 8: 49 – 56; John 11: 1 – 44; John 14: 12; Acts 9: 40 – 42; Acts 20: 9 – 12 etc.

²³³ Matt 4: 23; Matt 9: 35; Matt 10: 7 – 8; Matt 11: 2 – 5; Matt 12: 24 – 28; Mark 3: 14 – 15; Mark 6: 12 – 13; Mark 15: 16 – 18; Luke 4: 16 – 21; Luke 9: 1 – 2, 11; Luke 10: 9; Luke 11: 15 – 20 etc.

- Seek and pray for spiritual gifts such as ...
 - Wisdom
 - Knowledge
 - Faith
 - Healing
 - Miracles
 - Prophecy
 - Distinguishing between spirits
 - Tongues (which can be used for private worship as well as public worship if someone can interpret them)
 - The interpretation of tongues
 - Visions
 - Dreams
- Use spiritual gifts in local church meetings to build us all up by speaking one at a time, sharing prophecies, dreams and visions for the whole church to prayerfully consider
- Cast out demons
- Heal the sick
- Anoint the sick with oil
- Raise the dead

Spiritual warfare and persecution

As we engage in our calling to advance the kingdom of God, the Bible is very clear that we will be entering a spiritual battle against real spiritual powers. Even though our message is one of love, hope and joy, we should expect to face opposition, ***“For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the powers of this dark world and against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms.”***²³⁴ This may even take the form of outright persecution, as Jesus warned ***“they will seize you and persecute you. They will hand you over to synagogues and put you in prison, and you will be brought before kings and governors, and all on account of my name.”***²³⁵ Most painfully of all, this persecution can sometimes come from fellow Christians, wittingly or otherwise, as we see in the life of the early church.²³⁶ This spiritual and human opposition tends to take the form of temptation; doubts in our faith, our calling or ourselves; division with others; setbacks and frustrations; the fierce opposition of institutions and systems, and outright persecution. Indeed, it is crucial to remember that when we engage in issues of social justice, development and environment (that we will turn to in the [next section](#)), and deal with political and economic systems, inequality, power and injustice, there is an important spiritual dimension to those struggles. Thus, prayer is crucial as our first (and ongoing) action in all these areas, just as it was the first priority in [Part 2 on Evangelism](#) and in this [Part 3 on Discipleship](#).

As we have seen, the Bible teaches that we should be ready for spiritual attack and not surprised by it. It also gives us practical ways to deal with attack. In the face of temptation, we are encouraged, not so much to stoically resist, but to ***“flee”*** – to recognise the patterns of our

²³⁴ Eph 6: 10 – 17, see also Job 1 – 2; Matt 4: 1 – 11; Matt 6: 13; Matt 16: 23; Luke 22: 31 – 32; 2 Cor 2: 11; 2 Cor 10: 4 – 5; Eph 2: 2; Eph 4: 26 – 27; 1 Thess 2: 18; 2 Thess 3: 3; 1 Tim 4: 1; 1 Tim 5: 15; 2 Tim 2: 26 etc.

²³⁵ Luke 21: 12 – 19, see also Psalms; Matt 5: 10 – 12; Matt 10: 17 – 28; Mark 10: 30; Mark 13: 9 – 13; Luke 6: 22 – 23; John 15: 18 – 21; Acts; 2 Cor 1: 5 – 10; 1 Thess 3: 3 – 4, 7; 2 Thess 1: 4 – 5 etc.

²³⁶ Roms 16: 17 – 18; 1 Cor 3: 3; 1 Cor 6: 1 – 8; 2 Cor 7: 12; 2 Cor 10: 10 – 13; 13; Gal; Phil 4: 2; 1 Tim 1: 3 – 7, 19 – 20; 1 Tim 4: 1 – 7; 1 Tim 6: 20 – 21; 2 Tim 1: 15; 2 Tim 2: 16 – 18, 23; 2 Tim 4: 3 – 4, 10, 14 – 16 etc.

weaknesses, and then avoid putting ourselves in positions where we face overwhelming temptation.²³⁷ When we experience doubts of all kinds we are encouraged to instead fill our minds with positive things, to ***“Set your minds on things above, not on earthly things.”***²³⁸ The more we dwell on the positive, the more positive we will be; the more on the negative, the more negative we become. One practical way of doing this is to worship and praise God in the face of negative thoughts. In terms of doubting ourselves and our calling, the Bible also gives practical advice to never care what others think of us, for it is God alone we are serving, not others. As Paul says in the letter to the Galatians, ***“Am I now trying to win the approval of human beings, or of God? Or am I trying to please people? If I were still trying to please people, I would not be a servant of Christ.”***²³⁹ We can also avoid doubt in ourselves by never comparing ourselves to others. Each of us has a unique calling, different from anyone else’s. Again in Galatians we are encouraged, ***“Each one should test their own actions. Then they can take pride in themselves alone, without comparing themselves to someone else, for each one should carry their own load.”***²⁴⁰

When we face setbacks, we are to persevere through tough times, not giving up easily, as James says, ***“Consider it pure joy, my brothers and sisters, whenever you face trials of many kinds, because you know that the testing of your faith develops perseverance. Let perseverance finish its work so that you may be mature and complete, not lacking anything.”***²⁴¹ If we find ourselves facing fierce opposition from institutions and systems, or even physical persecution, the Bible tells us to love our enemies and turn the other cheek. For Jesus powerfully exhorted us in the Sermon on the Mount, ***“You have heard that it was said, ‘Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth.’ But I tell you, do not resist an evil person. If someone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to them the other cheek also.”***²⁴² We are to ***“forgive everyone who sins against us”***, no matter how petty or serious, and as far as it is up to us be reconciled with them.²⁴³ We should also not just forgive, but ***“pray for those who persecute you”***,²⁴⁴ and pray for those in authority more widely whether they persecute us or not.²⁴⁵ We can flee from persecution, as Jesus said ***“when you are persecuted in one place, flee to another.”***²⁴⁶ Finally, we should stand in solidarity with fellow Christians where they are persecuted, supporting them in every possible way as our family. Thus, speaking of the church Paul says ***“If one part suffers, every part suffers with it”*** and the Hebrews are commended because ***“Sometimes you were publicly***

²³⁷ 1 Cor 6: 18; 1 Cor 10: 13 – 14; 1 Tim 6: 11; 2 Tim 2: 22, see also Matt 4: 10; Matt 6: 13; Matt 26: 41; Mark 14: 38; Luke 11: 4; Luke 22: 40, 46; 1 Cor 7: 5; 2 Cor 6: 17; Gal 6: 1

²³⁸ Col 3: 1 – 2, see also Roms 8: 6; Roms 12: 2; 2 Cor 10: 5; Eph 4: 22 – 24; Phil 3: 19; Phil 4: 8; Hebs 2: 18 – 3: 1; 1 Pet 1: 13; 1 Pet 4: 7; 2 Pet 3: 1 – 2

²³⁹ Gal 1: 10, see also Matt 6: 1 – 6, 16 – 18; Matt 22: 16; Matt 23: 5 – 7; Mark 12: 14, 38 – 39; Luke 6: 22, 26; Luke 11: 43; Luke 16: 15; Luke 20: 46; John 5: 44; 1 Cor 4: 3; 1 Thess 2: 4 – 6 etc.

²⁴⁰ Gal 6: 4 – 5, see also Job 21; Psalm 10; Psalm 73; Luke 18: 9 – 14; Acts 10: 34 – 35; Roms 12: 4 – 8; 1 Cor 12; 2 Cor 10: 12 – 13; Eph 4: 11 – 12

²⁴¹ James 1: 2 – 4, 12, see also Matt 5: 10 – 12; Matt 13: 21; Roms 15: 4 – 5; 2 Cor 4: 8 – 9, 17; 2 Thess 1: 4 – 5; 2 Tim 2: 3, 8 – 12; Hebs 10: 32 – 36; Hebs 12: 1 – 11; James 5: 10 – 11; 1 Pet 4: 12 – 19; Rev 2: 3 etc.

²⁴² Matt 5: 38 – 42, see also Lev 19: 18; Prov 12: 16; Prov 20: 22; Prov 25: 21 – 22; Mark 14: 46 – 49; Luke 22: 49 – 53; John 18: 10 – 11, 36; Roms 12: 17, 19 – 21; 1 Cor 4: 12 – 13; Eph 4: 31 – 32; 1 Thess 5: 15; 1 Pet 3: 9 etc.

²⁴³ Luke 11: 4, see also Matt 5: 23 – 25; Matt 6: 12; Matt 18: 21 – 35; Mark 11: 25; Luke 6: 37; Luke 12: 57 – 59; Luke 17: 3 – 4; Luke 23: 34; Acts 7: 60; Roms 12: 18; 1 Cor 13: 5; 2 Cor 2: 10; Eph 4: 26 – 27, 32 etc.

²⁴⁴ Matt 5: 44, see also Luke 6: 28; Luke 23: 34; Acts 7: 60; Acts 26: 29; Roms 12: 14

²⁴⁵ Luke 23: 34; Acts 7: 60; Acts 26: 29; Acts 28: 7 – 8; 1 Tim 2: 1 – 2

²⁴⁶ Matt 10: 23, see also Matt 2: 13 – 23; John 7: 1 – 10; Acts 8: 1, 4; Acts 9: 23 – 25, 29 – 30; Acts 11: 19; Acts 14: 5 – 6, 19 – 20; Acts 17: 5 – 10, 14; Acts 20: 1, 3; Acts 23: 12 – 35; 2 Cor 11: 32 – 33

*exposed to insult and persecution; at other times you stood side by side with those who were so treated. You suffered along with those in prison”.*²⁴⁷ So, in summary ...

Individual Christians should:

- Flee from temptation, avoid putting ourselves in positions where we will be tempted and remove ourselves from them when they occur
- Choose to dwell on positive things to shape our thinking in the face of doubts
- Choose not to care what others think of us
- Choose not to compare ourselves with others
- Persevere in tough times
- Turn the other cheek and love our enemies
- Pray for those who persecute us
- Pray for those in authority
- Forgive all who wrong us, and as far as it is up to us be reconciled with them
- Flee to avoid persecution
- Stand in solidarity with fellow Christians where they are persecuted

Social Justice, Development and Environment

As we saw in [Part 1](#), the Bible is very clear that our perfect world where the kingdom of God has come in full, which we are all to work towards, would be a world with full social justice, an end to poverty for all, and a restored natural environment. These will be the subjects of the next three parts of this report, where we will find that many of the major actions need to be taken by the private sector, national governments and the international community. However, we as individual Christians, and together as the wider church, also have a critical role to play – both in our own right, and even more importantly, to influence these big players. Indeed, in Part 7 we shall see that we have the most important role of all; to [pressure the other actors to take the steps required](#). We shall therefore consider here the role we should play in social justice, development and the environment as followers of Jesus, whose faith cannot remain just personal and private, but must reach out and have massive impact in the political and public sphere as well.

As individual Christians and local churches there are essentially five ways in which we can engage in social justice, development and the environment, and the Bible encourages us to be active in all of them ...

5 actions for Christians and churches to tackle Social Justice, Development and the Environment
1. Prayer 2. Giving 3. Practical action 4. Ethical consumption 5. Speaking out in advocacy

Figure 3.3: Five actions for Christians and churches to tackle social justice, development and the environment.

²⁴⁷ 1 Cor 12: 25 – 26; Hebs 10: 33 – 34, see also Acts 9: 23 – 25, 29 – 30; Acts 12: 5; Acts 14: 19 – 20; Acts 19: 30 – 31; Acts 23: 16 – 22; Acts 24: 23; Acts 27: 3; Phil 1: 16; 2 Thess 3: 2; 2 Tim 1: 15 – 17; Hebs 13: 3 etc.

One: Prayer

First, we should **pray**. In one example, Paul calls for prayer for national authorities that they might govern justly and ensure social stability, ***“I urge, then, first of all, that petitions, prayers, intercession and thanksgiving be made for all people – for kings and all those in authority, that we may live peaceful and quiet lives in all godliness and holiness.”***²⁴⁸



Figure 3.4: Prayer, one of five actions Christians and churches can take to address social justice, development and the environment.

Two: Giving

Second, the Bible challenges us as followers of Jesus to **give** radically, living simple lives, keeping only what we require for necessities and a few occasional treats, and giving the rest away. As Jesus challenged us, ***“Sell your possessions and give to the poor. Provide purses for yourselves that will not wear out,”*** and Zacchaeus said when he came to follow Jesus, ***“Look, Lord! Here and now I give half of my possessions to the poor, and if I have cheated anybody out of anything, I will pay back four times the amount.”***²⁴⁹ Radical generosity like this can literally be the difference between life and death for many in the greatest poverty or oppression. How can we as Christians justify anything else? When we give, we should try to

²⁴⁸ 1 Tim 2: 1 – 2, see also Matt 6: 10; Matt 7: 7 – 11; Luke 11: 2; Luke 22: 32; John 17: 9 – 26; Acts 12: 5 – 12; Acts 14: 23; Acts 28: 8; Roms 1: 9 – 10; Roms 10: 1; Roms 15: 30 – 31; 2 Cor 1: 11; Eph 6: 18 – 19; 1 Thess 1: 3; 3 John 1: 2 etc.

²⁴⁹ Luke 12: 15 – 34; Luke 19: 8, see also Deut 15: 4, 7 – 14; Psalm 37: 21; Prov 11: 24 – 28; Prov 21: 26; Prov 28: 20, 22, 25, 27; Matt 5: 42; Matt 19: 21 – 26; Mark 10: 21 – 27; Mark 12: 41 – 44; Luke 6: 30; Luke 16: 19 – 31; Luke 18: 22 – 27; Luke 21: 1 – 4; Acts 10: 2, 4, 31; 1 Tim 6: 9 – 10, 17 – 18 etc.

do so through Christian organisations that operate via local churches as much as possible, so we continue to strengthen the capacity of the church to have impact in these critical areas. Where there are no Christian organisations in a specific area, we should of course support non-Christian groups who are still doing important work. This is something that should apply not just throughout our lives, but also at the end of our lives, where we should aim to pass on only a reasonable amount to our children, and give as much as possible away.



Figure 3.5: Giving, one of five actions Christians and churches can take to address social justice, development and the environment.

There are many great Christian and non-Christian organisations we should consider supporting financially. In the area of social justice: International Justice Mission, Barnabas Fund, Christian Solidarity Worldwide, Open Doors, Release International (www.ijm.org, www.barnabasfund.org, www.csw.org.uk, www.opendoors.org, www.releaseinternational.org) and many other Christian organisations work for improved human rights and religious liberty. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (www.amnesty.org, www.hrw.org) are great secular groups doing the same thing. In the area of development, you might wish to support Christian Aid, Cafod, Compassion, Tearfund or World Vision (www.christianaid.org.uk, www.cafod.org.uk, www.compassionuk.org, www.tearfund.org, www.wvi.org) – all excellent Christian organisations doing great work. Secular groups such as Action Aid, Oxfam and Save the Children (www.actionaid.org, www.oxfam.org, www.savethechildren.net) do similar good work in this critical area. For the environment, A Rocha (www.arocha.org) is a notable Christian organisation, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, the World Wildlife Fund, and local wildlife trusts (www.foei.org, www.greenpeace.org, www.wwf.panda.org) are good secular ones. When it comes to giving, we should support evangelism and discipleship as well as social justice, development and the environment. For evangelism, we should consider supporting organisations that have really demonstrated their ability to help ordinary Christians and churches become involved in effectively sharing their faith, such as the Alpha Course (www.alpha.org) or Christianity

Explored (www.christianityexplored.org). In both evangelism and discipleship, we should also generously support our own local church. There are of course many other great smaller organisations in all of these areas. Research and pray to decide which God would like you to support financially.

Three: Practical action

Beyond prayer and giving, the third thing we can do is take **practical action**, responding with compassion in immediate practical ways in the situations where we come into direct contact with people in need. We see God challenge his people with this through the prophet Isaiah, who asks rhetorically what kind of fasting and worship God requires, *“Is it not to share your food with the hungry and to provide the poor wanderer with shelter – when you see the naked, to clothe them, and not to turn away from your own flesh and blood?”* In the New Testament, we see this exemplified in the Good Samaritan, who *“as he travelled, came where the man was; and when he saw him, he took pity on him. He went to him and bandaged his wounds, pouring on oil and wine. Then he put the man on his own donkey, brought him to an inn and took care of him. The next day he took out two denarii and gave them to the innkeeper. ‘Look after him,’ he said, ‘and when I return, I will reimburse you for any extra expense you may have.’”*²⁵⁰ This direct practical action can take a myriad of forms, perhaps financially supporting extended family members; a gift or loan (without interest) to a friend; flowers for someone who is feeling low; letting a friend in need live with you for a while; volunteering your time for good causes; cooking a meal for a stressed family; babysitting for someone who really needs a break; making sure we always pay our taxes in full and don’t practice tax avoidance; or if we are blessed with a family, prayerfully considering having no more than two children to limit future population growth and the pressures on the planet.

One area it is worth pausing to consider, because we often don’t know how to react, is when we encounter people begging or sleeping rough on the street. In most developed nations, homelessness is not simply a problem of lack of money, but usually linked to other issues, such as abuse or drug and alcohol addiction. Such problems are not resolved by simply giving. What would Jesus do instead? Ideally we should stop, buy food and a hot drink for homeless people we encounter, and spend time in conversation with them. However, practically we often don’t have the time to do this for every person we see. After discussing the issue with experts, Arise advises that we show practical love when encountering homeless people by carrying three things with us in our wallets and purses. First, the contact telephone numbers for professional agencies that can help homeless people get off the streets. In many developed nations, local authorities are obliged to provide housing and multiple other support services. In the UK, you could give out the phone number for Shelter’s (www.shelter.org.uk) helpline, 0808 800 4444, and this website www.gov.uk/homelessness-help-from-council, both of which can help them access these services. You can also report the location of people you see sleeping rough via Street Link (www.streetlink.org.uk), which will again alert local authorities who can help them (similar organisations and sources of information exist for other countries). Second, you can give homeless people vouchers or a gift card for food outlets regularly found on the high-street (try and choose ones which offer tasty and nutritious food). Finally, you can give a tract explaining something of our faith. These can be ordered from organisations like the 4 Points (www.the4points.com), Lifewords (www.lifewords.global) or Agape

²⁵⁰ Isa 58: 6 – 7, 10; Luke 10: 25 – 37, see also Prov 22: 9; Eze 18: 7; Matt 25: 35 – 46; Luke 3: 11; Luke 14: 12 – 14; Acts 9: 36, 39; 2 Cor 1: 4; Gal 6: 9 – 10; 1 Thess 5: 14; James 2: 15 – 17; 1 John 3: 17 etc.

(www.agape.org.uk), or use specific resources like the Jesus at the Door card (www.jesusatthedoor.com).



Figure 3.6: Volunteering and loving our neighbour through practical action, one of five actions Christians and churches can take to address social justice, development and the environment.

For many of us, one of the main opportunities for practical action in our lives is in applying our faith through our jobs and working lives to improve social justice, development and the environment. Most of us will be specifically called to spend the majority of our time in full-time paid employment in one of these areas. The Bible is full of politicians and civil servants like Joseph, Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel; farmers and businessmen like Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Job; judges like Moses, Eli and Samuel; soldiers like Joshua, Gideon and David; and followers of Jesus from all walks of life: fishermen, tax collectors, servants, tentmakers, cloth sellers, tanners, jailers, doctors and lawyers.²⁵¹ Thus today, some will be called to be missionaries and evangelists (evangelism), and some to full time church leadership (discipleship), but others will be called to be politicians, civil servants, public sector employees, lawyers, police officers, members of the armed forces or journalists (social justice), others will be teachers, health professionals, work for the private sector or set up their own businesses (development), and others, scientists or conservationists (environment). We should take every opportunity in the roles we have, and the places God has called us, to take practical actions and decisions which improve social justice, development and the environment.

Four: Ethical consumption

As well as praying, giving and taking practical action, the fourth thing we can do is begin to shape the global economy, with which we all engage, through **ethical consumption** – choosing to buy more ethically and environmentally sustainably products and services. The Bible is

²⁵¹ Gen 12 – 50; Ex – Josh; Judges 6 – 8; Ezra; Nehemiah; Daniel 1 – 6; 1 Sam – 2 Chron; Job; Matt 4: 18 – 22; Matt 9: 9; Acts 9: 43; Acts 16: 14 – 15; Acts 18: 3; Roms 16: 10 – 11; Col 4: 14; 2 Tim 4: 19; Titus 3: 13 etc.

clear about the need for those engaged in business to act fairly, pay their workers well, and not exploit people or the environment. Thus the Israelites were warned, ***“Do not take advantage of a hired worker who is poor and needy, whether that worker is a fellow Israelite or a foreigner residing in one of your towns. Pay them their wages each day before sunset, because they are poor and are counting on it.”*** Later the Ninevites are strongly condemned, among other things, that ***“You have increased the number of your merchants till they are more numerous than the stars in the sky, but like locusts they strip the land and then fly away.”***²⁵² It follows therefore, that as Christians, we should seek to purchase goods and services from companies that try to follow ethical behaviour. The Ethical Consumer website (www.ethicalconsumer.org) can help us to identify these. In addition, let us pause briefly to consider what some of these ethical consumption choices might be.

To help with development, we should prioritise buying products which have the Fair Trade mark (www.fairtrade.org.uk) or other known ethical standards, which guarantee good incomes and conditions for businesses and workers in developing nations. Where these are not available, we should buy other products from developing nations where we can, thus still supporting their economies and helping reduce poverty. Beyond this, wherever possible we should shop from small, local firms and enterprises, the healthy backbone of any economy, rather than large companies, supporting local development and helping to keep people out of poverty nearer to home. We should buy goods and services from companies that pay a reasonable Living Wage (www.livingwage.org.uk) and a fair share of tax (again, similar organisations and sources of information exist for other countries). We should consider divesting our pension and other financial savings from investment in unethical practices and fossil fuel industries, and instead invest them in companies with good ethical standards, and in clean energy renewable companies. Organisations like Share Action (www.shareaction.org) can advise with this. We should be prepared to pay more for ethical, developing country and local business goods and services, even if this means giving less to charity. Directly supporting people and their businesses in this way is more empowering than simply providing aid, and this is the kind of kingdom-values economy we want to see.

To protect the environment, we should switch to a green electricity provider like Ecotricity (www.ecotricity.co.uk) or Good Energy (www.goodenergy.co.uk) (which generates power from renewables like solar, wind or wave). (Similar companies exist in other countries.) If we can afford it, we should convert our homes from using gas for heating, hot water and cooking to electricity from the same green provider. We should reduce our use of both electricity and gas for heating, hot water and cooking as much as possible by intentional changes in behaviour, such as switching off lights and unplugging devices when not in use, wearing warmer clothing rather than putting the heating on, and ensuring our home is properly insulated. To help with this we should use an energy monitor (available online and from many high-street shops) to monitor and identify ways of reducing our energy use at home. In terms of transport, we should walk or cycle as much as possible, rather than using vehicles. If feasible, we should use public transport, car shares or occasionally rent rather than own a car. If we do need a car, then if we can afford it, we should buy an electric car which can be charged using green electricity. If not, and if we do need a traditional car, we should try and have just one per family. We should also buy a car that is as fuel efficient and low emission as possible. We should avoid flying, or do so as little as possible, and try to use trains or boats instead of planes where we can. After we have done all this, we should offset any fossil fuel emissions that remain, from either our

²⁵² Deut 24: 14 – 15; Nahum 3: 16, see also Lev 19: 13; Lev 25: 53; Prov 22: 22 – 23; Isa 23; Isa 58: 3; Jer 22: 13; Eze 26 – 28; Hosea 12: 8 – 9; Mal 3: 5; Matt 10: 10; Luke 10: 7; 1 Tim 5: 18; James 5: 4 etc.

home or transport, with an offsetting company like the Christian organisation, Climate Stewards (www.climatestewards.org), that plants trees and implements other offsetting programmes to absorb emissions.



Figure 3.7: Ethical consumption, such as buying products which guarantee good incomes and conditions for workers in developing nations, one of five actions Christians and churches can take to address social justice, development and the environment.

In our diets, we should buy organic food, and meat and other animal products that are free-range, as much as possible. There is plenty of non-organic food which is produced in ways which don't harm the environment. However, in the absence of a clear labelling scheme, buying organic is the only way to be certain that harmful polluting chemicals haven't been used. Similarly, we should only buy wood products that are sustainably logged, and buy second-hand rather than new wherever possible, thus reducing our overall consumption and driving more funds towards good causes. In terms of what we eat, we should have a diet that is based mainly upon fruit and vegetables (at least a third), and cereal and carbohydrates (at least a third), with a small amount of meat (less than a sixth) and dairy (less than a sixth).²⁵³ Furthermore, when we do eat meat, we should try to eat white meat and fish rather than red meat. We shall see later in [Part 6 on the Environment](#), that this is how God designed our bodies to be healthy,²⁵⁴ and it is also good for people and planet, reducing currently unsustainable global meat and dairy production. We should limit food waste as much as possible, and compost all organic waste. Beyond our diets, we should also seek to reduce all other kinds of waste from our homes, making a note of every item we put in our bins and then searching

²⁵³ *The Eatwell Guide*, National Health Service, www.nhs.uk/live-well/eat-well/the-eatwell-guide. Similar sources of information exist for other countries.

²⁵⁴ Gen 1: 29 – 30; Gen 2: 9, 16 – 17; Gen 3: 17 – 23; Gen 9: 2 – 3, Deut 14: 4 – 20; Mark 7: 14 – 19; Roms 14; 1 Cor 8

online to see if there is a recyclable, re-usable, non-waste alternative. We should do all we can to reduce and eliminate altogether the plastic products we buy, as plastic can only be recycled a limited number of times before it ends up as waste.

Five: Speaking out in advocacy

Moving on from ethical consumption, the fifth and final thing we can do as individual Christians towards a more socially just, developed and environmentally sustainable world, is to speak out in **advocacy**. This means challenging and changing the policies and actions of those in power – in governments and business – along the direction set out in [Parts 4, 5 and 6](#) of this report on [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#). As the book of Proverbs says, *“Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute. Speak up and judge fairly; defend the rights of the poor and the needy”*, and God challenges us through the words of the Prophet Isaiah, *“Is not this the kind of fasting I have chosen: to loose the chains of injustice and untie the cords of the yoke, to set the oppressed free and break every yoke? ... if you spend yourselves in behalf of the hungry and satisfy the needs of the oppressed, then your light will rise in the darkness, and your night will become like the noonday.”*²⁵⁵



Figure 3.8: Speaking out in advocacy, one of five actions Christians and churches can take to address social justice, development and the environment.

²⁵⁵ Prov 31: 8 – 9; Isa 58: 6 – 10, see also Gen 41; Gen 46: 31 – 47: 11; Ex 5: 1 – 12: 32; 2 Sam 7; 2 Sam 12; 1 Kings 1; 1 Kings 17 – 22; 2 Kings 1 – 3; 2 Kings 6: 8 – 8: 15; Ezra 4 – 7; Ezra 8: 36; Nehemiah 1 – 2; Esther; Prov 13: 23; Prov 21: 13; Prov 25: 15; Prov 29: 7; Isa – Mal (e.g. Isa 59: 3 – 4); Dan 1 – 6; Matt 10: 18 – 20; Matt 14: 3 – 4; Matt 23; Mark 6:17 – 18; Mark 13: 9 – 11; Luke 3: 12 – 14, 19; Luke 11: 42; Luke 12: 11 – 12; Luke 13: 31 – 32; Luke 21: 12 – 15; Acts 21: 31 – 28: 31; Eph 6: 12 etc.

This can seem overwhelming, and it can be hard to know where to start. There are so many important groups, working on so many important causes. Arise exists to help make this easy and manageable. We are a one-stop-shop for helping you put your faith into practice, including speaking out in advocacy, across the key issues of social justice, development and the environment. If you sign up with Arise we will send you one weekly action, to help put these five ways of acting (including speaking out in advocacy) into practice in your life one step at a time (www.ariseuk.org/sign-up). Will you commit to taking just one action a week to help change our world?

Church-wide action

Our churches should also take the same five Biblical actions at a corporate level. This means facilitating corporate church prayer, giving, practical action, ethical consumption and advocacy for social justice, development and the environment. The practical action we take together as a church might be foodbanks, debt counselling, reconciliation in areas of conflict, or other ways of meeting the immediate needs of our community together as a church. With regards to ethical consumption, our churches should model the same practices we considered above, in the products and services they buy for their use. In addition to these five actions, the church can go further and ensure that it is teaching us as individual Christians that taking radical action through prayer, giving, practical action, ethical consumption and advocacy on social justice, development and the environment is an integral part of our faith.

Furthermore, as we have seen, most of us will be specifically called to spend the majority of our time in full-time employment in one of these areas. Thus some will be called to be missionaries and evangelists (evangelism), and some to full time church leadership (discipleship), but others will be called to be politicians, civil servants, public sector employees, lawyers, police officers, members of the armed forces or journalists (social justice), others will be teachers, health professionals, work for the private sector or set up their own businesses (development), and others scientists or conservationists (environment). These are all legitimate fields of calling and ministry, and the church should teach this and encourage its members to consider them, and affirm, celebrate and support members who are called into them. We need Christians in all these areas, living out their faith, advancing God's kingdom, and shaping and influencing the world around us. So, in summary ...

Individual Christian should:

- One: Pray
- Two: Give radically
 - Give all our income, except what we need for necessities and a few occasional treats, and live simple lives
 - Give through Christian organisations that operate via local churches wherever possible
 - Only pass on a reasonable amount to our children when we die, giving most away
- Three: Take direct practical action to meet the needs of the people we come into contact with, and our local environment, in a myriad of hands-on ways, including ...
 - Financially support extended family members in need
 - Always pay our taxes in full and don't practice tax avoidance
 - If we are blessed with a family, prayerfully considering having no more than two children to limit future population growth and the pressures on the planet

- Don't just walk past homeless people, but give them contact details for local authorities that can help get them off the street, food vouchers for high-street food outlets, and tracts. (Carry these around with us)
- Take every opportunity in the jobs we have, whether it be politicians, civil servants, public sector employees, lawyers, police officers, members of the armed forces, journalists etc. (social justice), teachers, health professionals, private sector employees, entrepreneurs etc. (development), scientists, conservations etc. (environment), to take practical actions and decisions which improve social justice, development and the environment.
- Four: Consume ethically in the products and services we buy
 - Buy products with known ethical standards wherever possible, thus supporting development in poor nations
 - Where these are not available, buy other products from the developing world, still supporting development in poor nations
 - Buy from small, local firms for everything else, thus helping keep people out of poverty near to home by supporting small and medium enterprises, the healthy backbone of any economy
 - Buy goods and services from companies that pay a reasonable Living Wage wherever possible
 - Buy goods and services from companies that pay a fair share of tax wherever possible
 - Divest our pensions and other financial savings from investment in unethical practices and fossil fuel industries, and instead invest them in companies with good ethical standards and in green energy renewable companies
 - Switch to a green electricity provider
 - Convert our homes from using gas for heating, hot water and cooking, to electricity from the same green provider (if we can afford it)
 - Reduce our use of electricity and gas as much as possible through actions such as switching off lights and unplugging devices when not in use, wearing warmer clothing rather than putting the heating on, and ensuring our home is properly insulated
 - Use an energy monitor to help identify ways of reducing our energy use at home
 - Walk or cycle rather than using other vehicles where possible
 - Use public transport, car shares or occasionally rent a car rather than owning one, but if we do need a car we should ...
 - Buy an electric car which can be charged using green electricity (if we can afford it)
 - Reduce to just one car per family
 - Buy as fuel efficient and low emission car as possible
 - Reduce our flights as much as possible
 - Use trains or boats instead of planes where possible
 - Offset any fossil fuel emissions we have from either our home or travel with an offsetting company that can plant trees to absorb the equivalent amount of emissions we have made
 - Buy organic food, meat and other animal products that are free-range, as much as possible
 - Only buy wood products that are sustainably logged
 - Buy second-hand rather than new wherever possible, reducing overconsumption and driving more funds towards good causes

- Have a healthy diet that is based upon mainly fruit and vegetables (at least a third), and cereal and carbohydrates (at least a third), with a small amount of meat (less than a sixth) and dairy (less than a sixth), and eating white meat and fish rather than red meat wherever possible
- Reduce and eliminate buying plastic products, as plastic can only be recycled a limited number of times before it ends up as waste
- Reduce waste from our homes as much as possible, making a note of every item we put in our bins, then searching online to see if there is a recyclable, re-usable, non-waste alternative. This should include composting all organic waste
- Five: Advocate to those in power to take action on social justice, development and environment ...
 - Sign up to speak out in advocacy on the major social justice, development and environment issues once a week with Arise (www.ariseuk.org/sign-up)

The church should:

- One: Pray
- Two: Give radically
- Three: Take direct practical action to meet the needs of the people in our local communities and our local environment in a myriad of hands-on ways
- Four: Model the same ethical consumption in the products and services it buys as outlined for individual Christians above
- Five: Advocate to those in power to take action on social justice, development and environment
- Teach that all Christians should pray, give, take practical action, consume ethically and advocate for social justice, development and environment
- Teach that most of us will be specifically called to spend the majority of our time in full-time employment in one of these areas, as politicians, civil servants, public sector employees, lawyers, police officers, members of the armed forces, journalists etc. (social justice), teachers, health professionals, private sector employees, entrepreneurs etc. (development), scientists, conservations etc. (environment), and affirm, celebrate and support Christians called into these roles

Leadership and unity in the church

We are now beginning to move beyond the lessons we can learn from the Bible for our discipleship as individual Christians and to consider what we can learn from the Bible about how our churches should operate as organisations. So, in this final section we examine the lessons in the New Testament relating to leadership and unity in the fledgling early church. In each individual church, elders, rather than an individual minister, were appointed, who together ran the church and were in charge of evangelism and its spiritual direction. Thus, as they travelled, we hear how *“Paul and Barnabas appointed elders for them in each church and, with prayer and fasting, committed them to the Lord”*, and later how Paul instructs Titus to *“appoint elders in every town”*.²⁵⁶ Under the elders, deacons were responsible for the administration and practical functions of the church. We see this modelled in the early church in Jerusalem where the practicalities of providing food for poor widows was becoming a huge

²⁵⁶ Acts 14: 23; Titus 1: 5, see also Acts 1: 15 – 26; Acts 15: 1 – 33; Acts 20: 17, 28; Acts 21: 17 – 26; 1 Cor 12: 28 – 29; Eph 4: 11; Phil 1: 1; 1 Tim 3: 1 – 13; 1 Tim 5: 17; I Pet 5: 1 – 4; 2 John 1: 1; 3 John 1: 1 etc.

task and causing contention, therefore the apostles decided ***“It would not be right for us to neglect the ministry of the word of God in order to wait on tables. Brothers and sisters, choose seven men from among you who are known to be full of the Spirit and wisdom. We will turn this responsibility over to them and will give our attention to prayer and the ministry of the word.”***²⁵⁷ The oversight of whole groups of individual churches appears to have been the responsibility of the apostle who founded them, and this can probably best be compared with the role of a bishop today. Thus, in the second letter to the Corinthians, Paul speaks about the authority he has over that church, ***“authority the Lord gave me for building you up, not for tearing you down.”***²⁵⁸ Indeed, most of the letters in the New Testament are from those in authority over groups of different local churches, written to encourage, instruct and teach them from afar. Major decisions affecting the whole body of the church seem to have been made by a council of apostles and elders in Jerusalem, which today would probably best fit the model of global church councils, where bishops make corporate decisions led by the Holy Spirit. Thus, following one such major decision, we hear how as Paul and his companions ***“travelled from town to town, they delivered the decisions reached by the apostles and elders in Jerusalem for the people to obey”***, and in each town, ***“the people read it and were glad for its encouraging message.”***²⁵⁹

At every level, those in church leadership were to be servant leaders, whose whole approach should be to serve, equip and release their congregations to go and change the world, as Jesus said, ***“The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them ... you are not to be like that. Instead, the greatest among you should be like the youngest, and the one who rules like the one who serves.”***²⁶⁰ Leaders in the church were to be mature in their faith; they ***“must not be a recent convert”***.²⁶¹ They were to hold to ***“sound doctrine”***²⁶² and model a good personal attitude and integrity to those they led, so that they might ***“In everything set them an example by doing what is good.”***²⁶³ They were to be someone ***“whose children believe and are not open to the charge of being wild and disobedient”***,²⁶⁴ as evidence of their ability to lead others well, including leading others into faith. They were to be ***“tested”*** before being allowed to serve as leaders.²⁶⁵ Full time church leaders could be financially supported by the church to enable them to dedicate themselves to the role, if they wanted to be, ***“for the worker is worth his keep.”***²⁶⁶ In the event of any problems with leaders, accusations against them were to be ***“brought by two or three witnesses”***.²⁶⁷ If they had seriously sinned, then Paul instructed those in authority in the church that ***“elders who are sinning you are to reprove before everyone”***. This enabled them to publicly repent, be forgiven, and for the issue to be addressed so that the

²⁵⁷ Acts 6: 1 – 6, see also 1 Cor 12: 28 – 29; Eph 4: 11; Phil 1: 1; 1 Tim 3: 1 – 13

²⁵⁸ 2 Cor 13: 10, see also 2 Cor 10: 8 – 11 and much of the rest of Roms – Jude; Acts 11: 1 – 24; Acts 15; Acts 16: 4; Acts 20: 16 – 38

²⁵⁹ Acts 16: 4; Acts 15: 1 – 33, see also Acts 11: 1 – 24; Acts 21: 17 26; Gal 1: 18 – 19; Gal 2: 1 – 10

²⁶⁰ Luke 22: 24 – 30, see also 1 Kings 12: 7; Matt 18:1 – 4; Matt 20: 25 – 28; Matt 23: 1 – 12; Mark 9: 33 – 35; Mark 10: 42 – 45; 1 Cor 4: 7 – 13; 2 Cor 13: 10; Phil 2: 5 – 8; 1 Tim 3: 1 – 13; 1 Pet 5: 1 – 4 etc.

²⁶¹ 1 Tim 3: 6

²⁶² Titus 1: 9, see also 1 Tim 4: 16; Titus 2: 1

²⁶³ Titus 2: 7 – 8, see also 1 Cor 4: 16; Phil 3: 17; 2 Thess 3: 7, 9; 1 Tim 3: 1 – 13; 1 Tim 4: 12; Titus 1: 6 – 9; 1 Pet 5: 1 – 4

²⁶⁴ Titus 1: 6, see also 1 Tim 3: 4 – 5, 12

²⁶⁵ 1 Tim 3: 10, see also 1 John 4: 1; Rev 2: 2

²⁶⁶ Matt 10: 9 – 11, see also Mark 6: 8 – 10; Luke 8: 3; Luke 9: 3 – 4; Luke 10: 4 – 7; Acts 18: 5; 1 Cor 9: 1 – 18; 2 Cor 11: 7 – 9; 1 Thess 2: 6 – 9; 2 Thess 3: 7 – 9; 1 Tim 5: 17 – 18; 3 John 1: 7 – 8 etc.

²⁶⁷ 1 Tim 5: 19

church could move on.²⁶⁸ Of course, we have already seen that we should be just²⁶⁹ and law abiding,²⁷⁰ hence this process is not a substitute for reporting any serious abuse or law breaking by leaders or church members to the police, without covering it up.

Again and again, the New Testament writers stress the importance of the pursuit of unity in local churches and across the whole global church, to come before all else (except serious heretical teaching relating to the theological core of the gospel). Thus, Jesus said ***“A new command I give to you: Love one another. As I have loved you, so you must love one another. By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another”***, and Paul wrote ***“I appeal to you, brothers and sisters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree with one another in what you say and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be perfectly united in mind and thought.”***²⁷¹ For us today this means working together in unity across all the major Christian denominations and traditions: Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox. Paul warns us several times to avoid indulging in inward looking and divisive arguments over minor theological points, and to instead be unified and outward facing in pursuing the church’s mission to advance the kingdom of God in the world. Thus, we are to ***“avoid foolish controversies and genealogies and arguments and quarrels about the law, because these are unprofitable and useless.”***²⁷²

Within a local church context, individual believers are to sort out their disagreements and be reconciled.²⁷³ We can do this by first privately discussing our disagreements frankly, but with love and grace, as Jesus instructed, ***“If your brother or sister sins, go and point out their fault, just between the two of you.”***²⁷⁴ If that doesn't resolve the issue, then as with accusations against elders, we should next ***“take one or two others along, so that ‘every matter may be established by the testimony of two or three witnesses.’”***²⁷⁵ However, ***“if they still refuse to listen”*** then next ***“tell it to the church”***.²⁷⁶ Finally, ***“if they refuses to listen even to the church, treat them as you would a pagan or tax collector”***, i.e. ***“put out of your fellowship the man who has been doing this”***.²⁷⁷ This last instruction to expel the unrepentant individual from the church seems harsh at first, but this is after multiple patient and reasonable opportunities have been given for an individual to rectify their behaviour. Ultimately, unity is preserved by confronting, not ignoring, persistent bad behaviour, which isn't fair on others and undermines the church.

²⁶⁸ 1 Tim 5: 20, see also Gal 2: 11 – 14

²⁶⁹ Isa 58: 6 – 10; Luke 4: 18; Matt 23: 23; Mark 12: 40; Luke 20: 47, see also Psalm 82: 3 – 4; Prov 13: 23; Prov 31: 8 – 9; Isa 1: 11 – 17; Isa 2: 2 – 4; Isa 59: 1 – 16; Jer 7: 1 – 11; Amos 5; Micah 4: 1 – 4; Micah 6: 8; Matt 12: 17 – 21; Matt 21: 12 – 13; Mark 11: 15 – 17; Luke 11: 42; Luke 18: 7 – 8; Luke 19: 45 – 46; James 1: 27 etc.

²⁷⁰ Titus 3: 1, see also Ezra; Nehemiah; Esther; Daniel; Matt 17: 24 – 27; Matt 22: 16 – 21; Matt 23: 2 – 3; Mark 12: 14 – 17; Luke 3: 12 – 13; Luke 20: 21 – 25; Acts 23: 5; Roms 13: 1 – 7; 1 Pet 2: 13 – 14, 17 etc.

²⁷¹ John 13: 34 – 35; 1 Cor 1: 10 – 13, see also John 17: 11, 21 – 23; Acts 4: 32; Roms 12: 4 – 8, 16; Roms 15: 5 – 7; 1 Cor 3: 3 – 9; 1 Cor 11: 18 – 22; 1 Cor 12: 12 – 31; 2 Cor 12: 20; Eph 4: 3, 13, 16, 25; Phil 2: 1 – 2 etc.

²⁷² Titus 3: 9 – 10, see also 1 Tim 1: 3 – 4; 1 Tim 6: 3 – 4, 20; 2 Tim 2: 14, 23 – 26

²⁷³ Lev 19: 17; Matt 5: 21 – 26; Matt 18: 15 – 17; Luke 12: 58 – 59; Luke 17: 3 – 4; 1 Cor 1: 10 – 13; 1 Cor 3: 3 – 9; 1 Cor 6: 1 – 8; Eph 4: 26 – 27, 30 – 32; Col 3: 12 – 14; Titus 3: 10; James 3: 13 – 18 etc.

²⁷⁴ Matt 18: 15, see also Lev 19: 17; Matt 5: 21 – 26; Luke 12: 58 – 59; Luke 17: 3; Eph 4: 26; 2 Thess 3: 15; Titus 3: 10

²⁷⁵ Matt 18: 16, see also Deut 19: 15; John 8: 17; 1 Cor 6: 1 – 5; 2 Cor 13: 1; 1 Tim 5: 19; Titus 3: 10

²⁷⁶ Matt 18: 17, see also Gal 2: 11 – 14; 1 Tim 5: 20; Titus 3: 10;

²⁷⁷ Matt 18: 17; 1 Cor 5, see also 2 Thess 3: 6, 14; Titus 3: 10



Figure 3.9: We should vigorously pursue unity across all churches and denominations that accept the core principles of the Christian faith.

Finally, as we saw when we considered [Church life](#), in the Bible, local churches organised support for their vulnerable members that could not be supported by their own families. As we read in the early church in Jerusalem, ***“there were no needy persons among them. For from time to time those who owned land or houses sold them, brought the money from the sales and put it at the apostles’ feet, and it was distributed to anyone who had need.”***²⁷⁸ This was true, not only within the local church, but across the church globally, so churches supported each other when in need. For example, we hear how the churches in ***“Macedonia and Achaia were pleased to make a contribution for the poor among the Lord’s people in Jerusalem.”***²⁷⁹

However, the church was not to support those who could be supported by their families, or who were not genuinely in need, but taking advantage. For example, they were told ***“If any woman who is a believer has widows in her care, she should help them and not let the church be burdened with them, so that the church can help those widows who are really in need.”***²⁸⁰

So, in summary ...

The church should:

- Appoint a group of elders to lead local churches
- Appoint deacons under these elders to manage the practical running of the local church
- Ensure groups of local churches are overseen by a bishop or equivalent
- Make major decisions affecting the whole church at a gathering of the bishops

²⁷⁸ Acts 4: 32 – 35, see also Matt 10: 42; Matt 25: 31 – 46; Mark 9: 41; Acts 2: 44 – 45; Acts 6: 1 – 6; Roms 12: 13; Gal 6: 9 – 10; 1 Tim 5: 3 – 16; Hebs 6: 10; James 2: 15 – 17; 1 Pet 4: 9; 1 John 3: 17 etc.

²⁷⁹ Roms 15: 25 – 28, see also Matt 25: 31 – 46; Mark 10: 28 – 30; Luke 18: 28 – 30; Acts 11: 27 – 30; Roms 12: 13; 1 Cor 16: 1 – 4; 2 Cor 8 – 9; Gal 6: 9 – 10; Hebs 6: 10; James 2: 15 – 17; 1 John 3: 17 etc.

²⁸⁰ 1 Tim 5: 3 – 16, see also 1 Thess 4: 11 – 12; 2 Thess 3: 6 – 15

- Ensure its leaders, at every level, model servant leadership
- Ensure leaders are mature in their faith, not recent converts
- Ensure leaders hold to sound doctrine
- Ensure leaders model personal attitude and integrity
- Ensure leaders' children are believers, as evidence of their ability to lead others in faith
- Test leaders before appointing them
- Financially support full-time leaders if they want or need it
- Ensure accusations against leaders are brought by two or three witnesses
- Publicly rebuke leaders who seriously sin before the church, then accept their repentance and forgive them allowing the church to move on
- Report the discovery of any serious abuse or law breaking by leaders or church members to the police and address it openly and publicly in the church, don't cover it up
- Vigorously pursue unity across all churches and denominations that accept the core principles of the Christian faith
- Promote unity within local churches by teaching that individual Christians should resolve their arguments, first privately one-to-one, then with two or three other witnesses, then before the whole church, and eventually expelling the unrepentant person if none of these steps resolve the issue
- Avoid indulging in inward looking and divisive arguments over minor theological points and instead be unified and outward facing in pursuing the church's mission to roll out the kingdom of God in the world
- Financially support vulnerable members of the local church
- Withhold financial support from those not genuinely in need who are taking advantage
- Financially support the members of other local churches across the global church when they are in need

PRIORITISE

We have seen throughout this part of the report how the Bible provides us with amazingly practical habits, behaviours and guidance to help us, and Christians around the world, grow ever closer to God and ever deeper in our journey of discipleship. We need to lead a holistic, integrated life, so there is no one simple action from all we have looked at that we should prioritise. However, a simple way of bringing all these actions together and making them manageable is to ...

- Go through the specific actions we should take as individual Christians in the boxes in this part on [Discipleship](#), and the previous one on [Evangelism](#), as a regular (perhaps monthly) spiritual health check to see how we are progressing with each in our journey of discipleship.

One reason why Arise has developed this report is to provide a single tool for Christians to use for a regular spiritual health check. This might sound slightly overwhelming, but just try it. Pray through it as you go. You may find that on many, you are doing well already. On others, you may find God challenging you to take action and go further. Ultimately, how we progress in our walk of discipleship is not up to our church leaders, it is us who must take the responsibility into our own hands, and keep regularly reviewing how we are progressing in our walk with Jesus.



PART 4: SOCIAL JUSTICE

We have considered how the world needs to change in the areas of [Evangelism](#) and [Discipleship](#). However, our Christian faith has to reach out beyond the personal and shape the public sphere as well. Our perfect world would be one where there is no war or conflict, where all societies are governed justly, and all people are treated fairly and equally. We therefore turn to consider the area of Social Justice, an area on which the Bible has so much to say, and history so much to teach us. We will look first at ‘Democracy, human rights and good governance’, and then at ‘Conflict’. Under ‘Democracy, human rights and good governance’ the lessons we can learn are grouped under: (i) general points on what ‘Democracy, human rights and good governance’ looks like; (ii) how we can work towards achieving that with ‘Pressure from within’ nations; and (iii) how the international community can support that with ‘Pressure from outside’. Similarly, in the area of ‘Conflict’, lessons are grouped under another three sub-sections: (i) how we can ‘Prevent major conflicts from emerging’, (ii) ‘Reduce and end small conflicts’ and finally, under what circumstances it is appropriate for the international community to consider using (iii) ‘Armed intervention in small conflicts’.

1) WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY?

Democracy, human rights and good governance

Standards for democracy, human rights and good governance

We begin by considering what the Bible teaches us about good governance and social justice. First, both the Old and New Testament are very clear that states and national authorities have been established by God. This is true even when they do not know or acknowledge him. The state or government is as much a Biblical institution as the church. As Paul says ***“Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God.”***²⁸¹ Having clarified

²⁸¹ Roms 13: 1 – 7, see also Deut 17: 14 – 20; Deut 31: 7 – 8, 14, 23; Josh 1: 1 – 9; Judges 2: 16, 18; 1 Sam 10: 1, 19 – 24; 1 Sam 16: 1; 2 Sam 5: 10, 12; 1 Chron 28: 4 – 10; Prov 21: 1; Dan 2: 21, 37; Dan 5: 18 – 19; Col 1: 16 etc.

this, both Old and New Testaments are consistent in setting out both the role of national authorities and how they should carry out that role. National authorities have been given the authority by God to govern well and administer justice. In one early example, Moses reminds the Israelites that under God's authority he ***"took the leading men of your tribes, wise and respected men, and appointed them to have authority over you – as commanders of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties and of tens and as tribal officials. And I charged your judges at that time, 'Hear the disputes between your people and judge fairly'".***²⁸² States should administer the law justly. As Jeremiah the prophet says ***"Hear the word of the LORD to you, king of Judah, you who sits on David's throne – you, your officials and your people who come through these gates. This is what the LORD says: Do what is just and right. Rescue from the hand of the oppressor the one who has been robbed. Do no wrong or violence to the foreigner, the fatherless or the widow, and do not shed innocent blood in this place."***²⁸³

Administering the law justly means ensuring that all people are innocent until proven guilty. One expression of this, amongst others, is that ***"One witness is not enough to convict anyone accused of any crime or offense they may have committed. A matter must be established by the testimony of two or three witnesses."***²⁸⁴ It also means that all, whether rich or poor, citizens or foreigners, should be treated equally, as the book of Leviticus puts it, ***"Do not pervert justice; do not show partiality to the poor or favouritism to the great, but judge your neighbour fairly."***²⁸⁵ The Bible recognises that in practice this often means protecting the powerless from exploitation by the powerful, and is damning of national authorities that fail to do this. As the Prophet Isaiah says, ***"Woe to those who make unjust laws, to those who issue oppressive decrees, to deprive the poor of their rights and withhold justice from the oppressed of my people, making widows their prey and robbing the fatherless."***²⁸⁶ The Bible argues that those in positions of national authority should be of high personal moral standing. We are told that the king of the Israelites ***"must not acquire great numbers of horses for himself ... He must not take many wives, or his heart will be led astray. He must not accumulate large amounts of silver and gold"***.²⁸⁷ It spells out that this very much includes no corruption or giving and taking of bribes. As the book of Proverbs says, ***"By justice a king gives a country stability, but those who are greedy for bribes tear it down."***²⁸⁸ Therefore the law applies equally to all, both the rulers and the ruled, which in modern parlance we would term the 'rule of law'. Thus, the UN Secretary-General's 2009 *Guidance Note on Democracy*, a key document for the international community, says ***"the rule of law is a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently***

²⁸² Deut 1: 13 – 17, see also Ex 18: 13 – 26; Deut 16: 18; Deut 17: 8 – 13; Deut 19: 17 – 18; 1 Sam 7: 15 – 17; 2 Chron 19: 5 – 11; Prov 20: 8; Prov 29: 4; Isa 28: 6; Eze 44: 24; Roms 13: 4 – 6; 1 Pet 2: 13 – 14, 17 etc.

²⁸³ Jer 22: 2 – 3, see also Deut 16: 18 – 20; Deut 17: 16 – 20; 2 Sam 8: 15; 1 Kings 3: 9 – 12; 2 Chron 19: 5 – 11; Prov 28: 2 – 3, 12, 15 – 16, 28; Prov 29: 2, 4, 12, 14; Isa 1: 23; Isa 16: 5; Jer 21: 12; Dan 4: 27; Luke 3: 12 – 14 etc.

²⁸⁴ Deut 19: 15 – 20, see also Num 35: 12, 30; Deut 13: 14; Deut 17: 4, 6; Deut 25: 1; Josh 20; Psalm 109: 7; Prov 17: 26; Amos 5: 10; Matt 18: 16; 1 Tim 5: 19 etc.

²⁸⁵ Lev 19: 15, 33 – 34, see also Ex 22: 21; Lev 24: 22; Num 15: 15 – 16; Deut 1: 16 – 17; Deut 23: 7; Deut 24: 17; Deut 27: 19; 2 Chron 19: 7; Prov 18: 5; Prov 22: 22; Prov 24: 23 – 25; Isa 10: 1 – 2; Eze 18: 8 etc.

²⁸⁶ Isa 10: 1 – 2, see also Deut 17: 14 – 20; Deut 24: 17; Deut 27: 19; 1 Sam 12: 3 – 5; Prov 22: 22; Prov 28: 2 – 3, 12, 15 – 16, 28; Prov 29: 2, 4, 12, 14; Isa 1: 23; Jer 21: 12; Jer 22: 2 – 3; Dan 4: 27 etc.

²⁸⁷ Deut 17: 16 – 20, see also 1 Sam 8: 3, 7 – 20; 1 Sam 12: 3 – 5; 2 Sam 11 – 12; Prov 31: 4 – 9; Dan 6: 4 – 5; Matt 14: 3 – 4; Mark 6: 18; Luke 3: 19

²⁸⁸ Prov 29: 4, see also Ex 23: 8; Deut 16: 19; 1 Sam 8: 3; 1 Sam 12: 3 – 5; 2 Kings 12: 4 – 16; Psalm 15: 5; Prov 17: 23; Isa 1: 23; Isa 5: 23; Isa 33: 15; Eze 22: 12; Dan 6: 4; Amos 5: 12; Luke 3: 12 – 14; Acts 24: 26 etc.

adjudicated".²⁸⁹ This is twenty-first century language which echoes ancient Biblical principles.



Figure 4.1: The governments of the world have been appointed by God, and should rule with justice.

The Bible teaches that in fulfilling their duty to administer justice, national authorities are permitted to use limited force where necessary to enforce the law (detain criminals etc.). We see this in the Old Testament, in the law and the teaching on the role of kings and national authorities, but also in the New Testament, where John the Baptist, Jesus and Peter all seem to accept, and not criticise, the role of soldiers and national authorities to enforce justice. Paul tells us, ***“rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong. Do you want to be free from the fear of the one in authority? Then do what is right and you will be commended. For the one in authority is God’s servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for rulers do not bear the sword for no reason. They are God’s servants, agents of wrath to bring punishment to the wrongdoer.”***²⁹⁰ The state is the only institution in the Bible that is permitted to use force in any way (certainly the church and us as individual Christians should never use it),²⁹¹ and even here that force should be limited. There are only

²⁸⁹ *Guidance Note of the Secretary-General on Democracy*, UNDEF, (2009), p. 7, see also Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), pp. 11 – 12, 16 – 18, 23 – 25, 37, 43, 52, 61, 64, 72, 203, 233, 291, 342 – 344, 357, 395, 403, 405, 411, 413 – 414, 486, 529, 532 – 534, 541 – 542; Ferguson, N., *The Great Degeneration*, (2012), pp. 14 – 15, 17, 31 – 32, 78 – 110, 142 etc.

²⁹⁰ Roms 13: 1 – 7, see also Ex 20 – 23; Lev 11 – 15; Lev 18 – 27; Num 5 – 6; Num 15; Num 28 – 30; Num 35 – 36; Deut 5; Deut 12 – 27; Eccles 8: 11; Matt 8: 5 – 13; Luke 3: 14; Luke 7: 2 – 10; Acts 10; 1 Pet 2: 13 – 14, 17 etc.

²⁹¹ Lev 19: 18; Prov 12: 16; Prov 20: 22; Prov 25: 21 – 22; Matt 5: 38 – 42; Mark 14: 46 – 49; Luke 22: 49 – 53; John 18: 10 – 11, 36; Roms 12: 17, 19 – 21; 1 Cor 4: 12 – 13; Eph 4: 31 – 32; 1 Thess 5: 15; 1 Pet 3: 9 etc.

three circumstances in which the Bible seems to justify the state using force; the first, as we have seen, is to enforce the law, and the second and third we shall come to shortly.

Today, we talk about the state having a ‘monopoly of violence’, in Max Webber’s term, or as ‘Leviathan’, the same principle earlier described by Thomas Hobbes. The importance of this ancient Biblical teaching has been reaffirmed in modern times by scholars and political scientists. Thus, one of Steven Pinker’s central conclusions in *The Better Angels of our Nature*, a huge work charting the decline of violence in human history, is ***“A state that uses a monopoly on force to protect its citizens from one another may be the most consistent violence-reducer that we have encountered in this book ... When bands, tribes and chiefdoms came under the control of the first states, the suppression of raiding and feuding reduced their rates of violent death fivefold ... And when the fiefs of Europe coalesced into kingdoms and sovereign states, the consolidation of law enforcement eventually brought down the homicide rate another thirtyfold.”***²⁹²

So, if the role of national authorities is to administer the law justly, what does the Bible have to say about the nature of that law itself? Historically, all states used the law for two purposes: first, to stop people from harming each other, and second, for enforcing the religious and cultural views of their society (blasphemy laws, no divorce etc.). Thus, in traditional societies, many of the kinds of behaviours we looked at in [Part 3 on Discipleship](#) were not just matters of personal moral conviction, but legal requirements. This is the case in the Law of Moses, which set out God’s perfect standards in the Old Testament. It both maintains social justice, and legally bans idolatry or extra-marital affairs.²⁹³ The reigns of the judges and kings of the Old Testament were considered great or poor depending on the extent to which they enforced God’s law in full.²⁹⁴ So at a first glance, the lessons from the Bible for today are clear: that our national law codes should reflect God’s law in full, both in enforcing justice and preventing harm, and in upholding Christian morality and culture. However, when we look at what Jesus and the early church did, we get a surprise. When Jesus came as the messiah, the expectations of those around him were that he would take on the religious and political leadership of the state of Israel, throw off the Roman occupiers and re-establish and impose God’s law in full.²⁹⁵ Yet, as so often, Jesus turned these expectations on their head. Jesus and the early church did not try to take political power and establish God’s kingdom and its beliefs, values and behaviours by legal force. We read in John’s Gospel that ***“After the people saw the sign Jesus performed, they began to say, ‘Surely this is the Prophet who is to come into the world.’ Jesus, knowing that they intended to come and make him king by force, withdrew again to a mountain by himself”***, and again later, Jesus tells Pilate ***“My kingdom is not of this world. If it were, my servants would fight to prevent my arrest”***.²⁹⁶

Jesus and the early church did not attempt to impose belief or behaviour on anyone. Thus, we see that Jesus had no criticism of those suffering from leprosy or long-term bleeding who were unclean, and who according to the law, should not have been associating with others in public. Indeed, he delighted in their company. Similarly, he was interested in showing love and mercy

²⁹² Pinker, S., *The Better Angels of our Nature*, (2012), pp. 822 – 823, see also pp. 41 – 43, 51, 67, 89 – 90, 93, 145, 192 – 193, 283, 468 – 469, 649 – 652, 739, 824; Fukuyama, F., *State Building*, (2005); Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), pp. 80 – 81 etc.

²⁹³ Ex 20 – 23; Lev 11 – 15; Lev 18 – 27; Num 5 – 6; Num 15; Num 28 – 30; Num 35 – 36; Deut 5; Deut 12 – 27

²⁹⁴ Judges; 1 Sam – 2 Chron

²⁹⁵ Matt 2; Matt 21: 1 – 16; Matt 27: 11 – 43; Mark 11: 1 – 10; Mark 15: 1 – 32; Luke 19: 28 – 40; Luke 23: 2 – 38; John 6: 14 – 15; John 7: 25 – 26; John 12: 12 – 15; John 18: 28 – 19: 22; Acts 1: 6 etc.

²⁹⁶ John 6: 14 – 15; John 18: 10 – 11, 36, see also Matt 13: 31 – 33; Matt 26: 51 – 55; Mark 4: 30 – 32; Mark 14: 47 – 49; Luke 13: 18 – 21; Luke 17: 20 – 21; Luke 22: 49 – 53; John 3: 2 – 5; Acts 1: 6 – 8 etc.

to those in lifestyles of adultery, prostitution and even blasphemy, rather than in imposing the death penalty, as the law implied. When the Pharisees brought a woman to Jesus and asked him, ***“Teacher, this woman was caught in the act of adultery. In the Law Moses commanded us to stone such women. Now what do you say?”*** Jesus replied ***“Let any one of you who is without sin be the first to throw a stone at her.”*** Earlier, Joseph is commended for not following the same law when he believed Mary had been unfaithful, as he ***“did not want to expose her to public disgrace”*** and so ***“he had in mind to divorce her quietly.”*** Similarly, Paul wants all to come to know Jesus, and urges all who do to follow good moral behaviour, individually and within their community. However, he is not interested in enforcing and imposing this behaviour on those who do not yet know Jesus, for as he says, ***“What business is it of mine to judge those outside the church?”***²⁹⁷ Indeed Jesus was damning in his criticism of the Pharisees and Teachers of the Law who did try to use the law to force belief or behaviour on others.²⁹⁸

None of this implies that Jesus, and the early church, condoned poor moral behaviour or a lack of faith. Far from it. However, he believed people must choose the behaviours we looked at in [Part 3 on Discipleship](#) out of love and desire to follow him, not because they are legally forced to. Thus, having saved the woman caught in adultery from those who would use the law to punish her, Jesus instead gently urges her, ***“Go now and leave your life of sin.”*** Elsewhere, in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus sets out the kind of radical faith in action and good moral living he urges us to follow because we choose to, not because we are legally forced to, and concludes with ***“everyone who hears these words of mine and puts them into practice is like a wise man who built his house on the rock.”***²⁹⁹

So, did Jesus and the early church have no concept of the role of national authorities and the nature of the law they should enforce? Again, no. As we have seen, the New Testament refers multiple times to the role of national authorities as appointed by God (even if they do not know or acknowledge him), continuing in the tradition of the Old Testament. However, now it seems to see the role of these authorities as purely to uphold and administer justice by preventing people from harming each other, no longer to impose religious and cultural views and behaviour (and certainly not Christian religious and cultural views and behaviour) on society. As Peter says, ***“Submit yourselves for the Lord’s sake to every human authority: whether to the emperor, as the supreme authority, or to governors, who are sent by him to punish those who do wrong and to commend those who do right.”***³⁰⁰ Around the world today, the most peaceful and tolerant societies, with populations with many different religious beliefs and values, have in recent centuries come to follow the same path that Jesus modelled 2000 years ago, accepting that the law should not be used to impose religious beliefs and cultural behaviours. Therefore, following the approach demonstrated by Jesus and the early church, Arise argues that religious and cultural views should not be imposed by law, but that the basis of all law in today’s world should be to practically uphold and administer justice by preventing and deterring people from harming each other. That is to say, the principle is that people should

²⁹⁷ John 8: 3 – 11; Matt 1: 18 – 19; 1 Cor 5: 9 – 13, see also Matt 7: 1 – 5; Matt 8: 1 – 4; Matt 9: 9 – 15, 20 – 22; Matt 10: 8; Matt 11: 5, 19; Matt 12: 1 – 14, 31 – 32; Matt 15: 1 – 20; Matt 21: 31 – 32; Matt 23; Mark 1: 40 – 44; Mark 2: 14 – 3: 6; Mark 5: 24 – 34; Mark 7: 1 – 23; Luke 5: 12 – 14, 27 – 6: 11; Luke 7: 22, 36 – 50; Luke 8: 42 – 48; Luke 12: 10; Luke 17: 11 – 19; John 4: 4 – 42; John 5: 1 – 18; John 6: 14 – 15 etc.

²⁹⁸ Matt 9: 9 – 15; Matt 12: 1 – 14; Matt 15: 1 – 20; Matt 23; Luke 7: 36 – 50; Luke 11: 37 – 12: 1; Luke 14: 1 – 6; Luke 15: 1 – 2; John 7: 32 – 53; John 8: 3 – 11; John 9: 13 – 41; John 11: 46 – 57; John 12: 42 etc.

²⁹⁹ John 8: 11; Matt 5 – 7, see also Matt 4: 18 – 22; Matt 9: 9; Matt 18; Matt 19: 16 – 30; Mark 1: 16 – 20; Mark 2: 14; Mark 10: 17 – 31; Luke 5: 27 – 28; Luke 6: 17 – 49; Luke 18: 18 – 30; John 5: 14 etc.

³⁰⁰ 1 Pet 2: 13 – 14, 17, see also Matt 8: 5 – 13; Matt 22: 16 – 21; Mark 12: 14 – 17; Luke 3: 12 – 14; Luke 7: 2 – 10; Luke 20: 21 – 25; John 19: 11; Acts 10; Acts 21: 31 – 26: 32; Roms 13: 1 – 7; Col 1: 16; Titus 3: 1 etc.

be free to believe and do what they want unless it hurts anyone else, at which point the law steps in to prohibit such behaviour.

In modern parlance, this freedom which defines the boundaries of the law is captured in the concept of ‘human rights’, a concept which is rooted in Biblical teaching and has been strongly shaped by many devout Christians as it developed over the centuries. As Ian Mortimer says in his book looking at change over the past millennium, *Centuries of Change*, the idea that all people are free and equal, which underpins human rights and has spread rapidly since the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century, is **“a Christian sentiment in origin”**. Similarly, historian Yuval Noah Harari, though not remotely Christian, recognises this in his work *Sapiens*. Thus, in discussing the concept of unalienable rights in the *American Declaration of Independence*, he points out **“The Americans got the idea of equality from Christianity, which argues that every person has a divinely created soul and that all souls are equal before God.”** Similarly, modern western liberal humanism **“is, in fact, founded on monotheist beliefs. The liberal belief in the free and sacred nature of each individual is a direct legacy of the traditional Christian belief in free and eternal individual souls.”** And indeed also **“Like liberal humanism, socialist humanism is built on monotheist foundations. The idea that all humans are equal is a revamped version of the monotheist conviction that all souls are equal before God.”** Thus, **“Our liberal political and judicial systems are founded on the belief that every individual has a sacred inner nature, indivisible and immutable, which gives meaning to the world, and which is the source of all ethical and political authority. This is a reincarnation of the traditional Christian belief in a free and eternal soul that resides within each individual.”**³⁰¹

Therefore, the law should be based on the Biblical, Christian concept of human rights as epitomised in the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the internationally recognised global standard for human rights. Similarly, national authorities should be broadly secular or agnostic in nature, allowing citizens of all faiths and cultures to live in peace, showing compassion and flexibility to individual religious or cultural needs, providing no harm is done to others, without backing or imposing any particular religion. Therefore, there should not be an officially established church linked to the state, something we never see in the New Testament.

If the Christian view is that people should be free to do what they want unless it harms others, at which point the law steps in, then we can immediately see many Biblical injunctions that put this into practice and therefore *should* form part of national legal codes today. For example, the Bible makes it clear that **“You shall not murder”**³⁰² or assault.³⁰³ Similarly, we are told **“You shall not steal”**,³⁰⁴ rape,³⁰⁵ or kidnap,³⁰⁶ and that there should be no **“extortion”** or

³⁰¹ Mortimer, I., *Centuries of Change*, (2014), pp. 219 – 220; Harari, Y. N., *Sapiens*, (2014), p. 122, 257 – 258, 263, see also Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 26 – 56, 42, 96 – 102, 109, 118, 187 etc.

³⁰² Ex 20: 13, see also Gen 4: 8 – 12; Deut 5: 17; Deut 27: 24 – 25; 2 Sam 11 – 12; 2 Chron 21: 13; Psalm 10: 8; Psalm 94: 6, 21; Prov 28: 17; Isa 1: 21; Hosea 6: 8 – 9; Matt 5: 21 – 22; Matt 19: 18; Mark 10: 19; Luke 18: 20; Roms 1: 29; 1 John 3: 15; Rev 9: 21 etc.

³⁰³ Ex 21: 18 – 27; Lev 24: 19 – 20; Psalm 73: 6; Prov 3: 31; Prov 13: 2; Prov 16: 29; Prov 21: 7; Isa 58: 4; Jer 22: 3; Eze 28: 16; Eze 45: 9; Matt 26: 51 – 55; Mark 14: 47 – 49; Luke 22: 49 – 53; John 18: 10 – 11 etc.

³⁰⁴ Ex 20: 15, see also Lev 19: 11; Deut 5: 19; Prov 1: 10 – 19; Prov 24: 15; Isa 61: 8; Jer 7: 9 – 11; Eze 22: 25, 27, 29; Eze 46: 18; Matt 19: 18; Mark 10: 19; Luke 18: 20; 1 Cor 6: 10; Eph 4: 28; Rev 9: 21 etc.

³⁰⁵ Gen 34: 1 – 7; Deut 22: 23 – 29; Judges 19: 22 – 20: 13; Ruth 2: 9; 2 Sam 13: 1 – 21; Lam 5: 11

³⁰⁶ Ex 21: 16; Deut 24: 7; Psalm 10: 9; Joel 3: 3, 6; Amos 1: 6, 9; Amos 2: 6

blackmail.³⁰⁷ All of these things are not just personally morally wrong, they should also be illegal because they impose harm on others. Similarly, the Bible teaches that there should be laws against negligence, for example, ***“If anyone grazes their livestock in a field or vineyard and lets them stray and they graze in someone else’s field, the offender must make restitution from the best of their own field or vineyard.”***³⁰⁸ Slander should also be illegal for we are told ***“Do not go about spreading slander among your people”***,³⁰⁹ as should giving false testimony, where we are warned ***“Have nothing to do with a false charge”***.³¹⁰ By extension, we can also say that abortion should also be illegal since it involves harming another, although of course this is a complex issue and every possible support and kindness should be shown to women who find themselves in a situation of unwanted pregnancy. So, in summary ...

Governments should:

- Understand that all national authorities have been appointed by God, whether they recognise him or not
- Administer justice
- Administer the law justly
- Ensure full equality for all before the law, and in all aspects of life
- Treat suspects as innocent until proven guilty
- Ensure people in positions of national authority are of high personal moral standing
- Ban all bribery and ensure there is no corruption
- Use minimum force necessary to enforce the law, as the only institution which should be able to use force, and the first of only three situations in which governments can use force
- Ensure the law is based solely on people being free to do what they want unless it harms others (as defined in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*), at which point the law steps in
- Be secular or agnostic in nature, not backing any one particular faith, but allowing all to live together in peace, showing compassion and flexibility to individual religious or cultural needs, providing no harm is done to others
- Have no established church linked to the state
- Ban murder
- Ban assault
- Ban rape
- Ban theft
- Ban kidnapping
- Ban extortion and blackmail
- Ban abortion, whilst providing maximum loving care and support for single women and couples who find themselves with unwanted pregnancies
- Ban slander
- Prosecute people for giving false testimony
- Prosecute people for negligence

³⁰⁷ Lev 6: 4, see also Deut 17: 16 – 20; 1 Sam 8: 6 – 18; 1 Sam 12: 3 – 5; Prov 28: 15 – 16; Isa 33: 15; Jer 21: 12; Jer 22: 3, 17; Eze 18: 7, 12, 16, 18; Eze 22: 25, 27, 29; Eze 45: 9; Eze 46: 18; Amos 5: 11; Luke 3: 12 – 14 etc.

³⁰⁸ Ex 22: 5 – 6, 14, see also Ex 21: 28 – 36; Lev 19: 16; Num 35: 22 – 28; Deut 22: 8

³⁰⁹ Lev 19: 16, see also Psalm 15: 3; Psalm 50: 20; Psalm 101: 5; Psalm 109: 2 – 4; Prov 10: 18; Prov 30: 10; Matt 5: 22; Matt 15: 19; Mark 7: 22; Luke 3: 14; Roms 1: 30; Col 3: 8; Titus 3: 2; 1 Pet 2: 1 etc.

³¹⁰ Ex 23: 1 – 2, 7, see also Ex 20: 16; Lev 6: 3; Deut 5: 20; Psalm 27: 12; Prov 3: 30; Prov 14: 5, 25; Prov 24: 28; Isa 29: 21; Jer 7: 9; Matt 15: 19; Matt 19: 18; Mark 10: 19; Luke 18: 20; 1 Tim 1: 10 etc.

Improving democracy, human rights and good governance through pressure within nations

So if that is how governments should behave, the reality is that often they do not live up to it. What are we to do about it when they don't? Well, one thing that the Bible is very clear about – we should *not* use force to overthrow them in armed rebellion. We see David refusing to use violence to overthrow Saul, even when Saul was trying to kill him, exclaiming ***“The LORD forbid that I should do such a thing to my master, the LORD’s anointed, or lay my hand on him; for he is the anointed of the LORD.”*** Similarly, we have already seen how Jesus refused to use violence against the authorities in his day, and prevented his followers from doing so, even in the face of his imminent execution, saying ***“Am I leading a rebellion, that you have come out with swords and clubs to capture me? Every day I sat in the temple courts teaching, and you did not arrest me.”*** Later, even as the early church faced persecution, Paul tells them ***“whoever rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgement on themselves.”***³¹¹ Thus, even where governments are behaving with huge injustice, the Bible is clear that still, they have been instituted by God,³¹² and that they are the only institution permitted to use force (in a minimal way, to prevent injustice).³¹³ If that injunction is removed and anyone can take up arms against any regime they perceive to be insufficiently just, it is a recipe for terrible violence and complete disorder. Refusing to use violence does not, however, leave us powerless in the face of unjust regimes. In Part 3 on Discipleship, we discussed the many ways the Bible instructs us as ordinary Christians and the church to work for more [socially just states](#): we should pray;³¹⁴ vote for just governments where we can; give to support peaceful reform movements;³¹⁵ consume ethically, putting economic pressure on unjust regimes;³¹⁶ and peacefully but radically advocate for reform.³¹⁷ In addition, some of us may be specifically called to work within governments to reform them from the inside, like Joseph, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel and various other politicians, civil servants and state officials in the Bible.³¹⁸

³¹¹ 1 Sam 24: 5 – 16, 19 – 20; Matt 26: 51 – 55; Rom 13: 2, see also 1 Sam 26: 9 – 11, 23; 2 Sam 1: 10, 14 – 16; Ezra; Nehemiah; Esther; Prov 17: 11; Prov 24: 21 – 22; Prov 28: 2; Daniel; Matt 23; Mark 14: 47 – 49; Luke 22: 49 – 53; John 6: 14 – 15; John 18: 10 – 11, 36 etc.

³¹² Deut 17: 14 – 20; Deut 31: 7 – 8, 14, 23; Josh 1: 1 – 9; Judges 2: 16, 18; 1 Sam 10: 1, 19 – 24; 1 Sam 16: 1; 2 Sam 5: 10, 12; 1 Chron 28: 4 – 10; Prov 21: 1; Dan 2: 21, 37; Dan 5: 18 – 19; Roms 13: 1 – 7; Col 1: 16 etc.

³¹³ Ex 20 – 23; Lev 11 – 15; Lev 18 – 27; Num 5 – 6; Num 15; Num 28 – 30; Num 35 – 36; Deut 5; Deut 12 – 27; Eccles 8: 11; Matt 8: 5 – 13; Luke 3: 14; Luke 7: 2 – 10; Acts 10; Roms 13: 1 – 7; 1 Pet 2: 13 – 14, 17 etc.

³¹⁴ Matt 6: 10; Matt 7: 7 – 11; Luke 11: 2; Luke 22: 32; John 17: 9 – 26; Acts 12: 5 – 12; Acts 14: 23; Acts 28: 8; Roms 1: 9; Roms 10: 1; Roms 15: 30 – 31; 2 Cor 1: 11; Eph 6: 18 – 19; 1 Thess 1: 3; 1 Tim 2: 1 – 2; 3 John 1: 2 etc.

³¹⁵ Deut 15: 4, 7 – 14; Psalm 37: 21; Prov 11: 24 – 28; Prov 21: 26; Prov 28: 20, 22, 25, 27; Matt 5: 42; Matt 19: 21 – 26; Mark 10: 21 – 27; Mark 12: 41 – 44; Luke 6: 30; Luke 12: 15 – 34; Luke 16: 19 – 31; Luke 18: 22 – 27; Luke 19: 8; Luke 21: 1 – 4; Acts 10: 2, 4, 31; 1 Tim 6: 9 – 10, 17 – 18 etc.

³¹⁶ Deut 24: 14 – 15; Lev 19: 13; Lev 25: 53; Prov 22: 22 – 23; Isa 23; Isa 58: 3; Jer 22: 13; Eze 26 – 28; Hosea 12: 8 – 9; Nahum 3: 16; Mal 3: 5; Matt 10: 10; Luke 10: 7; 1 Tim 5: 18; James 5: 4 etc.

³¹⁷ Gen 41; Gen 46: 31 – 47: 11; Ex 5: 1 – 12: 32; 2 Sam 7; 2 Sam 12; 1 Kings 1; 1 Kings 17 – 22; 2 Kings 1 – 3; 2 Kings 6: 8 – 15; Ezra 4 – 7; Ezra 8: 36; Nehemiah 1 – 2; Esther; Prov 13: 23; Prov 21: 13; Prov 25: 15; Prov 29: 7; Prov 31: 8 – 9; Isa – Mal (e.g. Isa 58: 6 – 10; Isa 59: 3 – 4); Dan 1 – 6; Matt 10: 18 – 20; Matt 14: 3 – 4; Matt 23; Mark 6: 17 – 18; Mark 13: 9 – 11; Luke 3: 12 – 14, 19; Luke 11: 42; Luke 12: 11 – 12; Luke 13: 31 – 32; Luke 21: 12 – 15; Acts 21: 31 – 28: 31; Eph 6: 12

³¹⁸ Gen 39 – 47; Ezra; Nehemiah; Esther; Daniel 1 – 6; 1 Sam – 2 Chron; Luke 8: 3; Acts 10; Acts 13: 6 – 12; Roms 16: 23; Phil 4: 22 etc.



Figure 4.2: Instead of using violence to confront unjust regimes, the Bible calls us to work for change through radical but peaceful methods, and bottom-up movements demanding reform.

Taken together then, rather than armed revolution against unjust regimes, the Biblical approach is instead to engage in radical but peaceful, bottom-up movements and demands for reform. We see this demonstrated multiple times throughout the Bible. Joseph advocated to Pharaoh to change his policies and save Egypt and the surrounding nations from starvation, ***“Let Pharaoh appoint commissioners over the land to take a fifth of the harvest of Egypt during the seven years of abundance ... This food should be held in reserve for the country, to be used during the seven years of famine that will come upon Egypt, so that the country may not be ruined by the famine.”*** Later, Moses challenged another pharaoh, ***“This is what the LORD, the God of Israel, says: ‘Let my people go’”***, and as a result freed the whole Israelite nation from slavery in Egypt. The prophets like Nathan, Elijah, Elisha, Jeremiah or Ezekiel all peacefully, but radically, challenged the kings and authorities of their day, crying out like Isaiah, ***“Hear the word of the LORD, you rulers of Sodom; listen to the instruction of our God, you people of Gomorrah! ... Your hands are full of blood! Wash and make yourselves clean. Take your evil deeds out of my sight; stop doing wrong. Learn to do right; seek justice. Defend the oppressed. Take up the cause of the fatherless; plead the case of the widow.”*** Daniel, Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah advocated to Babylonian and Persian kings, ***“spare my people – this is my request. For I and my people have been sold to be destroyed, killed and annihilated”***, and in so doing saved the Jewish people from persecution and even genocide, as well as liberating them from enforced exile. They also advocated for greater justice, ***“Your Majesty, be pleased to accept my advice: Renounce your sins by doing what is right, and your wickedness by being kind to the oppressed. It may be that then your prosperity will continue.”*** In the New Testament, John the Baptist called on tax collectors,

*“Don’t collect any more than you are required to”, on soldiers, “Don’t extort money and don’t accuse people falsely”, and ultimately the king, for we hear “John rebuked Herod the tetrarch because of his marriage to Herodias, his brother’s wife, and all the other evil things he had done.” Jesus also challenged the teachers of the law and the pharisees, the religious authorities of his day, who “sit in Moses’s seat” (and therefore would have been the political authorities as well if their country had not been occupied by the Romans), because they “neglect justice and the love of God”.*³¹⁹

The lessons from history (which we shall look at in more detail shortly) also strongly reinforce this Biblical principle. Whether it is the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution or the Arab Spring, violent revolution has almost always led to further violence and regimes even more repressive than those they replaced. Whilst, the more Biblical gradual reforms that led to the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe, the civil rights movement in the US or the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa, have all resulted in more peaceful, just and lasting improvements to national authorities. In the most authoritative study in this field, *Why Civil Resistance Works*, Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan find *“in recent years organised civilian populations have successfully used nonviolent resistance methods, including boycotts, strikes, protests, and organized non-cooperation to exact political concessions and challenge entrenched power. To name a few, sustained and systematic nonviolent sanctions have removed autocratic regimes from power in Serbia (2000), Madagascar (2002), Georgia (2003), and Ukraine (2004 – 2005), after rigged elections; ended a foreign occupation in Lebanon (2005); and forced Nepal’s monarch to make major constitutional concessions (2006).”* After *“analysing 323 violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns between 1900 and 2006”*, they found *“nonviolent resistance campaigns were nearly twice as likely to achieve full or partial success as their violent counterparts.”* In addition, even *“In countries in which violent insurgencies have been victorious, we find, however, that the country is much less likely to become a peaceful democracy after the conflict has ended. On the other hand, in analogous countries, where mass, nonviolent campaigns have occurred, we see a much higher rate of postconflict democracies and a much lower rate of relapse into civil war.”*³²⁰ So, in summary ...

Bottom-up civil society reform movements should:

- Not lead rebellions or revolutions using armed force, but instead ...
- Demand and work for reform using radical but peaceful methods

Conflict

Prevent major conflicts from emerging

We have considered Biblical teaching regarding good national governance and how to achieve it when it is absent. We turn now to consider what the Bible has to say when this breaks down

³¹⁹ Gen 41: 34 – 36; Ex 5: 1; Isa 1: 10 – 17; Esther 7: 3 – 4; Dan 4: 27; Luke 3: 12 – 14, 19; Matt 23: 2; Ex 18: 13 – 26; Luke 11: 42, see also 2 Sam 7; 2 Sam 12; 1 Kings 1; 1 Kings 17 – 2 Kings 8; Ezra; Nehemiah; Isa – Mal etc.

³²⁰ Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), pp. 6 – 7, 222, but also see the whole book; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000); Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005); Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 2 – 3, 47 – 77, 87 – 88, 115 – 118, 179 – 195, 212 – 232; *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005); *Violence and Non-Violence in Anti-Government Mobilization*, PRIO, (2016); Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 311, 322 – 324, 362 – 373, 405, 531 – 544 etc.

entirely and descends into open conflict. In the Old Testament, God establishes Israel as the ideal state, and this involves military wars of conquest.³²¹ However, as we have seen, when Jesus came and he and his followers began to advance God's kingdom beyond Israel, to all peoples of the world, that time had ended, and he rejected the path of military and political conquest to achieve a political kingdom.³²² Thus in the New Testament, we find the role of states and national authorities is solely to preserve social justice through the application of the law.³²³ It therefore follows that in today's world the Bible sees no possible justification for aggressive wars of expansion between nations. We see in multiple instances unprovoked invasions condemned, such as by the prophet Jeremiah, ***“Concerning the Ammonites: This is what the LORD says: ‘Has Israel no sons? Has Israel no heir? Why then has Molek taken possession of Gad? Why do his people live in its towns?’”*** Similarly, the prophet Ezekiel declared ***“This is what the Sovereign LORD says: Because they ravaged and crushed you from every side so that you became the possession of the rest of the nations and the object of people's malicious talk and slander ... In my burning zeal I have spoken against the rest of the nations, and against all Edom, for with glee and with malice in their hearts they made my land their own possession so that they might plunder its pastureland.”***³²⁴ It also follows, that if states do find themselves the victims of aggressive invasion by other nations, they can defend their citizens. This is an extension of the principle we have already seen that states can use minimal force to enforce the law and prevent harm from occurring to their citizens. Again, we find Biblical examples of this. We read how during the exodus ***“The Amalekites came and attacked the Israelites at Rephidim. Moses said to Joshua, ‘Choose some of our men and go out to fight the Amalekites.’”*** Later the prophet Micah declared, ***“Marshal your troops now, city of troops, for a siege is laid against us. They will strike Israel's ruler on the cheek with a rod.”***³²⁵ This is the second of the three possible situations in which states can use minimal force (the first being to enforce the law within their countries and the third we shall come to presently). So, in summary ...

The international community should:

- Never pursue aggressive wars of expansion
- Defend their citizens if they are invaded, the second of only three instances in which the Bible indicates states can use force

Reduce and end small conflicts

Fortunately, despite rare exceptions like the tragic invasions of Ukraine by Russia in 2014 and 2022, there are relatively few major conflicts in our world today. Instead, as we shall see shortly, the vast majority of conflicts are not major wars between nations but small conflicts within them, in desperate need of peace and reconciliation. The centre of the whole Bible is the cross and resurrection, where God began the process of reconciling sinful humanity and the whole of creation to himself. Therefore, there are significant Biblical principles concerning

³²¹ Josh; Judges; 1 Sam; 2 Sam

³²² Matt 13: 31 – 33; Matt 26: 51 – 55; Mark 4: 30 – 32; Mark 14: 47 – 49; Luke 13: 18 – 21; Luke 17: 20 – 21; Luke 22: 49 – 53; John 3: 2 – 5; John 6: 14 – 15; John 18: 10 – 11, 36; Acts 1: 6 – 8 etc.

³²³ Matt 8: 5 – 13; Matt 22: 16 – 21; Mark 12: 14 – 17; Luke 3: 12 – 14; Luke 7: 2 – 10; Luke 20: 21 – 25; John 19: 11; Acts 10; Acts 21: 31 – 26: 32; Roms 13: 1 – 7; Col 1: 16; Titus 3: 1; 1 Pet 2: 13 – 14, 17 etc.

³²⁴ Jer 49: 1 – 2; Eze 36: 3 – 5, see also Deut 28: 7; Eze 25 – 26; Eze 35: 5 – 6, 10 – 11; Eze 38: 1 – 39: 5; Joel 3; Amos 1: 3 – 2:3; Amos 3: 9 – 12; Obad 1: 10 – 16; Micah 4: 11 – 13; Micah 5: 1, 5 – 6; Nahum 1: 15 etc.

³²⁵ Ex 17: 8 – 16; Micah 5: 1, 5 – 6, see also Gen 14: 1 – 16; Deut 28: 7; Jer 49: 1 – 2; Eze 38: 1 – 39: 5; Esther 8: 10 – 13; Isa 28: 6; Joel 3; Amos 1: 3 – 2: 3; Amos 3: 9 – 12; Obad 1: 10 – 16; Micah 4: 11 – 13 etc.

reconciliation, which we can draw out to inform peace and reconciliation processes attempting to reduce and end small conflicts around the world today. What Jesus offers through the cross, and warring parties should offer each other through negotiated reconciliation processes, is forgiveness for the crimes which have been committed, meaning the slate is wiped clean and there is no punishment. However, this is not a totally free offer. It is conditional on repentance, both in our part in the case of our personal reconciliation with God, and on the part of warring parties in a negotiated process. That means acknowledging that such crimes were committed, that they were wrong and that we now turn from them and reject them for the future. Peter explained this when he said, ***“Repent, then, and turn to God, so that your sins may be wiped out, that times of refreshing may come from the Lord”***, and Jesus when he told his followers ***“If your brother or sister sins against you, rebuke them; and if they repent, forgive them.”***

³²⁶ Both elements need to be in place on both sides for successful and lasting reconciliation and peace. Applying these Biblical principles has proved to be powerfully effective in peace building and truth and reconciliation processes in nations such as South Africa, Rwanda and Northern Ireland.³²⁷ So, in summary ...

Governments of conflict affected nations and the international community should:

- Engage in processes of reconciliation. This means ...
 - Telling the truth about the violence that was committed
 - Confessing that it was wrong
 - Asking for forgiveness
 - Turning away and rejecting the use of violence for the future
 - Receiving forgiveness and amnesty from prosecution for those crimes

Armed intervention in small conflicts

Finally, we turn to the third and last instance in which the Bible appears to indicate that states can use minimal force: when the authorities of individual nations have degenerated so far that they are perpetrating extreme injustices or even genocide on the citizens they are meant to protect. There are numerous instances in the Bible where God uses other states to invade and remove corrupted national authorities in order to restore justice. Thus, the prophet Isaiah declares ***“The vineyard of the LORD Almighty is the nation of Israel, and the people of Judah are the vines he delighted in. And He looked for justice, but saw bloodshed; for righteousness, but heard cries of distress. Woe to you who add house to house and join field to field till no space is left and you live alone in the land. The LORD Almighty has declared in my hearing: ‘Surely the great houses will become desolate, the fine mansions left without occupants’ ... He lifts up a banner for the distant nations, he whistles for those at the ends of the earth. Here they come, swiftly and speedily! Not one of them grows tired or stumbles, not one slumbers or sleeps; not a belt is loosened at the waist, not a sandal strap is broken. Their arrows are sharp, all their bows are strung”***. Later the book of Lamentations looks back: ***“The kings of the earth did not believe, nor did any of the peoples of the world, that enemies and foes could enter the gates of Jerusalem. But it happened because of the sins of her prophets and the iniquities of her priests, who shed within her the blood of the***

³²⁶ Acts 3: 19; Luke 17: 3, see also Matt 3: 8; Mar 1: 4; Luke 3: 3, 8; Luke 13: 3, 5; John 8: 10 – 11; Acts 26:18 – 20; 2 Cor 5: 18 etc.

³²⁷ Wolff, S. & Yakinthou, C. (Eds.), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies*, (2012); Darby J. & Mac Ginty, R. (Eds.), *Contemporary Peacemaking*, (2008); Lederach, J. P., *The Moral Imagination*, (2005) etc.

righteous.”³²⁸ Thus, rather than the citizens of those states taking up arms against their governments (which as we have seen usually leads to chaos and greater suffering), and where the peaceful reform movement of citizens will work too slowly in the face of immediate extreme suffering, the armed intervention of other states potentially provide a rapid way to end immediate suffering.

Again, this extends from the same Biblical principle we have already seen, that the only institution which can use force are national authorities, and that the only occasions when they can use it are to prevent harm being perpetrated upon innocent citizens, usually of their own nations, but in these exceptional circumstances also of other nations. Indeed, even when God commanded the establishment of his ideal state of Israel in the Old Testament through military conquest, this was not an exception to the rule, but rather, another example of this third instance: armed intervention to end the injustice of the nations that occupied those lands before them.³²⁹ In the modern world this ancient Biblical principle has been rediscovered and is captured in the terminology of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’, enshrined in the conclusions of the 2005 UN World Summit which declares, ***“The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.”***³³⁰ Of course the circumstances in which the international community can today legitimately use armed intervention to address gross injustice are rightly very restrained, and we shall consider these in detail later. So, in summary ...

The international community should:

- Use armed intervention to prevent states perpetrating extreme injustice or genocide against their populations as the third of only three instances in which the Bible indicates that states can use force

2) WHAT DOES HISTORY TEACH US?

Where have we come from?

We have considered the many things the Bible teaches us about social justice, but how has humanity fared in the 2000 years since the Bible was written? Unlike our study of evangelism, we only have reliable data for the last 200 years. However, few historians would dispute that for the vast majority of human history, regimes and laws that were extremely repressive by modern standards, as well as widespread conflict, have been the universal norm. In his conclusion to *The Times Complete History of the World*, the historian Richard Overly writes, ***“throughout human history both death and pain have been inflicted unnaturally, the product***

³²⁸ Isa 5: 7 – 30; Lam 4: 12 – 13, see also Deut 28: 49 – 52; 2 Kings 24; 2 Chron 21: 12 – 17; 2 Chron 36; Nehemiah 9: 26 – 30; Jer 6; Jer 21 – 22; Eze 11: 5 – 9; Eze 24 – 26; Hosea 1: 4 – 5; Amos 5: 7 – 27 etc.

³²⁹ Deut 9: 1 – 6; Deut 12: 29 – 31; Deut 18: 9 – 12; 2 Chron 33: 9 – 11

³³⁰ *World Summit Conclusions*, UN, (2005), p. 30; see also Mazower, M., *Governing the World*, (2013), pp. 378 – 396; Pattison, J., *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect*, (2013) etc.

*of deliberate violence on the part of human communities ... There is no single answer to the question of why violence should be such a hallmark of world history, but it can be found on almost every page ... Human beings do not just fight each other in pitched battles using soldiers who know what to expect. They punish human victims in hideously painful and savage ways. Coercive social relationships have been far more common than consensual ones. Victims, even those among ‘the included’ who are guilty of crime, have been tortured, beaten, imprisoned and executed in ways so ingeniously atrocious and gratuitously cruel that it is difficult not to assume that violence is the normal human condition”.*³³¹ However, in recent decades things have begun to change.

Democracy, human rights and good governance

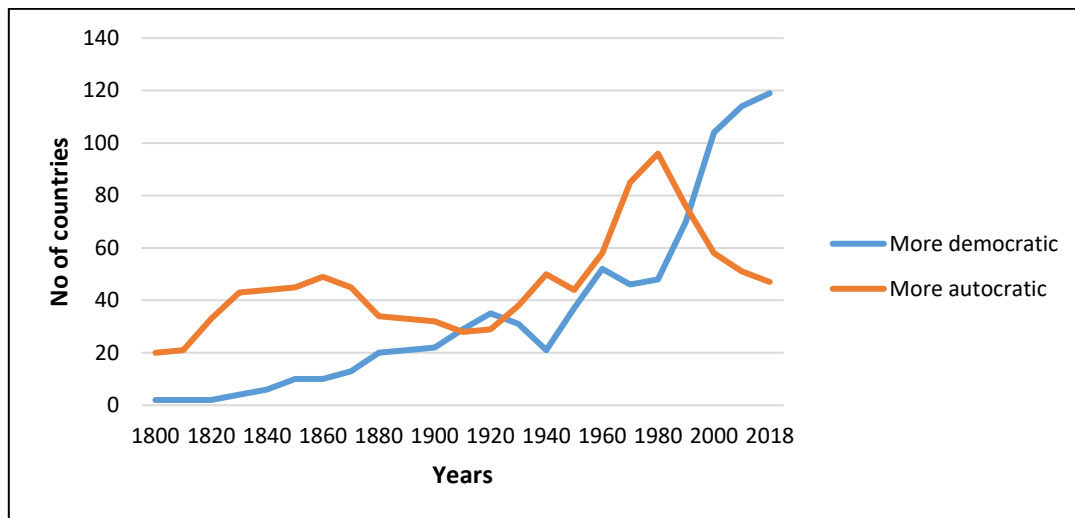


Figure 4.3: Number of democracies and autocracies in the world ³³²

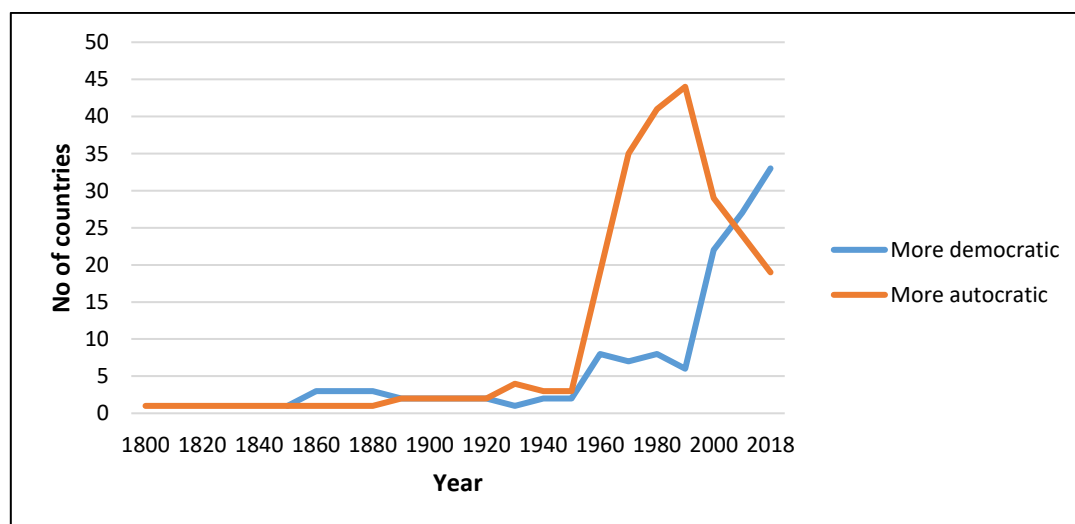


Figure 4.4: Number of democracies and autocracies in Africa ³³³

³³¹ Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), p. 364; see also Pinker, S., *The Better Angels of our Nature*, (2012), especially pp. 190 – 202; Morris, I., *Foragers, Farmers and Fossil Fuels*, (2015), pp. 44 – 92 etc.

³³² Polity 5, Center for Systemic Peace, (2018)

³³³ Polity 5, Center for Systemic Peace, (2018)

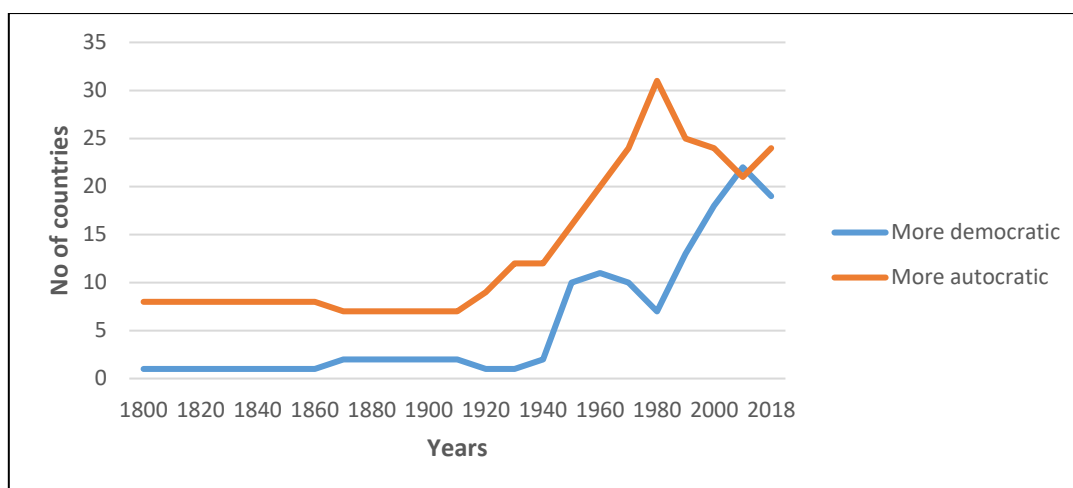


Figure 4.5: Number of democracies and autocracies in Asia ³³⁴

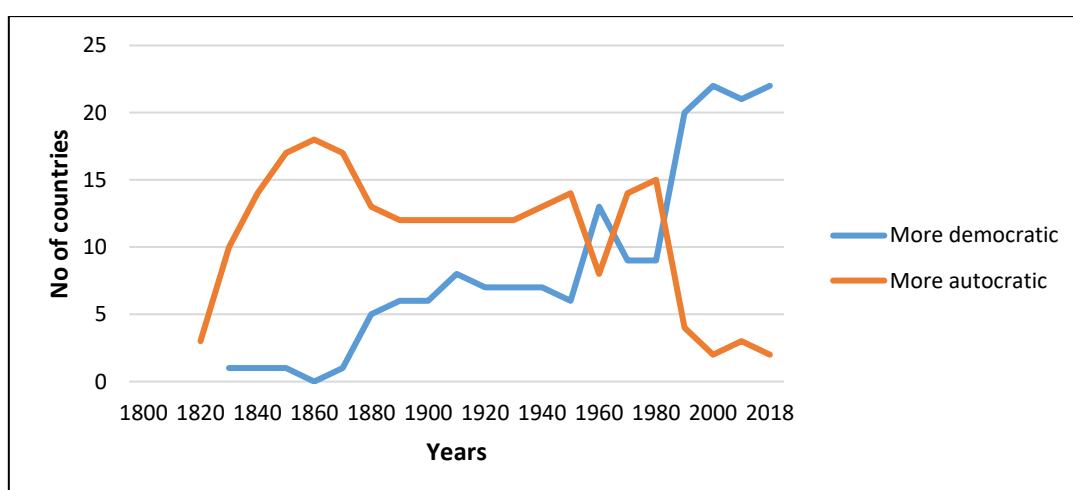


Figure 4.6: Number of democracies and autocracies in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) ³³⁵

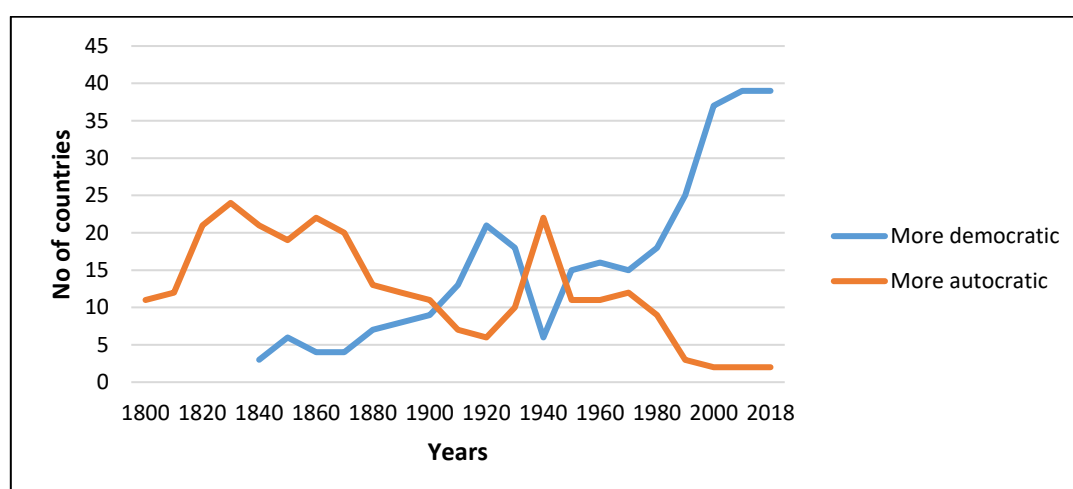


Figure 4.7: Number of democracies and autocracies in Europe ³³⁶

³³⁴ Polity 5, Center for Systemic Peace, (2018)

³³⁵ Polity 5, Center for Systemic Peace, (2018)

³³⁶ Polity 5, Center for Systemic Peace, (2018)

Two centuries ago, there were virtually no countries in the world that demonstrated reasonably good governance and that were on balance more democratic than autocratic (dictatorship). As Charles Tilly, the great political scientist and historian of democracy, writes in his work, *Democracy*, there are various famous early **“great historical models for democracy: Greek and Roman polities, Viking crews, village assemblies, and some city-states.”** However, **“All of them built their political deliberations by means of massive exclusion, most notably of women, slaves and paupers. Inclusion of all (or almost all) adults basically restricts political democracy to the last few centuries.”**³³⁷ In the last two centuries however, that number has steadily grown (Figures 4.3 – 4.7), until in the early 1920s there were, for the first time in human history, more nations that were democratic than autocratic, as the new nations that emerged in Europe from the collapse of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires at the end of the First World War embraced a democratic identity. The academic Roger Osborne comments in his book, *Of the People, By the People*, that **“The end of the First World War represented a high water mark for democracy with virtually every independent nation introducing reforms that promoted democratic institutions and practices.”**³³⁸ Tragically this soon reversed, with the rise of fascism and descent into the Second World War and Cold War in Europe, when virtually all of these nations **“were taken over by right-wing authoritarian regimes dedicated to the destruction of democracy.”**³³⁹ The end of the Second World War and the decades that followed saw this situation improve again in Western Europe, until **“By the end of the century, all Europe was under democratic government”** as noted by the academic Jonathan Schell.³⁴⁰

In Africa and Asia, many new nations emerged in the decades after the Second World War during the painful process of the ending of the European colonial empires. However, after hopeful starts, most countries descended into extremely oppressive autocratic regimes. As Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson put it in their book, *Why Nations Fail*, **“It is not only that many of the postindependence leaders of Africa moved into the same residences, made use of the same patronage networks, and employed the same ways of manipulating markets and extracting resources as had the colonial regimes and the emperors they replaced; but they also made things worse.”**³⁴¹ However, in the late 1980s and early 1990s onwards, a huge and encouraging improvement began to occur as the Cold War ended and more and more nations across Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America began to reform and embrace democratic principles. The late political scientist, Robert Dahl, observes in his work *On Democracy*, **“With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the countries of Central Europe and the Baltic moved speedily to install democratic institutions. In addition the United States, and the international community generally, began to oppose dictatorships in Latin America and elsewhere and to support the development of democratic institutions throughout much of the world.”**³⁴²

³³⁷ Tilly, C., *Democracy*, (2009), p. 9, see also pp. 25 – 33; Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), pp. 7 – 25; Hunt, L., *Inventing Human Rights*, (2008) etc.

³³⁸ Osborne, R., *Of the People, By the People*, (2011), p. 184, see also pp. 4, 189 – 195, 199 – 200; Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 483 – 484; Overly, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), pp. 288 – 289 etc.

³³⁹ Osborne, R., *Of the People, By the People*, (2011), p. 199, see also pp. 4, 184 – 201; Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 483 – 484; Keegan, J., *A History of Warfare*, (2004), pp. 366 – 369, 391 etc.

³⁴⁰ Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005), p. 249, see also pp. 248, 256; Osborne, R., *Of the People, By the People*, (2011), pp. 221 – 225 etc.

³⁴¹ Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), p. 360, see also pp. 111 – 113, 116, 121, 335 – 403; Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013); Tilly, C., *Democracy*, (2009), pp. 1 – 6, 133 – 137, 177, 189, 200 etc.

³⁴² Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), p. 148; see also Tilly, C., *Democracy*, (2009), pp. 44 – 48, 189, Fukuyama, F., *State Building*, (2005), p. 5

This is a pattern we see repeated across all continents. However, it is most noticeably advanced in North America and Oceania (which have been largely democratic throughout this period and hence graphs for these regions are not presented), then Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Finally, we see the same trend in Africa and Asia, where gradual political reform has begun to significantly improve the post-colonial autocratic regimes of the seventies, eighties and nineties, although these continents are still noticeably further behind other regions. We should be wary of being overly optimistic however. Since the 2000s the rate of growth of democracies has slowed in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), Europe and globally, and has reversed in Asia. Even in some of the world's longest standing, most developed and stable democracies in North America, Oceania and Western Europe there has been a worrying trend towards populism and autocratic tendencies in recent years. This should serve to remind us that despite huge progress since 1800, democracy, and its continued advance, can never be taken for granted, and needs to be continually strengthened in all nations.

Turning from democratic reform and political freedom to the wider issues of civil liberties and human rights, we can see a more gradual but nevertheless still positive picture of steady improvement at a global level over recent decades (Figures 4.8 – 4.9).

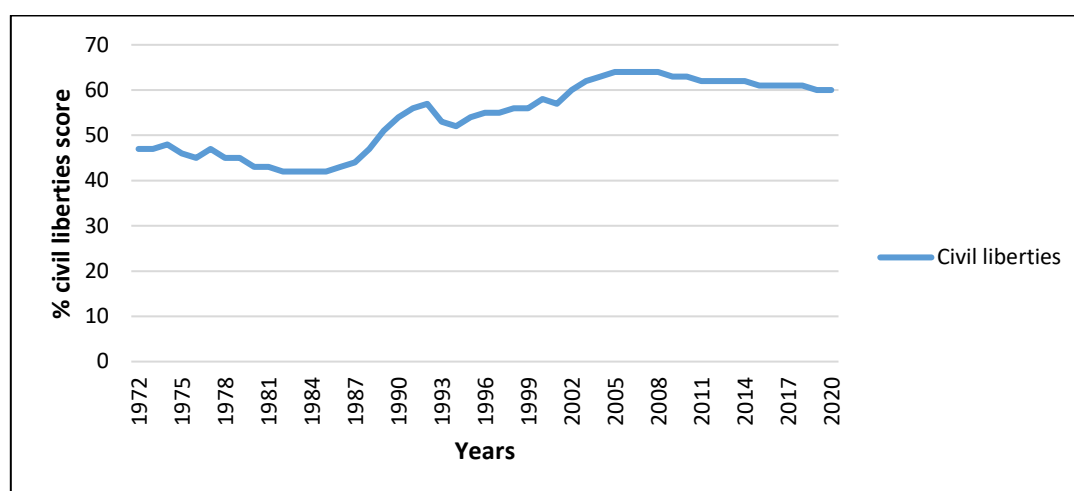


Figure 4.8: Civil liberty rates globally ³⁴³

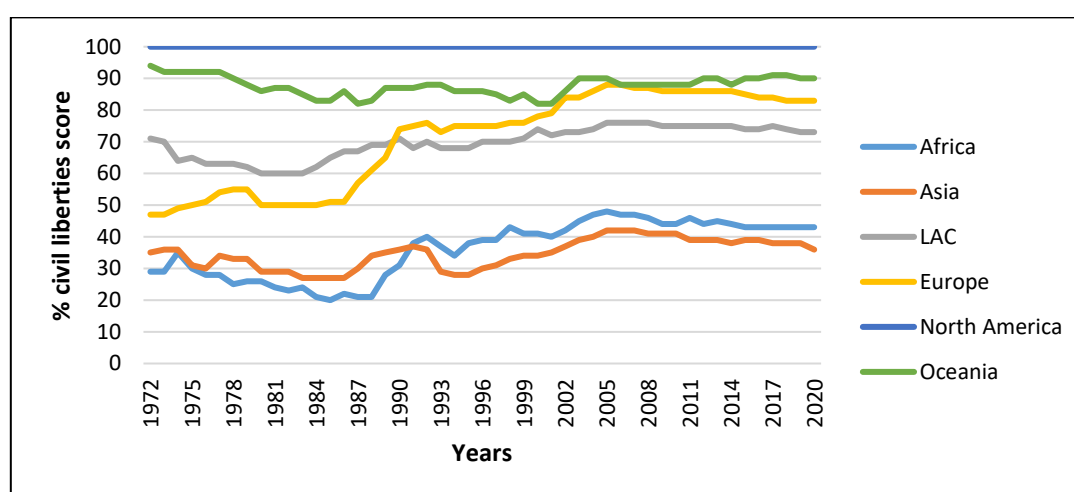


Figure 4.9: Civil liberty rates per continent ³⁴⁴

³⁴³ *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House, (2021)

³⁴⁴ *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House, (2021)

Most of this significant improvement has taken place in Europe, and is once more associated with rapid and then steady reform since the end of the Cold War. There has been a similar, if less dramatic, improvement in Africa. Other regions show a much flatter picture. Again though we should be cautious. Despite this overall positive picture, civil liberty rates in almost all continents have been declining gradually from a high point in the mid 2000s. This is mainly as a result of tougher laws brought in by governments around the world, even in many developed nations with traditionally good standards of human rights. Ostensibly much of this has been to tackle ‘extremism’ (a convenient justification for many governments with authoritarian tendencies). However, it is also having an impact on the freedom of ordinary citizens. Comparing different continents, we see that, as with democratic reform, civil liberties have been significantly better in North America, Oceania, Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) than they have been in Africa and Asia throughout the period.

Conflict

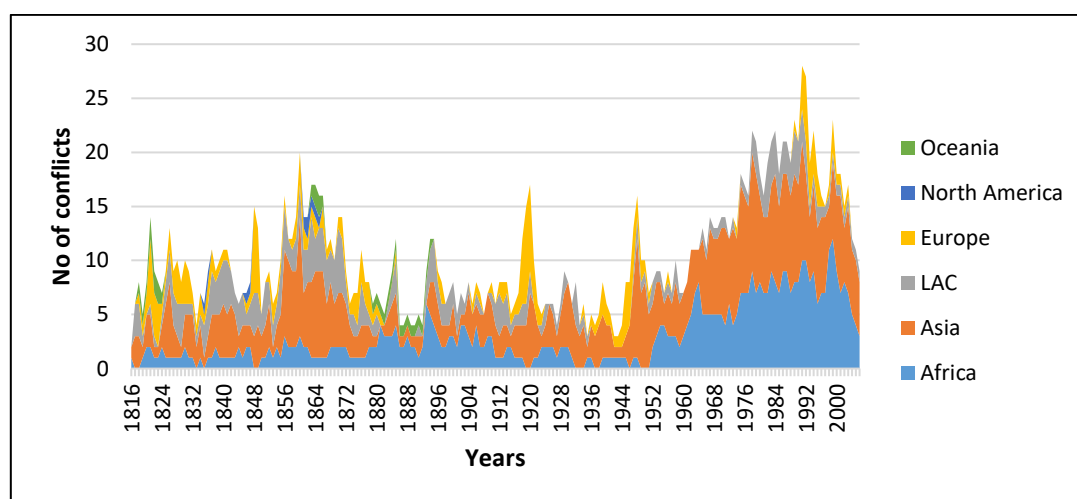


Figure 4.10: Number of conflicts in the world, 1816 – 2006³⁴⁵

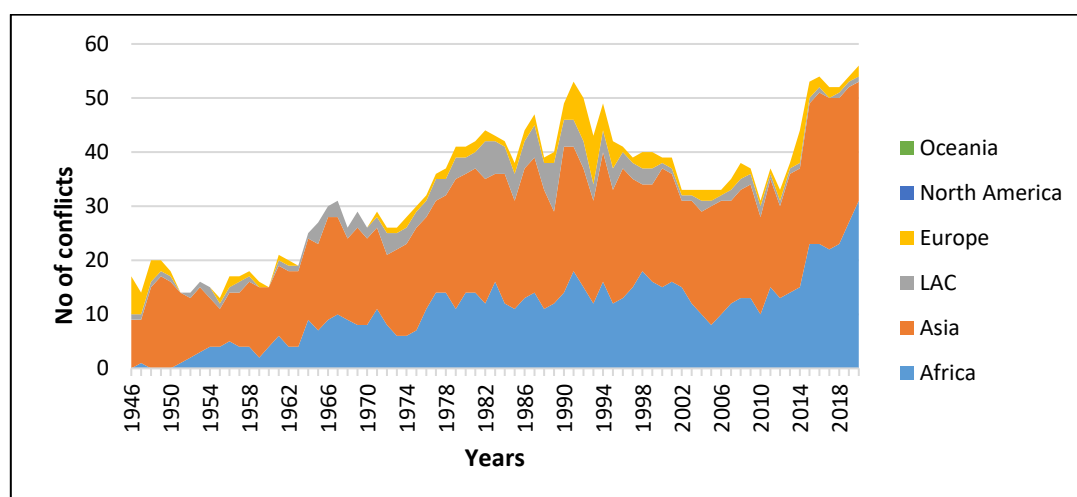


Figure 4.11: Number of conflicts in the world since 1946³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ Correlates of War, Sarkees, Meredith Reid and Frank Wayman (2010). *Resort to War: 1816 - 2007*. Washington DC: CQ Press.

³⁴⁶ UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, Version 21.1, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2021); Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg & Håvard Strand

Turning to conflict, we see at first a less positive picture than we saw with the steady improvement of democratic reform, good governance and human rights (Figures 4.10 – 4.11). Violent conflicts have occurred continually across all continents throughout the last 200 years, and if we zoom in on the years since the Second World War, the total number of conflicts in the world has in fact significantly increased. The vast majority of these are in Africa and Asia, as many new nations emerged from the end of the European colonial empires, either directly through conflict to throw off their old colonial masters, or after hopeful starts tragically descended into a range of wars. The military historian, Philip Towle, is one among many to note this trend: ***“In the early Cold War years Third World guerrillas fought against the restored colonial powers across much of Asia. By the mid-1960s most of Asia and Africa was independent but the weak successor states were themselves torn by guerrilla and civil wars.”***³⁴⁷ Far fewer conflicts now occur in other continents, such as Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), which contrasts with a much more even spread across the continents (in relation to the size of their populations) in the previous 150 years. This phenomenon of post-colonial conflicts has meant that throughout the period since the Second World War, the nature of war itself has been changing dramatically. Despite rare but tragic exceptions like the invasions of Ukraine by Russia in 2014 and 2022, most conflicts today are small wars within nations, rather than major ones between them. As researchers at the Peace Research Institute Oslo point out, ***“Today, the predominant form of conflict is internal to a state”***.³⁴⁸ The number of these post-colonial conflicts steadily increased – as they were caught up in the Cold War – until the early 1990s. At that point, with the end of the Cold War, the total number of conflicts began to decline. However, in the 2010s this trend reversed again, with a significant rise in the number of conflicts. Virtually all these new conflicts (about half of all conflicts today) are small armed rebellions by various Islamic extremist factions associated with Islamic State, against the governments of multiple countries in Africa and Asia.

If we turn from considering the total number of conflicts, to the total deaths in conflict each year since 1946 (Figure 4.12), we actually see a very different picture. The number of people dying in wars has been declining remarkably throughout the period, particularly in contrast with the 40 million deaths in the First World War and 80 million in the Second, which dwarf anything seen in conflicts since 1945. The particular spikes of high casualty figures we do see since then are, once again, mainly in Asia and Africa, and are associated with just a few conflicts: the struggle between the nationalists and Communists in China (1946 – 1949), the Korean War (1950 – 1953), the Vietnamese struggle for independence from French colonial rule (1946 – 1954) and then with America (1965 – 1975), the Iran/Iraq war (1980 – 1988), the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979 – 1989) and the civil war in Syria (from 2011). There are two smaller spikes in casualty figures in conflicts in Africa in Cameroon (1960 – 1961) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (1996 – 2001). Once again, many of these conflicts formed part of the Cold War.

(2002) Armed Conflict 1946–2001: A New Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* 39(5): 615–637.; Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Högladh, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). Organized violence 1989–2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. *Journal of Peace Research* 58(4).

³⁴⁷ Towle, P., *Cold War*, in Townshend, C. (Ed.), *The Oxford History of Modern War*, (2005), pp. 159 – 160, see also pp. 175, 187 – 197, 326, 358 – 363; Keegan, J., *A History of Warfare*, (2004), pp. 379 – 381; Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013) etc.

³⁴⁸ *Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946 – 2015*, PRIO, (2016), p. 2, but also see whole report; *Armed conflicts, 1946 – 2014*, *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (4), (2015); Pinker, S., *The Better Angels of our Nature*, (2012), pp. 35, 201 – 202, 300 – 307, 356 – 386, 414 – 434 etc.

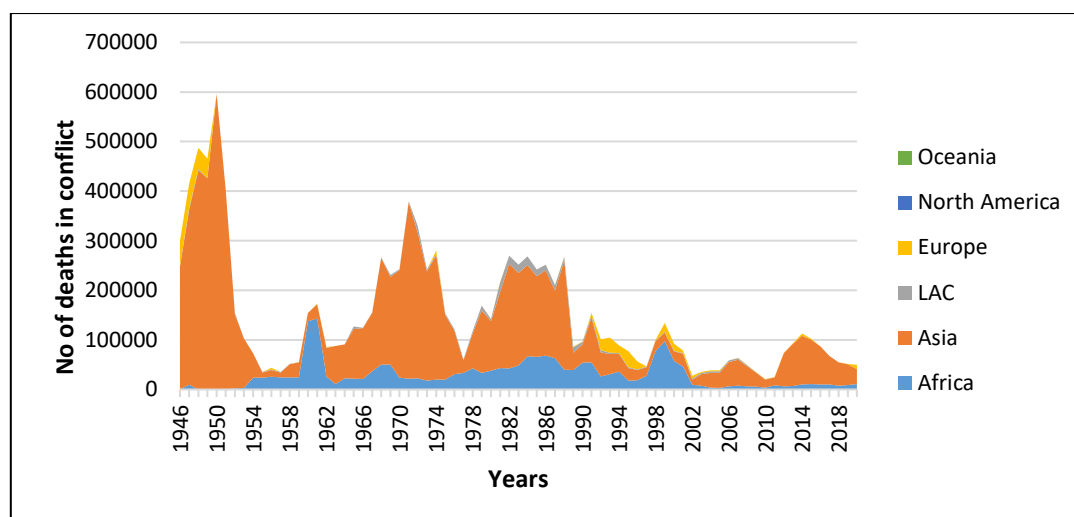


Figure 4.12: Deaths in conflict in the world since 1946 ³⁴⁹

It seems then that the vast majority of people who die in conflicts do so, not in the many small internal wars (as deadly and tragic as these certainly are), but in the few major international ones.



Figure 4.13: The vast majority of people who die in conflicts do so, not in the many small tragic internal wars, but in the few major international ones.

As the academics, Håvard Strand and Halvard Buhang, say from studying the same statistical evidence, *“The main reason for the long-term decline in conflict-related casualties is that war between countries is almost extinct. While civil wars certainly can be destructive, they*

³⁴⁹ *PRIO Battledeaths Dataset, Version 3.1*, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (2017); Lacina, Bethany & Nils Petter Gleditsch (2005) Monitoring trends in global combat: A new dataset of battle deaths', *European Journal of Population* 21(2–3): 145–166.; *UCDP Battle-Related Deaths Dataset, Version 21.1*, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, (2021); Pettersson, Therese, Shawn Davis, Amber Deniz, Garoun Engström, Nanar Hawach, Stina Höglblad, Margareta Sollenberg & Magnus Öberg (2021). Organized violence 1989–2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. *Journal of Peace Research* 58(4).

rarely produce catastrophes at the level of interstate wars." ³⁵⁰ In light of this, the brutal invasion of Ukraine by Russia in 2022, with its potential to escalate into a wider major conflict between multiple nations that could reverse this trend, is particularly disturbing.

Positive change that correlates across trends

Looking back across the 2000 years since Jesus came and the Bible was finalised, it is at first tragic to see how little God's message of social justice, good governance and peace has been applied. Oppressive autocratic regimes, poor human rights standards and widespread conflict have been the norm throughout most of human history. As the military historian, John Keegan, depressingly observed, *"war is a universal phenomenon, practiced at all times and all places since the retreat of the last Ice Age"*, and the political scientist, Robert Dahl, similarly comments, *"Until the twentieth century, most of the world proclaimed the superiority of nondemocratic systems both in theory and in practice. Until very recently, a preponderant majority of human beings – at times, all – have been subject to nondemocratic rulers" ... "monarchies, despotisms, aristocracies or oligarchies"* ³⁵¹ However, as we have seen, in the last 200 years something has happened to change this and we have begun to see huge and highly positive change in democratic reform, improved civil liberties and human rights, and smaller conflicts with less deaths across all continents. This has not of course always been a smooth upward progress. There have been huge setbacks along the way, sometimes for many years or decades. Indeed, we may well be living through just such a period of setback. We have seen the slowing in the progress of democracy and the decline in human rights and civil liberties (even in some of the world's longest standing western democracies) from a high point in the 2000s. We have also seen the growth in the number of conflicts since the 2010s, and an especially brutal war in Syria. In 2014 and 2022 we saw the ruthless invasion of Ukraine by Russia. Nevertheless, zooming out and looking at the big picture, the overall trend is clear. This overall positive trend is now widely recognised by experts, and perhaps most famously documented in recent years by Stephen Pinker in his book, *The Better Angels of our Nature*. As Pinker says, *"violence has declined over long stretches of time, and today we may be living in the most peaceable era in our species' existence. The decline, to be sure, has not been smooth; it has not brought violence down to zero; and it is not guaranteed to continue. But it is an unmistakable development, visible on scales from millennia to years, from the waging of wars to the spanking of children."* ³⁵²

Some regions of the world are significantly further ahead than others in this process of remarkable and positive change, and this correlates across issues. Thus, North America and Oceania are not just more democratic, but also have better civil liberties and less conflict, Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) come a close second across all these areas, and Africa and Asia are further behind in all. (This does not imply any superior moral virtue in the traditional 'western' world. Indeed, western nations were responsible for the deadliest

³⁵⁰ Strand, H., & Buhaug, H., Armed Conflict, 1946 – 2014, in Backer, D., Bhavnani, R. & Huth, P. (Eds.), *Peace and Conflict 2016*, Center for International Development and Conflict Management (2016), p. 19, see also pp. 20 – 24; Gat, A., *War in Human Civilization*, (2006), pp. 536 – 537; *Armed conflicts, 1946 – 2014*, Journal of Peace Research 52 (4), (2015) etc.

³⁵¹ Keegan, J., *A History of Warfare*, (2004), p. 48, but also see the whole book; Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), pp. 44, 11, see also pp. 1 – 25, 45, 86 – 95; Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), p. 364 etc.

³⁵² Pinker, S., *The Better Angels of our Nature*, (2012), p. xix, but also see the whole book; Mortimer, I., *Centuries of Change*, (2014), pp. 309 – 312, 317 – 320; Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), pp. 33 – 35, 37 – 38, 386 – 387, 399 – 400, 411 – 435; Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012) etc.

conflicts, such as the First, Second and Cold Wars, and have been active participants and financiers of many of the conflicts waged in Africa and Asia since.) The trend is positive (if gradual) across all continents, and clearly there is some relationship between greater democracy, improved human rights and less conflict, and conversely a strong association between autocracy, poor human rights and conflict. The World Bank economist Charles Kenny, among many others, observes in his book *Getting Better*, ***“Existing measures of governance and civil rights outcomes suggest that many measures of different types of freedom are associated with each other. Measures of progress in holding free, fair, and meaningful elections are consistently higher in countries that also score highly on measures of freedom of speech and religion, rights to a fair trial and so on. Again, subjective measures of government accountability, political instability and violence, the effectiveness of government, the burden of regulations, the rule of law, and corruption aggregated from indicators made by different academics and agencies across countries are very closely related.”***³⁵³ So far we have not seen enough to be able to tease out the underlying root cause driving all these trends. We will return to that in [Part 5 on Development](#). Neither can we say that just because this positive trend is true for our past, that it is natural and inevitable and will continue into our future. Indeed, as we have seen, we may well be living through a period of setback. This should remind us that democracy, human rights and peace, can never be taken for granted (even in the most historically democratic and peaceful countries with good human rights). They must always be protected and strived for.

What we can say is that once this process of remarkable and positive change has begun, continuing along that road occurs through a long process of gradual bottom-up reform and improvement over decades, with steps forward and reverses, rather than any single intervention. It is this long process of reform that the world must continue to support and encourage in nations where democracy and human rights are still lacking. The Oxfam academic and activist Duncan Green comments on this process in his work *How Change Happens*, ***“In recent years the actions and courage of strong and cohesive non-violent civic coalitions have proven vital to the political transitions that presage state change. Since the 1980s, successive waves of civil society protest have contributed to the overthrow of military governments across Latin America, the downfall of Communist and authoritarian regimes in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the removal of dictators in the Philippines and Indonesia, the end of apartheid in South Africa, and the upheavals of the Arab Spring. Effective tactics have included boycotts, mass protests, blockades, strikes, and civil disobedience ... Of course for every Arab Spring there is an Arab Winter, as forces of cohesion and disintegration slug it out. Systems are in constant flux and change is highly non-linear. Based on his observations in several Mexican municipalities, political scientist Jonathan Fox found state policy evolving through a cycle of conflict and cooperation: after a conflict would break out, more progressive local state officials would talk to the more approachable protest leaders, and a period of reform would ensue. When those reforms ran out of steam, or new issues emerged, conflict would flare up and the cycle would begin anew. Another political scientist, Sidney Tarrow, sees a similar dynamic of repression, partial victories leading to reform, and demobilization, repeating itself in Europe over the last two centuries.”***³⁵⁴

³⁵³ Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012), pp. 172 – 173; see also Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), pp. 57 – 58; Pickett, K. & Wilkinson, R., *The Spirit Level*, (2010) etc.

³⁵⁴ Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 87 – 88, see also pp. 2 – 3, 47 – 77, 115 – 118, 179 – 195, 212 – 232; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013); Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000) etc.

The painful process of decolonisation, the end of the Cold War and the changing nature of conflict

Having said that, we can identify important circumstances that have sped up or slowed down (and temporarily reversed) this overall trend of gradual improvement through reform. One key historical phenomenon that has slowed this progress is the painful nature of decolonisation, and the autocratic regimes and violent conflicts left in its wake for decades in Africa and Asia.³⁵⁵ Thankfully, since the nineties, this has been gradually improving through reform and negotiated peace processes. This observation appears to reinforce the Biblical teaching we have already discussed, that it was monstrously wrong for European nations to conquer other countries, and also wrong for those conquests to be thrown off rapidly through armed revolution, rather than through the gradual but steady process of political reform. Once again, there should be no patronising moral judgementalism from western nations. The British and French, whose colonial empires controlled most of those countries in Africa and Asia, went through their own bloody decades of conflict and repressive regimes following their own attempts at revolution and democratic reform, with the English Civil War in the seventeenth century and French Revolution in the eighteenth. The process of rapid decolonisation, especially through revolution, always appears to be a bloody one. For the future, the world needs to continue to invest in reducing and ending the small conflicts, and peacefully reforming brutal regimes, left in the wake of decolonisation.

More encouragingly, a key historical phenomenon we have seen accelerating the general trend of improvements in social justice, is the collapse of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe and the corresponding end of the global Cold War. This led to significant improvements in democratic reform and human rights across multiple continents in the decades that followed. As Charles Kenny notes in his book *Getting Better*, ***“The fall of the Berlin Wall considerably accelerated progress toward greater respect for civil and political rights.”***³⁵⁶ The end of the Cold War also increased the fundamental shift in the nature of conflict throughout the period we have considered, from major deadly international wars to smaller, internal, minor ones, and indeed significantly reduced the number and deadliness of those smaller conflicts. All of these positive impacts as a result of the end of the Cold War point towards the importance of retaining good and peaceful relationships between nations, especially major powers, in the future to prevent new hot or cold wars from emerging. It seems that for our modern civilized world to remain, nations need to invest in international diplomacy, multilateral institutions, promoting the rule of law and democratic reform, even for their own national interests, to foster the common environment and shared ideology that creates global stability. Scholars have widely recognised that there is a ***“democratic peace phenomenon”*** among the countries that share these growing internationally normalised values of democracy, liberalism and free markets. As Azar Gat comments in his *War in Human Civilization*, there is an ***“aversion of modern affluent liberal-democratic societies to war, which most strikingly manifests when both sides to a potential conflict share that aversion but which is expressed more generally in liberal democracies’ attitude towards conflict and war ... the liberal/democratic countries’ path to***

³⁵⁵ Keegan, J., *A History of Warfare*, (2004), pp. 379 – 381; Townshend, C. (Ed.), *The Oxford History of Modern War*, (2005), pp. 159 – 160, 175, 187 – 197, 326, 358 – 363; Gat, A., *War in Human Civilization*, (2006), pp. 622 – 637 etc.

³⁵⁶ Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012), p. 116, see also pp. 134 – 135; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 14 – 15, 176 – 185; Pinker, S., *The Better Angels of our Nature*, (2012), pp. 35, 412 – 414 etc.

*modernity has involved a distinctly greater aversion to war than that of non-democratic and non-liberal countries”.*³⁵⁷



Figure 4.14: Today virtually all conflicts are small wars within nations, rather than major international ones between them.

WHERE DO WE NEED TO GO NEXT?

As we have seen, despite the hugely encouraging progress in the area of social justice around the world since the Second World War, there is still a long, long way to go, with millions living in conflict affected areas, and billions still not enjoying full human rights and democratic freedoms. There are many lessons on social justice that we can extract from history to help form our vision for achieving a better world, as well as to ensure that the progress we have made to date goes much further and faster to reduce human suffering.

Democracy, human rights and good governance

Standards for democracy, human rights and good governance

Building on the picture of good governance and social justice set out in the Bible, we can add several significant lessons from history. First, in our modern world it is clear that good governance needs to be democratic. There are many painful lessons from history of the danger of repressive and unaccountable regimes. Democratically appointed governments elected by

³⁵⁷ Gat, A., *War in Human Civilization*, (2006), pp. 573 – 574, see also pp. 575 – 621, 657 – 658; Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009), pp. 152 – 154; Nye, J. S. Jr., *Soft Power*, (2004), pp. 19 – 20 etc.

their populations, whilst not perfect, have nevertheless proved to be significantly better guardians of social justice. In his book, *On Democracy*, Robert Dahl, the political scientist and academic expert on democracy, lists ten *“advantages”* that make *“democracy more desirable than any feasible alternative to it: 1) Democracy helps to prevent government by cruel and vicious autocrats; 2) Democracy guarantees its citizens a number of fundamental rights that nondemocratic systems do not, and cannot, grant; 3) Democracy insures its citizens a broader range of personal freedom than any feasible alternative to it; 4) Democracy helps people to protect their own fundamental interests; 5) Only a democratic government can provide a maximum opportunity for persons to exercise the freedom of self-determination – that is, to live under laws of their own choosing; 6) Only a democratic government can provide a maximum opportunity for exercising moral responsibility; 7) Democracy fosters human development more fully than any other feasible alternative; 8) Only a democratic government can foster a relatively high degree of political equality; 9) Modern representative democracies do not fight wars with each other; 10) Countries with democratic governments tend to be more prosperous than countries with nondemocratic governments.”*³⁵⁸

Democracy means not just an elected government, but an active parliament of representatives. Once a government has been elected, it should be free to govern until the next election. Elections should be held using proportional representation, single transferable vote or other such systems, which mean every vote really counts, and produce parliaments that much better reflect the way populations have voted rather than using ‘first past the post’ systems. They have also proven to be better at producing effective governments as they foster negotiation, compromise, consistency and cooperation between political parties, rather than the polarised and deadlocked two-party systems that tend to result from ‘first past the post’ electoral systems. In a famous and hugely authoritative academic study, the political scientist Arend Lijphart found that, contrary to popular opinion, *“consensus democracies”* (whose parliaments are elected through proportional representation or similar systems) are not only more democratic, but consistently more effective than *“majoritarian democracies”* (whose parliaments are elected through ‘first past the post’ systems). As he says, *“majoritarian democracies do not outperform the consensus democracies on effective government and effective policy-making – in fact, the consensus democracies have the better record – but the consensus democracies do clearly outperform the majoritarian democracies with regard to the quality of democracy and democratic representation as well as with regard to what I have called the kindness and gentleness of their public policy orientations ... because the overall performance record of the consensus democracies is clearly superior to that of the majoritarian democracies, the consensus option is the more attractive choice for countries designing their first democratic constitutions or contemplating democratic reform.”* Other scholars concur.³⁵⁹

Furthermore, every nation is different with its own unique national context and traditions, and there are many varied types of democratic state around the world. Therefore, local culturally and contextually relevant forms of democracy within the broad principles set out in this section should be encouraged for each nation, rather than a ‘one size fits all’ approach.³⁶⁰ None of

³⁵⁸ Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), pp. 60 – 61, but also see the whole book; Tilly, C., *Democracy*, (2009), especially pp. 6, 184 – 185, but also see the whole book; *Making Politics Work for Development*, World Bank, (2016) etc.

³⁵⁹ Lijphart, A., *Patterns of Democracy*, (2012), pp. 295 – 296, but also see the whole book; Wolff, S. & Yakinthou, C. (Eds.), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies*, (2012), pp. 2, 15, 24 – 25, 46, 59, 64; *Equality, Security and Sustainability*, IDS, (2017), p. 27 etc.

³⁶⁰ Fukuyama, F., *State Building*, (2005), pp. 39 – 41, 47, 101 – 123, 133 – 134; Osborne, R., *Of the People, By the People*, (2011), pp. 2 – 3, 286, 289; Ghani, A. & Lockhart, C., *Fixing Failed States*, (2009), p. 5 etc.

these democratic authorities should have the power to legislate on anything that overturns the principle that people should be free to do what they want unless it harms others, on which the law should be based, or that undermine the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.³⁶¹ Modern, socially just government also requires clear separation between the legislative (law making), executive (law administering) and judiciary (prosecuting) parts of government. As the UN Secretary-General's 2009 *Guidance Note on Democracy*, a key document for the international community, says, **"Democracy needs strong, accountable and transparent institutions of governance, based on the rule of law, and including an accountable executive, an effective legislature and an independent and impartial judiciary"**.³⁶² There should also be clear separation between the police and military, with neither involved in politics and both clearly under the authority of a civilian government. This is a point widely recognised by constitutional experts.³⁶³ A highly professional, competent, educated and committed civil service bureaucracy is required with a strong culture of public service and autonomy to get on and implement government decisions as directed by, and accountable to, the executive.³⁶⁴

There should also be clear water between the state and the private sector through various mechanisms.³⁶⁵ These mechanisms should include a ban on businesses making donations to political parties, and requiring those serving in government not to be major shareholders or on the board of any company, so there is no suspicion of acting for private gain rather than the national interest. Wherever possible, the principle of subsidiarity should be followed within government, so that decisions are devolved to the lowest level possible. As Francis Fukuyama puts it in his study, *State Building*, **"Decentralized decision making is closer to local sources of information and therefore inherently more responsive to local conditions and changes in the local environment."**³⁶⁶ Over time all systems become dated, therefore there should be continual effort to reform and update government systems and bureaucracy where needed, to keep it as efficient, effective, relevant and accountable as possible in an ever changing world. There should be widespread transparency of government. Experts from the World Bank found in a key report, *Making Politics Work for Development*, that **"greater political engagement has been supported by greater transparency, defined as citizen access to publicly available information about the actions of those in government and the consequences of these actions."**³⁶⁷ This can be helped through establishing an independent national audit office and

³⁶¹ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 67 – 67, 102 – 103; Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), p. 47; Donnelly, J., *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, (2013) etc.

³⁶² *Guidance Note of the Secretary-General on Democracy*, UNDEF, (2009), p. 5, see also Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015); Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012), p. 119 etc.

³⁶³ *(Re) Building Core Government Functions in Fragile and Conflict Affected States*, UNDP & World Bank, (2017), p. 25; *World Development Report 2011*, World Bank, (2011), (most recent World Development Report focused on conflict), pp. 105, 108, 150 – 153, 256; *Conflict Recurrence*, PRIO, (2016), p. 4 etc.

³⁶⁴ Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015); Chang, H-J., *Globalisation, Economic Development and the Role of the State*, (2003), pp. 315 – 316; *State-Business Relations Beyond Growth*, IDS, (2016) etc.

³⁶⁵ Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), pp. 200 – 208; Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), pp. 7, 30 – 36, 121, 135 – 164, 180 – 183, 205 – 208, 470, 478 – 487, 504, 533; Micklethwait, J. & Wooldridge, A., *The Fourth Revolution*, (2014), pp. 16, 240, 257 – 258 etc.

³⁶⁶ Fukuyama, F., *State Building*, (2005), p. 95, see also pp. 91 – 103; Micklethwait, J. & Wooldridge, A., *The Fourth Revolution*, (2014), pp. 211 – 212, 216 – 219, 267; Eberly, D., *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, (2008), p. 280 etc.

³⁶⁷ *Making Politics Work for Development*, World Bank, (2016), p. 5, but also see whole report; *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, UN General Assembly, (2015), pp. 9, 25 – 26; *Good Governance Practices for the Protection of Human Rights*, OHCHR, (2007), pp. 5 – 6, 9, 29 – 30, 35 – 38, 60, 63 – 68 etc.

ombudsmen for different sectors. This is a widely recognised principle.³⁶⁸ Consultation with the public and civil society in decision making is also widely seen as important for good governance. A major report from the UN Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights stresses that ***“public participation contributes to policies which respect civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights. Also, policies resulting from participatory processes are likely to be perceived as legitimate by the population. There are many ways of creating avenues for public participation, including ad hoc public hearings, advisory boards or formal consultative bodies.”***³⁶⁹



Figure 4.15: Governments should be democratic, transparent and accountable.

Freedom of the media is also essential for holding governments to account and must be protected.³⁷⁰ However, this must also be balanced with laws against slander (which we have already seen the Bible calls for)³⁷¹ and invasion of privacy, so the details of people's private lives which have no legitimate public interest are protected from intrusion. Thus, it should be possible to prosecute the media for inaccurate, unfair and malicious allegations, and invasion of privacy. The media must give the same amount and level of coverage to retracting a false story as they gave to initially airing it, and allow the aggrieved party to produce that content if

³⁶⁸ (Re) *Building Core Government Functions in Fragile and Conflict Affected States*, UNDP & World Bank, (2017), p. 13; *Making Politics Work for Development*, World Bank, (2016), p. 156; Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 23, 233 etc.

³⁶⁹ *Good Governance Practices for the Protection of Human Rights*, OHCHR, (2007), p. 5, see also pp. 9 – 12, 15 – 25, 45; *Agenda 21*, UN, (1992), pp. 87 – 88, 92, 117, 282 – 284, 298; *Voices of the Poor 1: Can Anyone Hear Us?*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 109 – 110; *Voices of the Poor 2: Crying Out for Change*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 182 – 185, 206, 210, 263 etc.

³⁷⁰ Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), pp. 309, 324 – 325, 333 – 334, 461 – 462; *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, UN, (1948), Article 19; *Freedom of the Press*, Freedom House, (annual report) etc.

³⁷¹ Lev 19: 16; Psalm 15: 3; Psalm 50: 20; Psalm 101: 5; Psalm 109: 2 – 4; Prov 10: 18; Prov 30: 10; Matt 5: 22; Matt 15: 19; Mark 7: 22; Luke 3: 14; Roms 1: 30; Col 3: 8; Titus 3: 2; 1 Pet 2: 1 etc.

they so wish, without any editorial control. Thus the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (the first of two major international instruments which operationalise the crucial *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*) captures this balance well when it states that **“Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.”** But that this right of media freedom **“carries with it special duties and responsibilities”** including **“respect of the rights or reputations of others”**.³⁷² Exactly the same laws and principles should also be applied to modern online social media platforms. Thus, genuine freedom of information and expression should be preserved on social media. But it should be possible to prosecute both the platforms themselves and their users for inaccurate, unfair and malicious allegations, invasion of privacy, or threats and abuse.

Both democracy and the legal system can be made fairer by ensuring in law that none of the major political parties or the contesting sides in a legal dispute can spend more on elections or legal fees than the other. In practice, this limits spending to the amount the poorest group can afford.³⁷³ Ensuring a fast as well as a fair legal process, is another requirement for socially just governments. Thus, a short timetable and limited amount of time for trials should be set (allowing reasonable time to gather evidence, but otherwise as soon as possible after a suspect has been charged) to ensure justice is rapid and again to keep legal costs down. Again, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* sets this out well when it states that every person who is charged with an offence should be **“tried without undue delay”**.³⁷⁴ The rights of the victims of crime, especially violent crime, are paramount. The authorities should not be hamstrung and unable to act in the face of crime, but free and willing to prosecute and imprison, unflinchingly where necessary, in order to protect innocent citizens.

Throughout this process there should be no torture. As the *UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* says, **“Each State Party shall take effective legislative, administrative, judicial or other measures to prevent acts of torture in any territory under its jurisdiction. No exceptional circumstances whatsoever, whether a state of war or a threat of war, internal political instability or any other public emergency, may be invoked as a justification of torture.”**³⁷⁵ In today’s world, Arise would also argue that there should be no death penalty. This was a widespread punishment for the most severe crimes in traditional societies. However, this was before modern prison systems made it possible to punish and remove such criminals from society without taking their life. Now that we have long-term imprisonment as an option, it is hard to reconcile the use of the death penalty with following Jesus who wants to give every person, no matter how severe their crimes, opportunity to repent and come back to God. Arise therefore agrees with over 80 countries from around the world that have ratified the *Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, (the first of two major international instruments operationalising the crucial *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*) which

³⁷² *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, UN, (1966), Article 19

³⁷³ Milanovic, B., *Global Inequality*, (2016), pp. 189 – 190, 194, 199 – 200; Stiglitz, J., *The Price of Inequality*, (2012), pp. 131 – 132, 135 – 136, 202 – 206, 285 – 286; Klein, N., *This Changes Everything*, (2014), pp. 151 – 152 etc.

³⁷⁴ *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, UN, (1966), Article 14; see also Ferguson, N., *The Great Degeneration*, (2012), p. 80; *Good Governance Practices for the Protection of Human Rights*, OHCHR, (2007), p. 45 etc.

³⁷⁵ *Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, UN, (1984), Article 2, see also the rest of the convention; *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, UN, (1948), Article 5; *Combating Torture and other Ill Treatment*, Amnesty International, (2016) etc.

commits them to ensure that ***“No one within the jurisdiction of a State Party to the present Protocol shall be executed. Each State Party shall take all necessary measures to abolish the death penalty within its jurisdiction.”***³⁷⁶

The focus of modern prison systems should be on reforming and rehabilitating criminals. Every effort should be made to ensure prisoners return to society as reformed and constructive members, rather than stuck in a vicious spiral of crime. Extensive use of one-to-one psychological support, counselling, coaching, anger management and mentoring should be made available for prisoners, as one of the most effective ways of breaking this spiral. This should be both in prison and after their release, and indeed as an alternative to prison for minor nonviolent offences. It is also crucial to build a working culture within prisons, requiring prisoners to work, (and indeed paying them for it) giving them every support to get back into work once they leave prison. Education opportunities should also be provided. Once prisoners leave prison, there should be no discrimination against those with a criminal record, with the exception of safeguarding checks for those convicted of rape or abusing children or vulnerable people. Ex-convicts have paid their debt to society and should be allowed to build a new life. Finally, all these standards for democracy, human rights and good governance should be taught in schools, as well as promoted more widely in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns, to ensure these precious (and often fragile) standards are cherished and maintained by current and future generations. So, in summary ...

Governments should:

- Be democratic
- Ensure there is an active parliament
- Use proportional representation, single transferable vote or other such electoral systems rather than ‘first past the post’ to ensure fairer more effective government
- Embrace a local culturally and contextually relevant form of democracy within these principles
- Not be able to legislate on anything that undermines the principle that people should be free to do what they want unless it harms others on which the law is based, or undermines the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*
- Ensure separation of the legislative, executive and judicial arms of government
- Establish a highly professional, competent, educated and committed civil service
- Ensure separation of the police and military, and that both stay out of politics and under civilian authority
- Ensure clear water between the state and the private sector through various mechanisms, including a ban on businesses making donations to political parties, and requiring those serving in government not to be major shareholders in, or on the board of, any company
- Devolve decisions to the lowest possible appropriate level of government
- Continually reform and update government systems and bureaucracy where needed
- Model transparency
- Establish an independent national audit office and ombudsmen for different sectors
- Enable public consultation and involvement in decision making
- Ensure there is a free press, but one that is open to prosecution for slander and false accusation, and require the same amount and level of coverage to be given to retracting a false story as was given to initially airing it

³⁷⁶ *Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Aiming at the Abolition of the Death Penalty*, UN, (1989), Article 1, see also the rest of the protocol; *Moving Away from the Death Penalty*, OHCHR, (2015); *Death Sentences and Executions*, Amnesty International, (annual report) etc.

- Ensure the same laws are applied to online social media platforms, so genuine freedom of expression is protected, but both the platforms and their users can be prosecuted for slander, false accusation, invasion of privacy, and threats and abuse. Require the same amount and level of coverage to be given to retracting a false story as was given to initially airing it
- Require major political parties to only spend the same amount on elections, in practice limiting it to the amount the poorest party can afford
- Require parties in a legal dispute to only spend the same amount on legal fees, in practice limiting it to the amount the poorest party can afford
- Provide a rapid legal process
- Prosecute and imprison criminals unflinchingly where necessary (especially for violent crimes) in order to protect innocent citizens
- Ban torture
- Ban the death penalty and imprison people instead
- Focus prisons on reforming and rehabilitating criminals through one-to-one psychological support, compulsory but paid work to develop a healthy work culture, supporting them to get work once they leave, and ensuring there is no discrimination against those with a criminal record (with the exception of safeguarding checks for those convicted of rape or abusing children or vulnerable people)
- Teach these standards for democracy, human rights and good governance in schools and promote them to the wider public through information and education campaigns

Improving democracy, human rights and good governance through pressure within nations

As we have seen, the gradual process of peaceful, bottom-up pressure for reform by national movements is the primary way that the policies needed for democracy, human rights and good governance can be brought about, as demonstrated through the Bible and history. The late Gene Sharp, in his famous book *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, points out that ***“In recent years various dictatorships – of both internal and external origin – have collapsed or stumbled when confronted by defiant, mobilized people. Often seen as firmly entrenched and impregnable, some of these dictatorships proved unable to withstand the concerted political, economic, and social defiance of the people. Since 1980 dictatorships have collapsed before the predominantly nonviolent defiance of people in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Slovenia, Madagascar, Mali, Bolivia, and the Philippines. Nonviolent resistance has furthered the movement towards democratization in Nepal, Zambia, South Korea, Chile, Argentina, Haiti, Brazil, Uruguay, Malawi, Thailand, Bulgaria, Hungary, Nigeria, and various parts of the former Soviet Union.”*** The academic and social activist, Aryah Neier, similarly stresses in his book *The International Human Rights Movement*, ***“the driving force behind the protection of human rights worldwide, today and for roughly the past thirty-five years, has been the nongovernmental human rights movement.”***³⁷⁷

Thus, whether it is the campaign for the abolition of slavery by William Wilberforce and others in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the movement for women’s suffrage in

³⁷⁷ Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012), p. 1, but also see the whole book; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), p. 7, but again also see the whole book; Tilly, C., *Democracy*, (2009) etc.

the early twentieth century; Gandhi's campaign of non-violence in British India; the struggle for civil rights in the US; *Solidarity's* movement against Communism in Poland; the ousting of the Marcos regime in the Philippines; the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa; the global *Jubilee 2000* campaign which led to extensive debt cancelation for developing countries at the turn of the millennium; the popular movement that resulted in the fall of Milosevic in Serbia in the year 2000; the global *Make Poverty History* campaign in 2005 for more aid, less debt and better terms of trade for developing countries; or climate change activism in the run up to the *Paris Agreement* (the world's first global deal on climate change) in Paris in 2015; or hundreds of other examples, there are many things we can learn from such successful movements about strategies and tactics that have repeatedly been used to great success.

Strategy and organisation

First, it is key to note that when it comes to national reform, these are overwhelmingly indigenous, domestic struggles that must be led by the people of each country. The international community can support, but not lead. As Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan say in *Why Civil Resistance Works*, ***“domestic mechanisms are the most critical components of the success of nonviolent campaigns ... While foreign support or international sanctions may have been critical in some cases, there is no general pattern indicating that they are necessary for successful campaign outcomes.”***³⁷⁸ Such movements also require mass engagement through recruiting large numbers of the population to support the cause, if they are to be successful. Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall describe this phenomenon repeatedly in their book *A Force More Powerful*. In just one example, in discussing the peaceful, bottom-up reform movements that led to the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s, they show that ***“by convincing thousands of ordinary citizens to join them, opposition groups defied attempts to bottle them up. Instead of being frightened by brutality, people were outraged and then emboldened to put their own lives on the line. State violence provoked the very resistance it was intended to quash. When the protests grew large enough, they triggered public crises. Regimes had to choose between massive repression or compromise. In East Germany and Czechoslovakia, when it became clear that crowd control no longer worked, the regimes opted for a deal.”***³⁷⁹

Absolutely essential to this process is connecting people together and empowering them at a local level, through community groups and community organising. It is hard to sustain commitment to such causes alone, but working together with friends, neighbours and community is an encouraging, social, transformative and fun experience. This is increasingly widely recognised by scholars and activists, not least in a key study by the American political scientist Hahrie Han, *How Organizations Develop Activists*, which concludes that successful change movements ***“use strategies that build relationships, create a sense of community, and otherwise bring people into contact with other volunteers and leaders within the association. The goal is to help people build commitment to other people, not only to the issue at stake, such that people are more likely to stay committed to action.”*** ... ***“By bringing people together, civic associations help people discover new interests, new skills, and new resources that enable them to be active democratic citizens. Through working with others, people***

³⁷⁸ Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), p. 59, see also pp. 61, 63; Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 2, 224; *The New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States*, International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, (2011), pp. 1 – 2 etc.

³⁷⁹ Ackerman, P. & DuVall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000) p. 438, but also see the whole book; Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013); *Campaigning for Change*, Friends of the Earth & History & Policy, (2016) etc.

*discover a common set of interests that they did not recognize when they were working alone.”*³⁸⁰ As well as making these connections at a local community level, change movements have succeeded where they have been collaborative and intentionally drawn together an ever-growing coalition of organisations and constituencies at a national level: religious groups, civil society organisations, community groups, businesses, young people, students, trade unions etc. *Campaigning for Change*, a study produced by Friends of the Earth and History & Policy, which looks at the lessons of over 200 years of British bottom-up reform movements finds that *“It is necessary to be open to a plethora of campaigns and coalitions that use widely different tactics and approaches. Homogenisation is unlikely to be successful, and certainly uncomfortable for those involved. Nonetheless a shared moral position can provide common impetus and aid cooperation and trust.”* Most successful movements *“were not unified with a single strategy but were more like a flotilla of ships all heading toward the same destination.”*³⁸¹



Figure 4.16: Bottom-up reform movements have huge impact when they attract mass involvement, connect people, and build an ever-growing coalition of groups calling for change.

Key to building and maintaining such coalitions, and to success more widely, has been a clear ‘ask’ for the movement, such as ‘votes for women’, ‘democratic elections’ or ‘an end to slavery’. The ask is specific and focused enough to be meaningful, rallying and drive action, but not so prescriptive and detailed that it divides different constituencies. As the activist Chris Rose sets out in his book *How to Win Campaigns*: *“Keep it short and simple”*, develop a clear campaign proposition which *“sums up what the campaign is about”*, spells out the *“Problem, Solution, Benefit”*, the *“Responsible party (the enemy – who’s to blame)”* and *“the action*

³⁸⁰ Han, H., *How Organizations Develop Activists*, (2014), pp. 157, 170, but also see the whole book; Alinsky, S., *Rules for Radicals*, (1989); *Advocacy Matters*, Save the Children, (2007) etc.

³⁸¹ *Campaigning for Change*, Friends of the Earth & History & Policy, (2016), pp. 167 – 168, see also pp. 26, 31, 36, 42 – 44, 64 – 65, 100, 106, 134, 137, 166; Coles, G. & Shimmin, S., *Campaigning in Collaboration*, NCVO, (2007); *Voices in the Streets*, Freedom House, (2015), pp. 2, 7, 20, 31 – 33, 37 – 43, 45, 61, 69 – 70, 73, 76 etc.

*you want people (who?) to take”.*³⁸² In order to develop clear asks and policy positions, movements must do their research, demonstrating they really know what they are talking about and have good, credible solutions to offer.³⁸³ Where they have been most successful, such communications have also started from where their audience is (rather than talking past them), have used stories, and learnt all the lessons from psychology and sociology to design smart messages that are ‘sticky’, have traction, appeal and engage their audience. A critical first step is to frame the ‘ask’ of the movement and the terms in which the issues are discussed morally, so it is utterly unambiguous that the movement has the moral high-ground. Once the opposition falls back on practical self-interest reasons for defending its position, they are already on the defensive. Over time, continued appeal to this morally right ‘ask’ normalises it and starts to make it unarguable. This whole developing area of communications theory is increasingly widely recognised as key by experts such as the British political activist Brian Lamb, who addresses it at length in his *Good Guide to Campaigning and Influencing*, **“How to frame arguments and tap into deeper sets of values that people use to assess their support for issues becomes fundamental to ensuring that campaigns reach out beyond core supporters and gain momentum. Without understanding how to develop compelling narratives, campaigners can have the best of evidence and still not make headway in their campaigning.”**³⁸⁴

Successful movements, then, have a very clear and intentional strategy for turning their asks into reality that sets out clearly: 1) what the change is they want to see; 2) who has the power to make that change; and, 3) how they will influence those groups to make it. Jim Coe and Ruth Mayne sum this up well in their booklet, *Is your Campaign Making a Difference?* **“A fundamental element is to have a clear campaign design and plan. You need clear and well thought out campaign objectives and activities. These should be based on a plausible hypothesis of how you anticipate that change will occur. Without this, it will be difficult to assess your progress and achievements, and understand what is or isn’t working well.”**³⁸⁵ Mass movements and coalitions also need a democratic but clear and unambiguous leadership structure, so it is evident who makes what decisions, where and when. This is widely remarked upon by scholars and practitioners of social movements, including in the guidebook *Campaigning in Collaboration*, produced by the British National Council for Voluntary Organisations: **“a clearly defined structure can help mitigate problems and ensure that the boundaries of the collaboration are maintained: establishing what each organisation involved in the campaign will and will not do.”** ... **“once a structure is in place it is vital that it is reviewed and adapts to change.”**³⁸⁶ Within this, successful movements have identified and made good public use of individual inspirational leaders.³⁸⁷ They have also had good

³⁸² Rose, C., *How to Win Campaigns*, (2010), pp. 4, 175, but also see the whole book; Coles, G. & Shimmin, S., *Campaigning in Collaboration*, NCVO, (2007), pp. 7, 10, 12 – 13, 33 – 43, 57 – 59, 77; *Critical Webs of Power and Change*, Action Aid, (2005), pp. 40, 44 – 45 etc.

³⁸³ Lattimer, M., *The Campaigning Handbook*, (2000), pp. 67 – 91; Lamb, B., *The Good Guide to Campaigning and Influencing*, (2011), pp. 13 – 51; *Advocacy Toolkit*, Tearfund, (2015), pp. 61, 67 – 118, 199 etc.

³⁸⁴ Lamb, B., *The Good Guide to Campaigning and Influencing*, (2011), p. 8, see also pp. 59, 77 – 83, 105 – 114 143 – 149; Rose, C., *How to Win Campaigns*, (2010); Heath, C. & Heath, D., *Made to Stick*, (2008) etc.

³⁸⁵ Coe, J. & Mayne, R., *Is your Campaign Making a Difference?*, NCVO, (2008), p. 18, see also pp. 14, 19 – 21, 77 – 86; Rose, C., *How to Win Campaigns*, (2010); *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005), pp. 8, 13 etc.

³⁸⁶ Coles, G. & Shimmin, S., *Campaigning in Collaboration*, NCVO, (2007), pp. 57, 77, see also pp. 17 – 18, 21, 25 – 26, 45 – 63, 73 – 76; *Campaigning for Change*, Friends of the Earth & History & Policy, (2016), pp. 42 – 44, 82 – 83, 100 – 101, 106 – 107; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 19 – 25, 56, 93 – 94, 166 – 167, 260, 354 – 355, 426, 485, 496, 502 – 503

³⁸⁷ Lamb, B., *The Good Guide to Campaigning and Influencing*, (2011), p. 128; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 61 – 111, 305 – 333, 341 – 343, 348 – 349, 364 – 368, 471 – 477; Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 65, 116, 196 – 211, 217 etc.

systems of internal discipline to prevent their movement becoming co-opted by violent elements and losing control.³⁸⁸ When it comes to getting their message out to their growing number of supporters, such movements have developed their own unique communications routes (newspapers, pamphlets, posters, newsletters, events etc.), especially if the traditional media has been co-opted by the regimes they are opposing and is therefore closed to them.³⁸⁹ In recent decades, movements have of course used mobile phones, social media and other online communications as a hugely important part of this.³⁹⁰

Tactics

Within their overall strategy, successful movements have used a large number of diverse advocacy tactics to build pressure on regimes for change. These can be as varied as possible, whatever will work, limited only by the imagination. In this section, we have not set out an exhaustive list, merely outlined some of the classic advocacy tactics such movements have used successfully. Key to all such events and tactics is to be proactive, to seize and keep the initiative and keep varying the tactics, thus forcing those in authority onto the defensive, responding to an agenda you are setting, not the other way around. All advocacy tactics should aim to build the size and momentum of the movement and to weaken the regime that is being opposed. As Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall point out in *A Force More Powerful*, ***“The psychological pressure of people power, when it proliferates in all directions ... has two strategic benefits: It transfers anxiety about what’s coming next from those who are challenging the regime to the regime itself (whose consequent repression often backfires), and it plants doubt in the minds of the police and military cadres about how long the rulers whom they serve can last.”***³⁹¹ Wherever possible, all tactics should be creative, fun and visual. A key study by the US human rights organisation Freedom House, *Voices in the Streets*, cites multiple examples from recent years including ***“In Chile, protesters used music, dance, and comedy to liven up the streets and their message. The sense of festivity dampened any violent confrontation, and the movement grew from a student protest to reach broader constituencies with each successive march. In Turkey, protesters at times used silent, statuesque assemblies to counteract the police’s aggressive efforts to block motion and suppress speech.”***³⁹²

A first tactic (in contexts where this is possible) is to meet policy makers at all levels to engage in dialogue, discuss, argue, persuade and lobby for the issues the movement is supporting, before using more confrontational tactics in the public domain. Even after more public tactics have begun, meetings and dialogue with policy makers should continue where possible to gather intelligence and take advantage of opportunities for negotiated change that public

³⁸⁸ Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005), pp. 104, 108, 117, 121, 128 – 132, 153, 162, 164, 175, 183, 188 – 192, 257, 260, 281 – 283, 307, 344, 389 – 394, 486 – 487; Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), pp. 5, 12, 77, 119 – 120, 134, 138, 141 – 143, 146, 160, 165, 167, 184 – 191, 202, 218; Booyd, A. (Ed.), *Beautiful Trouble*, (2012), pp. 148 – 149 etc.

³⁸⁹ Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012), pp. 87 – 88, 109, 124 – 125; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 35, 43, 139, 142, 177, 181, 244; *Campaigning for Change*, Friends of the Earth & History & Policy, (2016), pp. 34 – 35, 38, 42 – 43, 58, 61, 65, 75 – 77, 91, 94, 106 – 107 etc.

³⁹⁰ Eberly, D., *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, (2008), pp. 5 – 7, 12, 239; Naim, M., *The End of Power*, (2013), pp. 13 – 14, 53 – 54, 57, 100 – 103, 134, 219; *Voices in the Streets*, Freedom House, (2015), pp. 1 – 2, 5 – 7, 15, 20, 41 – 48, 61, 68, 71, 73 etc.

³⁹¹ Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), p. 487, but also see the whole book; Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005); Alinsky, S., *Rules for Radicals*, (1989), pp. 158 – 161 etc.

³⁹² *Voices in the Streets*, Freedom House, (2015), p. 2, see also pp. 7, 9, 12, 33, 71; Booyd, A. (Ed.), *Beautiful Trouble*, (2012); Popovic, S., *Blueprint for Revolution*, (2015), pp. 10 – 13, 62 – 64, 97 – 123 etc.

pressure may be opening up.³⁹³ Smart movements also use these openings to develop good relationships with those inside government at all levels who are sympathetic to their cause. They even encourage some of their members to take positions in the civil service, police and army or run for political office at all levels where this is possible. They then make full use of such ‘insiders’ to develop smart and coordinated ‘insider/outsider’ pressure and advocacy tactics. The importance of this tactic has been widely recognised by social activists and academics. As a 2016 study of more than 200 years of British bottom-up reform movements, *Campaigning for Change*, finds **“the role of elites is also important even in mass campaigning. From the case studies offered here, those that refused to reach out to elites to create a broader movement for change struggled”** conversely **“Campaigns that also encompassed elites were more successful”**.³⁹⁴

If this insider lobbying approach is not sufficient, then many movements have moved into the more public realm. One key tactic has been documenting, reporting and publicising human rights abuses, corporate malpractice and other injustices, shining a light on them, making the world aware and shaming the perpetrators.³⁹⁵ Where possible reform movements have also used the courts to bring legal challenges against such injustices.³⁹⁶ Letter writing to political representatives and mass petitions³⁹⁷ to demonstrate the popular mood and ever-growing strength of public concern have also been highly effective tactics. In other cases, small bespoke mobilisations, events and media stunts have been staged with the aim of catching widespread political, media and public attention. When companies are being targeted, movements have bought shares in those companies and used them to attend and speak out at annual general meetings, table resolutions, hold company directors to account and engage in other forms of shareholder action.³⁹⁸ In other situations, consumer boycotts have been used.³⁹⁹

Classically, mass demonstrations, marches, rallies and protests held in key iconic central locations, usually in capitals to be close and visible to those in power, have been key for demonstrating the size and breadth of the movement, and hence the growing popular mood for change. The effectiveness of these tactics is widely recognised by academics and experts, for example, a policy brief, *Non-Violence and Democratization*, from the Peace Research Institute Oslo, rightly stresses **“non-violent dissent is only feasible when groups can mobilize large numbers”** and **“non-violent dissent tends to take place in urban areas, close to the center of government power”**. Bringing these two factors together means **“urban locations combined with large numbers of active participants translate into greater costs of dissent for the**

³⁹³ *Advocacy Toolkit*, Tearfund, (2015), pp. 6 – 7, 151 – 160, 200 – 201; Lattimer, M., *The Campaigning Handbook*, (2000), pp. 8, 222 – 346, 362; Ellis, J., *Campaigning for Success*, NCVO, (2007), pp. 14 – 15, 25 – 27, 29 – 30, 32 – 33, 35, 38, 41 – 44 etc.

³⁹⁴ *Campaigning for Change*, Friends of the Earth & History & Policy, (2016), p. 166, see also pp. 31, 37, 50 – 51, 61 – 64, 74, 98 – 100, 106 – 107, 133, 164, 167 – 168; Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 2, 143 – 144, 190, 228 – 231; *Building Responsive States*, IDS, (2008) etc.

³⁹⁵ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013); Crawshaw, S. & Jackson, J., *Small Acts of Resistance*, (2010), pp. 121 – 132, 157 – 160; Eberly, D., *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, (2008), p. 235 etc.

³⁹⁶ *Advocacy Toolkit*, Tearfund, (2015), pp. 156, 181 – 192; Lattimer, M., *The Campaigning Handbook*, (2000), pp. 8, 153 – 181; Lamb, B., *The Good Guide to Campaigning and Influencing*, (2011), pp. 49, 93, 115 – 118 etc.

³⁹⁷ *Campaigning for Change*, Friends of the Earth & History & Policy, (2016), pp. 26, 34, 38, 42 – 43, 48 – 50, 61, 64 – 65, 68 – 69, 71 – 74, 82, 90, 94, 129 – 130, 134, 169 – 170; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), p. 48; Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), p. 55 etc.

³⁹⁸ Lattimer, M., *The Campaigning Handbook*, (2000), pp. 231 – 235; Lamb, B., *The Good Guide to Campaigning and Influencing*, (2011), p. 104; Leonard, A., *The Story of Stuff*, (2010), p. 50 etc.

³⁹⁹ Crawshaw, S. & Jackson, J., *Small Acts of Resistance*, (2010), pp. 5 – 6, 9 – 10, 18 – 19, 82 – 85; Lattimer, M., *The Campaigning Handbook*, (2000), pp. 200, 237 – 240; Booyd, A. (Ed.), *Beautiful Trouble*, (2012), pp. 372 – 375 etc.

government. Techniques such as strikes and tax boycotts have often had a much bigger impact on a government than isolated bombings and small military challenges. For example, the dictator Ne Win in Burma was able to withstand ethnic insurgencies in the periphery for over 25 years, but withdrew from power when faced with large-scale civil disobedience in 1988.”⁴⁰⁰ Civil disobedience, nonviolent action and strikes can be a crucial part of this tactic, refusing to obey unjust laws in a way that creates disruption but does so peacefully. If enough people systematically withdraw their cooperation, whole systems and structures begin to break down. As the Peace Research Institute Oslo brief goes on to say, **“All governments are ultimately dependent on at least implicit popular compliance in order to rule and maintain control (see Sharp, 1973). Maintaining control and implementing policy is ultimately impossible if a sufficient number of people refuse to comply with or obey the government’s authority.”**⁴⁰¹

Evaluate, learn, adapt and persevere

Many public advocacy tactics run the risk of oppression and a violent backlash. Every possible action should be taken to plan for these risks and minimise them through keeping activists anonymous, smuggling them out of the country, arranging maximum international visibility to keep them safe and other such strategies. However, it may well be that there is no entirely risk free way of pursuing bottom-up reform and some suffering may be inevitable. Smart movements have faced this challenge, accepted it, but then pre-planned how they will publicise and use it to their advantage. Thus, such repression (and possibly even martyrdoms) can be used to yet further outrage the people and the world, shame regimes and build huge pressure for change, causing such oppression to backfire against its perpetrators. As Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan put it in *Why Civil Resistance Works*, **“Backfiring creates a situation in which the resistance leverages the miscalculations of the regime to its advantage, as domestic and international actors that support the regime shift their support to the opposition because of specific actions taken by the regime.”**⁴⁰²

After each tactic has been used, movements should evaluate how successful it was, learn from what went well and what didn’t, and apply that learning straight away as they move forward, thus constantly learning and adjusting their approach to achieve the maximum impact.⁴⁰³ Reform movements should also learn from each other, drawing on the lessons of those who have struggled in other nations beforehand. Historically, the first spark that has ignited a movement for change has often been a result of learning from (and being inspired by) the strategy, tactics and approach of other successful reform movements that have gone before.⁴⁰⁴ Once a movement is underway, building pressure for reform is a process that takes time before

⁴⁰⁰ *Non-Violence and Democratization*, PRIO, (2016) pp. 2 – 3; but also see the whole report; Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013); Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005) etc.

⁴⁰¹ *Non-Violence and Democratization*, PRIO, (2016) p. 2; but also see the whole report; Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012); Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005)

⁴⁰² Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), p. 50, see also pp. 3 – 4, 68 – 69, 82, 87 – 88, 101, 103, 129 – 131, 146, 155 – 156, 159, 196, 220, 226, 230; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 27 – 47, 89 – 90, 96 – 97, 261 – 262, 321 – 322, 325, 369 – 371, 394, 431 – 432, 438, 487, 499 – 500; Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005), pp. 47, 74, 109, 126 – 127, 137 – 140, 162 – 163, 176, 323 – 324, 381 – 385, 394 – 397, 405 – 413 etc.

⁴⁰³ Coe, J. & Mayne, R., *Is your Campaign Making a Difference?*, NCVO, (2008); *Critical Webs of Power and Change*, Action Aid, (2005), pp. 37, 48 – 71; *Advocacy Matters*, Save the Children, (2007), pp. 121 – 131 etc.

⁴⁰⁴ *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005), pp. 12 – 13; Popovic, S., *Blueprint for Revolution*, (2015), pp. 3 – 27, 64 – 95, 127 – 128, 207, 222 – 223; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 61 – 62, 251 – 252, 264 – 265, 305, 314, 333, 344, 370, 375, 404, 423, 447, 474 – 475, 485 – 486, 504 etc.

the final breakthrough and victory comes, hence developing a resilient culture and morale that can persevere in the face of setbacks is key in any change movement.⁴⁰⁵ One important way of helping with this is to identify smaller quick wins along the way to the final goal, to encourage and build momentum for change. In his book *Blueprint for Revolution*, the Serbian activist Sroja Popovic, a veteran of the Otpor movements that peacefully brought down Slobodan Milošević and installed democracy in Serbia in 2000 and now executive director of the Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS) which trains change movements around the world, comments on this important point, ***“I’ve seen this principle at play everywhere from Tbilisi to Harare, from Caracas to Rangoon. People and movements who know how to break their strategy into small, achievable tasks are more likely to succeed than those who shout platitudes and form drum circles.”*** As Popovic says, ***“knowing what minor battles you can win and how to get numbers on your side”*** is key.⁴⁰⁶

The entire strategy, and every tactic used by the movement, should be aimed at peeling away more and more support from the regime they are seeking to reform. This means making common cause with an increasingly wider number of dissatisfied constituencies, thus knocking away the ‘pillars of support’ of the regime, leaving them more and more isolated and their position increasingly untenable. Ultimately any regime is only as powerful as people’s willingness to obey it. The more groups that withdraw their cooperation, the weaker an authoritarian government becomes. The late Gene Sharp is among many other experts on bottom-up nonviolent reform movements to stress the importance of this in his manual for bringing about political reform *From Dictatorship to Democracy*. The power of a regime and its pillars of support will consist of its ***“moral and political authority – its legitimacy”, “the number and importance of the persons and groups that obey, cooperate with, or assist the rulers”, “financial resources, the economic system, property, natural resources, transportation, and means of communication”, and “the police and the military forces”***. Therefore, ***“success against an entrenched dictatorship requires that non-cooperation and defiance reduce and remove the sources of the regime’s power. Without constant replenishment of the necessary sources of power the dictatorship will weaken and finally disintegrate. Competent strategic planning of political defiance against dictatorships therefore needs to target the dictators’ most important sources of power.”***⁴⁰⁷ This applies to all significant constituencies, but there are a number that are particularly important.

First, reform movements should use all their tactics to capture the attention and sympathy of the media to distribute their message far and wide and shape national public opinion in their favour.⁴⁰⁸ Smart reform movements also capture the support of the international community. One major way reform movements can do this is through eliciting the sympathy of the nation’s international diaspora community and using them to leverage further pressure from outside the

⁴⁰⁵ Crawshaw, S. & Jackson, J., *Small Acts of Resistance*, (2010); Han, H., *How Organizations Develop Activists*, (2014), pp. 166 – 167; Rose, C., *How to Win Campaigns*, (2010), pp. 9, 12, 139 – 140, 247, 285 – 297 etc.

⁴⁰⁶ Popovic, S., *Blueprint for Revolution*, (2015), pp. 52 – 53, see also pp. 29 – 51, 62 – 64, 80; Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005), pp. 157 – 166, 472 – 474; Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005), pp. 134 – 135, 190 – 195, 252 etc.

⁴⁰⁷ Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012), pp. 104 – 107; see also Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), pp. 43 – 44, 58, 63, 65, 82, 91 – 92, 106 – 107, 110, 170, 193, 221 – 222, 225; Popovic, S., *Blueprint for Revolution*, (2015), pp. 77 – 95 etc.

⁴⁰⁸ Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), pp. 309, 324 – 325, 333 – 334, 461 – 462; Rose, C., *How to Win Campaigns*, (2010), pp. 8 – 10, 114 – 116, 189 – 202, 213 – 216, 225 – 244, 249, 252; Ellis, J., *Campaigning for Success*, NCVO, (2007), pp. 12, 15, 27, 29, 35, 38, 40 – 41, 44, 61 – 64 etc.

country.⁴⁰⁹ Ultimately successful reform movements have managed to capture the sympathy of significant parts of the police and the military, thus peeling their support away from the regime.



Figure 4.17: Successful reform movements capture the sympathy of significant parts of the police and the military, thus peeling their support away from the ruling regime.

The success of this strategy has been recognised in multiple studies, not least from the Peace Research Institute Oslo, who note in a major policy brief on the subject, *“Widespread defection among the security forces also leads to a relatively quick end to a non-violent campaign. If the security forces defect, the chances of success for a non-violent campaign increase substantially. Defection can take the form of desertion or shirking (standing idly by) and not following orders to repress. Non-violent tactics are much more likely to lead to defection than violent tactics ... Whether the decision to repress starts with a civilian dictator, the top of the military hierarchy, or somewhere further down the chain of command, in the end, individual members of the security apparatus on the ground must decide how to interpret orders and whether or not to carry them out. If sufficient numbers fail to comply with orders to repress, the movement is likely to grow.”*⁴¹⁰

Victory

It is important for reform movements to recognise the change they are seeking when they see it. Often pressure builds and builds until there is a sudden dramatic paradigm shift and rapid

⁴⁰⁹ Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005), pp. 163, 199, 239, 243, 249, 260, 311, 337, 351, 362, 410 – 412; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 87, 127 – 128, 165, 251, 261, 274 – 277, 282, 292, 299, 358, 364 – 365, 391 – 392, 394, 476, 485 – 486, 488, 490; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 1 – 2, 11 – 12, 143, 150, 155, 157, 168 – 169, 181, 209, 234, 330 etc.

⁴¹⁰ *Standing Idly by during the Revolution*, PRIO, (2016), pp. 1 – 2, but also see the whole report; Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013); Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012), pp. 39 – 41, 55 – 56, 99 – 107 etc.

change and reform occurs.⁴¹¹ When breakthrough happens, either as a result of the building pressure or precipitated by some external shock, activists must have pre-planned for it and be ready to move fast. Suddenly there can be a short window of opportunity when massive and rapid positive change is possible. At each stage of breakthrough, the movement should take the maximum positive political change that is possible, claim victory and then push on to the next stage of reform. The movement should offer the leaders of old autocratic regimes who are threatened by bottom-up reform an alternative to imprisonment or worse, otherwise they have no incentive to reform and compromise, and will be inclined to fight to the last. For example, Jack Donnelly in his work, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, shows how this is one of the many ways the international community can support national reform movements by **“providing safe haven for a dictator who sees the writing on the wall and chooses to flee rather than continue to fight. Examples include the shah of Iran, Idi Amin, and Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos.”**⁴¹²

When an old regime goes, often that leads to a time of instability. The installation of a new transparent, democratic and exemplary system is by no means a given, and even more authoritarian factions can move into the power gap. Therefore, it is important for reform movements to plan carefully how to manage the transition ahead of time, and not to stop once a dictator has gone, but keep on moving forward until full democracy, human rights and good governance have been installed in their nation.⁴¹³ All of this underscores the importance of not moving too fast, so that changes work, last and are stable, rather than reform running away with itself and leading to instability, violence and conflict. Finally, once victory is secured, these methods for improving democracy, human rights and good governance, through pressure within nations, should be taught in schools as well as promoted in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns, so that current and future generations understand how to bring about positive change peacefully and effectively. So, in summary ...

Bottom-up civil society reform movements should:

Strategy and organisation

- Engage the maximum numbers of people
- Connect people into local groups to work for the cause together, build friendships and support each other, rather than strive alone
- Build an ever-growing coalition of groups calling for change
- Unite these groups behind a clear, specific ask for the change they want to see
- Conduct research in order to come up with credible policy proposals and asks
- Develop a clear strategy for turning those asks into reality
- Have a clear leadership structure for decision making
- Identify and make use of inspirational leaders
- Maintain internal systems of discipline to prevent losing control of the movement to violent elements
- Develop communications routes to get their message out

⁴¹¹ *The Rise of Nonviolent Resistance*, PRIO, (2016), p. 3; *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005), p. 5; Gladwell, M., *The Tipping Point*, (2015) etc.

⁴¹² Donnelly, J., *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, (2013), p. 209; see also *World Development Report 2011*, World Bank, (2011), (most recent World Development Report focused on conflict), pp. 13, 101 – 102, 108 – 110, 112, 115, 144 – 147, 164, 167 – 171, 259; *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005), p. 12 etc.

⁴¹³ Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012), pp. 62 – 63, 74 – 91, 112, 115 – 123; Popovic, S., *Blueprint for Revolution*, (2015), pp. 215 – 237; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 262 – 265 etc.

- Use social media and other online communications to disseminate their message and mobilise the movement
- Start communications from where their audience is, making full use of stories and other means to really connect, rather than talking past them
- Frame the ‘ask’ of the movement in moral terms, so in time it becomes an unarguable moral principle

Tactics

- Seize and keep the initiative through varied advocacy tactics, each designed to increase the movement and its power and decrease the power of the opposition, forcing them to respond to the agenda the movement is setting
- Use creative, fun and visual tactics. The only limit to possible tactics is imagination, but some classic tactics are ...
 - Lobby policy makers at all levels
 - Build relationships with sympathetic individuals inside government at all levels, and place your own people there through jobs and running for office, in order to build an effective, combined inside intelligence/outside pressure strategy
 - Observe, report and publicise human rights abuses and other injustices
 - Use the law to bring legal challenges against unjust situations through the courts
 - Mobilise members to write letters to political representatives
 - Mobilise members to sign petitions
 - Purchase shares in offending businesses and engage in shareholder action
 - Organise boycotts
 - Hold mass demonstrations, protests and marches in iconic and highly visible places of power
 - Arrange smaller, bespoke, creative protests, events and stunts to attract media attention
 - Engage in civil disobedience including strikes, withdraw cooperation from the regime

Evaluate, learn, adapt and persevere

- Plan for how risk can be minimised for activists as much as possible, however ...
- Expect oppression to come and plan how to make maximum use of it to further shame authorities and publicise the cause so it backfires on the perpetrators
- Evaluate each advocacy tactic immediately after use and incorporate the learning into what to do next
- Learn from other reform movements
- Persevere, for years if necessary, until change is achieved, but ...
- Identify quick wins along the way to build momentum
- Ensure the whole strategy and every advocacy tactic is aimed at peeling away more and more support from those in authority, in order to make them increasingly isolated and their position increasingly untenable, until change comes. In particular ...
 - Capture the sympathy of the media
 - Capture the sympathy of the diaspora community and use them to leverage further pressure from outside of the nation
 - Secure the support of the international community
 - Capture the sympathy of the military and police

Victory

- Pre-plan and be ready when sudden breakthrough comes, after pressure has built. There will be a window of opportunity for rapid positive change for which activists must be ready

- Avoid moving too fast and slipping into instability, violence and conflict
- Prioritise reconciliation over legal prosecution of dictators, giving them an incentive to compromise, reform or leave power, rather than fight to the end
- Don't assume victory once a dictator has gone, keep going until full democracy, human rights and good governance have been installed
- Teach these methods for improving democracy, human rights and good governance through pressure within nations in schools, and promote them through publicly funded information and education campaigns, so that current and future generations understand how to bring about positive change peacefully and effectively

Improving democracy, human rights and good governance through pressure from outside of nations

In every country, the bottom-up struggle for reform will always be led by the citizens of that nation. It is their struggle and they will be the main drivers of change. However, history indicates that the international community has an important supportive role to play in coming alongside these movements in solidarity and providing additional pressure from outside. This is first and foremost morally the right thing to do. It is also in the interest of the international community to promote more stable, democratic, and peaceful nations in order to increase global stability, reduce the need for painful and costly armed interventions, decrease mass migration and reduce the breeding grounds for international terrorism.

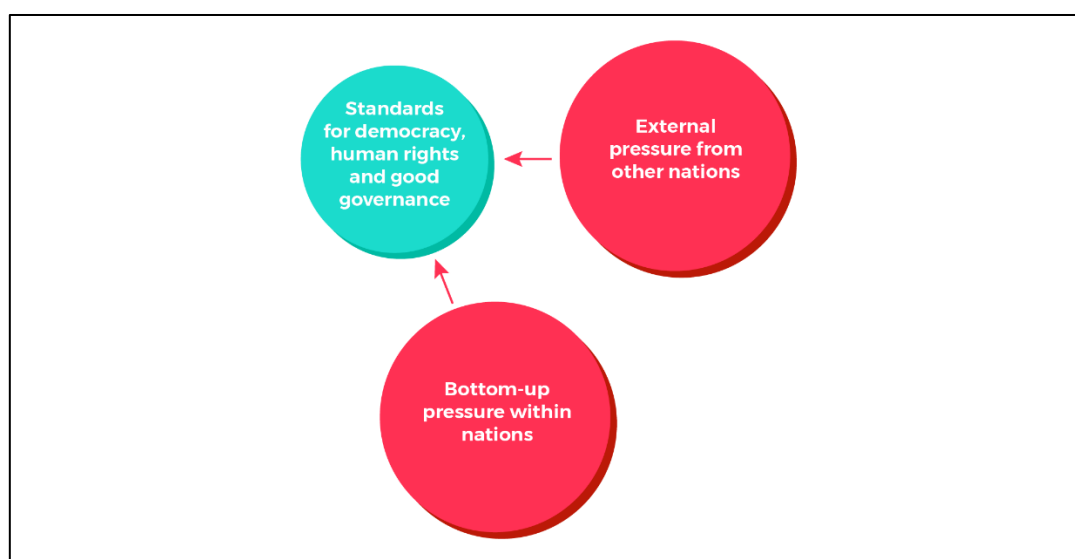


Figure 4.18: Democracy, human rights and good governance are improved primarily through bottom-up pressure from reform movements within nations, but this can be significantly supported by external pressure from the international community.

However, this pressure from the outside should only be applied when asked for by a significant internal reform movement, and external parties should follow their direction to prevent well-meaning interventions from outside backfiring on the local population. In their book, *Why Civil Resistance Works*, Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan find “**relatively small sums of money for items including cell phones, computers, radios, fax machines, T-shirts, office space and other items that nonviolent activists use for recruitment purposes can go a long way.** Non violent campaigns can, furthermore, benefit from sanctions, state support, and

*allies in international civil society”, however, “sanctions and state support for nonviolent campaigns work best when they support the activities of local opposition groups; they are never substitutes for local participation. At the same time, outside support for local nonviolent groups is a double-edge sword that is often used by regimes to delegitimize local nonviolent groups and movements. Local actors must therefore be savvy about how they engage with external actors”.*⁴¹⁴ Furthermore, all the lessons from history indicate that trying to impose democracy, human rights and good governance rapidly by armed force from outside just doesn’t work. This is increasingly widely recognised by diplomats and foreign policy experts.⁴¹⁵ Therefore, the international community must understand that is not an option. Instead, sustained external diplomatic pressure should be applied by the international community on unjust regimes. As Freedom House put it in their report, *How Freedom is Won*, **“To support the development of civic life, governments, regional bodies, and global institutions also should exert diplomatic and other pressures on states to create political space and toleration for the activity of civil society as a key factor in the formation of civic movements.”**⁴¹⁶

The international community can also help reform these unjust regimes by offering training, mentoring and support for the police, military and public sector workers in those nations through their aid programmes and other initiatives. This can help to instil public service values, principles of zero tolerance for corruption, and cultures of high ethical standards and best-practice. For example, the peace and conflict expert, Peter Wallensteen, highlights in his book *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, how important it is in such political contexts to **“implant a new understanding of the role of the armed forces in society and integrate human rights in the self-definition of these forces ... It is interesting to note that reforms of the military institutions could be part of an international preventative strategy. In development cooperation, security sector reform (SSR) has become a novel undertaking, unusual for foreign aid donors who have previously deliberately preferred to be civilian in their approach. By infusing professional values into the military establishments worldwide, the likelihood of military coups may gradually recede. Today it appears that such programmes are undertaken, notably in the Philippines (learning from a long experience of martial law) and in some of the newly independent states in Central and Eastern Europe”.**⁴¹⁷

Another key step would be for all nations to pass laws banning bribery, not only domestically, but for any of their companies which are operating in other nations, to help shut off the financial flows from corruption. They should also pass laws requiring complete transparency in the remaining legitimate payments, so national reform movements can see who gets paid what and by whom, enabling them to challenge their governments if they think their nation is not getting a good deal from foreign firms operating in their country, or that the finances generated are not being used properly. There is increasing recognition of the need for such legislation from economists, diplomats and campaigners. In just one example, in his book *Making Globalization Work*, the former World Bank Chief Economist, Nobel Prize winner and academic Joseph Stiglitz rightly stressed that **“developed countries should do more to reduce**

⁴¹⁴ Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), pp. 222 – 225, see also p. 27; *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005), pp. 9 – 14; *Building Responsive States*, IDS, (2008) etc.

⁴¹⁵ Nye, J. S. Jr., *Soft Power*, (2004), pp. 26, 141; Ghani, A. & Lockhart, C., *Fixing Failed States*, (2009), pp. 5, 27 – 28; Easterly, W., *The White Man’s Burden*, (2007), pp. 273 – 291 etc.

⁴¹⁶ *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005), p. 11, see also p. 13; Cooper, R., *The Breaking of Nations*, (2003), pp. 123 – 124; Donnelly, J., *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, (2013), pp. 201 – 203 etc.

⁴¹⁷ Wallensteen, P., *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (2015), pp. 149 – 150; see also *Good Governance Practices for the Protection of Human Rights*, OHCHR, (2007); *Promoting Compliance with International Humanitarian Law*, Chatham House, (2016), p. 2 etc.

*opportunities for corruption, by limiting bank secrecy, increasing transparency, and enforcing anti-bribery measures. Every bribe requires both a briber and a bribe – and too often the briber comes from a developed country.”*⁴¹⁸ The foreign bank accounts of corrupt leaders should be frozen and the *“recovery and return of stolen assets”* to the people of that nation should be secured (as the international community increasingly recognises in statements like the landmark 2015 UN General Assembly resolution *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*.)⁴¹⁹



Figure 4.19: All nations should pass laws banning bribery, not only domestically, but also for any of their companies which are operating in other nations, to help shut off the financial flows from corruption.

All the nations of the world should also limit and control the spread of arms, especially by signing up to and implementing the international *Arms Trade Treaty*. The treaty allows the sale of arms to legitimate governments, but bans arms sales to countries where they are likely to be used for repression, specifically spelling out that *“A State Party shall not authorize any transfer of conventional arms ... if it has knowledge at the time of authorization that the arms or items would be used in the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, attacks directed against civilian objects or civilians protected as such, or other war crimes”* or *“would contribute to or undermine peace and security; or could be used to commit or facilitate a serious violation of international humanitarian law; commit or facilitate a serious violation of international human rights*

⁴¹⁸ Stiglitz, J., *Making Globalization Work*, (2006), p. 56, see also pp. 138 – 140; Micklethwait, J. & Wooldridge, A., *The Fourth Revolution*, (2014), pp. 185 – 186; Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion*, (2008), pp. 137 – 138, 178 – 179 etc.

⁴¹⁹ *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, UN General Assembly, (2015), p. 25; see also Ravallion, M., *The Economics of Poverty*, (2016), pp. 538 – 539; *World Development Report 2011*, World Bank, (2011), (most recent World Development Report focused on conflict), p. 284 etc.

law".⁴²⁰ Targeted sanctions, rather than general boycotts, should also be used to target regimes without hurting the wider populace.⁴²¹ Travel bans should be imposed upon repressive rulers. The nations of the international community can also help by embracing and welcoming all refugees and asylum seekers fleeing conflict or extreme persecution. However, this is not the same as being fully open to mass economic migration and resettlement of large people groups. History would indicate that whether in the Americas, Australia, Northern Ireland or Israel/Palestine, this has seldom been a peaceful process. Modern states cannot maintain stability in the face of rapid, mass resettlement of large demographic groups. They do still, however, have a fundamental, moral responsibility towards economic migrants, and this should be outworked through generous aid and foreign policies that aim to rapidly eliminate the poverty that drives so much mass migration (we shall address this in [Part 5 on Development](#)).

In the international arena, all nations should uphold the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the major existing human rights conventions on *Civil and Political Rights* and *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. They should also ratify the major human rights conventions on *the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*; *the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*; *Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*; *on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families*; *for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance*; and *on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*. They should also negotiate together to further strengthen them and add additional international declarations, covenants and conventions on democracy, human rights and good governance. Such agreements have a powerful norm setting effect, establishing and advancing what is considered normal and appropriate, and providing internationally agreed standards against which nations can be held to account. The critical importance of this process is increasingly widely recognised. As the Oxfam academic and activist, Duncan Green, comments in his book, *From Poverty to Power*, ***"the decades since World War I have seen the rise of a global system for debate and agreement on a range of values best described as 'norms': the explicit or implicit rules, including an ever-expanding body of international law, specifying what behaviours by states and their leaders are considered acceptable, not only in the international arena but also domestically ... All are intended to influence the behaviour of states, companies, citizens and others, but more subtly to influence how people think, what is considered 'proper' or desirable. While some stops on the merry-go-round of international conferences are rightly condemned as meaningless gabfests, their overall influence has been undeniable. The body of negotiated international agreements both captures humanity's evolving understanding of its condition, and nudges forward attitudes and beliefs on all sorts of topics"***.⁴²² Where a nation is violating such standards, the international community should work together to clearly and publicly condemn such violations in the eyes of the world, and of history, to help further pressurise oppressive regimes.

Building on this, a new international organisation of democratic nations should be set up. Nations should be able to join once they have reached agreed levels of democracy, human

⁴²⁰ *The Arms Trade Treaty*, UN, (2014); see also *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, UN General Assembly, (2015), pp. 9, 25; Weiss, T. G., *Humanitarian Intervention*, (2016), p. 181 etc.

⁴²¹ Wallensteen, P., *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (2015), pp. 50, 258 – 263; Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), pp. 27, 52 – 55, 222 – 225; Popovic, S., *Blueprint for Revolution*, (2015), pp. 88 – 95 etc.

⁴²² Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), p. 313, see also pp. 314 – 316, 327 – 329, 352; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 2, 7 – 8, 42 – 43, 93 – 137; Watson, A., *The Evolution of International Society*, (1992), pp. 202 – 213, 216 – 218, 267, 273, 282, 293, 301 etc.

rights and good governance. Membership would be seen as a mark of their international respectability, creating an extra pull factor to help speed reform in nations which are not yet there. A number of seasoned international relations experts have argued for this, including Jonathan Schell, who in his book *The Unconquerable World*, calls for ***“the foundation of a democratic league, designed to foster and build upon the peaceful proclivities already found in the core of the democratic process.”***⁴²³ Nations which are already democratic should act with integrity and in line with their democratic, human rights and good governance values, especially in their foreign policy. When they do so, their ‘soft power’ grows, and they become a source of inspiration and aspiration for reformers and others in non-democratic nations. However, when they act against these values their ‘soft power’ decreases and they significantly undermine the respect and aspiration with which their values are held, and consequently undermine reform movements around the world. This phenomenon is widely recognised by diplomats and scholars of international relations, and perhaps most famously expounded by the American civil servant and academic Joseph Nye in his book *Soft Power*, which he says ***“arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced ... values like democracy, human rights, and individual opportunity are deeply seductive ... But attraction can turn to repulsion if we act in an arrogant manner and destroy the real message of our deeper values.”***⁴²⁴ Finally, these methods should be taught in schools, as well as promoted more widely in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns, so that current and future generations understand the importance of such policies, and how democracy, human rights and good governance can be improved through pressure from outside of nations. So, in summary ...

The international community should:

- Only provide external pressure when a significant domestic reform movement wants it, and follow their direction to prevent it backfiring on the populace
- Recognise democracy, human rights and good governance can’t be imposed militarily by force
- Provide sustained diplomatic pressure
- Capacity build public sector workers in unjust nations, instilling values of good governance
- Ban companies registered in their country from making bribes in other countries, as well as domestically
- Require complete transparency of the remaining legitimate payments
- Freeze the bank accounts of the leaders of corrupt nations
- Recover stolen assets from those accounts and return them to the people
- Sign and implement the *Arms Trade Treaty* which bans arms sales to countries where they are likely to be used for repression
- Impose targeted sanctions which impact the rulers of unjust regimes, rather than general boycotts that impact the innocent populace
- Impose travel bans on the leaders of unjust regimes
- Welcome all refugees and asylum seekers from conflict or oppressive regimes, but ...
- Prevent mass economic migration

⁴²³ Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005), p. 383, see also pp. 384 – 387; Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009), p. 156; Wallensteen, P., *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (2015), pp. 248 – 249 etc.

⁴²⁴ Nye, J. S. Jr., *Soft Power*, (2004), p. x, but also see the whole book; Mazower, M., *Governing the World*, (2013); Naím, M., *The End of Power*, (2013), pp. 132, 137, 147 – 149 etc.

- Pass, uphold, publicise and strengthen international democratic, human rights and good governance norm setting standards and agreements
- Work together to clearly and publicly condemn violations of democratic, human rights and good governance standards in the eyes of the world, and of history
- Establish a league of democratic nations which countries can aspire to join
- Act with integrity in line with their democratic, human rights and good governance values, especially in their foreign policy, in order to make those values still more attractive to others
- Teach these methods in schools and promote them more widely in society through publicly funded information campaigns so that current and future generations understand why their nation is pursuing such policies, and how democracy, human rights and good governance can be improved through pressure from outside of nations

Conflict

Prevent major conflicts emerging

Moving from good governance, democracy and human rights, back to conflict, we have seen how the international community must place a huge emphasis on preventing new major wars and cold wars emerging. The importance of prioritising this has been demonstrated yet again most recently by the brutal invasion of Ukraine by Russia in 2014 and 2022, with its potential to escalate into a much wider major conflict between multiple nations. There is much to learn from history about the policies that have been most effective in preventing major conflicts from emerging, perhaps especially from the century between the Congress of Vienna at the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814 – 15, and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914; and the ‘long peace’ since the end of the Second World War in 1945. Whilst there were many horrific colonial and smaller wars in nations during these periods (which are also serious, and we will turn to them shortly), major cold wars were contained, and major wars between powerful nations were avoided.

First, the governments of the world should pursue regular and cordial diplomatic communication, relations, dialogue and meetings (including at the highest levels), especially between powerful nations. No matter how difficult situations may become, it is critical that nations keep talking. This is widely recognised by academics, diplomats, politicians and foreign policy experts, not least the senior British diplomat Robert Cooper, who in his book *The Breaking of Nations*, stresses, ***“Personal relations and power relations are inevitably intertwined and it is better that those who hold power should know and understand one another. But they do really have to know each other. That includes some understanding of their different cultural and political backgrounds – which cannot be achieved in a couple of crisis encounters – and it also means understanding their power relationships and their political (and sometimes private) motives. Personal contact is necessary – indeed personal trust is, in the end, essential”***, and that ***“one should break off relations and close down embassies only when there is no other alternative (often it is precisely when a government needs them most that the pressures to withdraw ambassadors are the greatest).”***⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ Cooper, R., *The Breaking of Nations*, (2003), pp. 96, 101, see also pp. 81 – 152; Watson, A., *The Evolution of International Society*, (1992), pp. 159 – 162, 205, 216 – 218, 238 – 256, 267, 293 – 294, 323; Morris, I., *War, What is it Good For?*, (2014), pp. 282, 329 etc.

Nations should work to continually build a broad consensus around shared values, especially between powerful nations, on what good governance, peaceful co-existence, democracy and human rights looks like (along the lines set out earlier in this report under [Standards for democracy, human rights and good governance](#)). The lessons from history indicate that the world has greater stability when the most powerful nations hold a broadly similar common set of values. Jack Donnelly, in his work *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, spells this out, ***“Human rights has become a hegemonic political idea in contemporary international society, a widely accepted standard of international political legitimacy. Development and democracy also have a comparable status in the contemporary world. Regimes that do not at least claim to pursue rapid and sustained economic growth (‘development’), popular political participation (‘democracy’), and respect for the rights of their citizens (‘human rights’) place their national and international legitimacy at risk.”***⁴²⁶

Nations can further foster stability by proactively supporting and constructively engaging with the international institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and regional institutions like the European Union (EU). Such institutions are critical international stabilisation mechanisms. Thus the academics and conflict resolution experts, Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse write in *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, that whilst it is easy to be cynical about the international institutions, ***“Nearly all those who work in the conflict resolution field take a very different view. While well aware of its shortcomings and its hybrid nature, they nevertheless see the UN both as a manifestation of clear progress having been made over the last seventy years from a conflict resolution perspective and as central to aspirations for further progress in the future.”***⁴²⁷ Where change is needed, these institutions should be continually reformed and updated to make them as effective, as fair and as representative as possible, to reflect the balance of power in a changing world, and so they continue to act as a force for stability.⁴²⁸

Nations should abide by, promote and further strengthen international humanitarian law on warfare (as articulated in the *Geneva Conventions*) and other international standards in the conduct of conflict such as the *Charter of the United Nations* and the *Genocide Convention*. This is not because they are naïve enough to believe the mere existence of such standards prevents atrocities in war, but (as with democracy, human rights and good governance) such agreements have a powerful norm setting effect. They establish and advance what is considered normal and appropriate, and provide internationally agreed standards against which nations can be held to account.⁴²⁹ Another crucial area for fostering stable and peaceful international relations is for all nations to prevent the further development, and contain the spread, of nuclear, biological, chemical or other weapons of mass destruction. All nations should sign and ratify the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty* and the *Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions*, and work towards safely reducing existing stockpiles through negotiated agreements with independent verification. In a world where such horrors cannot be uninvented, unilateral disarmament by one side may not be the safest course. However,

⁴²⁶ Donnelly, J., *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, (2013), p. 217, see also pp. 161 – 205, 217 – 234, 241 – 253; Mazower, M., *Governing the World*, (2013); Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009) etc.

⁴²⁷ Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (2016), p. 321, see also pp. 320 – 326; Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 351 – 352; Pinker, S., *The Better Angels of our Nature*, (2012), pp. 202, 289, 347 – 349, 824 etc.

⁴²⁸ Stiglitz, J., *Globalization and its Discontents*, (2002); Goldin, I., *Divided Nations*, (2014); Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009), pp. 1, 9 – 10, 206 – 209 etc.

⁴²⁹ Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009), pp. 1, 4, 39, 49 – 54, 59 – 99, 110 – 112, 143 – 164, 279 – 280, 289, 312 – 313; Watson, A., *The Evolution of International Society*, (1992), pp. 202 – 213, 216 – 218, 267, 273, 282, 293, 301; *Promoting Compliance with International Humanitarian Law*, Chatham House, (2016) etc.

working together to safely reduce existing stockpiles through negotiated agreements with independent verification has proved to be effective. As the academics Adam Roberts and Philip Towle point out, *“advocacy of more modest measures of arms limitation gained much ground, especially from about 1960 onwards”* with the passing and successful implementation of the *“main international arms limitation agreements”*, and in the final years of the Cold War and the decades that immediately followed *“the USA and Russia worked together to demobilize many of their nuclear weapons and to prevent them from spreading to other countries.”*⁴³⁰



Figure 4.20: All nations can help reduce the likelihood of horrific international conflicts by signing and ratifying the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions.

When it comes to conventional armed forces, nations should maintain a well-funded, large and professional military for national defence and to help in armed intervention to prevent gross injustice (see the later section on [Armed intervention in small conflicts](#)). Nations should consider forming and joining mutual defence partnerships like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but only where this will create greater stability, make wars less likely, and reduce tensions. Not when it is likely to escalate them. In general, nations should avoid acting in an arrogant, high-handed or triumphalist fashion, and should avoid putting other countries in a position where they feel humiliated. Such actions are likely to inflame resentment and tensions. Countries should watch out for significant tensions that are emerging between nations (especially powerful ones) and work proactively through peaceful and diplomatic means to de-escalate them before they become full-blown conflicts, as a matter of

⁴³⁰ Roberts, A., *Against War* and Towle, P., *Cold War*, in Townshend, C. (Ed.), *The Oxford History of Modern War*, (2005), pp. 329, 164, see also pp. 160 – 163, 330; *Nuclear Disarmament*, Chatham House, (2017); Morris, I., *War, What is it Good For?*, (2014), pp. 3 – 6, 280 – 287, 325 – 331, 333, 369 – 370, 376 – 377 etc.

high priority. This often means finding the ‘off ramp’, a way that allows both sides to claim a win and de-escalate tensions, without either side losing face or appearing to have backed down.

Most of the policies set out in this section are designed to help prevent major wars breaking out. However, if a nation does invade another nation in an unprovoked act of aggression, then the international community should work together to apply the full range of peaceful but tough diplomatic policies outlined in the section above under [Pressure from outside of nations](#) to force a withdrawal. If that proves insufficient, then the international community should consider armed intervention to force that withdrawal. This would be another instance of the third and final legitimate circumstance in which armed force can be used by states that we saw earlier illustrated in the Bible; to [intervene militarily in another state to prevent extreme acts of repression or genocide](#), in this case through the unprovoked invasion of one state by another. It is tempting to believe that this moral principle should always be applied, and that the threat of a significant coalition of nations committed to declaring war on any nation which unilaterally invades another nation in an unprovoked act of aggression, would be a sufficient deterrent to prevent it. However, the lessons from history indicate this is not the case. Such a policy disastrously failed to prevent the First World War and then, as one of the defining principles behind the League of Nations established after that war, failed again to stop the Second World War.

Therefore, instead it is crucial to note that armed intervention to force the withdrawal of an invading nation should only be used when the full list of criteria set out below under [Armed intervention in small conflicts](#) can be met. In particular, it should only be considered if: 1) the situation is extreme and the suffering that intervention causes will be significantly less than if it doesn’t intervene; 2) intervention is by a significant coalition of nations – ideally with a UN mandate, or at least the full backing of the democratic members of the UN Security Council; and, 3) the interveners are sufficiently funded and have a good prospect of success. If they can’t win, they shouldn’t do it. This is where an element of pragmatism must come in. If for example a massively powerful nation invades a small one and is prepared to fight all the way to retain control over it, it may cause less suffering for the international community not to intervene militarily and risk escalating it into a major global conflict. Instead they should express condemnation and work together to apply the full range of tough diplomatic policies outlined above under [Pressure from outside of nations](#) to contain the threat and force the withdrawal over a longer-timeframe. This was the policy that was successfully used to contain and eventually end the Cold War, rather than the west immediately intervening to liberate Eastern Europe from the domination of the USSR after the Second World War. An approach which, almost certainly, would have escalated into a global conflict causing far more suffering.

When it comes to addressing stateless transnational terrorism, of the kind most recently seen with Islamic extremism, the lessons of history indicate that the international community has been broadly successful at containing this and preventing it escalating into a much larger ‘clash of civilizations’ by following four steps. 1) Build as broad a coalition of nations as possible to stand against it. 2) Ensure the legitimate demands of Muslim communities around the world are addressed, thus beginning to remove sympathy for the hardline extremists who claim to represent them. 3) These extremists (once isolated) can then be caught, prosecuted and brought to justice using legal intelligence and policing methods. Finally, they should 4) work with Muslim community leaders to design public education campaigns and deradicalisation programmes. As a key report from the International Crisis Group says, *“The Islamic State (IS), al-Qaeda-linked groups, Boko Haram and other extremist movements are protagonists in today’s deadliest crises, complicating efforts to end them. They have exploited wars, state*

collapse and geopolitical upheaval in the Middle East, gained new footholds in Africa and pose an evolving threat elsewhere. Reversing their gains requires avoiding the mistakes that enabled their rise. This means distinguishing between groups with different goals; using force more judiciously; ousting militants only with a viable plan for what comes next; and looking to open lines of communication, even with hardliners. Vital, too, is to de-escalate the crises they feed off and prevent others erupting, by nudging leaders toward dialogue, inclusion and reform and reacting sensibly to terrorist attacks.” Another report from the defence and security think tank, the Royal United Services Institute, also stresses the importance of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) measures, *“Widely understood to describe a range of preventative and non-coercive measures, CVE may involve, for instance, community debates on sensitive topics, media messaging, interfaith dialogues, training of state governance and security actors, and a variety of initiatives with individuals deemed to be ‘at risk’ of being drawn to violence, such as vocational training and mentorship programmes.”*⁴³¹ Finally, all these policies should be taught in schools as well as promoted more widely in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns so that current and future generations understand the value of maintaining international peace and how to do it. So, in summary ...

The international community should:

- Prioritise regular and cordial diplomatic communication, relations, dialogue and meetings (including at the highest levels), especially between powerful nations
- Build a broad consensus and shared values between nations on what good governance, peaceful co-existence, democracy and human rights looks like, along the lines set out in this report under [Standards for democracy, human rights and good governance](#)
- Proactively support international institutions like the UN and regional institutions like the EU
- Reform international and regional institutions where necessary to make them more effective and accountable
- Uphold, publicise and strengthen international humanitarian law on warfare and similar norm setting standards and agreements
- Prevent the further development, and contain the further spread of nuclear, biological, chemical or other weapons of mass destruction. Ensure all nations sign and ratify the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty* and the *Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions*, and work towards safely reducing existing stockpiles through negotiated agreements with independent verification
- Maintain a well-funded, large military for national defence and to help in armed intervention to prevent gross injustice
- Consider forming and joining mutual defence partnerships, but only where this will create greater stability, and reduce tensions, not when it is likely to escalate them
- Avoid acting in an arrogant, high-handed or triumphalist fashion, and putting other countries in a position where they feel humiliated
- Watch out for significant tensions that are emerging between nations, and work proactively to de-escalate them before they become full-blown conflicts, by finding the ‘off ramp’, that allows both sides to claim a win and de-escalate, without either side losing face

⁴³¹ *Exploiting Disorder*, ICG, (2016), p. i, but also see the whole report; *Countering Violent Extremism and Risk Reduction*, RUSI, (2016), p. v, but also see the whole report; see also Gat, A., *War in Human Civilization*, (2006), pp. 637 – 657 etc.

- Apply the full range of peaceful but tough diplomatic policies outlined above under [Pressure from outside of nations](#) to any nation that invades another. If that is not successful, consider intervening militarily, but only where the full list of criteria set out under [Armed intervention in small conflicts](#) can be met
- Deal with Islamic extremism by 1) building as broad a coalition of nations as possible to stand against it; 2) ensure the legitimate demands of Muslim communities are met, thus removing sympathy for extremists; 3) catch, prosecute and bring extremists to justice using legal intelligence and policing methods; 4) work with Muslim community leaders to design public education and deradicalisation programmes
- Teach these policies in schools and promote them more widely through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand the value of maintaining international peace and how to do it

Reduce and end small conflicts

As well as preventing major international wars from emerging, we have seen how most conflicts in our world today are smaller, long-term and internal. Therefore, the world must also have a major focus on reducing and ending these ongoing tragedies. There are many lessons from history on how to do this successfully. The peace processes that ended the Lebanese civil war in the 1980s; that followed the collapse of Apartheid in South Africa; with RENAMO rebels in Mozambique; in Northern Ireland in the 1990s; the civil war in Aceh, Indonesia in 2005; Basque separatists in Spain in 2011; the Moro insurgency in the Philippines in 2014; with FARC rebels in Colombia in 2016; and hundreds more, all contain rich lessons for us. First, as we have seen, the Bible teaches that the state must be the only entity in society which can legitimately use limited force for policing, national defence and armed intervention to prevent invasion or gross injustice. Therefore, if the conflict in a country is a minor one against an illegitimate extremist faction with no popular support, then the international community may best help by supporting the legitimate national authority to rapidly overcome that faction, and regain complete control. This might include the sales of arms, provided the national authority is unlikely to use them in repression or war crimes, in accordance with the *Arms Trade Treaty*.

However, by definition the governments of many nations embroiled in serious protracted, small internal conflicts have lost this control over large parts or all of their territory, and have no realistic prospect of regaining it militarily. The citizens of nations like Afghanistan, Somalia, South Sudan or Iraq (in the chaotic years following the 2003 US-led invasion) all report that any national government, even an autocratic repressive one, is better than the chaos of multiple competing armed groups. The first task then, to reduce and end small conflicts, must be to reconstitute a single national authority willing and capable of enforcing its will across the nation. As Francis Fukuyama puts it in his study *Political Order and Political Decay*, the fundamental problem of fragile or failing nations is that in reality they lack a state, ***“that is, a central authority that can exercise a monopoly of legitimate force over its territory to keep the peace and enforce the law.”*** ... ***“The first and most important institution that fragile or failing states lack is an administratively capable government. Before a state can be***

*constrained by either law or democracy, it needs to exist. This means in the first instance, the establishment of a centralized executive and bureaucracy.”*⁴³²

In order to reconstitute a single, legitimate national authority, a peace process must be initiated that brings all warring parties and factions to the negotiating table. Peace activists within the nation should therefore use the strategies listed above under [Pressure within nations](#), and the international community (especially the immediate surrounding nations who have the most direct influence) should use the tough diplomatic tactics under [Pressure from outside of nations](#), to force all the warring parties in a conflict to the negotiating table and to keep them there. As the International Crisis Group puts it in their report *Seizing the Moment: From Early Warning to Early Action*, ***“The ultimate goal of all this relationship-building, framework diplomacy and strategic planning is not simply to guide early action, but to signal to the parties at the centre of a conflict that they can take paths to peace rather than wade into violence. Outside actors can rarely compel leaders and factions on the brink of conflict to step back. But if they are able to engage in well-informed political and diplomatic work and sketch out ideas for lasting peaceful solutions to a conflict, they may persuade their interlocutors to pause before escalating – and perhaps follow an alternative political route that avoids, or at least limits, all-out violence.”***⁴³³

The international community can further assist in this process by offering to provide neutral third-party mediation and facilitation of that peace process, and independent monitoring of the eventual implementation of the agreement through the UN, some other appropriate international or regional institution, or via one or more major nations. The academic Christopher Mitchell, who has both extensively studied conflict mediation and been personally involved, writes in an essay on the topic, ***“Recent literature on conflict prevention suggests the need for mediator involvement in the development of long-term conflict-avoidance strategies, in times of developing tensions, at points of imminent crisis, and even following the actual outbreak of violence. Possible work at the height of conflict involves efforts to diminish reactive violence or to arrange ceasefires or humanitarian pauses while searching for opportunities for ‘talks about talks’, especially when stalemate has led to a search for face saving, non-violent alternatives, a stage often marked by face-saving bluster. As noted previously, mediators can also be deeply involved in post-agreement tasks, some concerned with overcoming immediate problems of implementation, others with longer-term reconciliation processes that try to avoid a repetition of the same conflict by future generations.”***⁴³⁴

Once all the warring parties have been brought to the table, their task is to negotiate a peace agreement that reconstitutes a new single ‘inclusive enough’ power sharing national authority, willing and capable of enforcing its will across the nation and thus provide the security the people crave. To be successful this does mean working with all the major factions who have the real power (no matter how unpalatable) and probably giving them some kind of role in the

⁴³² Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), pp. 5, 291, but also see the whole book; Ghani, A. & Lockhart, C., *Fixing Failed States*, (2009); Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 132, 171, 173 – 182, 218 etc.

⁴³³ *Seizing the Moment*, ICG, (2016), p. iii, but also see the whole report; Wolff, S. & Yakinthou, C. (Eds.), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies*, (2012), pp. 8 – 13, 87 – 115, 119, 128, 139; Wallensteen, P., *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (2015), pp. 50, 94, 106, 208 etc.

⁴³⁴ Mitchell, C., *Mediation and the Ending of Conflicts* in Darby J. & Mac Ginty, R. (Eds.), *Contemporary Peacemaking*, (2008) p. 102, see also pp. 80 – 84, 94 – 104, 273, 282, 339, 354, 356; Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (2016), pp. 24 – 27, 157 – 162, 205, 212 – 220, 229 – 233, 320 – 326; Lederach, J. P., *Building Peace*, (2010), pp. 31 – 34, 44, 66 – 70 etc.

new authority, thus strengthening their incentives for peace. This can be made easier for the population to accept if it is accompanied by some kind of truth telling and reconciliation process to help heal the wounds in the nation. This has been seen in South Africa, Chile, El Salvador, Sierra Leone, Northern Ireland and many other countries in recent decades, and outlined above under the lessons from the Bible for [Reducing and ending small conflicts](#). Ultimately, this new political settlement and constitution should be democratic. It should also be structured in such a way that it requires those seeking office in the future to have to reach out across ethnic and religious lines to be successful, rather than just appeal to their own community, thus over time breaking down polarisation. However, it is dangerous to rush to elections too soon in a divided and volatile environment. The new national authority first needs time to build some stability through re-establishing peace and order. This approach has been well documented by successful conflict resolution experts, and the learning was perhaps best captured and summarised in the World Bank's *World Development Report 2011*, a major study which focused specifically on conflict, security and development, ***“To break cycles of insecurity and reduce the risk of their recurrence, national reformers and their international partners need to build the legitimate institutions that can provide a sustained level of citizen security, justice, and jobs—offering a stake in society to groups that may otherwise receive more respect and recognition from engaging in armed violence than in lawful activities, and punishing infractions capably and fairly.”*** These ***“Coalitions are ‘inclusive-enough’ when they include the parties necessary for implementing the initial stages of confidence-building and institutional transformation. They need not be ‘all-inclusive.’”***⁴³⁵

Every effort should be made for negotiations to culminate in a single national authority, and peace within the existing nation, rather than succession and the creation of new nations. The pressure for independence is powerful, but the lessons from history indicate that such secessionist struggles often merely replace one exploitative regime with another. Any new nation will inevitably have its own minority communities within it who will soon be clamouring for their own independent homeland. We have seen this time after time in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh; Ethiopia and Eritrea; Sudan and South Sudan and many more. What matters is reform to achieve peace, democracy, good governance and human rights for all, not an endless struggle for ever more fractured political units.⁴³⁶ The new political settlement should avoid discriminating against and exploiting minority groups or regions of the country, and instead grant their legitimate demands for fair and equal treatment and respect for their cultures and traditions, providing they do not harm others, thus avoiding creating the conditions which cause rebel movements to emerge in the first place.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ *World Development Report 2011*, World Bank, (2011), (most recent World Development Report focused on conflict), pp. 8, 12, but also see the whole report; Wolff, S. & Yakinthou, C. (Eds.), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies*, (2012); Darby J. & Mac Ginty, R. (Eds.), *Contemporary Peacemaking*, (2008); Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (2016); Wallensteen, P., *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (2015) etc.

⁴³⁶ Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 78 – 79, 130 – 131, 172 – 182, 185 – 186, 196 – 199, 233; Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009), pp. 121 – 142; Cooper, R., *The Breaking of Nations*, (2003), pp. 72 – 73 etc.

⁴³⁷ Wallensteen, P., *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (2015), pp. 42 – 47, 55 – 58, 128, 135, 139 – 141, 153, 170 – 175, 179; Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (2016), pp. 118, 121 – 122, 131 – 135, 147 – 148, 151, 155 – 156, 305 – 306, 338 – 340; *Do Government Transfers Reduce Conflict?*, Institute of Development Studies, (2015) etc.



Figure 4.21: The first task in countries that have been shattered by internal conflict, is to bring all parties together to negotiate a peace agreement that reconstitutes a single power sharing national authority, willing and capable of enforcing peace across the nation.

Usually, it will not be possible to convince or eliminate every hardliner and extremist. However, as long as the new settlement is ‘inclusive enough’ that the main factions are on-board, then by addressing legitimate demands it is possible to isolate the remaining hardliners and divide them from the sympathy of the communities they claim to represent. Once they have lost this support, then standard intelligence and policing methods can be used to arrest and prosecute them. This approach is widely recognised by political and security experts such as the British General Sir Rupert Smith, who in his book *The Utility of Force* stresses that in facing revolutionary or separatist movements, *“the object remains to separate the people from the activist – not only physically, but to the point at which they refuse to support him and will therefore inform on him. The forces must be matched to those of the guerrilla or revolutionary in the tactical circumstances that prevail; they must not be over-matched, as one would seek to be in industrial war, since in this case one plays to the guerrillas’ strategy of provocation and propaganda of the deed: a patently overwhelming force would be seen to be attacking a much smaller and weaker one. The tactical advantage is achieved by superior intelligence and information operations. Finally, the established government must hold out to the people a credible prospect for the future: only a viable and substantive programme ... will attract the majority of the people away from the ideologically driven guerrilla or revolutionary alternative.”*⁴³⁸

⁴³⁸ Smith, R., *The Utility of Force*, (2006), p. 176 – 177; see also Darby J. & Mac Ginty, R. (Eds.), *Contemporary Peacemaking*, (2008), pp. 145 – 177; *Supporting the Economic Dimensions of Peace Processes*, International Alert, (2010), p. 4 etc.

The negotiated peace should include programmes to rapidly demobilise, disarm, reintegrate and find jobs for the young fighters of the various factions, to increase stability.⁴³⁹ The negotiated return and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced people must also form part of any peace process. As the peace and conflict expert Peter Wallensteen notes, ***“Many peace agreements have clauses stipulating the unimpeded return of refugees ... The issue of the return of refugees is important, as this signifies, more than many other actions, that the extreme conditions that gave rise to their flight have been remedied to some extent.”***⁴⁴⁰ The new negotiated peace plan should also incorporate a rebuilding plan to redevelop previously conflict-torn areas. The international community should support this and create strong incentives for peace by pledging and delivering significant funds for rebuilding once peace has been established, to help kick start the economy and provide the jobs and normality people crave. Such pledges create yet further incentives for peace. The international community’s commitment to these rebuilding plans is perhaps best summarised in recent years in the *New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States*, agreed by the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding in 2011 to guide donor nations rebuilding support for conflict affected states. This commits the international community to ***“support one national vision and one plan to transition out of fragility. This vision and plan will be country –owned and –led”, through “a compact [which] will ensure harmonisation and donor co-ordination, reduce duplication, fragmentation and programme proliferation”, to be monitored via key ‘Peacebuilding and Stability Goals’ which “will inform global and country-level funding decisions to help ensure that all fragile countries, and their key peacebuilding and statebuilding priorities, are supported.”***⁴⁴¹

This top-down negotiated peace plan and new political settlement should also be accompanied by a bottom-up peace process of reconciliation at community and village level, bringing divided populations together and healing wounds. As John Paul Lederach, an academic expert on peacebuilding and a practitioner in the field, warns in his book *The Moral Imagination*, one of the things you most commonly (and dangerously) hear in the streets in nations struggling to emerge from conflict is ***“The ‘peace process’ is something that happened to us, just like the war happened to us”, and as he says “This feeling suggests that we have been hijacked by a view that peace is primarily within the purview and parameters of a small number of economically and militarily powerful and visible people ... our least-developed capacities are the practical mechanisms for how people, whole communities, are provided access and are engaged in the change process and how that engagement creates a sense of ownership, participation, and genuine commitment.”***⁴⁴²

Once a new ‘inclusive enough’ peace deal and political settlement has been agreed, serious consideration should be given to inviting in a UN Peacekeeping force to provide a neutral

⁴³⁹ (Re) *Building Core Government Functions in Fragile and Conflict Affected States*, UNDP & World Bank, (2017), pp. 22 – 23, 25; *Whose Security?*, Institute of Development Studies, (2015), p. 45; Lederach, J. P., *Building Peace*, (2010), pp. 58 – 60 etc.

⁴⁴⁰ Wallensteen, P., *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (2015), pp. 153 – 154; see also Darby J. & Mac Ginty, R. (Eds.), *Contemporary Peacemaking*, (2008), pp. 313 – 327; *UN Peacekeeping Operations, Principles and Guidelines*, Capstone Doctrine, UN, (2008), pp. 25, 29 etc.

⁴⁴¹ *The New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States*, International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, (2011), p. 2; see also *Supporting the Economic Dimensions of Peace Processes*, International Alert, (2010); (Re) *Building Core Government Functions in Fragile and Conflict Affected States*, UNDP & World Bank, (2017), pp. 31 – 35 etc.

⁴⁴² Lederach, J. P., *The Moral Imagination*, (2005), p. 60, but also see the whole book; Darby J. & Mac Ginty, R. (Eds.), *Contemporary Peacemaking*, (2008), pp. 36 – 44, 120 – 130, 155 – 156, 313 – 327, 353; Zehr, H., *The Little Book of Restorative Justice*, (2015) etc.

security guarantee to further help increase stability in the early phases of its implementation. Among other things, such a force can give armed factions confidence that they can disarm safely without fear of retaliation. This is different from an armed intervention to force a peace, rather it is a force invited in with the consent of all the parties as part of a peace deal to monitor and maintain that peace. UN Peacekeeping operations have an impressive record of success around the world. They can also be used in combination with ‘over the horizon guarantees’ whereby other neutral nations make a commitment to intervene to maintain the peace if conflict re-erupts, thus providing a further stabilising security guarantee without having to deploy. This effectiveness of such peacekeeping missions is increasingly widely recognised by security, conflict, development and international relations experts. For example, in a key paper from the Peace Research Institute Oslo, *Peacekeeping Works*, a number of academics find, ***“Several studies have identified particular pathways through which UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) are effective peacebuilders. PKOs substantially de-creates the risk that conflicts spread from one country to another; de-escalates conflict; shortens conflict duration; and increases the longevity of peace following conflict ... Peacekeeping works. The more the UN is willing to spend on peacekeeping, and the stronger the mandates provided, the greater the conflict-reducing effect ... We estimate that an ambitious UN peacekeeping policy will reduce the global incidence of armed conflict by two thirds relative to a non-PKO scenario.”***

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The international community should also provide significant early and sustained investment to train, capacity build and strengthen the new national administration and new institutions once they are established, to help make them effective and successful.⁴⁴⁴ The new administration should rapidly follow the policies set out in Part 5 under [Strong and fair economy](#) to get the economy going again and create the jobs and income people crave which are crucial for maintaining stability (especially for demobilised young men who may otherwise gravitate back to violence). A 2010 paper by the peacebuilding organisation, International Alert stresses that ***“the lack of economic growth and therefore economic opportunity is often one of the underlying causes of conflict.”*** It reviews the growing number of academic studies which point to the importance of rapid development of the domestic economy in post-conflict contexts to stabilise a society and help prevent a slide back into violence, ***“Previously economic recovery was viewed as a later-stage activity. ‘Phased’ approaches dominated, with relief/emergency assistance first, followed by rehabilitation of ex-combatants, the displaced, etc., and only then were activities to promote the economy and enterprises introduced. As a result, many conflicts become ‘stuck’ in the relief phase, transitioning too slowly to recovery and indeed hindering it, due to higher aid dependency on the part of beneficiaries, false incentives for business investment, and a lack of investments in market institutions and building capacity of market actors.”*** Therefore, it is now increasingly recognised that ***“a focus on economic recovery should start in the earliest days of a response, in tandem with humanitarian interventions to meet basic human needs and promote peace.”***⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ *Peacekeeping Works*, PRIO, (2015); see also Wolff, S. & Yakinthou, C. (Eds.), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies*, (2012), pp. 9, 122 – 126, 139; Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 10, 82 – 89, 95 – 100, 160 – 161, 202 – 212, 225, 232 etc.

⁴⁴⁴ Fukuyama, F., *State Building*, (2005); Ghani, A. & Lockhart, C., *Fixing Failed States*, (2009); Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009) etc.

⁴⁴⁵ *Market development in conflict-affected contexts*, International Alert, (2010), p. 3, but also see the whole report; *Reducing Violence in a Time of Global Uncertainty*, Institute of Development Studies, (2016), pp. 8 – 9; Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion*, (2008) etc.

The lessons from history indicate that it is crucial for the new political authority to produce rapid results in order to build confidence and prevent a slide back into frustration and violence. Importantly, these should be in the two areas that the citizens of conflict-ridden states express as their most critical needs. First, this is in providing security and some degree of justice and the rule of law, hence the emphasis in this section on re-establishing an ‘inclusive enough’ functioning national authority that regains the monopoly of violence within the nation, and is willing and capable of enforcing its will. The second is for jobs and economic development, and therefore why focusing on policies to ensure strong and fair economic development as a first priority once this new national authority has been installed, has also been stressed. This was the central conclusion of the World Bank’s *World Development Report 2011*, a major study which focused specifically on conflict, security and development, **“that strengthening legitimate institutions and governance to provide citizen security, justice, and jobs is crucial to break cycles of violence”** as the first stage.⁴⁴⁶ Once progress is well under way in these two critical areas, other reforms to provide better public services and improve democracy, human rights and good governance can and will begin to take place, prompted by the [bottom-up pressure from within](#), outlined earlier in Part 4. Also critical for maintaining public good will and belief in the new political settlement, is a public information and education campaign and a corresponding programme taught in schools to explain the principles behind the peace deal and the new national authority, and the government’s plan for economically rebuilding the nation, to help current and future generations to come together behind it. So, in summary ...

Governments of conflict affected nations and the international community should:

- Support the legitimate national authority to overcome and regain complete control in a minor conflict against an illegitimate extremist faction with no real popular support. However, for nations embroiled in more serious protracted small internal conflicts, then the international community and national governments should:
- Use the strategies listed above under [Pressure within nations](#) and the tough diplomatic tactics under [Pressure from outside of nations](#) to force all the warring parties to the negotiating table and to keep them there
- Offer neutral third-party mediation of a peace process and independent monitoring of its implementation through the UN or some other appropriate international or regional institution or via one or more major nations
- Negotiate a peace agreement that reconstitutes a new political settlement: a single ‘inclusive enough’ power sharing national authority willing and capable of enforcing its will across the nation
- Give the leaders of the major factions some kind of role in the new authority, thus strengthening their incentive for peace
- Structure the new constitution so that it requires those seeking office to have to reach out across ethnic and religious lines to be successful, rather than just appeal to their own community
- Don’t rush to elections too soon in a still divided and volatile environment, until the new national authority has had time to build more stability
- Pursue reform within existing nations rather than succession and the creation of new nations

⁴⁴⁶ *World Development Report 2011*, World Bank, (2011), (most recent World Development Report focused on conflict), p. 2, but also see the whole report; *(Re) Building Core Government Functions in Fragile and Conflict Affected States*, UNDP & World Bank, (2017), pp. 3, 7 – 8, 22 – 26; *UN Peacekeeping Operations, Principles and Guidelines, Capstone Doctrine*, UN, (2008), pp. 25, 27, 30, 86 – 90 etc.

- Grant the legitimate demands of minority groups for fair treatment and respect for their traditions, providing they harm no others, as a result ...
- Isolate hardline extremists from popular support, then ...
- Use legal intelligence and police methods to arrest and prosecute hardline extremists
- Rapidly demobilise, disarm, reintegrate and find jobs for the young fighters from various factions
- Agree the resettlement of refugees and internally displaced people
- Agree rebuilding plans for post-conflict areas
- Ensure rebuilding plans are generously resourced by the international community, with funds that are released once peace is agreed, providing further incentives
- Match the top-down peace process with a bottom-up process of local reconciliation at the village and community level
- Deploy UN Peacekeepers and use ‘over the horizon’ guarantees to maintain the peace in its early stages once it has been agreed
- Provide sustained investment to train, capacity build and strengthen the new administration and new institutions
- Follow the policies under [Strong and fair economy](#) in Part 5 to get the economy going again and create jobs to maintain stability
- Produce some rapid confidence building results in 1) providing security, justice and the rule of law, through re-establishing an ‘inclusive enough’ functioning national authority that regains the monopoly of violence within the nation and is willing and capable of enforcing its will and 2) creating jobs and economic development, through focusing on policies to ensure a strong and fair economy, as a first priority once this new national authority has been installed
- Carry out further reforms to provide better public services and improve democracy, human rights and good governance later, once progress is well under way in the two critical areas of security and jobs
- Run public information campaigns and corresponding programmes taught in schools to explain the principles behind the peace deal and the new national authority, and the government’s plan for economically rebuilding the nation, to help current and future generations to come together behind it

Armed intervention in small conflicts

In certain extreme circumstances, one or more sides may have absolutely no wish for reconciliation, and bottom-up reform may be too slow in the face of extreme suffering. We have seen that in such circumstances there appears to be a Biblical principle that other nations can intervene militarily to prevent suffering. Democratic nations should be prepared to do this if necessary. However, intervention can only be considered legitimate in very specific circumstances. Recent history has much to teach us about how to do this and how not to, from military interventions that (though always imperfect) have been widely seen as successful, such as those by the international community in Haiti, Kosovo and East Timor in the 1990s; by the UK in Sierra Leone and the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) in Liberia in the 2000s; and by the French in Côte d’Ivoire and Mali, and NATO in Libya in the 2010s. There are also lessons from military interventions that have been widely viewed as mistakes, such as those by the international community in Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Finally, there are lessons from conflicts where it is broadly felt that the international community failed to

intervene where it should have, such as Yugoslavia and Rwanda in the 1990s and Syria in the 2010s.

First, armed intervention should only be considered in the face of extreme oppression of large parts of society and/or genocide, not simply for any non-democratic regime with poor human rights standards. As the 2005 UN *World Summit Conclusions* which enshrine this principle as the ‘Responsibility to Protect’ set out, armed intervention by other nations should only be contemplated in cases of **“genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity”**.⁴⁴⁷ All other options must have been exhausted before this is considered.⁴⁴⁸ It can only be legitimate if more lives will be lost over the long-term if the international community fails to act than if they do. The primary aim must be to save lives, not any political or economic objective on the part of the intervening nations.⁴⁴⁹



Figure 4.22: In exceptional circumstances, the international community can use armed intervention to prevent states perpetrating extreme injustice or genocide against their populations, but only when key safeguards are in place.

Armed intervention should ideally only take place with a mandate from the UN Security Council, or if that is not possible, at least with the universal support of the democratic members of the Council and a significant international coalition of nations. As Andrew Hurrell, among many other international relations experts, notes in his book *On Global Order*, there is a

⁴⁴⁷ *World Summit Conclusions*, UN, (2005), p. 30; Weiss, T. G., *Humanitarian Intervention*, (2016), pp. x, 8, 30; Pattison, J., *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect*, (2013), pp. viii, 14, 20 – 24 etc.

⁴⁴⁸ Smith, R., *The Utility of Force*, (2006), p. 10; *World Summit Conclusions*, UN, (2005), p. 30; *Charter of the United Nations*, Chapter 7: *Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression*, UN, (1945) etc.

⁴⁴⁹ Weiss, T. G., *Humanitarian Intervention*, (2016), pp. 8 – 10, 141; Pattison, J., *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect*, (2013), pp. 153 – 180; Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (2016), pp. 384, 388 etc.

crucially important *“unique role of the UN as the source of collective legitimation for the use of force and the forum within [which] the norms surrounding the use of force are maintained, developed, and interpreted.”*⁴⁵⁰

Crucially, armed intervention should only ever be considered in support of a wider strategy for securing a lasting peace along the lines set out earlier under [Reduce and end small conflicts](#). The best an armed intervention can achieve is a temporary halt to the violence; it cannot bring about lasting peace alone. Therefore, the intervention must have a specific, clearly defined and limited goal underneath that wider political strategy. The British General Sir Rupert Smith, summarises this well in his book, *The Utility of Force*, *“for force to be effective the desired outcome of its use must be understood in such detail that the context of its use is defined as well as the point of application ... military force is a valid option, a lever of intervention and influence, as much as economic, political and diplomatic levers, but to be effective it must be applied as part of a greater scheme focusing all measures on the one goal.”*⁴⁵¹ Any intervention should include a timetable and exit plan from the very start. This exit plan must include a clear strategy for establishing and transitioning power to a new legitimate and domestically acceptable national authority, and pulling out as rapidly as possible. This is widely recognised by development and security experts, indeed the United Nations’ own manual for how it deploys UN peacekeeping troops, *UN Peacekeeping Operations, Principles and Guidelines* (commonly referred to as the *Capstone Doctrine*), stresses that *“Security Sector Reform (SSR) is an essential component of efforts to re-establish and strengthen the rule of law. Progress in the area of SSR is critical to the success of a multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operation and helps define its “exit strategy,” which is largely dependent on the ability of national security actors and institutions to function effectively.”*⁴⁵² With every passing day intervening forces start to look less like liberators and more like occupiers, so withdrawing as soon as possible is key.

In addition, armed intervention should only be considered if it is sufficiently funded,⁴⁵³ and has a sufficiently good prospect of success. Put bluntly: if you can’t win, don’t do it, you will only make things worse! As the academic James Pattison explains in his work *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect*, *“The most important factor for the legitimacy of an intervener is its effectiveness ... what matters most is that we can expect the intervener to achieve good consequences – that it will successfully prevent, halt, or decrease the egregious violations of human rights”* and therefore *“An intervener (usually) cannot be legitimate if its intervention is likely to worsen the situation of those suffering the humanitarian crisis.”*⁴⁵⁴ The democratic members of the international community also need to consider whether if they don’t intervene, others will, who may be far more authoritarian and oppressive in their aims and methods. As far as possible, intervening armed forces should be drawn from nations whose religion and ethnicity is least likely to inflame local resentment.

⁴⁵⁰ Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009), p. 189, see also pp. 186, 190, 252; *Charter of the United Nations, Chapter 7: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression*, UN, (1945); *World Summit Conclusions*, UN, (2005), p. 30 etc.

⁴⁵¹ Smith, R., *The Utility of Force*, (2006), pp. 398 – 399, but also see the whole book; Knaus, G. & Stewart, R., *Can Intervention Work?*, (2012); Guéhenno, J-M., *The Fog of Peace*, (2015) etc.

⁴⁵² *UN Peacekeeping Operations, Principles and Guidelines, Capstone Doctrine*, UN, (2008), p. 27, see also pp. 38 – 40, 61 – 62, 85 – 90; Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (2016), pp. 247 – 261; Fukuyama, F., *State Building*, (2005), pp. 50 – 52, 131 – 141 etc.

⁴⁵³ *Peacekeeping Works*, PRIO, (2015); Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 96 – 100; Cooper, R., *The Breaking of Nations*, (2003), pp. 156 – 158 etc.

⁴⁵⁴ Pattison, J., *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect*, (2013), p. 182, 78, see also pp. 69 – 97, 168 – 169, 182 – 186; Weiss, T. G., *Humanitarian Intervention*, (2016), p. 142

Intervening forces should also never target civilians. They should treat prisoners of war properly, care for the wounded and follow all the other stipulations of the *Geneva Conventions* and wider international humanitarian law.⁴⁵⁵

The strategy should be informed from the start by a deep humility, and a knowledge of (and respect for) the local context, with extensive input from nationals to develop a highly contextualised approach.⁴⁵⁶ Intervening forces should also do everything possible to win the hearts and minds of the local population, treating them well with respect and honour. Sadly, this is often not the case. The political scientist, Séverine Autesserre accounts in her book studying military interventions and peacekeeping operations *Peaceland*, how in interviews of more than 6000 people in 21 countries living with intervening armed forces, ***“We heard a constant refrain, from Cyprus to Ecuador: Expatriates impose their ideas in a manner both disrespectful and humiliating.”*** They were described by interviewees as ***“arrogant,” “condescending,” “paternalistic,” “bossy,” and “preachy”*** and as a result these ***“prevailing practices generate local responses of evasion, contestation, and resistance, which pose significant obstacles to international efforts.”*** Conversely, she like many other academics, finds that ***“peacebuilding is more effective when it promotes both local authorship, meaning the constant solicitation of ‘local inputs on how to best proceed with a given set of goals’, and local ownership, which entails ‘control over policy creation’ and implementation.”***⁴⁵⁷

Any armed intervention must be performed by the legitimate national armed forces of members of the international community. Nations must resist the temptation to reduce the cost and their own casualties by funding rebel groups or militias within a conflict nation instead. This violates the fundamental principle of a national state being the only legitimate institution which can use limited force to uphold justice. We have seen how much suffering is caused when this principle is violated. Furthermore, western nations have a terrible history of funding rebels and ‘allies’ who later turned into oppressors and enemies, such as Osama Bin Laden and the mujahedeen during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Saddam Hussein’s Iraq during the Iran/Iraq war, and more recently rebel groups with dubious connections to Islamic extremists in Syria. As a key report from the International Crisis Group says, ***“Working through auxiliaries is potentially more problematic still. Nigeria’s and Pakistan’s arming of militias against Boko Haram and tribal extremists has, perhaps, yielded occasional short-term gains but causes problems over time. Arming anti-Taliban militias in Afghanistan has often entrenched predatory local forces and exclusionary patronage networks that drive support for the insurgency and fuel local disputes. Such dynamics almost certainly facilitated the Taliban’s encroachment around Kunduz in 2015. In Iraq, Libya, Syria and Yemen, militias may be the best equipped forces, but backing them contributes to the disintegration of state***

⁴⁵⁵ UN Peacekeeping Operations, *Principles and Guidelines, Capstone Doctrine*, UN, (2008), pp. 14 – 16, 27, 36 – 37, 65, 81 – 82; *First Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field*, (1949); *Second Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea*, (1949); *Third Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War*, (1949); *Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War*, (1949); *Additional Protocol 1 to the Geneva Conventions relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts*, (1977); *Additional Protocol 2 to the Geneva Conventions relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts*, (1977); *Additional Protocol 3 to the Geneva Conventions relating to the Adoption of and Additional Distinctive Emblem*, (2005); *Promoting Compliance with International Humanitarian Law*, Chatham House, (2016) etc.

⁴⁵⁶ Knaus, G. & Stewart, R., *Can Intervention Work?*, (2012); Autesserre, S., *Peaceland*, (2016); *Reducing Violence in a Time of Global Uncertainty*, Institute of Development Studies, (2016), pp. 24 – 25 etc.

⁴⁵⁷ Autesserre, S., *Peaceland*, (2016); pp. 97 – 99, 102, but also see the whole book; Pattison, J., *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect*, (2013), pp. ix, 87 – 89, 131, 140 – 146, 183 – 185; Guéhenno, J-M., *The Fog of Peace*, (2015), p. 147 etc.

structures, escalating arms races and radicalisation on all sides." ⁴⁵⁸ Finally, all these policies should be taught in the schools of intervening nations, as well as promoted more widely in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns so that current and future generations understand the reasons why armed intervention is taking place. So, in summary ...

The international community should consider armed intervention:

- Only in contexts of extreme oppression and/or genocide
- Only when all other options have been exhausted
- Only if more lives will be lost over the long-term if they fail to act than if they do
- Solely to save life, not for political or economic gain
- Only with the agreement of the UN Security Council or all its democratic members and a significant international coalition of support
- Only in a limited capacity, in support of a clear wider political strategy for securing a lasting peace along the lines set out under [Reduce and end small conflicts](#)
- Only if there is a clear plan to establish (and as rapidly as possible transition power to) a new legitimate and domestically acceptable national authority and exit
- Only if the intervention is sufficiently funded
- Only if the intervention has a good prospect of success
- If other more authoritarian and oppressive regimes are likely to intervene if the democratic members of the international community don't do so
- Ideally using forces drawn from nations whose religion and ethnicity is least likely to inflame local resentment
- With a strategy informed by a deep humility, knowledge of and respect for the local context
- Ensuring intervening forces never target civilians, treat prisoners properly, care for the wounded and follow all the other stipulations of international humanitarian law
- Doing everything possible to treat the local population with dignity and respect and win their hearts and minds
- Never support rebel groups instead of intervening
- Teach these policies in the schools of intervening nations, as well as promoting them more widely through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand the reasons why armed intervention is taking place

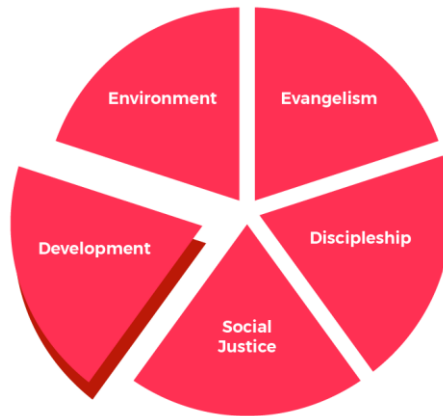
PRIORITISE

We have seen how the Bible has given us profound principles setting out what socially just regimes with good governance look like and how to achieve them, as well as how to prevent and end conflict. Two thousand years of history have then taught us many lessons about how to put these principles into practice effectively. The world needs to put all these policies drawn from the Bible and historical experience into practice. They are all essential. However, if we were forced to prioritise one thing, it must be to ...

⁴⁵⁸ *Exploiting Disorder*, International Crisis Group, (2016), p. 40, see also pp. 7, 9 – 10; *Aiding and Assisting*, Chatham House, (2016), pp. 22 – 23; Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (2016), p. 340 etc.

- Support bottom-up civil society reform movements which demand and work for change by providing ‘pressure from within’ using radical but peaceful methods.

We have seen again and again how such movements have overwhelmingly been the most successful way to peacefully and dramatically improve democracy, human rights and good governance by nation states, and reduce conflict. Individual Christians, and the church more widely, have often found themselves at the absolute core of such movements in nation after nation, and amongst their most sympathetic supporters in the wider international community. Our potential as members of the global church, the largest civil society movement in the world, to drive and be at the forefront of such change movements is huge. Christians in many nations right around the world continue to engage in and lead reform movements such as these today. Once again, it is ordinary Christians, like you and me, that hold the keys to bringing about change for a more socially just world. That is why Arise – through its weekly advocacy actions which you can sign up for (www.ariseuk.org/sign-up) – is helping individual Christians take action to support bottom-up reform movements around the world, to drive much further and faster change towards the socially just world that God wants to see.



PART 5: DEVELOPMENT

We have seen so far that as Christians, we should share our faith through evangelism, grow in faith through discipleship, and strive for a socially just and free world for all. In addition, we must also tackle the scourge of global poverty and inequality through development. The Bible has so much to say about God's love for the poorest and most vulnerable people. Jesus modelled this radical love throughout his life. Our vision of the kingdom of God is woefully incomplete if it does not include an end to poverty and inequality. We therefore turn now to consider the whole area of development. As we examine the lessons we can draw from the Bible and history, we will find a picture emerging of development happening as a two-stage process. These lessons have been grouped under those stages. First, every country needs a 'Strong and fair economy'. Each nation must 'Lead domestically' in playing the primary role in achieving this, but the world must also 'Support internationally' as they do so. Second, to ensure no one is left behind, each nation needs to 'Tax' and provide 'social spending' to meet basic needs from that economy. Again, each country should 'Lead domestically' in establishing the policies and systems to bring this about, whilst other nations 'Support internationally'.

1) WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY?

Strong and fair economy

Lead domestically

We have seen that the Bible stresses repeatedly that our near perfect world would include an end to poverty,⁴⁵⁹ and that it instructs both the church, and us as individual Christians, to be radically generous in praying, giving, practical action, ethical consumption and speaking out in advocacy for those in poverty. But what does it tell us beyond this foundational principle and individual compassionate response, about how poverty should be addressed systematically

⁴⁵⁹ Deut 15: 4 – 11; Prov 29: 7; James 1: 27; Gal 2: 10, see also Lev 25: 35 – 37; Deut 10: 17 – 18; Psalm 12: 5; Psalm 82: 3 – 4; Psalm 146: 7 – 9; Prov 14: 31; Isa 58; Matt 11: 2 – 6; Matt 19: 21; Mark 10: 21; Luke 7: 17 – 22; Luke 10: 25 – 37; Luke 12: 33; Luke 14: 12 – 14; Luke 18: 22; Luke 19: 8; Acts 10: 1 – 4 etc.

by society? Well, amazingly when God's people first entered the Holy Land over 3000 years ago, God gave them the laws and principles required to run the agriculture-based economy of their day to fairly meet the needs of all, so that there would be ***"no poor people among you"***.⁴⁶⁰ We find these principles from Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy reaffirmed in other parts of the Bible as well, and there are profound lessons we can draw from them and apply in our world today. First, as we saw in Part 3 on Discipleship, every human is called to [work hard](#). The primary route out of poverty according to the Bible, and the experience of history, is work. As the book of Proverbs says, ***"Those who work their land will have abundant food ... the work of their hands brings them reward"*** and ***"All hard work brings a profit, but mere talk leads only to poverty."***⁴⁶¹ In modern parlance, nothing is more effective for lifting people out of poverty than a job. This provides the funds individuals need to take care of themselves and their family, and the human dignity of being able to stand on their own feet, rather than being dependent on others.



Figure 5.1: The most effective way of lifting people out of poverty is providing jobs with good pay and working conditions. Governments should pursue economic policies that result in full employment.

Applying this Biblical lesson to our modern world, governments should pursue policies which result in full employment with good jobs available for all their citizens. Crucially, as we also saw in Part 3 on Discipleship, this needs to be balanced against significant periods of [holiday, rest and relaxation](#).⁴⁶² Thus, in public policy terms, it is not just important to ensure citizens have jobs, but good jobs with sufficient pay, good protection of employee rights, sensible rather

⁴⁶⁰ Deut 15: 4 – 15; Acts 4: 34 – 35

⁴⁶¹ Prov 12: 11, 14, 24, 27; Prov 14: 23, see also Ex 20: 9; Lev 23: 3; Deut 5: 13; Prov 6: 6 – 11; Prov 10: 4 – 5, 26; Prov 13: 4; Prov 15: 19; Prov 18: 9; Prov 20: 4, 13; Col 3: 23; 2 Thess 3: 6 – 15; Titus 3: 14 etc.

⁴⁶² Gen 2: 1 – 3; Ex 20: 8 – 11; Ex 23: 12; Lev 23; Num 28: 16 – 29: 39; Deut 5: 12 – 15; Deut 16: 1 – 17; Ezra 6: 19 – 22; Esther 9: 18 – 32; Matt 11: 28 – 30; Mark 6: 31 – 32; Luke 7: 34; John 2: 1 – 11 etc.

than long working hours, and generous holiday allocation. We see the prophet Jeremiah condemn those who don't pay fair wages, ***“Woe to him who builds his palace by unrighteousness, his upper rooms by injustice, making his own people work for nothing, not paying them for their labour”***, and the book of Deuteronomy ensure working hours for employees are reasonable, ***“the seventh day is a sabbath to the LORD your God. On it you shall not do any work, neither you, nor your son or daughter, nor your male or female servant, nor your ox, your donkey or any of your animals, nor any foreigner residing in your towns, so that your male and female servants may rest, as you do.”***⁴⁶³ We should all work hard, but work should never be exploitative.

When the people of God first entered Israel, the land was divided equally amongst them. We read how ***“The land is to be allotted to them as an inheritance based on the number of names. To a larger group give a larger inheritance, and to a smaller group a smaller one; each is to receive its inheritance according to the number of those listed.”*** This follows the original situation before the fall – when the world was the way God intended it to be and there was full equality between people. Similarly, when Jesus returns to bring his kingdom in full, all will be equal before God once more. Finally, when God first established his new kingdom community through the global church in the New Testament, this also began with radical equality for all, for in the early church in Jerusalem ***“All the believers were together and had everything in common. They sold property and possessions to give to anyone who had need.”*** A truly Biblical approach to poverty and economics then, would see an ideal economy of equality for all.⁴⁶⁴ However, from this starting ideal of equality in both historical Israel and the early church, there soon emerges some degree of inequality. Interestingly this is not instantly condemned and corrected. We can therefore see that the Bible balances this ideal of equality towards which we should strive, with a practical acceptance that complete equality will not always be possible.⁴⁶⁵

However, when inequality becomes too pronounced and obscene, both Old and New Testaments give examples of corrective mechanisms to intervene and push the situation back towards the ideal of equality. Thus, when they entered the Holy Land the Israelites were told to ***“Consecrate the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty throughout the land to all its inhabitants. It shall be a jubilee for you; each of you is to return to your family property and to your own clan ... If any of your fellow Israelites become poor and sell themselves to you, do not make them work as slaves. They are to be treated as hired workers or temporary residents among you; they are to work for you until the Year of Jubilee. Then they and their children are to be released, and they will go back to their own clans and to the property of his ancestors.”*** Similarly, in the New Testament Paul writes to the Corinthians, ***“Our desire is not that others might be relieved while you are hard pressed, but that there might be equality. At the present time your plenty will supply what they need, so that in turn their plenty will supply what you need. The goal is equality.”***⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶³ Jer 22: 13; Deut 5: 14, see also Ex 23: 12; Lev 19: 13; Lev 25: 53; Deut 24: 14 – 15; Prov 22: 22 – 23; Isa 23; Isa 58: 3; Eze 26 – 28; Hosea 12: 8 – 9; Nahum 3: 16; Mal 3: 5; Matt 10: 10; Luke 10: 7; 1 Tim 5: 18; James 5: 4 etc.

⁴⁶⁴ Num 26: 53 – 56; Acts 2: 44 – 46, see also Num 33: 54; Num 34: 13; Num 35: 8; Josh 11: 23; Josh 12: 7; Josh 13: 6 – 14: 5; Josh 18: 4 – 19: 51; Psalm 99: 4; Eze 47: 13 – 23; Acts 4: 34 – 35 etc.

⁴⁶⁵ Ex 30: 15; Lev 25: 8 – 41, 50 – 54; Deut 15: 1 – 3, 12; Deut 31: 10; Nehemiah 10: 31; Psalm 49: 2, 16; Prov 13: 7; Prov 22: 2; Jer 9: 23; 1 Cor 11: 18 – 22; 1 Tim 6: 17 – 19; James 1: 9 – 11; James 2: 1 – 9 etc.

⁴⁶⁶ Lev 25: 8 – 41, 50 – 54; 2 Cor 8: 13 – 15, see also Num 36: 2 – 12; Deut 15: 1 – 3, 12; Deut 31: 10; Ruth 4: 1 – 11; Nehemiah 8: 10; Nehemiah 10: 31; Acts 4: 34 – 35; 1 Cor 11: 18 – 22; 1 Tim 6: 17 – 19 etc.

Throughout both the Old and New Testaments there appears to be a background assumption that from this starting point of full equality, life will go on. There will be buying, selling and trading and this is neither praised nor condemned. Indeed, around the world, markets have emerged naturally in every human society. The Bible appears to accept a generally free market and business activity (capitalism in its broadest sense) neutrally as a fact of life, neither praising nor condemning it. When Jesus described the normality of life – right up to major events in the Old Testament and his own future return in glory – he speaks of how in the everyday way ***“People were eating, drinking, marrying and being given in marriage ... buying and selling, planting and building ...”***⁴⁶⁷

However, the Bible is also very clear that if left completely alone markets will produce inequality, exploitation and social ills. The natural law of the market would mean that every field and vineyard would be completely stripped clean leaving nothing for the poor; those who had lost homes and property through ill fortune would never regain them; those who ended up selling themselves into slavery and bonded labour because of their poverty would never be released; those with unpayable debts would never have them cancelled; people’s capital assets would be seized as security for debts; and poor labourers would go unpaid or underpaid. Therefore, in each of these examples, and many more, the Bible sees that the state has a role to intervene through sensible law to prevent the pursuit of profit when it will result in human suffering. The people in Israel were instructed in law ***“do not reap to the very edges of your field or gather the gleanings of your harvest”***; ***“in this Year of Jubilee everyone is to return to their own property”***; a bonded labourer and his children ***“are to be released in the Year of Jubilee”***; ***“at the end of every seven years you must cancel debts”***; ***“do not take a pair of millstones – not even the upper one – as security for a debt”***; and pay hired workers ***“their wages each day before sunset”***.⁴⁶⁸ In taking this approach, the Bible is following the same underlying principle and approach to the law that we encountered in [Part 4 on Social Justice](#): that people should be free to do what they want unless it harms others, at which point the law should intervene. Now we see the extension of that principle into the market. Companies and individuals should be free to buy, sell and trade as they wish, unless their activity harms others, in which case the state should step in through law to prevent it.

This principle – that left alone the market will result in inequality and injustice, unless there is some corrective action through the law – is widely recognised by politicians, economists and academics in our modern world as well. As Martin Ravallion, the academic economist and former director of research at the World Bank, says in his book *The Economics of Poverty*, ***“even the best functioning market mechanism can hardly be expected to address the needs of poor people well, who (by definition) have little purchasing power over commodities, and the market will naturally tend to channel commodities to those with the buying power ... Realizing this, there have been various efforts made to try to steer the market economy toward preferred allocations, with less poverty. The idea is to keep the advantages of the market mechanism in tailoring supply to demand but to try to shift its allocation in more equitable ways. This has long been a primary motive for governmental interventions of one sort or another.”*** Or as the French economist Thomas Piketty put it in his book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, within the free market itself ***“there is no natural, spontaneous process to prevent destabilizing inegalitarian forces from prevailing”***, and indeed without such

⁴⁶⁷ Luke 17: 26 – 35, see also Lev 25: 8 – 41, 50 – 54; Deut 2: 6, 28; Deut 14: 21, 25 – 26; Deut 15: 1 – 3, 6; Deut 24: 6, 10 – 22; Deut 25: 13 – 16; Deut 28: 12, 44; Nehemiah 10: 31; Matt 10: 29; Matt 13: 44 – 46; Matt 14: 15; Mark 6: 36; Mark 15: 46; Mark 16: 1; Luke 9: 13; Luke 12: 6; John 4: 8; John 6: 5; Acts 7: 16 etc.

⁴⁶⁸ Lev 19: 9 – 10; Lev 25: 8 – 41, 50 – 54; Deut 15: 1 – 3, 12; Deut 24: 6, 10 – 22, see also Lev 23: 22; Deut 31: 10; Ruth 2; Nehemiah 10: 31; Hosea 12: 8 – 9; Amos 5: 11; Amos 8: 4 – 6; Nahum 3: 16; James 5: 1 – 6 etc.

intervention, *“When the rate of return on capital significantly exceeds the growth rate of the economy (as it did through much of history until the nineteenth century and as is likely to be the case again in the twenty-first century), then it logically follows that inherited wealth grows faster than output and income. People with inherited wealth need save only a proportion of their income from capital to see the capital grow more quickly than the economy as a whole. Under such conditions, it is almost inevitable that inherited wealth will dominate wealth amassed from a lifetime’s labor by a wide margin, and the concentration of capital will attain extremely high levels – levels potentially incompatible with the meritocratic values and principles of social justice fundamental to modern democratic societies.”*⁴⁶⁹

One such way that the Bible applies this principle of the law intervening to protect individuals where the market might otherwise cause them harm, is in laws to protect people and companies from being cheated, swindled or defrauded. The book of Leviticus says *“Do not defraud or rob your neighbour ... Do not use dishonest standards when measuring length, weight or quantity. Use honest scales and honest weights”*.⁴⁷⁰ Another is in ensuring the market can provide loans and credit for those who need it. As we have seen in [Part 3 on Discipleship](#), the people of Israel in the Old Testament and the early church in the New Testament were to avoid getting into debt or putting up security for each other as far as possible, and were to pay off any debts they did incur, so they would *“let no debt remain outstanding”*.⁴⁷¹ Where they did need loans, they lent to each other and would *“charge no interest”*.⁴⁷² Although they could take something in *“pledge”* for a loan,⁴⁷³ they should not take anything that deprived someone of their livelihood or from a poor person,⁴⁷⁴ and in any case it was better not to *“oppress anyone or require a pledge for a loan”* altogether.⁴⁷⁵ Anything that was taken in pledge for a loan should be returned,⁴⁷⁶ and the loan itself cancelled after seven years if it had not been repaid, when *“Every creditor shall cancel any loan they have made to a fellow Israelite.”*⁴⁷⁷ However, beyond their community, the Israelites were told *“You may charge a foreigner interest”*⁴⁷⁸ and didn’t have to cancel loans after seven years.⁴⁷⁹ Presumably, even here this interest should have been reasonable and the terms fair, in line with the strong Biblical rules we have already seen not to mistreat foreigners,⁴⁸⁰ and not to harm others through business activity.⁴⁸¹ Translating these Biblical principles into today’s world, it seems that Christians should certainly loan to each other without charging interest, but in the wider market, individuals and companies can provide loans with interest to those that need credit, but there

⁴⁶⁹ Ravallion, M., *The Economics of Poverty*, (2016), p. 1; Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (2013), pp. 21, 26, but also see the whole book; Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), pp. 323 – 324 etc.

⁴⁷⁰ Lev 19: 13, 35 – 36, see also Lev 6: 2 – 7; Deut 19: 14; Deut 25: 13 – 16; Prov 20: 10, 17, 23; Prov 23: 10 – 11; Eze 45: 10 – 12; Hosea 12: 8 – 9; Amos 8: 4 – 6; Micah 2: 2; Mark 10: 19; 1 Cor 5: 11; 1 Cor 6: 8, 10 etc.

⁴⁷¹ Roms 13: 8, see also Prov 6: 1 – 5; Prov 11: 15; Prov 17: 18; Prov 22: 26 – 27

⁴⁷² Ex 22: 25 – 27, see also Lev 25: 35 – 37; Deut 23: 19 – 20; Nehemiah 5; Psalm 15: 5; Eze 18: 7 – 8, 12 – 13, 16 – 17; Eze 22: 12 – 13

⁴⁷³ Deut 24: 6, 10 – 17; Prov 20: 16; Prov 27: 13

⁴⁷⁴ Deut 24: 6, 10 – 17; Nehemiah 5; Job 24: 3

⁴⁷⁵ Eze 18: 7 – 8, 12 – 13, 16 – 17

⁴⁷⁶ Eze 18: 7 – 8, 12 – 13, 16 – 17; Eze 33: 15

⁴⁷⁷ Deut 15: 1 – 3, see also Deut 31: 10; Nehemiah 10: 31

⁴⁷⁸ Deut 23: 19 – 20

⁴⁷⁹ Deut 15: 1 – 3

⁴⁸⁰ Ex 22: 21; Ex 23: 9, 12; Lev 19: 10, 33 – 34; Lev 23: 22; Lev 25: 35; Deut 1: 16; Deut 5: 14; Deut 10: 18 – 19; Deut 14: 28 – 29; Deut 24: 14, 17 – 21; Deut 26: 12; Deut 27: 19

⁴⁸¹ Lev 19: 9 – 10; Lev 25: 8 – 41, 50 – 54; Deut 15: 1 – 3, 12; Deut 24: 6, 10 – 22, see also Lev 23: 22; Deut 31: 10; Ruth 2; Nehemiah 10: 31; Hosea 12: 8 – 9; Amos 5: 11; Amos 8: 4 – 6; Nahum 3: 16; James 5: 1 – 6 etc.

should be rules and safeguards to prevent this being excessive or exploitative, including, where necessary, writing off unpayable debts. So, in summary ...

Governments should:

- Pursue economic policies that will result in good jobs for all
- Protect employee rights, ensuring all jobs have sufficient pay, fair treatment, sensible rather than long working hours and generous holiday allocation
- Strive towards complete equality for all
- Recognise that pragmatically this will not always be possible, but ...
- Intervene to push back towards equality when inequality becomes too extreme
- Allow the private sector freedom to operate as it chooses (thus ensuring broadly free markets) unless it harms others, at which point the law should intervene to prevent human suffering, exploitation and social ills
- Ban cheating, swindling and defrauding
- Ensure the market can provide loans and credit for those who need it, but in ways that are safeguarded to prevent exploitation of the vulnerable

Tax and social spending

Lead domestically

So, a strong and fair economy is essential for ending poverty. It cannot happen without it. However, the Bible is clear that alone it is not enough. There will always be those who get left behind by the market. Therefore, right from the foundation of the model nation of Israel, God says *“There will always be poor people in the land. Therefore I command you to be openhanded toward your fellow Israelites who are poor and needy in your land”,* for God *“defends the cause of the fatherless and the widow, and loves the foreigner residing among you, giving them food and clothing. And you are to love those who are foreigners, for you yourselves were foreigners in Egypt.”*⁴⁸² The “widow”, the “fatherless”, and the “foreigner”, were the poor and marginalised in the agrarian society of their times. They could not provide for themselves because they did not own land, and thus we see these clear Biblical commands that society must help support them. The equivalent in our societies today might be the unemployed, those with medical conditions preventing them from working and those too old for full-time work. It is interesting to note that often such support is not merely distributed in hand-outs, but provision is set aside for the poor and marginalised to be able to work for it. This fits with the emphasis we have seen the Bible places on work in order to provide empowerment and human dignity, and to avoid creating a disempowering dependency culture. Thus the Israelites were instructed, *“When you reap the harvest of your land, do not reap to the very edges of your field or gather the gleanings of your harvest. Do not go over your vineyard a second time or pick up the grapes that have fallen. Leave them for the poor and the foreigner.”*⁴⁸³

Translating this Biblical principle into modern policy means that governments must provide generous unemployment and low-income benefits to those who need them, and that, wherever

⁴⁸² Deut 15: 4 – 15; Deut 10: 18 – 19, see also Ex 22: 21 – 22; Ex 23: 6, Lev 19: 14; Lev 25: 35; Deut 23: 15 – 16; Deut 24: 17; Deut 27: 19; Psalm 94: 6; Jer 7: 6; Eze 16: 49; Eze 22: 7, 29; Eze 34: 2 – 4, 21 etc.

⁴⁸³ Lev 19: 9 – 10, see also Ex 23: 10 – 11; Lev 23: 22; Lev 25: 35 – 43; Lev 27: 8; Num 27: 1 – 11; Deut 24: 19 – 22; Ruth 2; 2 Thess 3: 6 – 15; 1 Tim 5: 3 – 16

possible, individuals should do some work in order to receive this support, helping build empowerment and dignity. Thus, in effect, rather than free benefits, the state is offering guaranteed jobs. There is a multitude of socially useful work that is needed and the private sector finds difficult to fund: tree planting, community support, rubbish clearing, regeneration, youth work, research, archaeological digs etc. There is no shortage of need. Such work should be considered an honourable social contribution, not a source of shame. Of course, such work and benefits should never be more profitable than conventional employment, and every possible support should also be given to help those who find themselves unemployed to get jobs. Several modern nations today have rediscovered and implemented this ancient Biblical principle to some degree, and many modern experts recommend it.⁴⁸⁴

Of course there will always be some members of society for whom work is not a practical option, and there are examples in the Bible where generous support is provided by society without expecting work in return. For instance we read in Deuteronomy, ***“At the end of every three years, bring all the tithes of that year’s produce and store it in your towns, so that the Levites (who have no allotment or inheritance of their own) and the foreigners, the fatherless and the widows who live in your towns may come and eat and be satisfied, and so that the LORD your God may bless you in all the work of your hands.”***⁴⁸⁵ The implication for us today is that incapacity benefits and pensions should be provided for those who need them without requiring them to work. Again, this ancient Biblical principle, today often described as ‘social protection’, has been rediscovered and practiced by nations in recent centuries. As the academic Anthony Atkinson describes in his book, *Inequality: What can be Done?*, in modern times ***“It was the development of the modern employment relationship with the Industrial Revolution that led to pressures for the creation of the key institutions of social protection. Industrial employment meant that many workers came to face a situation where unemployment, sickness, or retirement meant a loss of total earnings. This led towards the end of the nineteenth century, or in the early years of the twentieth century, to the establishment of unemployment insurance, industrial injury benefits, sickness insurance, and old-age pensions.”***⁴⁸⁶

Finally, as we come to think about how national governments should pay for these and other services, we see from the very beginning of God’s model kingdom of Israel and in the New Testament, that there is a recognition that all in society should pay some form of tax to provide for the common good, and that national authorities have the responsibility to collect this tax. As Paul says in his letter to the Romans, ***“Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also as a matter of conscience. This is also why you pay taxes, for the authorities are God’s servants, who give their full time to governing. Give everyone what you owe them: If you owe taxes, pay taxes”***.⁴⁸⁷ This money was used to fund public roles and functions, such as the priests, temple or government officials, that benefitted all in society, but would be hard to fund through the natural operation of the

⁴⁸⁴ Sen, A., *Development as Freedom*, (2001), pp. 40, 168 – 170; *Humanity Divided*, UN Development Programme, (2013), pp. 231 – 232; Dietz, R. & O’Neill, D., *Enough is Enough*, (2013), pp. 134 – 136, 196 etc.

⁴⁸⁵ Deut 14: 27 – 29, see also Lev 21: 17 – 22; Deut 16: 9 – 17; Deut 26: 12; Eze 18: 7, 12, 16; Eze 34: 2 – 4, 21; Acts 2: 44 – 45; Acts 4: 34 – 35; Acts 6: 1 – 6; 1 Tim 5: 3 – 14

⁴⁸⁶ Atkinson, A., *Inequality*, (2015), p. 264, see also pp. 60, 65 – 68, 74 – 80, 100 – 101, 122, 169 – 172, 205 – 231, 252 – 258, 264 – 266, 290 – 299, 303 – 305, 307; Castles, F., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, (2010); *Making Globalization Socially Sustainable*, World Trade Organization, (2011), pp. xii, 40, 199 – 231, 276 – 289 etc.

⁴⁸⁷ Roms 13: 6 – 7, see also Ex 30: 12 – 16; Lev 10: 12 – 15; Lev 24: 1 – 9; Num 18: 8 – 32; 2 Kings 12: 4 – 16; 2 Chron 24: 5 – 14; 2 Chron 31: 4 – 12; Nehemiah 10: 32 – 39; Matt 17: 24 – 27; Matt 22: 16 – 21; Mark 12: 14 – 17; Luke 3: 12 – 13; Luke 20: 21 – 25 etc.

market. For example, in the book of Numbers, God instructs ***“It is the Levites who are to do the work at the tent of meeting and bear the responsibility for any offenses they commit against it. This is a lasting ordinance for the generations to come. They will receive no inheritance among the Israelites. Instead, I give to the Levites as their inheritance the tithes that the Israelites present as an offering to the LORD.”***⁴⁸⁸ Tithes which, as we have seen, were also used to support the needy in society more widely.⁴⁸⁹



Figure 5.2: Governments should ensure the poor and marginalised in society are provided for and no one is left behind.

Interestingly, the Bible is also clear that the primary social support network for those in need is the extended family, and the state and wider society only steps in where the wider family is unable to provide the support needed. For example, Leviticus sets out, ***“If one of your fellow Israelites becomes poor and sells some of their property, their nearest relative is to come and redeem what they have sold. If, however, there is no one to redeem it for them ...”*** and ***“they do not acquire the means to repay, what was sold will remain in the possession of the buyer until the Year of Jubilee. It will be returned in the Jubilee, and they can then go back to their property.”***⁴⁹⁰ Therefore, the Biblical lessons for our modern context appear to be that national authorities can legitimately tax their populations in order to fund public functions that benefit all in society and provide social services for those in greatest need. However, they should always do this in ways that reinforce and strengthen, rather than undermine, the family as the primary social support network, by only providing social support when immediate family

⁴⁸⁸ Num 18: 8 – 32, see also Ex 30: 12 – 16; Lev 10: 12 – 15; Lev 24: 1 – 9; Deut 14: 27 – 29; Deut 26: 12; 2 Kings 12: 4 – 16; 2 Chron 24: 5 – 14; 2 Chron 31: 4 – 12; Nehemiah 10: 32 – 39; Roms 13: 6 – 7 etc.

⁴⁸⁹ Lev 21: 17 – 22; Deut 14: 27 – 29; Deut 16: 9 – 17; Deut 26: 12; Eze 34: 2 – 4, 21; Acts 2: 44 – 45; Acts 4: 34 – 35; Acts 6: 1 – 6; 1 Tim 5: 3 – 14

⁴⁹⁰ Lev 25: 25 – 28, 47 – 55, see also Lev 22: 13; Num 27: 1 – 11; Deut 25: 5 – 10; Ruth 2 – 4; Jer 32: 6 – 16; 1 Tim 5: 3 – 14, 16

members are unable to do so. This important Biblical emphasis on the role of families has been observed to greater or lesser extents in modern times as well. As the sociologist Mary Daly writes in an essay in the *Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, “***Such concerns have found their way to the heart of recent policy, and scholarship reflects this, demonstrating that family provides a lynchpin in the functioning of states and markets and that the degree to which social policy seeks to familialize or defamilialize people and activities is a crucial feature of political and economic systems***”.⁴⁹¹ So, in summary ...

Governments should:

- Ensure the poor and marginalised in society are provided for and no one is left behind
- Provide generous unemployment and low-income benefits, wherever possible, in exchange for socially useful and honourable work the market finds hard to fund, (in effect guaranteed jobs rather than free benefits) thus retaining human dignity and avoiding creating a crippling dependency culture
- Ensure that such work is never a better alternative to conventional jobs and provide every support to help people get back into employment
- Provide incapacity benefits, pensions and similar social protection payments to those who need it without requiring any work
- Collect taxes in order to provide these and other services
- Reinforce, rather than undermine, the family as the primary social support network, by only providing social support when immediate family members are unable to do so

Taken together then, we find that as well as exhorting us as individual Christians and the global church to radical action in order to meet the needs of those in poverty, the Bible also gives us fundamental principles to tackle poverty and inequality at a social level. Strong and fair domestic economies are required, which can be taxed in order to meet the basic needs of all. Next, we turn to consider how history since Biblical times can give us crucial lessons about how to best put those principles into practice.

2) WHAT DOES HISTORY TEACH US?

Where have we come from?

So, what can history teach us about how to do development successfully? Unfortunately, in the area of development we only have reliable data available for the last few decades. However, as with social justice, academics are in overwhelming agreement that for the vast majority of human history, absolute poverty and very low “***bare subsistence***” standards of living were widespread, almost universal compared with modern standards. Levels of inequality, or relative poverty, were therefore also extremely high through most of human history, as a very small number of aristocrats controlled virtually all wealth and resources, whilst the vast majority of the population were extremely poor.

⁴⁹¹ Daly, M., *Families Versus State and Market*, in Castles, F., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, (2010), p. 142, see also pp. 139 – 151, 462 – 478; *Voices of the Poor 1: Can Anyone Hear Us?*, World Bank, (2000); *Voices of the Poor 2: Crying Out for Change*, World Bank, (2000); *Voices of the Poor 3: From Many Lands*, World Bank, (2000); Stiglitz, J., *Globalization and its Discontents*, (2002), pp. 83 – 84 etc.

As Yuval Noah Harari puts it in his book on the history of humanity *Sapiens*, ***“Until the late modern era, more than 90 per cent of humans were peasants who rose each morning to till the land by the sweat of their brows. The extra they produced fed the tiny minority of elites – kings, government officials, soldiers, priests, artists and thinkers – who fill the history books. History is something that very few people have been doing while everyone else was ploughing fields and carrying water buckets.”*** The historian Ian Morris adds that between the agricultural revolution of around 10,000 BC and the industrial revolution beginning in the late eighteenth century, ***“Most farmers (that is most people) remained stunted and poorly nourished across this whole ten-thousand-year history ... ‘Pile work with work upon work’ advised the ancient Greek poet Hesiod, whose Works and Days (composed around 700 BC) is our oldest surviving source purporting to describe life from a peasant’s point of view. Twenty-six centuries later, a priest in southern Italy concluded that ‘the peasant works, in order to eat, he eats in order to have the strength to work; and then he sleeps.’ ... peasant life would have struck almost any visitor from the fossil-fuel (modern) world as nasty, brutish, and poor.”*** The economist and adviser to the United Nations Jeffrey Sachs concurs, ***“For most of human history, output per person was at a very low level, just around the level needed to survive. Most of humanity lived on farms and grew food for their own subsistence. In most years, the food was enough to keep them alive. In bad years, with droughts or floods or heat waves or pests, the harvest might fail, and people would die, sometimes in large numbers.”*** In short ***“The world before 1750 was a world of poverty ... most people in most ages lived rural lives, always on the edge of famine, disease, and early death.”***⁴⁹² However, in recent decades this situation has begun to change dramatically, and it is from here that we pick up the story.

Absolute poverty

We said that in our near perfect world everyone would have sufficient food, safe water and sanitation, a decent standard of housing, a good job, education, quality healthcare (for both physical and mental health), and access to electricity and the internet. If we look at these trends globally over recent decades (Figure 5.3), in each of these areas change has been significant, but gradual and steady, rather than with great peaks and troughs, as we might expect from the gradual process of nations and communities emerging out of poverty around the world.

The number of people in the world without clean water, safe sanitation, living in extreme poverty on less than \$1.90 a day (as defined by the World Bank), without electricity, and who lack access to the internet has been declining. (The World Bank also tracks the numbers living on less than \$3.20 and \$5.50 a day, both of which follow the same broad trends as for those on under \$1.90 a day, giving us some confidence that this is a continued increase out of extreme poverty, not just one that plateaus after people reach a certain very basic level.) The number of people living in slums or who haven’t completed secondary education has tragically been increasing. Finally, the number of people without sufficient food has been declining for most of the period since 1990, until disturbingly starting to grow again from 2018.

⁴⁹² Harari, Y. N., *Sapiens*, (2014), p. 114, see also pp. 113, 116 – 117, 298 – 301; Morris, I., *Foragers, Farmers and Fossil Fuels*, (2015), pp. 52, 54, 56, see also pp. 44 – 92; Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), pp. 19, 73, see also pp. 51, 67, 71, 74, 277 – 279 etc.

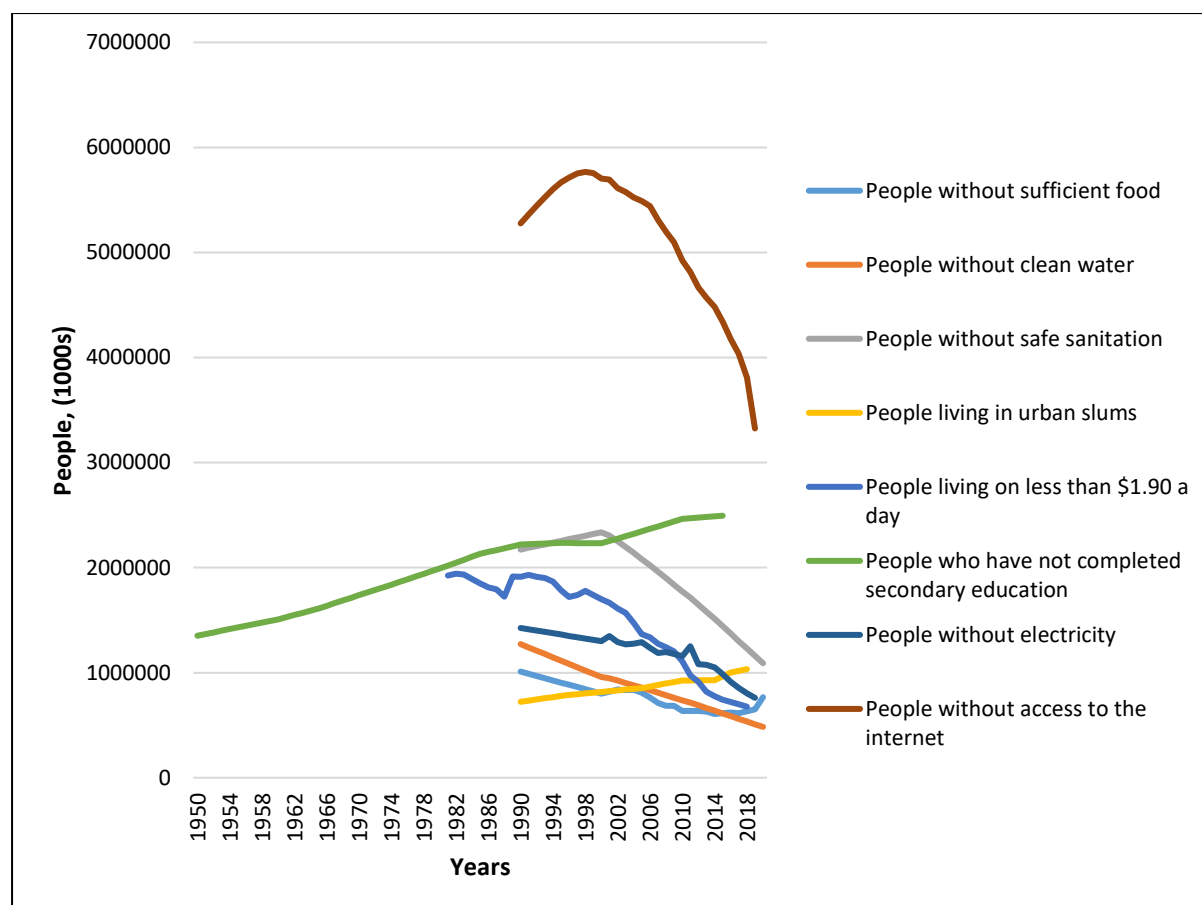


Figure 5.3: Global poverty trends ⁴⁹³

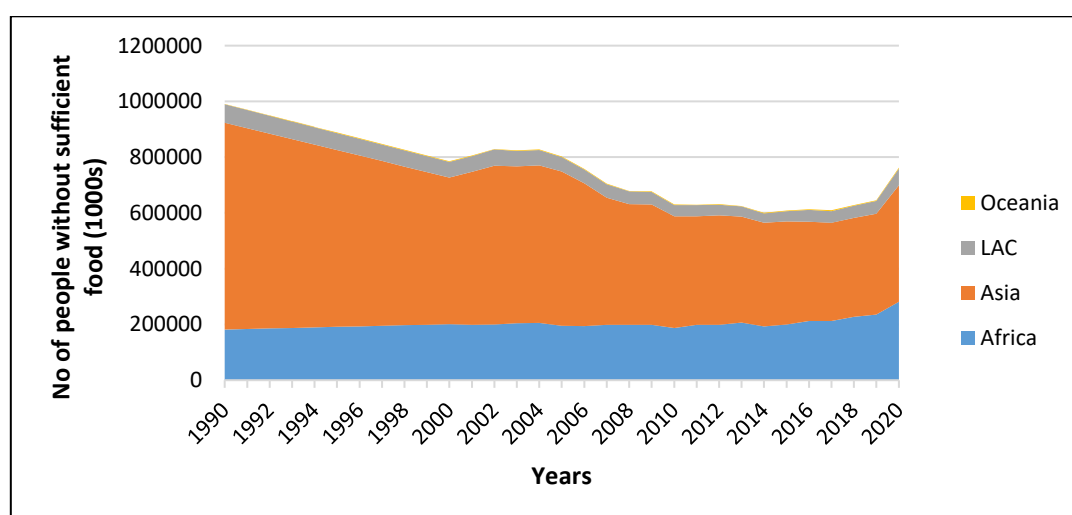


Figure 5.4: People in the world without sufficient food ⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ FAO Stat, UN Food and Agriculture Organization, (2022); WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022); *Urban Indicators Database*, UN-Habitat, (2022); *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); Barro, R. & Lee, J-W., *Barro-Lee Estimates of Educational Attainment for the Population Aged 15 – 64 from 1950 to 2015*, (2021); *Global Electrification Database*, World Development Indicators, World Bank, (2022); *International Telecommunication Union (ITU) World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database*, access via World Development Indicators, World Bank, (2022)

⁴⁹⁴ FAO Stat, UN Food and Agriculture Organization, (2022)

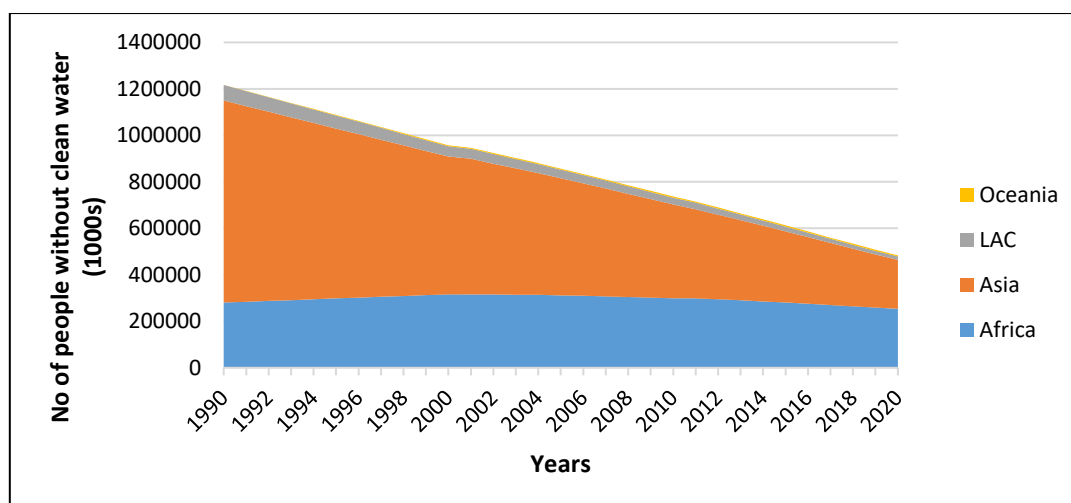


Figure 5.5: People in the world without access to safe water ⁴⁹⁵

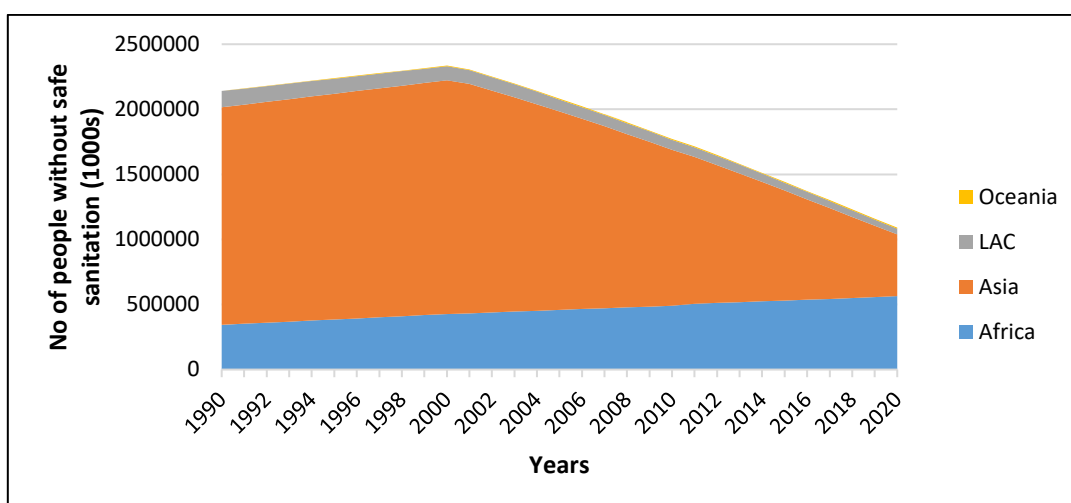


Figure 5.6: People in the world without access to safe sanitation facilities ⁴⁹⁶

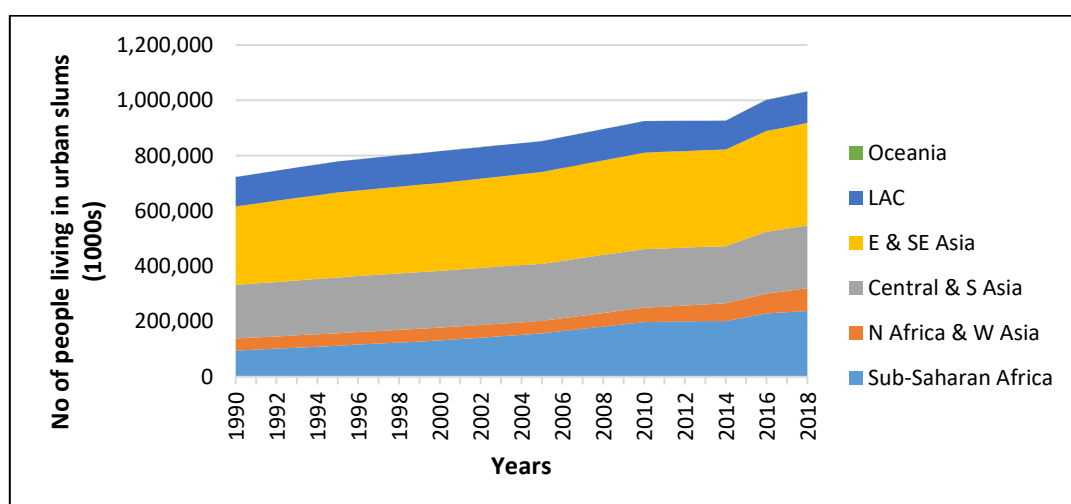


Figure 5.7: People in the world living in slums ⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022)

⁴⁹⁶ WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022)

⁴⁹⁷ Urban Indicators Database, UN-Habitat, (2022)

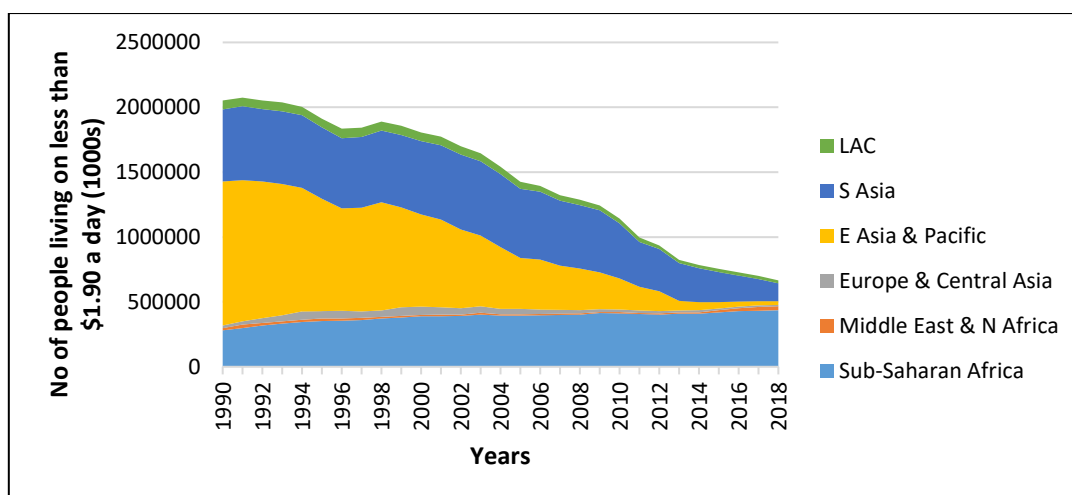


Figure 5.8: People in the world living on less than \$1.90 a day ⁴⁹⁸

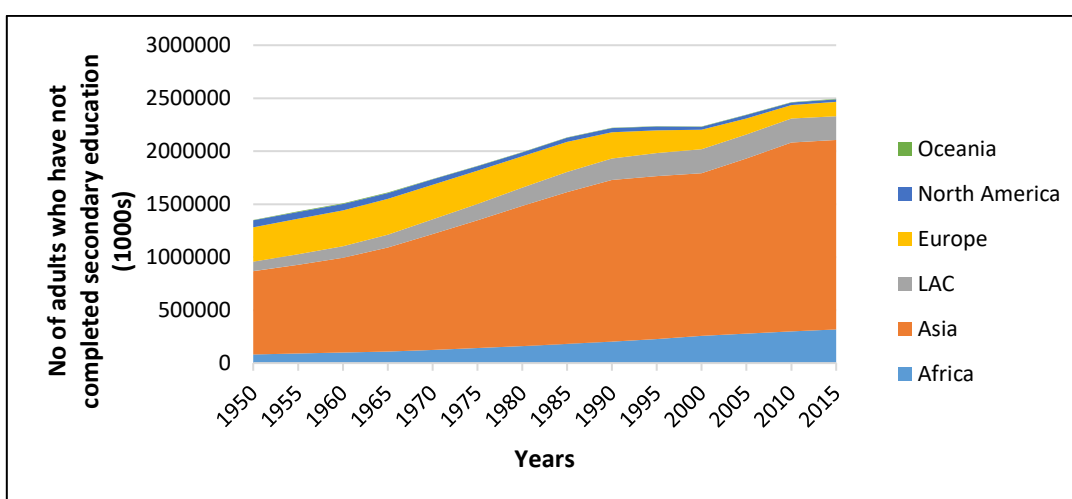


Figure 5.9: People in the world who have not completed secondary education ⁴⁹⁹

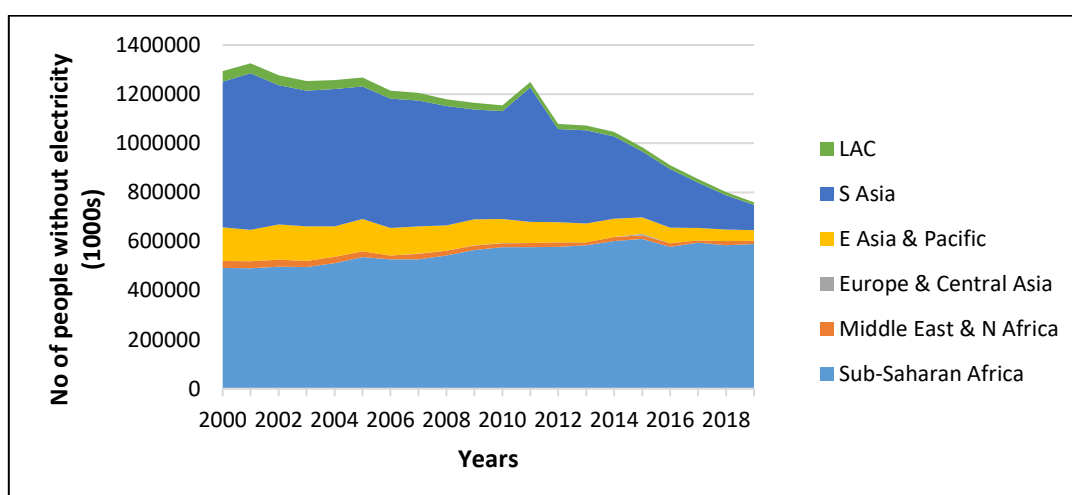


Figure 5.10: People in the world without electricity ⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ World Development Indicators, World Bank, (2022)

⁴⁹⁹ Barro, R. & Lee, J-W., *Barro-Lee Estimates of Educational Attainment for the Population Aged 15 – 64 from 1950 to 2015*, (2021)

⁵⁰⁰ Global Electrification Database, World Development Indicators, World Bank, (2022)

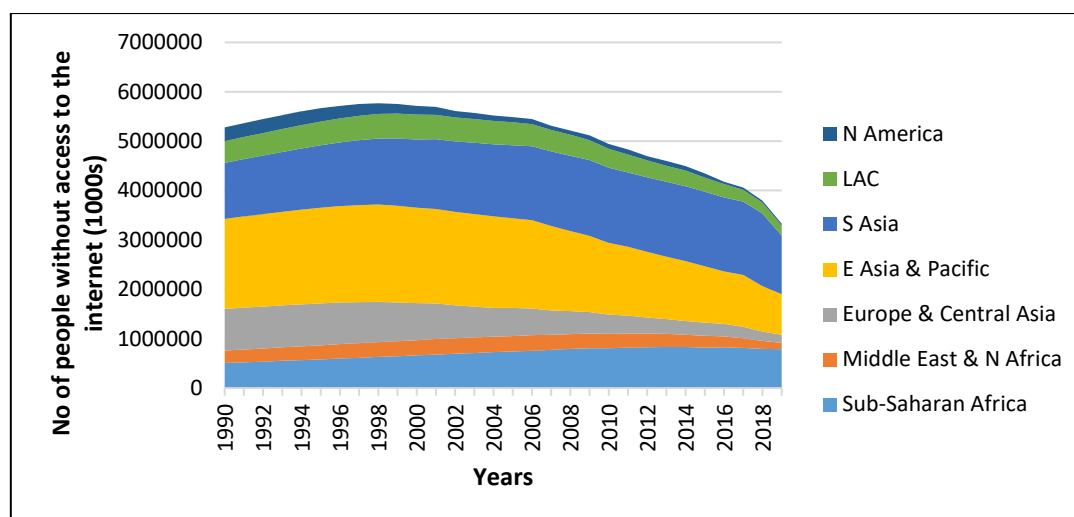


Figure 5.11: People in the world without access to the internet ⁵⁰¹

If we break these global totals down to a continental level (Figures 5.4 – 5.11), we find that where the poverty trends are improving, such as the absolute numbers of people without clean water, safe sanitation, living on under \$1.90 a day, access to electricity or access to the internet, the progress has primarily been achieved in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), North Africa and Asia. Conversely, and strikingly, in each of these areas (except for access to clean water), the numbers are all tragically increasing in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The same is true for the number of people without sufficient food. For most of the time since 1990 the number of people without sufficient food has reduced dramatically in Asia, Oceania and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), whilst it has continued to rise in Africa. However, here, worryingly, the numbers without sufficient food have also begun to rise again in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), and Oceania in the most recent years.

In terms of the poverty trends that have been worsening globally throughout the period, such as the number of people living in slums or who have not completed secondary education, at a continental level, we see that tragically this is the case in virtually all regions; Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), North Africa and Asia. More encouragingly, throughout the period considered, there are virtually no people at all in Europe and North America who lack sufficient food, safe water and sanitation, adequate housing, are living on less than \$1.90 a day, or who lack access to electricity.

Similarly internet provision, which was of course virtually non-existent anywhere in 1990, is now almost universal in Europe and North America. (Of course, many people in those continents may still be living in significant relative poverty, and only receiving these basic needs at a very minimal level though public, private or charitable social support.) Many millions living in Europe and North America are still not completing secondary school, although thankfully this number is decreasing.

Therefore overall, we are seeing encouraging progress in reducing the total numbers of people living in various kinds of poverty in many, if not all, areas and continents of the world. However, in many ways, examining total numbers is misleading. In 1950, the date of our

⁵⁰¹ International Telecommunication Union (ITU) World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database, access via World Development Indicators, World Bank, (2022)

earliest information, there were less than 3 billion people in our world. Today there are more than 8 billion. The global population has more than doubled, and indeed has often grown most rapidly in the world's poorest regions during the period of time we are considering. It is therefore even more encouraging that in most regions, against the backdrop of dramatic population growth, the absolute numbers living in poverty have declined (and that the numbers living in slums or without secondary education have not risen as dramatically as they could have). This represents a huge achievement, and is even more noticeable if we look at the same figures as percentages (Figures 5.12 – 5.22). If we add the under five and adult mortality rates (information we only have as proportions, not absolute numbers), we can also get an understanding of general health and access to healthcare.

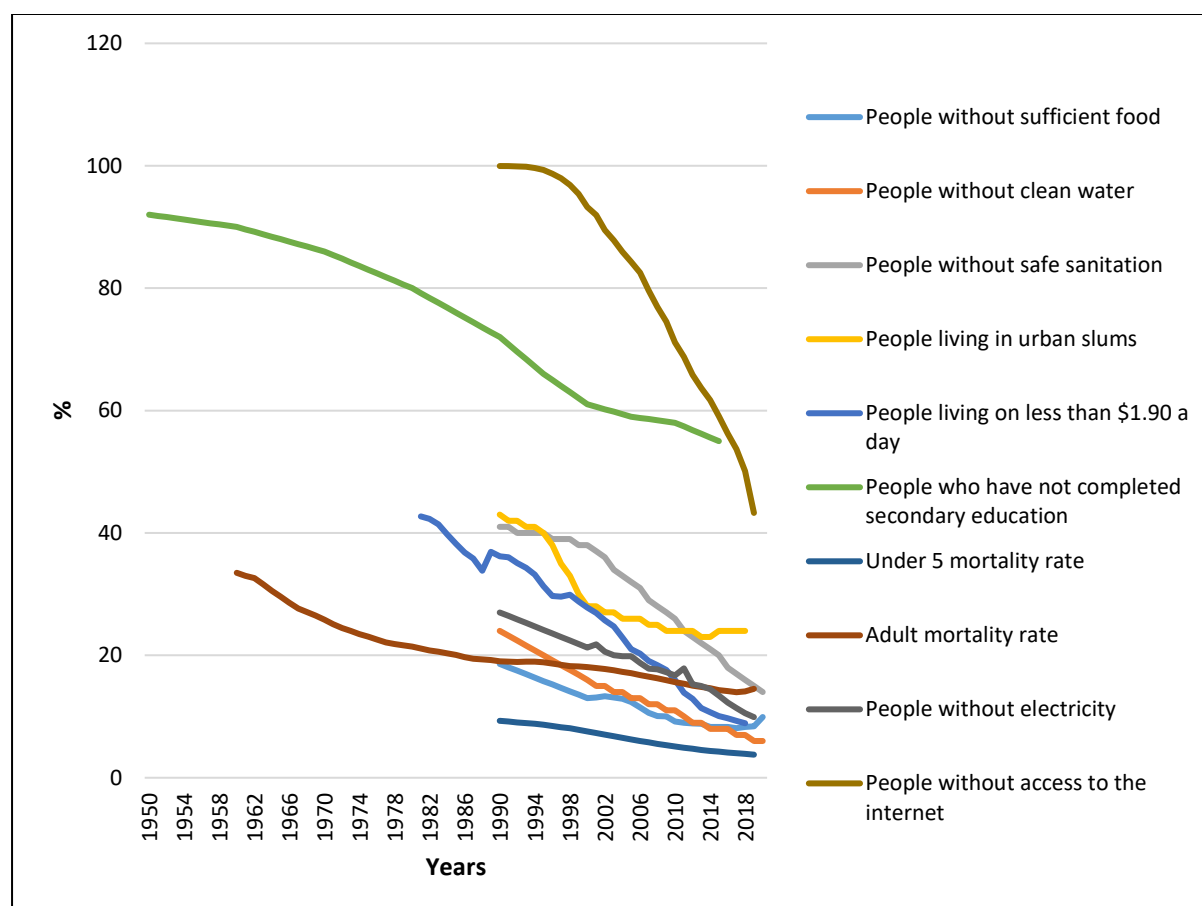


Figure 5.12: Global poverty trends by percentage ⁵⁰²

⁵⁰² *FAO Stat*, UN Food and Agriculture Organization, (2022); WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022); *Urban Indicators Database*, UN-Habitat, (2022); *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); Barro, R. & Lee, J-W., *Barro-Lee Estimates of Educational Attainment for the Population Aged 15 – 64 from 1950 to 2015*, (2021); UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); UN Population Division, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); *Global Electrification Database*, *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022); *International Telecommunication Union (ITU) World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database*, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022)

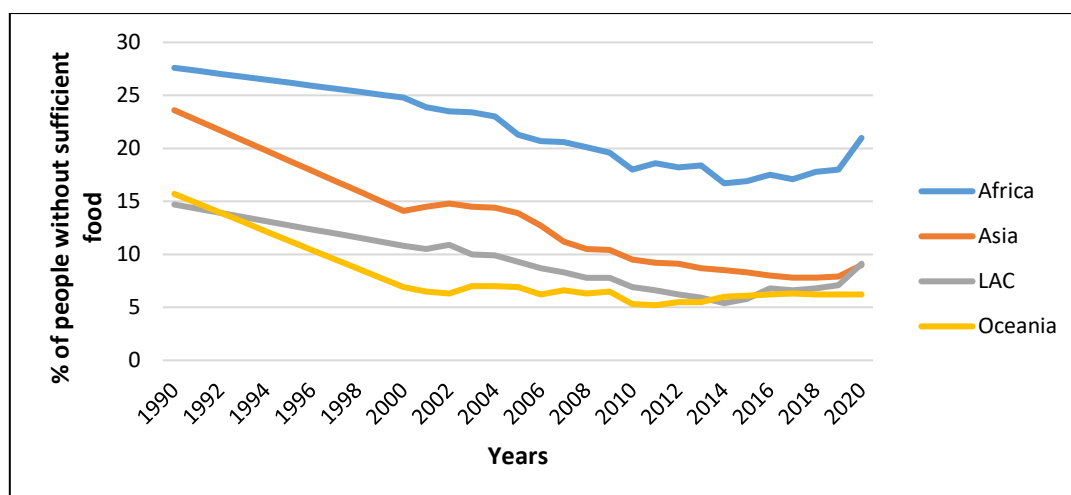


Figure 5.13: Percentage of people in each continent without sufficient food ⁵⁰³

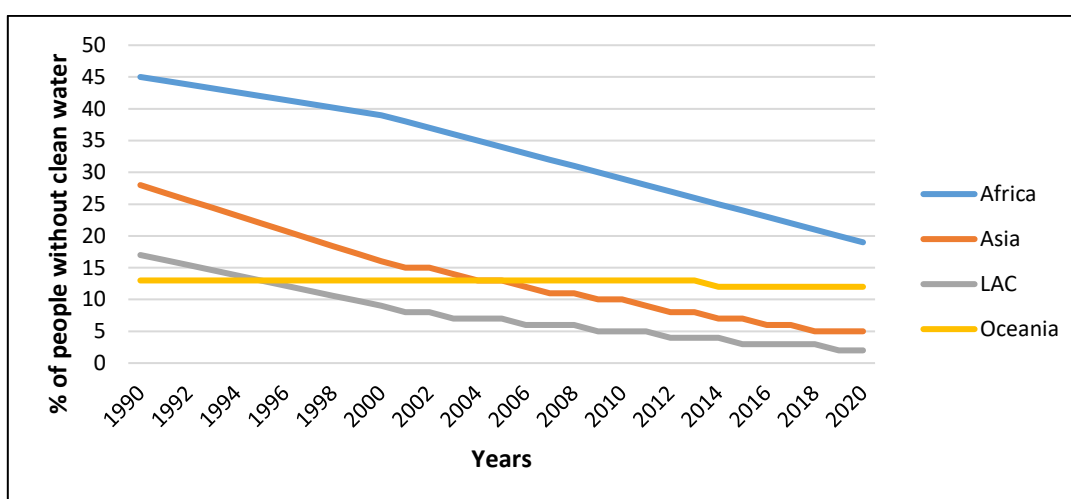


Figure 5.14: Percentage of people in each continent without access to safe water ⁵⁰⁴

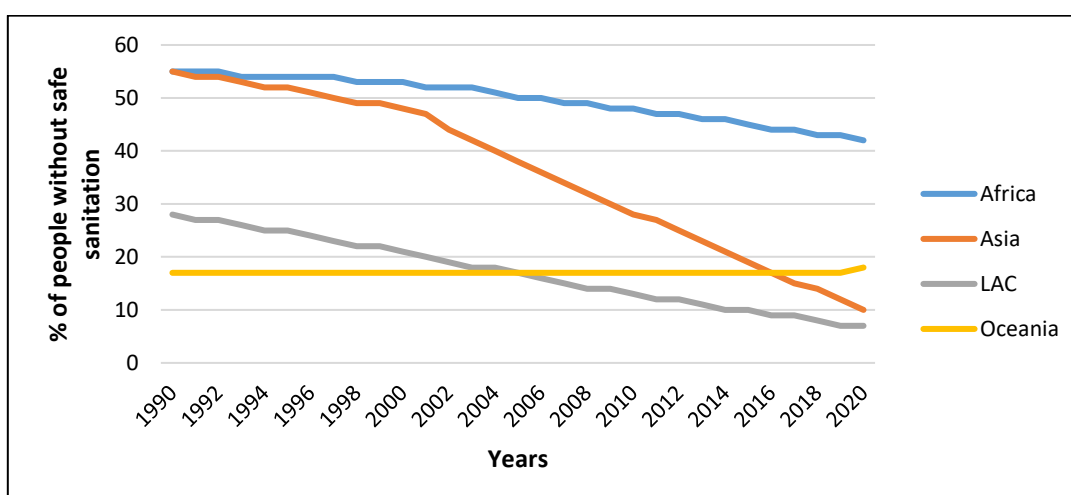


Figure 5.15: Percentage of people in each continent without access to safe sanitation facilities ⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ FAO Stat, UN Food and Agriculture Organization, (2022)

⁵⁰⁴ WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022)

⁵⁰⁵ WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, (2022)

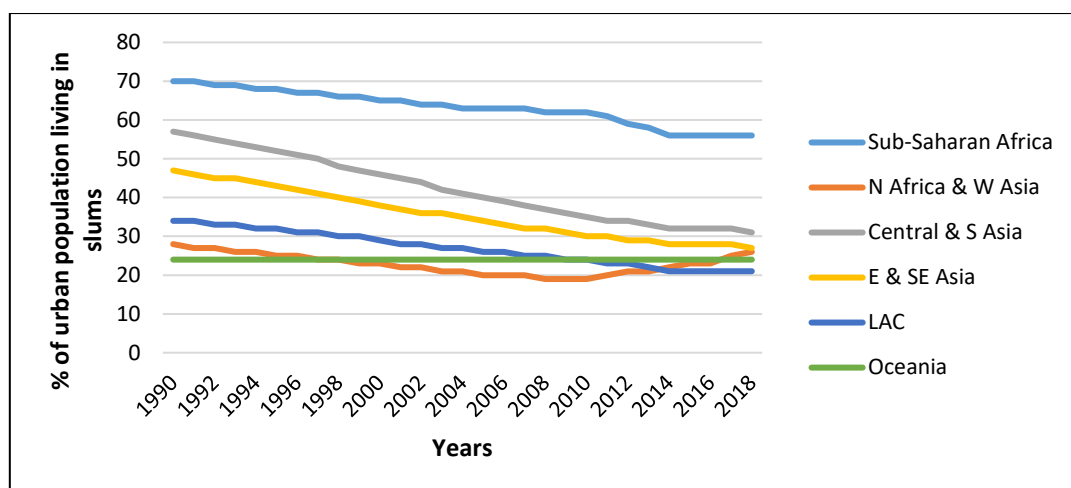


Figure 5.16: Percentage of people in each continent living in slums ⁵⁰⁶

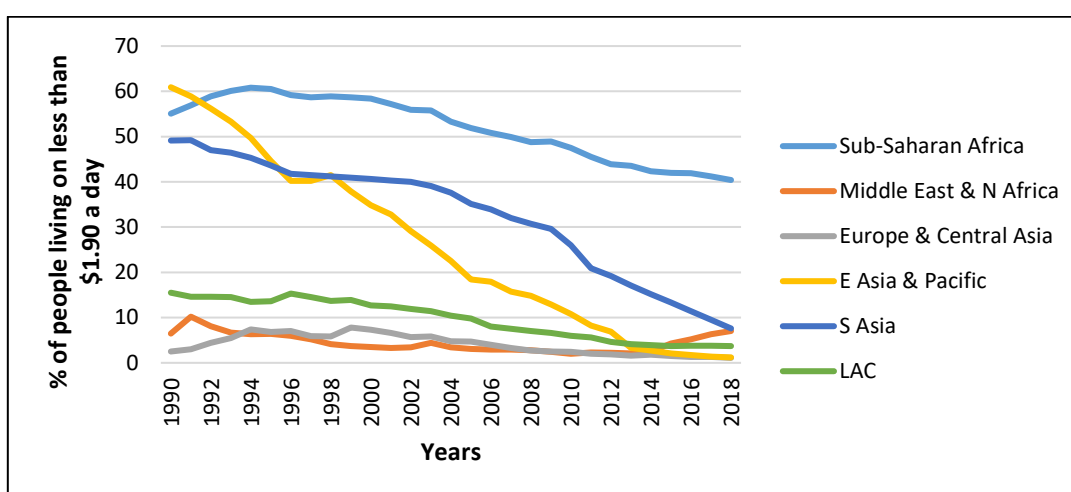


Figure 5.17: Percentage of people in each continent living on less than \$1.90 a day ⁵⁰⁷

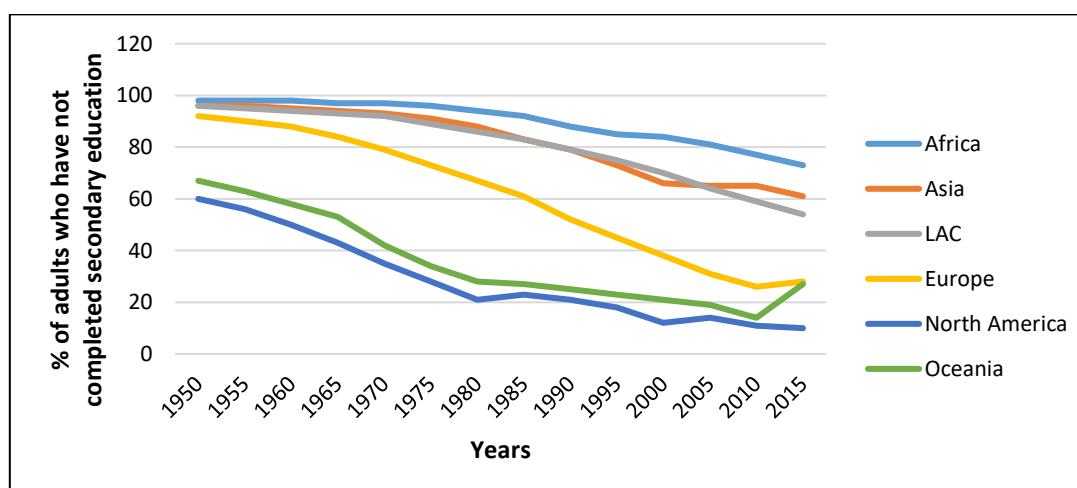


Figure 5.18: Percentage of people in each continent who have not completed secondary education ⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ Urban Indicators Database, UN-Habitat, (2022)

⁵⁰⁷ World Development Indicators, World Bank, (2022)

⁵⁰⁸ Barro, R. & Lee, J-W., Barro-Lee Estimates of Educational Attainment for the Population Aged 15 – 64 from 1950 to 2015, (2021)

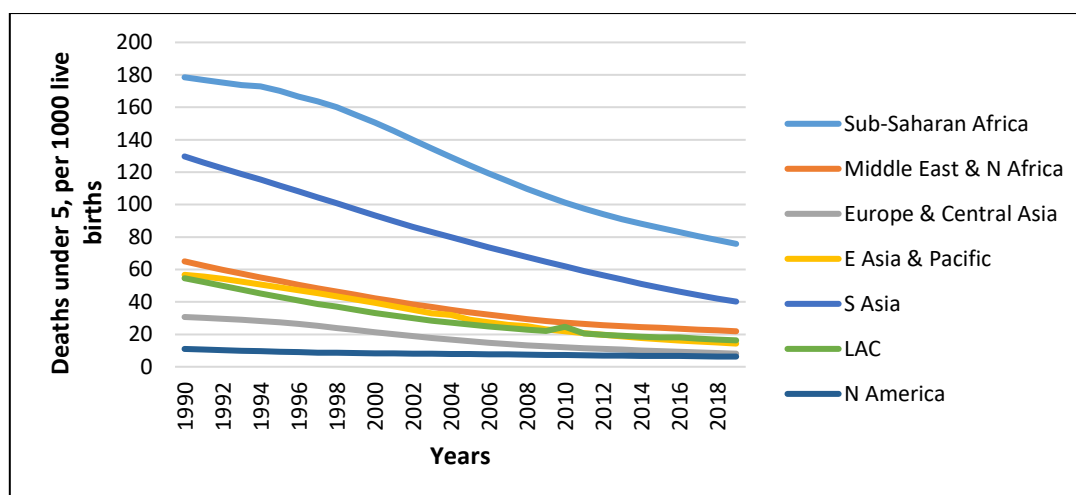


Figure 5.19: Under 5 mortality rates in each continent ⁵⁰⁹

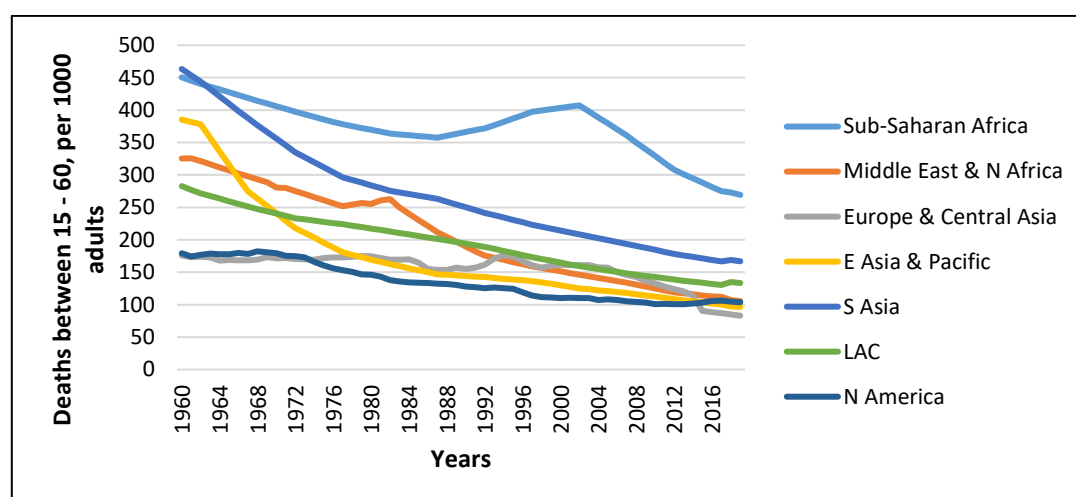


Figure 5.20: Adult mortality rates in each continent ⁵¹⁰

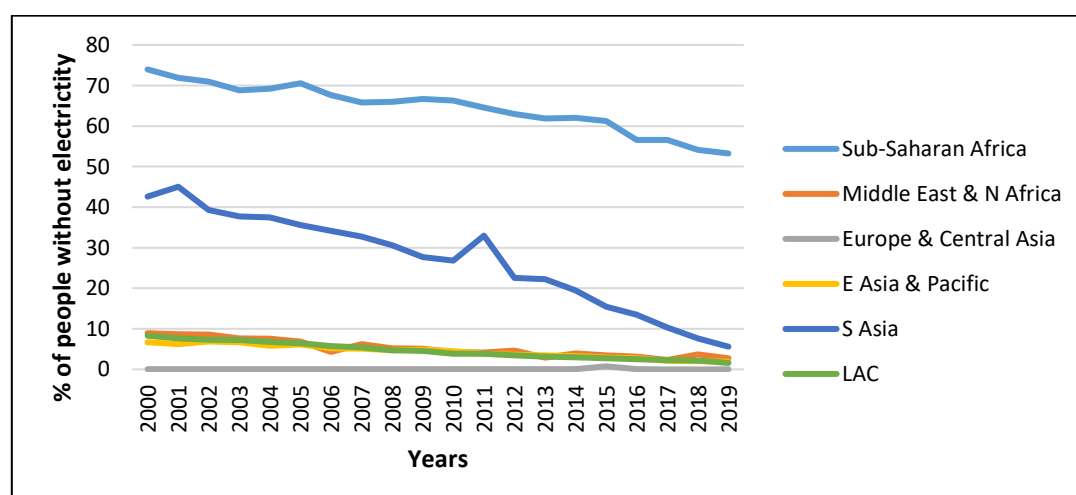


Figure 5.21: Percentage of people in each continent without electricity ⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹ UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022);

⁵¹⁰ UN Population Division, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022)

⁵¹¹ *Global Electrification Database*, *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022)

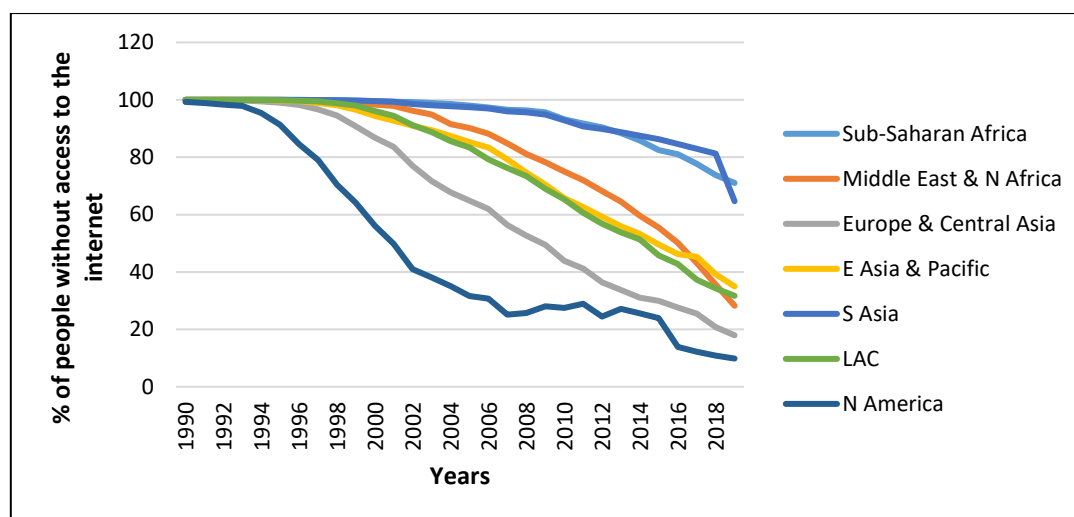


Figure 5.22: Percentage of people in each continent without access to the internet ⁵¹²

Now we find that both globally and (almost without exception) in every single region, and across all poverty indicators, the percentage of the population remaining in various kinds of poverty is declining, often rapidly and significantly. This is also true in Sub-Saharan Africa; the region we saw that was making the least progress in reducing total numbers in poverty. It has been argued that the booming economies of China and India, both with populations of well over 1.3 billion, and together accounting for more than a third of the world's population, are largely responsible for this dramatic global improvement in reducing poverty. Certainly, some of the most significant improvements we have seen, both in absolute numbers and percentages, do occur in parts of Asia due to economic progress in China and India. However, as these graphs make clear, even without China and India, we still see significant progress across all poverty indicators in almost all regions when we look at the total percentage of the population living in various types of poverty.

Of course this is not always a smooth progression. There are often significant setbacks and reversals lasting many years. We see this in the graphs in areas such as the heart-breaking increase in adult mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s and 2000s as a result of HIV, or the temporary spike in the numbers without electricity in South Asia in 2011. More recently we see an increase in the proportion living in urban slums and on under \$1.90 a day in the Middle East and North Africa in the 2010s. There has also been a tragic increase in the proportion of people without sufficient food in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) and globally since 2018, driven by the growth in conflict that we saw in [Part 4](#), climate change (that we will consider in [Part 6](#)), economic crises, and most recently, Covid-19. Nevertheless, despite these setbacks, the overall picture is one of a remarkable and often rapid decline in poverty across multiple indicators, in almost all continents, over many decades, an encouraging conclusion.

Having reviewed the evidence on progress tackling extreme poverty, let us now turn to consider relative poverty and inequality.

⁵¹² International Telecommunication Union (ITU) World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database, access via World Development Indicators, World Bank, (2022)

Relative poverty

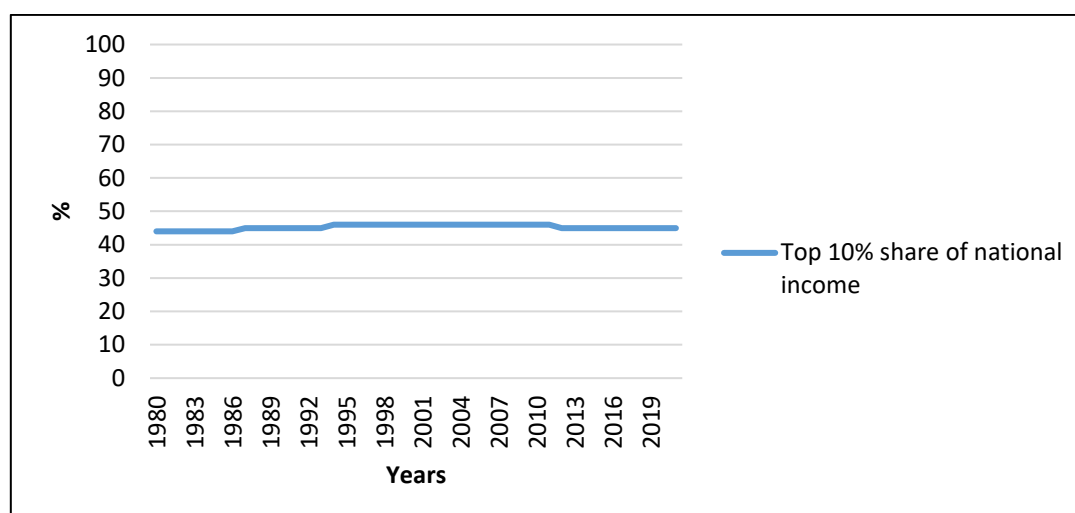


Figure 5.23: Share of national income owned by the top 10% in each country, global average⁵¹³

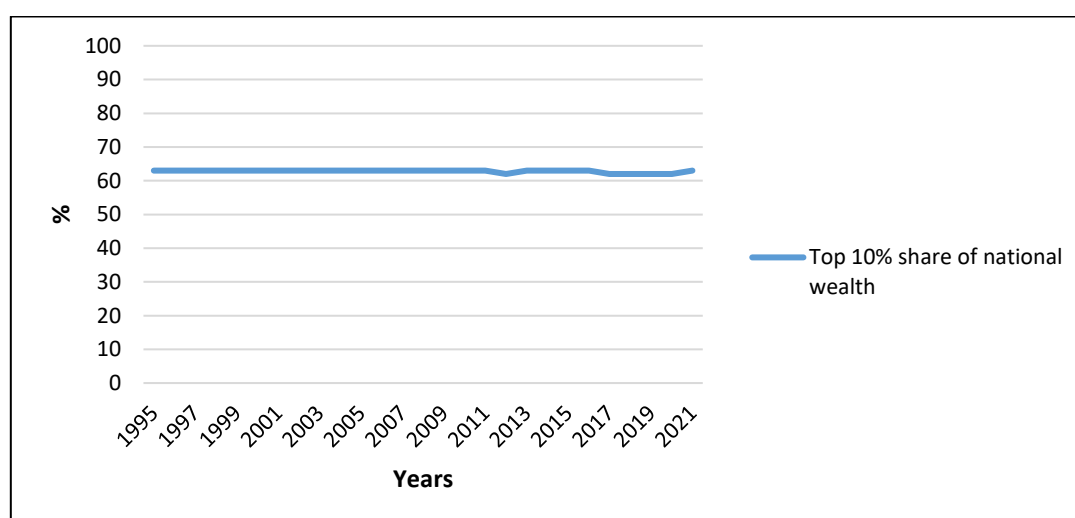


Figure 5.24: Share of national wealth owned by the top 10% in each country, global average⁵¹⁴

If we look at the average share of national income earned by the top 10% in each country, and the share of national wealth (savings, investments, assets etc.) owned by the top 10% in each country (Figures 5.23 – 5.24), we find that both have remained remarkably unchanged at around 45% and 63% respectively over recent decades. This is a disturbingly high level of national income and wealth to be captured by just 10% of the population, especially in a world where much widespread and desperate extreme poverty still exists, as we have seen.

⁵¹³ World Inequality Database, (2022)

⁵¹⁴ World Inequality Database, (2022)

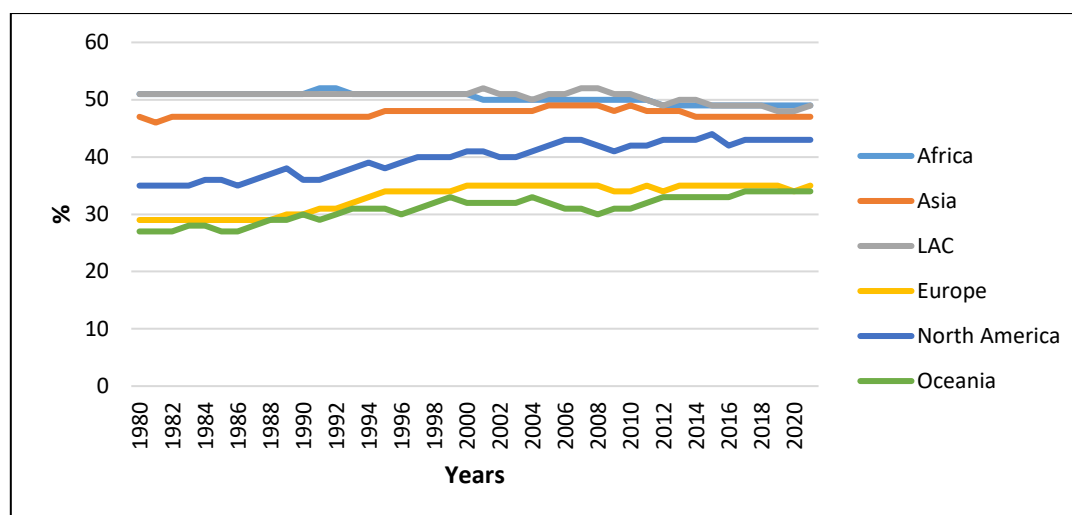


Figure 5.25: Share of national income owned by the top 10% in each country, continental averages⁵¹⁵

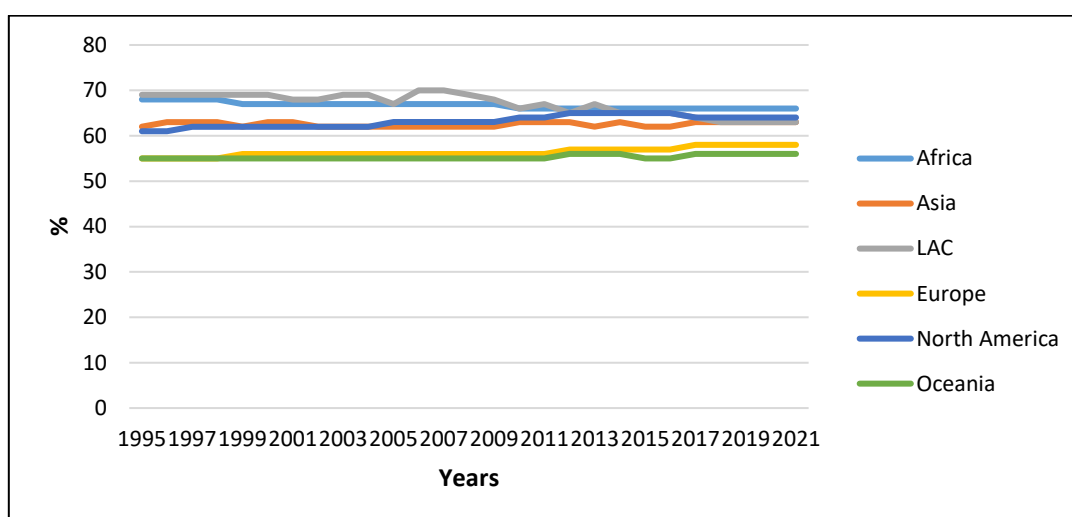


Figure 5.26: Share of national wealth owned by the top 10% in each country, continental averages⁵¹⁶

If we break these figures down to look at them at a continental level (Figures 5.25 – 5.26), we find that the levels of income and wealth owned by the top 10% are on average higher in more developing regions like Africa, America and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). In those regions the levels are again essentially flat, or even coming down slightly. In more developed regions like North America, Europe and Oceania the level of income and wealth owned by the top 10% in each country is lower (though still very high) than in the developing regions. The share of national wealth owned by the top 10% in North America, Europe and Oceania has also remained essentially unchanged, or possibly risen slightly throughout the period. However, the share of national income earned by the top 10% in North America, Europe and Oceania has been increasing steadily since 1980.

What appears to be happening with these trends is that, as we saw, for most of history all countries were poor, and levels of inequality very high. In the developing regions of the world

⁵¹⁵ World Inequality Database, (2022)

⁵¹⁶ World Inequality Database, (2022)

like Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) we see there are indeed still higher levels of inequality in recent decades (though not as high as they would have been historically). Conversely, in more developed regions of the world those historically high levels of inequality dropped from the late nineteenth century. This was a result of governments introducing higher levels of taxation, especially on those nearer the top of society, to pay for welfare states, providing basic services like education and healthcare, and social protection payments for the unemployed, elderly and incapacitated. These changes often came in response to major social and economic upheavals like the First and Second World Wars. However, since the 1970s those levels of inequality in more developed regions like North America, Europe and Oceania have worryingly begun to rise again. As the French economist Thomas Piketty puts it in his famous and influential study on the subject, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, ***“the reduction of inequality that took place in most developed countries between 1910 and 1950 was above all a consequence of war and of policies adopted to cope with the shocks of war. Similarly, the resurgence of inequality after 1980 is due largely to the political shifts of the past several decades, especially in regard to taxation and finance.”*** In particular, ***“Since the 1970s, income inequality has increased significantly in the rich countries, especially the United States, where the concentration of income in the first decade of the twenty-first century regained – indeed, slightly exceeded – the level attained in the second decade of the previous century.”***⁵¹⁷

This matters because there appears to be a whole host of alarming consequences for development, peace and social cohesion that correlate with these growing trends in inequality. This was powerfully demonstrated by Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson in their 2010 book *The Spirit Level*, and has since been reinforced by numerous other academics and research bodies. As Professors Pickett and Wilkinson write, ***“The last nine chapters have shown, among the rich developed countries and among the fifty states of the United States, that most of the important health and social problems of the rich world are more common in more unequal societies. In both settings the relationships are too strong to be dismissed as chance findings ... One of the points which emerge from Chapters 4 – 12 is a tendency for some countries to do well on just about everything and others to do badly. You can predict a country’s performance on one outcome from a knowledge of others. If – for instance – a country does badly on health, you can predict with some confidence that it will also imprison a larger proportion of its population, have more teenage pregnancies, lower literacy scores, more obesity, worse mental health, and so on. Inequality seems to make countries socially dysfunctional across a wide range of outcomes.”*** Furthermore, after rigorous consideration of all the possible driving factors, ***“It is very difficult to see how the enormous variations which exist from one society to another in the level of problems associated with low social status can be explained without accepting that inequality is the common denominator, and a hugely damaging force.”***⁵¹⁸

Positive change that correlates across trends

Having unpacked the trends in both absolute and relative poverty, let us draw those observations together and see what we have learned. One of the first things to strike us is that, similarly to what we saw when we considered social justice, there is strong correlation between

⁵¹⁷ Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (2013), pp. 20, 15, but also see the whole book; *Even it Up*, Oxfam, (2014); Atkinson, A., *Inequality*, (2015) etc.

⁵¹⁸ Pickett, K. & Wilkinson, R., *The Spirit Level*, (2010), pp. 173 – 174, 195, but also see the whole book; Milanovic, B., *Global Inequality*, (2016); *Poverty and Shared Prosperity*, World Bank, (regular report) etc.

the different development trends. Furthermore, these development trends also strongly correlate with the social justice trends we looked at in [Part 4](#). Different continents are either doing well across all the development and social justice trends or have the furthest to go with all of them (just like the inequality trends). As the political scientist Francis Fukuyama says, *“Social scientists have long noted that there is a correlation between high levels of economic development and stable democracy: most of the world’s rich industrialized countries today are democracies, whereas most remaining authoritarian states are much less developed.”*⁵¹⁹ Once again this implies some common factor between all the trends we have considered. In broad terms, as we have seen, for the vast majority of human history standards of social justice were very poor (widespread conflict, lack of democracy, poor human rights etc.). In addition, widespread abject poverty and high levels of inequality were the norm. Then over the last 200 years, something has caused this to change. The world has begun to move away from this historic norm to a new situation where both social justice and development are dramatically improving. This process is furthest along in some parts of the world (North America, Europe), progressing steadily elsewhere (Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia) and furthest behind in others (Africa). However, everywhere the trend is positive. Of course, this is not a smooth upward curve, there are huge setbacks and delays along the way, often for many years. Also, as we saw in [Part 4](#), just because this positive trend is true for our past, that does not mean it is natural and inevitable and will continue into our future. Furthermore, we still have a very long, long way to go to reach the socially just and fully developed world God wants to see.



Figure 5.27: For the vast majority of human history poverty was the norm. Over the last 200 years this has changed. Development has begun to improve and whilst there is still a long way to go, levels of absolute poverty have declined dramatically.

⁵¹⁹ *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), p. 401, see also pp. 34, 48 – 49, 62 – 63, 227 – 228, 402; Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012); Mortimer, I., *Centuries of Change*, (2014), pp. 317 – 320

Nevertheless, stepping back and taking the long view the trend is clear and also widely acknowledged by economists, historians and development experts. As Jeffrey Sachs the economist and adviser to the United Nations says in *The End of Poverty*, ***“The move from universal poverty to varying degrees of prosperity has happened rapidly in the span of human history. Two hundred years ago the idea that we could potentially achieve the end of extreme poverty would have been unimaginable ... The past two centuries, since around 1800, constitute a unique era in economic history, a period the great economic historian Simon Kuznets famously termed the period of modern economic growth.”*** During this time the world’s average per capita income has increased ***“by around nine times between 1820 and 2000.”*** Therefore, today, ***“The good news is that well more than half of the world, from the Bangladesh garment worker onward, broadly speaking, is experiencing economic progress. Not only do they have a foothold on the development ladder, but they are also actually climbing it. Their climb is evident in rising personal incomes and the acquisition of goods such as cell phones, television sets, and scooters. Progress is also evident in such crucial determinants of economic well-being as rising life expectancy, falling infant mortality rates, rising educational attainment, increasing access to water and sanitation, and the like.”*** In summary, ***“Three main points stand out: all regions were poor in 1820; all regions experienced economic progress; today’s rich regions experienced by far the greatest economic progress”***.

Similarly, the World Bank economist Charles Kenny, observes in his study on global development *Getting Better*, ***“the world appears to be a far better place to live in today than it was in the middle of the last century or in any century before that. And life has gotten better in particular for those who suffered the worst living conditions in 1950. This is evidence of considerable success in development. Children born in the developing world today are far more likely to survive to old age than those born fifty years ago. They are far more likely to be educated (and thus literate as adults) – and this is particularly true of girls. They are more likely to enjoy civil and political freedoms. And the gap between the likely fortunes of a child born in the developing world and one born in the developed world has narrowed. In both relative and absolute terms, life in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America is much better today than it was in the past.”*** The Nobel Prize winning economist Angus Deaton also concurs in his book, *The Great Escape*, ***“Starting in the middle of the eighteenth century in Britain, longevity slowly began to improve in countries around the world. As people made their escape from disease and early death, living standards began to improve too, and, to a large extent, health and the level of living moved in parallel ... one careful study estimates that the average income of all the inhabitants of the world increased between seven and eight times from 1820 to 1992. At the same time, the fraction of the world’s population in extreme poverty fell from 84 to 24 percent.”*** So that today ***“Life is better now than at almost any time in history. More people are richer and fewer people live in dire poverty. Lives are longer and parents no longer routinely watch a quarter of their children die.”***⁵²⁰ So what was the common factor that began this process of incredible change that we are still living through? When we touched on this in [Part 4 on Social Justice](#), we did not have enough information to be able to say. Now we have considered the development trends as well, we are in a position to begin to resolve this question.

⁵²⁰ Sachs, J., *The End of Poverty*, (2005), pp. 26 – 29, 19, see also pp. 30 – 51, 149 – 150, 168 – 169; Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012), pp. 91 – 92, but also see the whole book; Deaton, A., *The Great Escape*, (2013), pp. 167, 1, but also see the whole book etc.

Social and technological progress and the two great agricultural and industrial revolutions

This fundamental change which has dramatically improved social justice and development over the last 200 years, itself sits within a longer story of human social and technological progress. Throughout human history, the dynamics of this process have been essentially simple and the same for both social and technological progress: different people in different places have invented and tried new things to improve their lives. Sometimes these innovations have had a single point of origin, at other times, similar ideas have been tried in varying locations independently. Ideas that have worked have been adopted and copied by others. This same slow and gradual process has taken us from the first stone tools to the latest online technology, and from Magna Carta to today's complex international legal codes. As the historian Ian Morris puts it in his book *Why the West Rules – For Now*, ***“For millennia social development has generally been increasing, thanks to our tinkering, and has generally done so at an accelerating rate. Good ideas beget more good ideas, and having once had good ideas we tend not to forget them.”*** Or put less generously, ***“Change is caused by lazy, greedy, frightened people looking for easier, more profitable, and safer ways to do things. And they rarely know what they’re doing.”***⁵²¹ However, within the midst of this process there have been two great revolutions, and both dramatically accelerated the rate of change. Andrew Marr is just one historian amongst many to stress this in his book *A History of the World*, ***“the two most significant changes in human history were the invention of agriculture, upon which everything else depended, and the industrial revolution, which shaped today’s world.”***⁵²²

Long before these revolutions though, modern *Homo sapiens* first emerged some 300,000 years ago. For the vast majority of human history (96%), human societies existed as Stone Age hunter gatherers, always on the move searching for enough food to survive. From this perspective our modern world and everything in it, is really part of a massive acceleration in technological and social development which is an aberration from the historic norm. Yuval Noah Harari summarises this well in his book *Sapiens*, ***“For nearly the entire history of our species, Sapiens lived as foragers. The past 200 years, during which ever increasing numbers of Sapiens have obtained their daily bread as urban labourers and office workers, and the preceding 10,000 years, during which most Sapiens lived as farmers and herders, are the blink of an eye compared to the tens of thousands of years during which our ancestors hunted and gathered.”***⁵²³ Even during this long seemingly static period, archeology shows that change was taking place: increasingly effective stone tools, spears, wooden throwing tools, pottery, art, religion, language, boat craft, the needle, all were developed throughout this period. However, the pace of technological and social progress and change was much slower than it is today.

The first great leap forward was the agricultural revolution. Most scholars today believe that favourable changes in the climate around 12,000 years ago as the world entered our current geological era, the Holocene, meant food became more plentiful. As a result, in some areas hunter-gatherers no longer needed to keep moving but became settled, returning to the same

⁵²¹ Morris, I., *Why the West Rules – For Now*, (2011), pp. 27 – 28, see also pp. 29, 560, 565 – 571; Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 406, 455, 562; Diamond, J., *Guns, Germs and Steel*, (2017), pp. 260 – 288 etc.

⁵²² Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), p. 521; see also Harari, Y. N., *Sapiens*, (2014), p. 45; Morris, I., *Foragers, Farmers and Fossil Fuels*, (2015) etc.

⁵²³ Harari, Y. N., *Sapiens*, (2014), p. 45; see also Morris, I., *Foragers, Farmers and Fossil Fuels*, (2015), pp. 25 – 43; Diamond, J., *Guns, Germs and Steel*, (2017), pp. 31 – 50 etc.

areas to gather food, and capturing and domesticating animals, thus agriculture emerged.⁵²⁴ This process gradually spread around the world. However, even by the modern period it had still not spread to all. Many (though not all) of the native populations of America, Australia, Africa and the Pacific were still living as hunter gatherers when European colonial settlers arrived from the 1500s – 1800s. In remoter parts of the world today, many still do. This first great leap forward fundamentally changed the history of humanity. Over time we moved from a world where the vast majority of the human population were nomadic hunter gatherers to one where the vast majority were settled subsistence farmers living in small villages. The much larger food production which gradually became available, meant much larger populations. Larger populations living together in settled communities meant the first villages, then towns, then cities, and the emergence of more complex political structures: aristocracies, councils and kings. Writing, metallurgy, trade, wars, empire building, all began to emerge as a result.

This profound impact of the agricultural revolution is widely recognised by historians. In his classic work *Guns, Germs and Steel*, the scientist and historian Jared Diamond traces the huge long-term impact of early agricultural development on the history of nations. As he says in the 2017 twentieth anniversary edition of the book, ***“let’s go back 13,000 years in human history, to the end of the last Ice Age. At that time, all humans in the world were living as hunter-gatherers, and not yet as farmers or herders. All hunter-gatherers have relatively simple political and economic and social institutions, compared to modern populous state-level societies like the United States ... How did all these complex institutions arise in the last 13,000 years? Studies of history and archaeology and other sciences show that their development depended ultimately on the development of the densely populated sedentary societies with storable food surpluses (e.g., of wheat and cheese and potatoes) made possible by agriculture. That is, the most-ultimate cause of complex institutions is agriculture, and the next-ultimate cause is the densely populated sedentary societies and storable food surpluses resulting from agriculture. Food surpluses can be used to feed non-food producing specialists such as kings, bankers, book authors, and professors. Hence agriculture was a prerequisite for the development of all of the complex institutions of modern societies: advanced chiefdoms and states; bureaucracy; centralized government; educated literate citizens; investors; kings; a market economy; merchants; metal tools; national loyalty instead of just clan loyalty; rule by government-administered law; universities; and writing.”***⁵²⁵

With this first great leap forward, therefore, the pace of technological and social change increased dramatically. However, in the thousands of years since the invention of agriculture, nations and empires have been born, risen and fallen, and faiths have come and gone. But lying behind all the surface stuff of history, the new fundamental dynamic of the majority of the population living in rural villages and working on the land, ruled over by aristocracies, once established, remained unchanged. That was until the second great leap forward began some 250 years ago: the industrial revolution. The invention of a number of new machines (often powered by coal) and vastly improved agricultural and manufacturing processes, hugely boosted productivity, creating vast surpluses for sale and generating wealth. Far fewer people

⁵²⁴ Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), pp. 29 – 47; *Planetary Boundaries: Exploring the Safe Operating Space for Humanity*, Ecology and Society 14 (2), (2009); *Planetary Boundaries: Guiding Human Development on a Changing Planet*, Science 6223 (347), (2015); Hansen, J., *Storms of my Grandchildren*, (2011), pp. 38 – 40, 45 – 46, 50, 84 – 85, 141, 143 etc.

⁵²⁵ Diamond, J., *Guns, Germs and Steel*, (2017), pp. 507 – 508, but also see the whole book; Morris, I., *Foragers, Farmers and Fossil Fuels*, (2015), pp. xiv – xv, xix, 4 – 5, 10 – 24, 44 – 92, 140, 142 – 157, 170; Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), pp. 29 – 47, 53 – 75, 363, 365 etc.

were needed to produce food through agriculture, releasing a huge labour force which moved to the cities and found work in the new factories. Once again, this revolution accelerated the pace of change and brought about a host of new technologies and social innovations which began to fundamentally change the norms of human society, just as the agricultural revolution had done. Steam power, heavy industry, chemicals, fossil fuel industries, plastics, computers, the ‘green revolution’ in agriculture in Africa and Asia in the 1960s, and much more all followed.

Socially, societies shifted from feudalism where the vast majority lived in rural villages as subsistence farmers and almost all wealth was bound up in the land, to a world where the majority moved to the cities and began to work, first in industry and manufacturing, and more recently, services and the knowledge economy. This created a vast expansion of the role of markets and the private sector and our modern market economy. Historians and economists stress the importance of the critical turning point of the industrial revolution. To take just one example, in his book *The Age of Sustainable Development*, the economist and adviser to the United Nations Jeffrey Sachs describes this as, ***“the story of the era of modern economic growth, the period since the start of the Industrial Revolution. It is only in this period that some parts of the world experienced sustained increases in gross domestic product (GDP) per person over long stretches and thereby transformed themselves from rural to urban, from peasant agriculture to high-yield agriculture, and from cottage industry (e.g., spinning and weaving) to modern industry and by now to a modern high-tech, knowledge-intensive industrial and service economy.”*** ... ***“The economic development that started as a local phenomenon in England and then spread across into western Europe and the other temperate-zone nations had finally spread to Japan by the late nineteenth century, and to the postcolonial world after World War II. By now, the ripples of modern economic growth have reached almost the entire planet.”***⁵²⁶

Booming economies resulted in the emergence of an educated and empowered middle class: merchants, businessmen, lawyers, students, journalists etc. They in turn demanded greater political rights and freedoms, and reduced corruption, using many of the tactics we explored in Part 4 under [Improving democracy, human rights and good governance through pressure within nations](#). This resulted in better governance, expansion of democracy, reduction in corruption and improvements in human rights. They also demanded better healthcare, education and social protection for the unemployed, elderly and incapacitated. As the political scientist Francis Fukuyama wrote in his work *Political Order and Political Decay*, ***“We live today in a world of globalized and expanding democracy due to the profound changes set in train by the Industrial Revolution. It set off explosive economic growth that dramatically changed the nature of societies by mobilizing new classes of people – the bourgeoisie or middle-class, and the new industrial working class. As they became self-conscious as groups with common interests, they started to organize themselves politically and demand the right to participate in the political system ... Democracy in the developed world became secure and stable as industrialization produced middle-class societies”*** ... ***“Middle-class groups were the primary leaders of the democratic transitions that took place in Denmark, Greece, France, Argentina, Portugal, and Spain in the nineteenth century, and were important parts of the coalitions that pressed for full democratization in Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and Britain in the early twentieth.”***

⁵²⁶ Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), pp. 71 – 72, 99, see also pp. 9 – 10, 18 – 23, 51 – 55, 67 – 102, 355 – 366; Morris, I., *Why the West Rules – For Now*, (2011), pp. 11 – 12, 39 – 40, 145, 160 – 161, 490 – 554, 564 – 565; Landes, D., *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, (1998), pp. xvii – xx, 168 – 524 etc.

Similarly, the late Robert Dahl, one of the world's foremost experts on democracy, described the gradual spread of democracy over the last couple of centuries in his work *On Democracy*, ***“The institutions of market-capitalism were spread to one country after another. Market-capitalism not only resulted in higher economic growth and well-being but also fundamentally altered a country's society by creating a large and influential middle class sympathetic to democratic ideas and institutions ... by cutting acute poverty and improving living standards, economic growth helps to reduce social and political conflicts ... Growth also provides individuals, groups, and governments with surplus resources to support education and thus to foster a literate and educated citizenry. Market-capitalism is also favorable to democracy because of its social and political consequences. It creates a large middling stratum of property owners who typically seek education, autonomy, personal freedom, property rights, the rule of law, and participation in government. The middle classes, as Aristotle was the first to point out, are the natural allies of democratic ideas and institutions.”***

Or as the development economist Paul Collier writes in his book *Wars, Guns and Votes*, ***“The states of the mid-nineteenth century were run by the rich, and their priority was national security. The road from there to the present is paved with political protest from the excluded. Gradually, little by little, to avoid worse the rich expanded the franchise. This enabled them credibly to commit redistributive reforms that became irreversible without being so drastic that the economy was damaged. Nations inched towards democracy, and as they did so the priorities of government inched towards the priorities of ordinary citizens – the supply of public goods such as health and education instead of simply defense. Gradually the state became captured by the interest of ordinary citizens: we have arrived at the modern liberal democracy.”***⁵²⁷

So, we see that this process of change has transformed the role of the state. Prior to the industrial revolution, the traditional function of the state was to provide national defence, and law and order alone, funded by an average tax intake of well under 10% of gross national income. After the industrial revolution and the social changes it unleashed, the modern social state of all the world's developed nations today, provides not only national defence and law and order, but also healthcare, education and social support for their populations, funded by a tax intake of anywhere between 30 – 55% of gross national income, thus driving down extreme poverty.

The French economist Thomas Piketty sets this out in detail in his book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, when reviewing the economic and social history of Sweden, France, Britain and America as symptomatic of a wider pattern, ***“taxes consumed less than 10 percent of national income in all four countries during the nineteenth century and up to World War I. This reflects the fact that the state at that time had very little involvement in economic and social life. With 7 – 8 percent of national income, it is possible for a government to fulfil its central ‘regalian’ functions (police, courts, army, foreign affairs, general administration, etc.) but not much more.”*** However, ***“Between 1920 and 1980, the share of national income that the wealthy countries chose to devote to social spending increased considerably. In just over half a century, the share of taxes in national income increased by a factor of at least 3 or 4***

⁵²⁷ Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), pp. 34, 406, but also see the whole book; Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), pp. 164, 167 – 168, see also pp. 166, 169 – 172, 178; Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 175 – 176, see also pp. 154, 172, 174; see also Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 300 – 306, 310, 313 – 317, 337 – 340, 344 – 346, 364, 394 – 400, 402 – 407, 549; Watson, A., *The Evolution of International Society*, (1992), pp. 192, 229 – 230, 240 – 241, 247, 249 etc.

(and in the Nordic countries more than 5). Between 1980 and 2010 however, the tax share stabilized everywhere. This stabilization took place at different levels in each country, however: just over 30 percent of national income in the United States, around 40 percent in Britain, and between 45 and 55 percent on the European continent". Piketty then goes on to "detail what this historic increase in government tax revenues was used for: the construction of a 'social state.' In the nineteenth century, governments were content to fulfil their 'regalian' missions. Today those same functions command a little less than one-tenth of national income. The growing tax bite enabled governments to take on ever broader social functions, which now consume between a quarter and a third of national income, depending on the country. This can be broken down initially into two roughly equal halves: one half goes to health and education, the other to replacement incomes [pensions and unemployment compensation] and transfer payments [family allowances, guaranteed income, etc.]. Spending on education and health consumes 10 – 15 percent of national income in all the developed countries today ... Replacement incomes and transfer payments generally consume 10 – 15 (or even 20) percent of national income in most rich countries today."



Figure 5.28: The industrial revolution was the second great leap forward in human social and technological change. The changes it unleashed led to the welfare state, reduced poverty, greater democracy and our modern world.

Or as the historian Roger Osborne put it in his book *Of the People, By the People*, “*Nineteenth-century liberals believed in free trade unfettered by government interference, a free hand for the hard-working middle class to prosper and to govern their country and their towns, and some help for the deserving poor. But this attitude could not hold. The infrastructure of society – the armed forces, education, highways, public sanitation, police forces and prisons – all had to be paid for. Tax on income, anathema to the liberal philosophy which saw it as a penalty for hard work, was introduced or made permanent across Europe and in the United*

States. The state now became not only the guardian of national security and the manager of the economy, but the guarantor of citizens' rights and the provider of education, health and pensions."⁵²⁸ Increasing wealth, decreasing poverty, decreasing inequality, and improving rights have all also helped create more stable conditions where more and more people have more to lose from conflict and less to gain, also resulting in more peaceful states.⁵²⁹

It is this second great leap forward that we are still living through today, and which the development trends we have considered in this section are showing us. What we call 'development' today, is really the continuing roll out of the industrial revolution around the world, and all the associated accelerated technological and social changes it brings with it. As we have seen, some parts of the world are the furthest down this road (where the industrial revolution began in Europe and North America), others are catching up rapidly (in Latin America and the Caribbean and Asia), and some are furthest behind (in Africa), but all are on that same journey. It is the story we have all been living through. As the economic historians Roger Findlay and Kevin O'Rourke put it in their *Power and Plenty*: **"the economic history of the past two centuries can, as already noted, be viewed as the working out of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution: a 'Great Divergence' in income levels between regions, as the new technologies diffused only gradually across the globe; a 'Great Specialization' between an industrial core and a primary-producing periphery; consequent pressures to protect agriculture in the core, and manufacturing in the periphery; and, finally, a gradual unwinding of these trends as the Industrial Revolution spread to encompass an ever-increasing proportion of the globe. Indeed, we are still experiencing these entirely predictable consequences of events which took place in northern England two centuries ago."**⁵³⁰

We can therefore conclude that improvements in development have been brought about by the spread of industrial development and the modern economy around the world, which has driven the corresponding positive changes in social justice. This has happened because economic development created new middle classes, which in turn led demands for greater political rights and freedoms, reduced corruption and better social services to meet basic needs.⁵³¹ This drove down extreme poverty, inequality and social injustice. Given this background, and all the positive change over the last 200 years, it is worrying to observe the levels of people without access to food begin to increase again in recent years. It is also disturbing to see the levels of inequality in developed nations in North America, Europe and Asia beginning to grow again from the early 1980s, as a result of policy changes made by elites. This threatens to unravel much of the progress we have seen in reducing poverty, inequality and social injustice. We

⁵²⁸ Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (2013), pp. 475 – 477, see also pp. 471 – 534, 542; Osborne, R., *Of the People, By the People*, (2011), p. 180; see also Morris, I., *Foragers, Farmers and Fossil Fuels*, (2015), pp. 110 – 115; Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012), pp. 12, 146 – 147; Castles, F., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, (2010); Atkinson, A., *Inequality*, (2015), pp. 57 – 58, 60, 65 – 68, 74 – 80, 86, 100 – 101, 122, 169 – 172, 205 – 231, 252 – 258, 264 – 266, 290 – 299, 302 – 307; Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 11 – 13, 17 – 20, 34 – 42, 73, 75, 78, 145, 148, 153, 173 – 181 etc.

⁵²⁹ *Conflict Recurrence*, Peace Research Institute Oslo, (2016); Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion*, (2008), pp. 32 – 35; Keegan, J., *A History of Warfare*, (2004), p. 22 etc.

⁵³⁰ Findlay, R. & O'Rourke, K., *Power and Plenty*, (2009), p. xxiii, see also pp. xix – xx, xxiii, 311 – 546; Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), pp. 168, 202 – 203, 220 – 223, 231 – 235, 242 – 243, 268 – 269, 276 – 277, 283, 308 – 309, 314 – 315, 332 – 335, 340 – 341, 354 – 355, 360 – 361, 363, 366; Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013) etc.

⁵³¹ Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015); Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009); Chang, H.-J., *Kicking Away the Ladder*, (2002), pp. 71 – 77, 111 – 123, 129 – 134 etc.

must learn the lessons of our history, and not risk losing the progress that has been so hard fought to be gained.

WHERE DO WE NEED TO GO NEXT?

The challenge for us as Christians and for the world, is having understood the process that has driven down extreme poverty, inequality and social injustice over the last 200 years, how do we now drive it forward further and faster to ensure as many people as possible, as quickly as possible, can enjoy full development and social justice, whilst avoiding the pitfalls and reversals?

As we have seen, once something has been invented it is copied if it is successful. Therefore, this is not about trying to replicate in every nation the particular complex set of historical circumstances which developed in Europe over centuries to trigger the original industrial revolution. Rather, it is about spreading ever further and faster the copying and roll out of that modern economic revolution (which has already been ‘invented’) around the world, and all the associated accelerated technological and social changes it brings with it. It is how to identify and apply the specific lessons from history that will help drive that roll out of development (and therefore social justice) that we now turn.

A critical point to note is that in order to apply any of the policies outlined below, there must be a functioning national government willing and capable of enforcing its will across its territory. It doesn’t matter how effective a policy is if there is no government to enforce it. Therefore, in nations in the world where governance has completely broken down, often referred to as ‘failed states’, the first step must be to reconstitute a minimal functioning national authority through following the policies set out in Part 4 under [Reduce and end small conflicts](#).

This need not initially be a democratic regime or even one with good human rights and governance practices, or without corruption, indeed it almost certainly won’t be, as we have seen from the historical lessons above. It is unlikely to be a democratic country with good standards of social justice until economic development has begun to produce a middle class which demands these reforms. However, once a minimal functioning national authority is in place, then the process of development can begin.

Development appears to be a two-stage process. First, nations need to move out of the vast majority of their populations being trapped as poor rural subsistence farmers into the modern world, through building strong and fair economies. That economic development is essential for ending poverty is widely recognised by economists. As the academic and former director of research at the World Bank, Martin Ravallion, concludes after reviewing a mountain of economic data in his work *The Economics of Poverty*, “***As a rule, measures of absolute poverty tend to fall with positive growth and rise with contractions***”, and “***the developing countries that have enjoyed higher rates of economic growth have seen faster progress against absolute poverty.***”⁵³²

However, as we have seen, this alone will not reduce poverty for all. The economies of most developed nations took off significantly before extreme poverty within them was eliminated.

⁵³² Ravallion, M., *The Economics of Poverty*, (2016), pp. 443, 434 – 435, see also pp. 379 – 476, 594 – 595; Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), pp. 1, 13 – 15; Easterly, W., *The Elusive Quest for Growth*, (2002), pp. 9 – 10, 13 – 14 etc.

It was only when booming economies created new middle classes, which began to demand that nations introduce taxes in order to prevent obscene levels of inequality and provide basic health, education and social protection (as well as political reform), that the modern ‘welfare state’ emerged and poverty and inequality were truly reduced. Nations therefore need to also tax and provide social spending in order to meet basic needs.

This is a key point that the World Bank economist, Charles Kenny, points out in his book *Getting Better*; that one of the major factors behind global development progress of recent decades is precisely ***“the fact that governments are doing a better job at delivering services. Worldwide, countries are far more concerned about improving the quality of life of their citizens than they were a hundred years ago. The most corrupt and inefficient of countries in Africa are still providing services of a quality and extent far in advance of any country in the world prior to the Industrial Revolution”*** ... ***“In 1788, government revenues as a percentage of GDP in the United Kingdom were around 12 percent – almost certainly one of the highest rates in the world. Today, government revenues are closer to 45 percent of GDP in the UK, and this number is hardly out of the ordinary ... The world has witnessed ubiquitous growth and convergence in the size of government, then. A lot of revenue that these governments raise is wasted, but some is spent on providing access to education, public health services, government information, running elections, and (even) protecting rights. This in turn suggests that big government may be a powerful force behind the growth in global quality of life.”***

Similarly, the Indian economist and Nobel Prize winner, Amartya Sen, in reviewing academic research on the links between economic growth and poverty reduction in his book *Development as Freedom*, finds that ***“the impact of economic growth depends much on how the fruits of economic growth are used”***, and thus ***“utilization of the enhanced economic prosperity to expand the relevant social services, including health care, education and social security”*** is key. Taking this approach, in recent decades ***“many Asian economies – first Japan, and then South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore, and later post-reform China and Thailand and other countries in East Asia and Southeast Asia – have done remarkably well in spreading the economic opportunities through an adequately supportive social background, including high levels of literacy, numeracy, and basic education; good general health care; completed land reforms; and so on.”*** Similarly, ***“The rapid spread of literacy in the past history of the rich countries of today (both in the West and in Japan and the rest of East Asia) has drawn on the low cost of public education combined with its shared public benefits.”***

Finally, the economist Branko Milanovic, in his book *Global Inequality*, rightly stresses the importance of taxation and social spending not only for reducing absolute poverty, but also relative inequality as well, ***“The era of broadly declining inequality – be it through nationalization, expansion of education, agrarian reform, or the welfare state – was a feature of the third quarter of the twentieth century almost worldwide.”***⁵³³

⁵³³ Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012), pp. 12, 146 – 147, see also pp. 13 – 14, 79 – 83, 116, 120 – 133, 149 – 174, 204; Sen, A., *Development as Freedom*, (2001), pp. 44, 46, 91, 129, see also pp. 43 – 51, 90, 120, 128, 143 – 145, 255, 258; Milanovic, B., *Global Inequality*, (2016), p. 99, see also pp. 53, 70 – 81, 93 – 94, 98 – 109, 113 – 114, 123 – 125, 217; Atkinson, A., *Inequality*, (2015), pp. 57 – 58, 60, 65 – 68, 74 – 80, 86, 100 – 101, 122, 169 – 172, 205 – 231, 252 – 258, 264 – 266, 290 – 299, 302 – 307 etc.

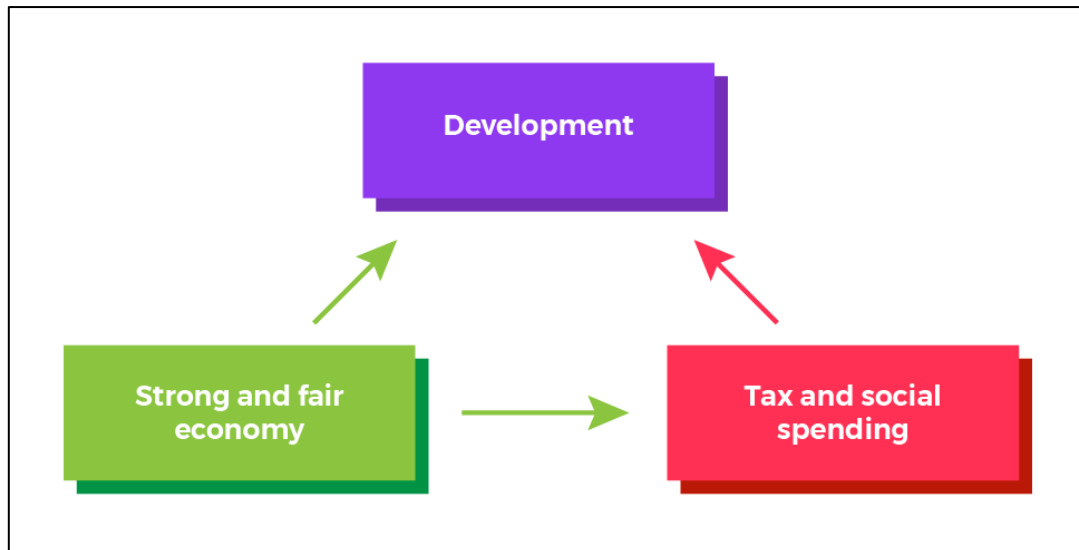


Figure 5.29: Development is driven by creating a strong and fair national economy, which can then be taxed to ensure the basic needs of all are met through social spending.

Furthermore, as we have seen, starting to get this right with development also creates the underlying conditions which drive improvements in social justice, thus initiating the favourable environment for the emergence and success of the [bottom-up reform movements](#) we saw in Part 4, which are critical for progressing social justice. The world, then, has come full circle and rediscovered some of the Biblical principles we have seen that God provided over 3000 years ago when the Israelites first entered the promised land. These are principles for building a strong and fair economy, and then making sure a degree of that wealth is shared out to prevent extreme inequality and to prevent the poor and marginalised from being left behind. Now that we know we need to focus on building strong and fair economies, and taxing and redistributing from these to meet basic needs, there are a host of lessons and policies which nations have successfully used to do this over the past 200 years that we can recommend with confidence for the future.

Strong and fair economy

Lead domestically

Creating strong and fair domestic economies is primarily a task that national governments must lead. Whilst each nation of course faces its own unique set of historical, political, social and economic circumstances, there are nevertheless some common lessons we can draw from the nations which have delivered the most dramatic achievements in developing their economies and reducing poverty in recent decades. As the former Chief Economist and Senior Vice President at the World Bank Justin Yifu Lin says in *The Quest for Prosperity*, future economic historians ***“will be amazed by the rapid-growth path followed by a small number of countries such as Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Mauritius, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam where the industrialization process quickly transformed***

*their subsistence agrarian economies and lifted several hundred million people out of poverty in a single generation.”*⁵³⁴



Figure 5.30: There are many lessons to learn from countries like Singapore, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia, Mauritius, Thailand or Vietnam, which have rapidly developed in recent decades, lifting hundreds of millions out of poverty.

Furthermore, the menu of policies they have used is the same as those used by Britain, Europe, the US, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and other parts of the developed world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when they were going through their own period of rapid economic development, and indeed the policies which every nation which has successfully developed has used.⁵³⁵

Industrial and economic development strategy

Our first lesson is that it is essential that nations develop their own national domestic businesses and sectors (eventually to a stage where they become world class and can compete with the very best internationally), rather than just welcoming foreign companies. As they do this, nations must move further and further up the value chain. This means moving from mainly agriculture and the export of natural resources and commodities, such as crops, coffee, timber, oil, minerals or sugar, where all developing (essentially pre-industrial) economies start; up to labour intensive assembly; to simple manufacturing; to more advanced manufacturing; and eventually into services and the knowledge economy. In 2008, the Commission on Growth and Development, a panel of world leading development economists tasked by leading nations and the World Bank with identifying the policies that have been most successful for economic

⁵³⁴ Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. 6 – 7, see also pp. xii – xv, 19 – 20, 32, 75 – 101, 110, 113 – 114, 140 – 141, 159 – 160, 167 – 168, 242; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 13 – 55, 85 – 88, 104, 106, 109 – 110, 204, 219 – 220, 226; Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), pp. 81, 95 – 98 etc.

⁵³⁵ Landes, D., *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, (1998), pp. 256 – 275; Chang, H-J., *Kicking Away the Ladder*, (2002); Findlay, R. & O’Rourke, K., *Power and Plenty*, (2009), pp. 347, 395 – 402, 425 – 428, 466 – 467, 483 – 489, 492 – 493, 520 – 526

development, issued their conclusions in the seminal *Growth Report*. This stresses precisely this fundamental point, that ***“Growth entails a structural transformation of the economy, from agriculture to manufacturing, from a rural workforce to an urban one.”***⁵³⁶ In the twenty-first century, this whole process of transition must be driven by modern clean energy (not fossil fuels) and the sustainable use of natural resources (a ‘circular economy’, rather than our current ‘extract, consume and throw away’ model), if it is to be environmentally and economically sustainable. (We will return to these topics further in [Part 6](#) when we look at the [Environment](#).)

At every stage in this transition, governments should be aiming not only to develop domestic industries to service the needs of the domestic economy as fully as possible, but to also have a strong emphasis on engaging in international trade and boosting exports to the world.⁵³⁷ As they do this, nations should make full use of their maximum comparative advantage, focusing on what they can do best and what the world wants, and provide particular support for those sectors. Governments will also want to encourage as much diversity in the economy as possible as they go through this process. Overreliance on just one or two sectors, and even on just one or two massive companies, will introduce significant vulnerability and have a hugely distorting effect on the economy, and indeed on democracy and the political process in a country. A key study by the UN Conference on Trade and Development, which is backed up by many similar studies by other international institutions and economists, emphasises these key points, that ***“The analyses show that developing countries need to diversify their export base away from less sophisticated primary commodities into high-productivity sectors such as manufacturing in order to enjoy faster growth”*** and furthermore that ***“the message is not necessarily to completely specialize in agriculture or manufacturing but promoting diversification within and between sectors.”***⁵³⁸ Finally, there needs to be recognition that this process of transition takes many years; no nation can jump straight from a poor rural economy to an advanced industrial knowledge economy in a single leap.

This is the route that all nations that have successfully developed have taken. It is absolutely essential to note that none of this will just happen. It requires a hugely intentional and proactive government, with a clear industrial and economic development strategy. This is especially the case in developing countries where the economy is nascent and there is no advanced flourishing private sector just waiting to be released. The state has to be massively involved to get the economy kick started in the first place, and the domestic private sector built up, established and thriving. After a long period where this crucial lesson was neglected by ‘Washington Consensus’ economic thinking, it is now increasingly widely accepted by economists and development experts. Justin Yifu Lin again explains this in *The Quest for Prosperity*, ***“there is virtually no example in history of any successful catch-up economy in which the government did not play an active role in facilitating its industrial upgrading and diversification. A close look at the history of capitalism reveals that even Britain and the United States, conventionally believed to have succeeded by adopting laissez-faire policies***

⁵³⁶ Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), p. 6, see also pp. 2, 9, 14, 21, 25 – 26, 45; Chang, H-J., *Bad Samaritans*, (2008), pp. 7, 14 – 15, 19 – 21, 29, 31, 41 – 45, 47, 49 – 58, 68, 210 – 222; *Global Value Chain Development*, WTO, (regular report) etc.

⁵³⁷ Findlay, R. & O’Rourke, K., *Power and Plenty*, (2009), pp. 311 – 546; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 2 – 3, 39, 50, 87 – 88, 120, 204, 219 – 222, 238; Bernstein, W., *A Splendid Exchange*, (2008) etc.

⁵³⁸ *Estimating the Impact of Trade Specialization and Trade Policy on Poverty in Developing Countries*, UNCTAD, (2015), pp. 4 – 5, 7; see also *The Resource Curse Revisited*, Chatham House, (2015), pp. 1 – 3, 27 – 33, 35 – 38, 42 – 43; Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. 8, 10 – 11, 17, 66, 97, 116, 133 – 134, 158 – 160, 241 etc.

*when other countries were stuck with outdated mercantilist strategies, actually promoted their national industries through various forms of active government interventions that included tariffs, subsidies and other measures. Many of today's other rich countries also used extensive government intervention to jumpstart their process of modern economic growth. In the nineteenth century, Germany and Japan kick-started their industrialization with state-owned enterprises in textiles, steel, and shipbuilding. After World War II, Austria, Finland, France, the Republic of Korea, Norway, and Singapore also used state-owned enterprises to modernize their economies.”*⁵³⁹

It therefore follows that a proactive dialogue and positive working relationship between government and business leaders to work together for national economic development is essential. This should be done through transparent dialogue and working groups to enable a constructive working relationship whilst ensuring there is no personal or political benefit for those in government. Thus, the principle of clear water between government and business that we discussed in [Standards for democracy, human rights and good governance](#) in Part 4 on Social Justice, is maintained. Balancing a close dialogue between public and private sectors whilst ensuring corruption doesn't infiltrate the system is increasingly recognised as key by economists, such as Dani Rodrik, who in his book *One Economics, Many Recipes*, stresses that *“the policy setting has to be one in which public officials are able to elicit information from the business sector on an ongoing basis about the constraints that exist and the opportunities that are available. It cannot be one in which the private sector is kept at arm's length and autonomous bureaucrats issue directives.”* However, *“industrial policy is open to corruption and rent-seeking.”* As a result, *“the critical institutional challenge, therefore, is to find an intermediate position between full autonomy and full embeddedness. Too much autonomy for the bureaucrats and you have a system that minimizes corruption but fails to provide incentives that the private sector really needs. Too much embeddedness for the bureaucrats and they end up in bed with (and in the pockets of) business interests.”*⁵⁴⁰

The government's economic development strategy should also be highly flexible and evolving. The policies set out in this section are those that have been repeatedly and most successfully used by nations as they developed. However, they are not a magic formula. Nations should select and apply the policies that are useful and helpful at the right time, choosing the right economic path for the nation according to the unique national context, rather than holding doggedly to any one particular market ideology. The Chinese premier Deng Xiaoping famously described this process as *‘Crossing the river by feeling for the stones’*, when China began its economic transformation in the late 1970s. This highly pragmatic approach is increasingly recognised as essential by development economists.⁵⁴¹ Critical for enabling this to happen effectively, is rigorous monitoring of tight targets and indicators for economic success and development, including specific targets for particular sectors and businesses that have been prioritised for support.

⁵³⁹ Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. 66 – 67, but also see the whole book, Chang, H-J., *Globalisation, Economic Development and the Role of the State*, (2003); Mazzucato, M., *The Entrepreneurial State*, (2015) etc.

⁵⁴⁰ Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), p. 111, see also pp. 19, 110 – 116; *How do State-Business Relations Shape Sustainable Development?*, Institute of Development Studies, (2017); Chang, H-J., *Globalisation, Economic Development and the Role of the State*, (2003), pp. 317, 322 – 325 etc.

⁵⁴¹ Ravallion, M., *The Economics of Poverty*, (2016), pp. 508 – 518; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007); Easterly, W., *The White Man's Burden*, (2007) etc.



Figure 5.31: Nations that have developed successfully, have done so through a proactive and flexible industrial and economic development strategy, which has

moved their economy up the value chain from agriculture, to manufacturing, to services and the knowledge economy.

If a policy is not working, or companies fail to achieve as desired, then the policy should be changed and support withdrawn. Inevitably some things that are tried will not work. It is impossible to avoid this. It is a natural part of the process. What is key is spotting things that aren't working quickly, shutting them down and diverting policies and resources to other areas that are working better. As the economists Ha-Joon Chang and Ilene Grabel put it in their book, *Reclaiming Development*, ***“Selective industrial policies have not succeeded everywhere. Nearly all of the instances of policy failure are marked by the absence of appropriate mechanisms of accountability, performance review and oversight. Failure has occurred when the government has granted trade protection and/or subsidies to certain industries without monitoring performance and without tying support to performance guidelines. In these contexts, selective industrial policy usually did not lead to enhanced performance. Successful experiences with selective industrial policy are very much tied to the government’s commitment to monitoring and performance. For example, in Korea and Japan firms had to prove that they were using state support to increase productivity and/or exports. If they failed to do so, they were penalized through the withdrawal of state support in subsequent periods.”***⁵⁴²

Targeted policies to move up the value chain from agriculture, to manufacturing, to services and the knowledge economy

Delving into specific policies, governments first need to create the right environment for business to thrive by enforcing contracts and private property rights. As the development economist Dani Rodrik says, every country that has successfully developed has ***“protected property rights of investors and entrepreneurs to some extent and enforced contracts”***. This is a key point he rightly describes as one of just a few ***“higher-order principles of sound economic governance”*** which are essential requirements for economic development in every context.⁵⁴³ In many of the world’s developing countries, this also includes tackling the issue of land ownership by formalising the legal ownership by various communities (especially indigenous traditional groups) of the land they live on, often for thousands of years, with modern deeds of ownership.⁵⁴⁴ Recognising the reality that the economies of poorer nations are still overwhelmingly based on agriculture and the export of natural resources, all successful developing nations have focused on first reforming their agricultural sectors in the early stages. This has meant boosting productivity through modern farming techniques, which in today’s world must also be environmentally sustainable (as we shall explore further in [Part 6](#)). This is widely recognised by development economists, such as Jeffrey Sachs, who in his book *Common Wealth* writes, ***“The escape from extreme poverty requires four basic types of investment. The first is a boost to productivity of the core livelihood, agriculture. This is the hallowed Green Revolution that initially lifts smallholder farmers out of subsistence ... The***

⁵⁴² Chang, H-J. & Grabel, I., *Reclaiming Development*, (2014), p. 76, see also pp. 79, 90 – 91; Mazzucato, M., *The Entrepreneurial State*, (2015), pp. 1, 5, 9 – 10, 25; *Global Value Chains and South-South Trade*, UN Conference on Trade and Development, (2015), p. 46 etc.

⁵⁴³ Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 87, 39, see also pp. 15, 21, 29, 31 – 32, 57, 100, 156 – 157, 184, 188 – 189; Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), pp. 28 – 36, 43, 70 – 79, 88, 102 – 104, 120 – 121, 194 – 198, 202, 208, 216, 221 – 222, 243 – 244, 259, 297, 410, 429 – 430, 453; Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 57 – 63 etc.

⁵⁴⁴ *Common Ground*, Oxfam and various agencies, (2016); *Community Rights, Corporate Wrongs*, Friends of the Earth, (2011); *Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development*, UN, (2002), pp. 4, 6, 23 etc.

*boost of farm production has very often been the deus ex machina that triggers the long-term growth process.”*⁵⁴⁵

Countries that are blessed with valuable natural resources and commodities such as crops, coffee, minerals, timber or sugar, are fortunate as these can provide an extra boost at the start of the process of economic development. However, it is essential that nations take the money generated from such exports and re-invest it in sovereign wealth funds. Thus, the profits generated are not spent, but permanently saved and invested, providing a perpetual increasing economic return which can be used to help drive the process of economic development and moving up the value chain to more advanced manufacturing, services and knowledge economies. Sitting back and living off the proceeds of natural resource and commodities exports is no substitute for genuine economic development, and leads to the infamous ‘resource curse’, where nations never move beyond this stage and remain trapped in low levels of poverty. This was a major conclusion in a 2015 report by the London-based international affairs think tank Chatham House, which is also backed up by multiple other international institutions, development experts and economists. The report found that the key to success for natural resource endowed poor countries was precisely that ***“Such economies achieve growth while diversifying away from the extractive sector, thereby reducing their vulnerability to falls in resource prices and the eventual depletion of reserves. The key point here is that revenue from extractives is not income. It is simply the reshuffling of a country’s portfolio of assets: exchanging resources below ground for cash above ground. Overall success is determined by the extent to which a country can capitalize on such reshuffling – namely, by investing the cash productively and by forging linkages between the extractive sector and the rest of the economy. On the basis of such premises, this paper argues that while it is not inevitable, the resource curse is alive and active. Numerous resource-exporting countries have failed to diversify their economies away from the extractive sector even if they have developed other economic sectors; they remain dependent on extractive revenues.”***⁵⁴⁶

Absolutely essential to moving up the value chain is the transfer of technology, both the scientific and technical, and the latest best practice in business processes and know-how. Nations that have enjoyed rapid periods of economic development have largely done so by replicating the very best ideas and technologies from more developed nations in their own countries in order to achieve rapid catch up. As the development economist Ha-Joon Chang observes in his book, *Globalisation, Economic Development and the Role of the State*, ***“In the history of industrialisation, technology transfer has always played a key role. Technology transfer during the 16th and the 17th centuries from the then more advanced economies of Continental Europe (especially Venice and the Low Countries) was critical in Britain’s transition from a backward raw material producer to a leading manufacturing nation ... After the British Industrial Revolution, the effectiveness of technology transfer from Britain (and to a lesser extent from the Low Countries) became the key determinant of a country’s prosperity”***.⁵⁴⁷ One key strategy that has helped to achieve this has been attracting and allowing Transnational Companies (TNCs) to operate within a country: Foreign Direct

⁵⁴⁵ Sachs, J., *Common Wealth*, (2008), pp. 230 – 231, see also pp. 42, 210, 219, 255; Ravallion, M., *The Economics of Poverty*, (2016), pp. 30 – 31, 460 – 469, 473 – 474, 478 – 487; Rodrik, D. (Ed.), *In Search of Prosperity*, (2003), pp. 98, 101, 153, 162 – 166, 209, 240 – 241, 300 – 301, 308 – 309 etc.

⁵⁴⁶ *The Resource Curse Revisited*, Chatham House, (2015), p. 2, but also see the whole report; Collier, P., *The Plundered Planet*, (2010); Helm, D., *Natural Capital*, (2016), pp. 14, 50 – 51, 93, 223 – 225, 243 – 244 etc.

⁵⁴⁷ Chang, H-J., *Globalisation, Economic Development and the Role of the State*, (2003), p 27, see also pp. 65 – 66, 138, 273 – 304; Sachs, J., *The End of Poverty*, (2005), pp. 18, 31, 39 – 43, 49, 62 – 64, 155, 161 – 162, 169, 180, 186, 252 – 253, 257 – 259; Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. 28 – 29, 32 – 33, 81, 90, 98 – 99, 109 – 120, 140 – 141, 150, 160, 165 – 166, 176, 209 – 233, 238, 243, 245, 250 etc.

Investment (FDI). However, this should crucially only be allowed on terms that extract the maximum benefit for the developing country. Thus, insisting on joint national/TNC ownership; a high proportion of staff to be nationals; local content requirements; preventing TNC operation where they might undermine significant domestic industries; extracting the maximum amount of tax etc. have all been used successfully as strategies to gain the maximum benefit of inward investment and technology transfer from TNCs, whilst avoiding them undermining the local domestic economy. This is a widely recognised model used by many successful developing countries. The 2008 *Growth Report* from the Commission on Growth and Development stresses, ***“As well as money, FDI can bring a familiarity with foreign production techniques, overseas markets and international supply chains. This expertise may be worth more than the capital itself ... A multinational may train a local recruit, who later joins to leave another firm. It may share technology with a supplier, who then serves rival customers”***, or there may be ***“obligations on the foreign investor to hire and train local staff as managers, even letting them advance to positions beyond their home country. A common organizational form for doing this is the joint venture”***, and many other such mechanisms.⁵⁴⁸

In close connection with this policy, many successful developing countries created industrial clusters/zones (sometimes specifically export zones) to attract TNCs and create hubs of economic activity, which could then be used to benefit the rest of the country. As Justin Yifu Lin says in *The Quest for Prosperity*, ***“From anywhere in the world and with a simple click of the mouse, one can instantly visit the jewelry zone in Thailand, the leather zone in Turkey, the single-commodity zone for tea in Zimbabwe, the single-factory export orientated units in India, or the single-company zones in the Dominican Republic ... I propose that developing countries with poor infrastructure and an unfriendly business environment rely on the power and magic of industrial parks and export-processing zones, which are more manageable and realistic alternatives to the dream of building excellent infrastructure rapidly across the entire country and improving the business environment for the entire economy. The parks and zones also have the benefits of encouraging industrial clustering.”***⁵⁴⁹

In addition to the transference of already existing technology and ideas, it is also critical to provide extensive public investment into new research and development to advance domestic technology and economic development. There is a crucial role for public funding here, as private capital is often too short-term, needs to see a quicker return and is wary of investing in long-term early stage technological development. However, public funds can play a key role as a natural partner in the patient early stages of technological development, which can then ‘crowd in’ far larger amounts of finance from the private sector, once that technology becomes rapidly commercially scalable. In the classic study in this area, the economist Marianna Mazzucato, in her book *The Entrepreneurial State*, assembles a wide range of evidence to prove this point, not least from the world’s largest economy. As she says in her introduction, ***“the United States is not what it seems. The preacher of the small State, free-market doctrine has for decades been directing large public investment programs in technology and innovation that underlie its past and current economic successes. From the Internet to biotech and even shale gas, the US State has been the key driver of innovation-led growth –***

⁵⁴⁸ Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), p. 42, see also pp. 8 – 9, 23, 43; Chang, H.-J., *Bad Samaritans*, (2008), pp. 14, 29 – 30, 59 – 60, 80, 82, 88 – 102; Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. xiii – xiv, 94, 140 – 141, 147 – 160, 166 – 170, 176, 202, 205 – 206, 219 – 220, 245 etc.

⁵⁴⁹ Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. 147, 174, see also pp. xiii – xiv, 93, 147 – 148, 151 – 152, 172 – 175, 200, 205 – 206, 219 – 220, 228 – 229, 245; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 24, 28, 87 – 88, 92, 108, 114, 119 – 120, 167; Easterly, W., *The Elusive Quest for Growth*, (2002), pp. 187 – 191 etc.

willing to invest in the most uncertain phase of the innovation cycle and let business hop on for the easier ride down the way. If the rest of the world wants to emulate the US model they should do as the United States actually did, not as it says it did: more State not less. A key part of this lesson should be to learn how to organize, direct and evaluate State investments, so that they can be strategic, flexible and mission-orientated.⁵⁵⁰

In addition, in the early stages, as a strong and fair economy is being built and different sectors of that economy are developing, the use of tariffs and some export and import bans can be essential. As the development economists, Ha-Joon Chang and Ilene Grabel put it in their study *Reclaiming Development*, ***“Extensive infant industry protections were central to economic development in Britain in the eighteenth century and the USA in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nearly all other industrialized countries also used tariffs, export subsidies and other measures of trade protection during the most important moments in their economic development (though not to as great an extent as in Britain or the USA.) During their development, the governments of today’s industrialized countries used different combinations of the following policy tools: tariff levies; tariff rebates on imported inputs used in the production of exports; export subsidies; restrictions on the export of raw materials used by key industries; government regulation of the quality of goods produced for export; and government provision of information on export markets and marketing assistance. Many other countries later used these same policies successfully (e.g. Brazil, India and the East Asian newly industrializing countries)”***.⁵⁵¹

Tax breaks,⁵⁵² subsidies⁵⁵³ and public sector procurement⁵⁵⁴ have all also been used as highly successful policies. State owned enterprises (especially in natural monopolies) have also played a key role.⁵⁵⁵ All of these policies have been used extensively by developing nations as hugely important elements of their industrial development strategy, to get national businesses to a stage where they can fairly compete domestically and on the global scale. Some governments have also successfully combined this with maintaining an intentionally undervalued, competitive currency to boost exports.⁵⁵⁶ Another absolutely crucial and widely recognised area has been developing ***“the infrastructure – the roads, rail, power transmission, port services, connectivity, water, sewerage, and the rest – that is necessary for any economy***

⁵⁵⁰ Mazzucato, M., *The Entrepreneurial State*, (2015), p. 1, but also see the whole book; Chang, H-J., *Kicking Away the Ladder*, (2002), pp. 18, 31, 33, 37, 39 – 41, 50, 61, 63, 65; *Benchmarking Productive Capacities in Least Developed Countries*, UN Conference on Trade and Development, (2016), pp. 28 – 30 etc.

⁵⁵¹ Chang, H-J. & Grabel, I., *Reclaiming Development*, (2014), p. 62, see also pp. 10 – 12, 43, 58, 61 – 69, 75; Findlay, R. & O’Rourke, K., *Power and Plenty*, (2009), pp. 347, 395 – 402, 425 – 428, 466 – 467, 483 – 489, 492 – 493, 520 – 526; Landes, D., *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, (1998), pp. 256 – 275 etc.

⁵⁵² Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), pp. 25, 48; *Global Value Chains and South-South Trade*, UN Conference on Trade and Development, (2015), pp. 45, 47; Chang, H-J., *Globalisation, Economic Development and the Role of the State*, (2003), p. 65 etc.

⁵⁵³ Chang, H-J. & Grabel, I., *Reclaiming Development*, (2014), pp. 11, 62 – 69, 75; Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), pp. 3, 16, 25, 30, 34, 48 – 49; Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. 66 – 67, 100, 176, 244 etc.

⁵⁵⁴ *Achieving the Global New Deal we Need*, UNCTAD, (2017) pp. 2 – 3; *Green Industrial Policy and Trade*, UN Industrial Development Organization and other agencies, (2017), pp. 10, 15 – 16, 24 – 25, 47, 49 – 52, 54, 60, 68, 91 – 109, 123, 125 – 127, 133 – 134; Mazzucato, M., *The Entrepreneurial State*, (2015), p. 80 etc.

⁵⁵⁵ Chang, H-J., *Bad Samaritans*, (2008), pp. 14 – 15, 26, 29, 58 – 60, 103 – 121; Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. 67, 100, 202 – 203; Commission on Growth and Development, *Post-Crisis Growth in Developing Countries*, (2010), p. 26 etc.

⁵⁵⁶ *Making Trade Work for Least Developed Countries*, UNCTAD, (2016), p. 64; Chang, H-J. & Grabel, I., *Reclaiming Development*, (2014), pp. 168 – 179; Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), pp. 7, 16, 49 – 52, 69 etc.

to develop”, as the economist Jeffrey Sachs says.⁵⁵⁷ Successful countries have also heavily invested in the right kind of education and technical training to build up a skilled domestic workforce for emerging industries. This has included scholarships to send citizens abroad to study, train and be exposed to cutting edge ideas at world class institutions (linked to employment on their return so those skills are captured for the nation), as well as developing national colleges and technical institutions at home.⁵⁵⁸



Figure 5.32: Investing in infrastructure such as roads, rail lines, power networks, water, ports, and online connectivity, is essential for national economic development.

To help finance their economic transition, developing countries should do everything possible to promote and encourage a high level of domestic savings, borrowing and investment via domestic banks and financial institutions, thus building the strength of the national finances. A special report of the Commission on Growth and Development, *Post-Crisis Growth in Developing Countries*, which supplemented the Commission’s original *Growth Report*, stresses ***“Resilient countries, therefore, tend to have high levels of saving, which allows them to finance investment from domestic sources. This spares a country from the risks of a ‘sudden stop’ of foreign capital. The Growth Report pointed out that ‘there is no case of a sustained high investment path not backed up by high domestic savings.’ It recommended that countries open up to foreign capital ‘only in step with their financial-market maturity.’”***

⁵⁵⁷ Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), p. 129, see also pp. 3, 8 – 9, 75 – 78, 81, 87 – 88, 90, 92, 108, 130, 154 – 157, 251, 291; Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion*, (2008), pp. 58 – 61, 65, 87, 107 – 108, 177, 182; Chang, H-J., *Kicking Away the Ladder*, (2002), pp. 18, 30 – 31, 34, 37, 40, 45, 47, 61, 63 – 64 etc.

⁵⁵⁸ Sen, A., *Development as Freedom*, (2001), pp. 41 – 49, 271 – 274, 292 – 297; Easterly, W., *The Elusive Quest for Growth*, (2002), pp. 168, 171, 289; Jacobs, M. & Mazzucato, M. (Eds.), *Rethinking Capitalism*, (2016), pp. 22, 212 – 213 etc.

⁵⁵⁹ As this implies, developing countries should attract foreign investment but only of the right kind and at the right time. This means welcoming patient, stable and long-term capital, but using capital controls, limits on currency convertibility, pegged exchange rates and other tools to prevent short-term money which floods in but can rapidly and dangerously flood out again. This is increasingly widely recognised as crucial by development economist and experts.

The former World Bank Chief Economist Joseph Stiglitz notes in book, *Globalization and its Discontents* that in the 1980s and 90s, ***“Western banks benefited from the loosening of capital market controls in Latin America and Asia, but those regions suffered when inflows of speculative hot money (money that comes into and out of a country, often overnight, often little more than betting on whether a currency is going to appreciate or depreciate) that had poured into countries suddenly reversed. The abrupt outflow of money left behind collapsed currencies and weakened banking systems.”***⁵⁶⁰ Governments also need to set strong direction over the national financial sector and investment, through targets and various policy measures to ensure private finance goes to the sectors that need it for national economic development.⁵⁶¹

Policies for maturing the economy

It is also crucial for governments to maintain macroeconomic stability, using whatever policies are necessary to avoid dramatic inflation, banking collapses, depletion of foreign currency reserves, spiralling debt, mass unemployment etc. in order to give the private sector the stable financial environment it needs to develop and thrive.⁵⁶² A key part of this is to establish a central bank where one doesn't exist already. Alongside these macro-level policies for national economic development, governments should also pursue policies that promote local level economic flourishing. This includes a real focus on developing and growing Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), widely recognised by experts as the backbone of any economy. As the Zambian economist and World Bank consultant Dambisa Moyo rightly stresses in her book *Dead Aid*, ***“The entrepreneurs (their small and medium-sized enterprises) are the life-blood of any economy, and the crucial emerging private sector in poor countries is the engine for private-sector-led growth.”***⁵⁶³ A major part of this is to reduce and simplify regulation, making it quick and easy to register and set up a new business. A key paper by the think tank Chatham House rightly stresses this, drawing attention to a seminal World Bank study in 2002 which led to the Bank's annual *Doing Business* report on how easy it is to set up and run businesses in different countries around the world, ***“An initial project on The Regulation of Entry, led by Djankov et al. (2002), placed the spotlight firmly on the barriers to starting a new business, tallying both the time and the financial costs of starting a formal business in a sample of 85 countries. The work highlighted massive variances across countries. At one***

⁵⁵⁹ Commission on Growth and Development, *Post-Crisis Growth in Developing Countries*, (2010), p. 30, see also pp. 1, 26 – 27; Chang, H-J. & Grabel, I., *Reclaiming Development*, (2014), pp. 39, 116 – 124, 133; Rodrik, D. (Ed.), *In Search of Prosperity*, (2003), pp. 155, 157, 224, 321 etc.

⁵⁶⁰ Stiglitz, J., *Globalization and its Discontents*, (2002), p. 7, see also pp. 16 – 17, 93 – 96, 99 – 101, 123 – 125, 236 – 237, 251; Sachs, J., *The End of Poverty*, (2005), pp. 17, 39 – 40, 43, 59, 72, 85, 161 – 162, 164 – 165, 169, 178, 264; Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion*, (2008), pp. 87 – 91, 95 etc.

⁵⁶¹ Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 18 – 19, 117 – 118, 120 – 121, 123 – 130, 158, 226; Chang, H-J. & Grabel, I., *Reclaiming Development*, (2014), pp. 11, 75, 153 – 163; Stiglitz, J., *Making Globalization Work*, (2006), p. 49 etc.

⁵⁶² Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), pp. 4 – 5, 21, 24, 29, 34, 53 – 54, 71 – 73, 76; *Making Trade Work for Least Developed Countries*, UN Conference on Trade and Development, (2016), pp. 63 – 64; Easterly, W., *The Elusive Quest for Growth*, (2002), pp. 226 – 229 etc.

⁵⁶³ Moyo, D., *Dead Aid*, (2010), p. 124, see also pp. 125, 140; *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, UN General Assembly, (2015), pp. 10, 19; *Doing Business*, World Bank, (annual report) etc.

*end, would-be entrepreneurs in Canada could register a business in two steps, taking only two days at a cost of 1.5% of per capita GDP. At the other extreme, entrepreneurs in the Dominican Republic had to complete 20 steps, taking 80 days and costing 463% of GDP per capita. The high costs of entry are difficult to rationalize. But this analysis appears to have spurred substantial reforms, which lowered the costs of registering. For example, in Sri Lanka, registering a business took eight steps and an average of 23 days in 1999, but in 2012 this improved to five steps taking seven days.”*⁵⁶⁴ The regulation and red tape required to run a business day-to-day should also be reduced as much as possible.⁵⁶⁵

If SMEs fail it is crucial to have quick and easy bankruptcy laws enabling them to be wound up rapidly and a new initiative begun.⁵⁶⁶ In many nations, helping SMEs (and indeed the vast majority of the population) to have access to capital, insurance, banking and other essential financial services they so often lack, is also critical.⁵⁶⁷ Governments also need to create and provide access to markets to enable SMEs to sell their products and services.⁵⁶⁸ In many developing countries, a significant effort should also be made to formalise the (often very large) informal economy. This means giving all SMEs full legal identity with its associated protections and opportunities as well as its obligations, such as paying tax and ensuring good conditions and fair pay for employees. A report on the subject by the London-based international affairs think tank Chatham House, *Registering for Growth*, found that **“Low- and lower-middle-income countries typically have a large informal sector, very high self-employment rates and low levels of tax collection ... For governments in developing countries, getting firms to register should not be simply a cost-benefit calculation involving a trade-off between enforcement costs and tax collection. Registration can also improve the attitude of small business owners towards the state and, more importantly, help stimulate economic growth.”** These findings are backed up by multiple other studies.⁵⁶⁹

If economic development is to be successful in driving down poverty, it needs to be fair as well as strong, and indeed making it fairer increases its strength. Thus, successful nations have made use of policies, such as setting minimum wages, maximum wages and establishing ratios between the highest and lowest paid employee in any company to prevent obscene levels of inequality emerging. There is growing recognition of the importance of such steps from

⁵⁶⁴ *Registering for Growth*, Chatham House, (2013), p. 4; *Doing Business*, World Bank, (annual report); Easterly, W., *The White Man's Burden*, (2007), p. 97 etc.

⁵⁶⁵ Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 125, 140, 151; *Doing Business*, World Bank, (annual report); *UNCTAD Findings on Services, Development and Trade*, UN Conference on Trade and Development, (2014), pp. 10 – 11, 26 etc.

⁵⁶⁶ *Doing Business*, World Bank, (annual report); *Making Globalization Socially Sustainable*, World Trade Organization, (2011), p. 136; Ferguson, N., *The Ascent of Money*, (2009), pp. 60 – 62 etc.

⁵⁶⁷ Yifu Lin, J., *The Quest for Prosperity*, (2014), pp. 100, 109 – 110, 138 – 139, 161, 232; see also Goetzmann, W., *Money Changes Everything*, (2017); *Voices of the Poor 1: Can Anyone Hear Us?*, World Bank, (2000) pp. 166 – 169; *Voices of the Poor 2: Crying Out for Change*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 45, 47, 49, 56 – 59, 69, 207, 216 – 218, 268 – 269; *Voices of the Poor 3: From Many Lands*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 43, 61 – 63, 73 – 74, 134 – 135, 139, 168, 199 – 200, 207 – 208, 283, 434, 488 – 489

⁵⁶⁸ *Voices of the Poor 2: Crying Out for Change*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 49, 267; *Voices of the Poor 3: From Many Lands*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 92, 400, 434; *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, UN General Assembly, (2015), pp. 15, 20; *Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development*, UN, (2002), pp. 4, 24 – 26, 37 etc.

⁵⁶⁹ *Registering for Growth*, Chatham House, (2013), p. 1, see also the rest of the report; *Humanity Divided*, UN Development Programme, (2013), pp. 246 – 247; *How Developing Countries can Take Control of Their own Tax Destinies*, Tax Justice Network, (2014), p. 6 etc.

politicians, economists, activists and other experts.⁵⁷⁰ Successful nations have also allowed, established and supported trade unions, with appropriate checks and balances. Trade unions have played a critical role in ensuring strong and fair economic development. They need to be strengthened again after several decades where their role has been weakened. As the economists Michael Jacobs and Marianna Mazzucato, point out in their book *Rethinking Capitalism*, ***“Employees have in effect become too weak, as trade unions have lost powers and membership, and deregulated, ‘flexible’ labour markets have allowed employers to bargain wages and working conditions down. Crucially, as experience of legal minimum wages has shown, raising wages tends to force firms to invest in improving productivity, which strengthens economic performance. Public policy therefore has an important role in regulating labour markets, promoting both trade union membership and employee ownership of capital”***.⁵⁷¹

As part of encouraging a healthy and diverse economy, governments should encourage more cooperatives and employee-owned companies rather than just relying on private and shareholder owned companies. They should also restrict how large a proportion of total shares any one party can hold. This is not because there is anything fundamentally wrong with the shareholder model, but because greater diversity and more democratic business models in the mix will be healthy for the economy as a whole. Multiple studies have pointed to the benefits of such models.⁵⁷² As the national economy develops and moves up through the value chain, some sectors and businesses that have previously provided widespread employment will decline, whilst new ones will open up at each stage, in the familiar process of ‘creative destruction’. Governments must ease the pain for communities whose jobs and livelihoods are caught up in this process, through helping them to retrain and find new employment, and through providing a social safety net of basic services as they transition (which we will turn to later). A key report from the World Trade Organization, *Making Globalization Socially Sustainable*, stresses precisely this point, ***“Labour markets need to be sufficiently flexible to permit reallocating workers from less-productive to more-productive establishments without intervening long spells of unemployment. As part of this flexibility, safety nets need to be in place so that workers adversely impacted by reallocation can be assisted in finding new employment without distorting the process of reallocation.”***⁵⁷³

If and when the economy experiences slow downs, recessions and hard times, governments should invest in significant ‘counter-cyclical spending’ through mass employment and public works programmes on infrastructure and other key priorities for economic development. This provides both immediate support for those negatively affected and crucial stimulus to get the economy going again. These are the kinds of policies we saw many governments around the world deploy effectively in the wake of the 2008-9 global financial crisis and the 2020 Covid-19 outbreak. The former World Bank Chief Economist Joseph Stiglitz stresses this key point

⁵⁷⁰ *Even it Up*, Oxfam, (2014), pp. 22, 26, 64, 73, 75 – 80, 115 – 116; Pickett, K. & Wilkinson, R., *The Spirit Level*, (2010), pp. 184, 245 – 246, 249 – 251, 254, 271; Atkinson, A., *Inequality*, (2015), pp. 73 – 74, 79, 148 – 153, 250 – 252, 303 etc.

⁵⁷¹ Jacobs, M. & Mazzucato, M. (Eds.), *Rethinking Capitalism*, (2016), pp. 22 – 23, see also pp. 144, 147, 198; Stiglitz, J., *The Price of Inequality*, (2012), pp. 38, 64 – 65, 80, 281 – 282; *Even it Up*, Oxfam, (2014), pp. 15, 26, 56, 74 – 75, 77, 116 etc.

⁵⁷² Pickett, K. & Wilkinson, R., *The Spirit Level*, (2010), pp. 252 – 264; Raworth, K., *Doughnut Economics*, (2017), pp. 88 – 89, 188 – 191, 278; Porritt, J., *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, (2007), pp. 208 – 210 etc.

⁵⁷³ *Making Globalization Socially Sustainable*, World Trade Organization, (2011), p. 136, see also pp. 21 – 47, 51, 78; *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, UN Environment Programme and various agencies, (2017), pp. 11, 58 – 62, 77, 81 – 82; *Making Trade Work for Least Developed Countries*, UN Conference on Trade and Development, (2016), p. 75 etc.

again and again in his book *The Price of Inequality*, “*Since the time of the great British economist John Maynard Keynes, governments have understood that when there is a shortfall of demand – when unemployment is high – they need to take action to increase either public or private spending*” ... “*an expansion of spending can actually expand production by creating jobs that will be filled by people who would otherwise be unemployed*” ... “*Government investments – in infrastructure, education and technology – underpinned growth in the last century, and they can form the basis of growth in this century. These investments will expand the economy and make private investment even more attractive. As the economic historian Alex Fields has pointed out, the decades of 1930s, 40s, 50s, and 60s were periods of high productivity increases – higher than the decades before and after – and much of this success had to do with public investments.*”⁵⁷⁴



Figure 5.33: When the economy experiences slow downs, governments should invest in significant ‘counter-cyclical spending’ through mass employment and public works programmes on infrastructure and other key priorities for economic development.

As the economy develops, other policies will become more important. Governments will want to act to prevent monopolies and cartels building up in order to keep the market competitive and fair and prevent an unhealthy concentration of power.⁵⁷⁵ Some of the policies which were effective in kick starting and building up domestic industries and sectors in the early stages, such as tariffs; import and export bans; subsidies; undervalued currencies; local content

⁵⁷⁴ Stiglitz, J., *The Price of Inequality*, (2012), pp. 86, 230, 283, see also pp. 231 – 237, 282; Commission on Growth and Development, *Post-Crisis Growth in Developing Countries*, (2010), pp. 30 – 33; Jacobs, M. & Mazzucato, M. (Eds.), *Rethinking Capitalism*, (2016), pp. 21, 28 – 34, 105 – 106, 119 – 133, 148, 210 – 211 etc.

⁵⁷⁵ Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), pp. 35 – 40, 102 – 103, 187 – 188, 193 – 194, 197, 208, 221, 322 – 325, 333; Stiglitz, J., *Making Globalization Work*, (2006), pp. 199 – 203, 286; Sen, A., *Development as Freedom*, (2001), pp. 120 - 121 etc.

requirements for Transnational Corporations (TNCs); preventing TNCs operating where they might undermine significant domestic industries etc. may well need to be scaled back and phased out once an advanced economy has been established and domestic industries are ready to compete fairly on a global level. Such policies are appropriate to protect infant domestic industries and economies as they grow, rather than forcing them to immediately compete with massive multinationals which have had much longer to develop (and in almost every case enjoyed significant protection from their own governments when they were doing so). However, in the long-term, to be sustainable, businesses need to be able to survive and thrive without permanent support from governments, and economies need to gradually open up and be able to engage and compete openly in the global market on equal terms. As the Oxfam development expert, Duncan Green, noted when reviewing the history of nations that had achieved successful economic development in his book *From Poverty to Power*, “***As economies developed and became more complex, and industries achieved industrial competitiveness, the costs and benefits of state intervention in both agriculture and industry shifted, and governments started to reduce their role and to open up the economy – exactly the sequence that rich countries pursued at an earlier stage of their development. Deregulation and liberalisation are thus better seen as the outcomes of successful development, rather than as initial conditions.***”⁵⁷⁶

Finally, throughout this long process of building a strong and fair economy, it is essential that the policies and approaches being used to encourage national development are communicated in schools as well as explained more widely in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns. This helps people to understand the national economic development strategy and why some short-term sacrifices, such as foregoing immediate consumption in favour of greater savings, and buying national products in order to boost domestic industries, are very much in their interests and will help lift their nation out of poverty. So, in summary ...

Governments should:

Industrial and economic development strategy

- Develop domestic industries and businesses
- Develop these further and further up the value chain, moving from agriculture and the export of natural resources; to labour intensive assembly; to simple manufacturing; more advanced manufacturing and eventually into services and the knowledge economy
- Develop industries that meet domestic need but also boost exports and engage in international trade
- Pursue a diverse economy
- Ensure economic development is powered by clean energy and the sustainable use of natural resources (circular economy)
- Drive economic development through a proactive and intentional government industrial and economic development strategy
- Build a positive partnership between government and business to work together to pursue this strategy
- Be flexible to adopt and change policies at different times within this strategy, choosing the right economic path for the nation, rather than holding doggedly to any one particular market ideology

⁵⁷⁶ Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), p. 152, see also p. 117; Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), pp. 7, 49, 68; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 115, 216 – 217, 219 – 220 etc.

- Include targets and indicators for specific sectors and businesses that have been prioritised for support within this strategy. If a policy is not working or companies fail to achieve as desired, then the policy should be changed and support withdrawn

Targeted policies to move up the value chain from agriculture, to manufacturing, to services and the knowledge economy

- Enforce private property rights and contracts
- Formalise with full legal deeds the ownership of the land by the communities that dwell upon it, especially indigenous communities
- Reform and modernise the agricultural sector, boosting productivity
- Invest the profits from natural resource and commodity exports in sovereign wealth funds to help drive the process of economic development and moving up the value chain to more advanced manufacturing, services and knowledge economies
- Focus on securing the transfer of technology, both scientific/technical and best practice in business processes, from more advanced economies
- Attract and allow Transnational Companies to operate, but only on terms that extract maximum value in technology transfer and tax for the nation
- Create industrial clusters and export zones
- Invest public money in research and development to advance domestic technology and industry
- Use tariffs, export bans and import bans to support the early-stage development of new sectors and domestic businesses
- Use tax breaks to support the early-stage development of new sectors and domestic businesses
- Use subsidies to support the early-stage development of new sectors and domestic businesses
- Use public procurement to support the early-stage development of new sectors and domestic businesses
- Establish some state-owned industries, especially in areas of natural monopoly
- Maintain an undervalued competitive currency to boost exports
- Build infrastructure such as ports, roads, railways, airports, electricity and good phone and internet connections
- Develop a skilled domestic workforce for new industries through establishing education and technical training at home and sending citizens to study abroad
- Encourage domestic savings, borrowing and investment via domestic banks and financial institutions, thus strengthening the national finances
- Attract stable, long-term foreign investment, but use capital controls, limits on currency convertibility, pegged exchange rates and other tools to prevent destabilising short-term capital which can flood in and out quickly
- Provide strong direction to the financial sector to ensure investment goes where it is needed for national economic development

Policies for maturing the economy

- Maintain macroeconomic stability
- Establish a central bank
- Focus on supporting Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) as the backbone to the economy
- Make it quick and easy to set up a new business
- Reduce and simplify red tape and bureaucracy in the daily running of a business
- Establish quick and easy bankruptcy laws so if a business fails it can be wound up rapidly and a new initiative begun

- Provide access to financial services such as banking, capital and insurance for SMEs and all citizens
- Create and provide access to markets
- Formalise the informal sector
- Set a minimum wage, a maximum wage and establish a ratio between the highest and lowest paid employee in any company
- Allow, establish and support trade unions
- Restrict the amount of shares any one interest can hold in a company
- Support the development of more cooperatives and employee-owned companies
- Generously support and retrain any community that finds the area of the economy on which they depend for a livelihood declining as strong and fair economies are built, so they can find employment in new areas that are opening up
- Invest in counter-cyclical spending through mass employment and public works programmes on infrastructure and other key priorities to provide job security and re-stimulate the economy during recession and slow downs
- Prevent monopolies and cartels
- Make short-term use of tariffs, subsidies, tax breaks, public procurement and other stimulation mechanisms to help business sectors as they develop, but phase these out over the long-term when industries are ready to compete internationally
- Explain the national industrial and economic development strategy in schools and through public information campaigns so citizens understand and can get behind it

Support internationally

Whilst national governments pursue the actions above to play the leading role in securing their own national economic development, the international community can do a lot to support them. First and foremost, this is the right thing to do morally to help lift millions out of poverty around the world. It is also in the interests of the international community to do this. Developed countries trade far more with other developed nations than they ever do with poorer nations. Increasing the wealth of countries vastly increases mutually beneficial trade. Development also decreases widespread economic migration, as well as increasing peace and stability, reducing conflict and global terrorism.

As a first step, the international community should reform the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and various major bilateral trade agreements to give developing countries maximum freedom to pursue the full range of the policies outlined in the previous [section](#) in the early stages of their economic development. These are the same policies that every developed country used successfully themselves in the past, and which are currently constrained by some of these international agreements. Once again, the economist Joseph Stiglitz notes this, when he explains in his book *Making Globalization Work*, that ***“Increasingly, a government’s inability to control the actions of individuals or companies is also limited by international agreements that impinge on the right of sovereign states to make decisions. A government that wants to ensure that banks lend a certain fraction of their portfolio to underserved areas, or to ensure that accounting frameworks accurately reflect a company’s true status, may find it is unable to pass the appropriate laws. Signing on to international trade agreements can prevent governments from regulating the influx and***

*outflow of hot, speculative money, even though capital market liberalization can lead to economic crisis.”*⁵⁷⁷

Alongside this, the international community should not attempt to force market liberalisation or any other ideological economic model on developing countries, but instead allow them the freedom to use whatever policies work best to develop their economies. This means ensuring particular economic policies are not pushed as conditions for loans through the ‘hard levers’ of institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund or regional development banks. It also means ensuring such policies are not pushed through the ‘soft levers’ of economic and technical advice that the international community may be giving to developing nations as part of overseas aid programmes. The devastating impacts of such policies have been brought into ever greater recognition in multiple studies by academics and institutions. In one of the most moving cases, a key finding of *Voices of the Poor*, a study surveying grassroots communities in dozens of countries across the developing world conducted by the World Bank, was that **“Poor people from several countries expressed deep concern over the economic upheavals and policy changes that are buffeting their lives ... Depending on the country, poor people mentioned privatization, factory closures, the opening of domestic markets, currency devaluation, inflation, reductions in social services, and other related changes as having depleted their assets and increased their insecurity ... Poor people adopt a wide range of coping strategies that help in the short term but lead to increased vulnerability and a depleted asset base. Mothers serve fewer meals, women accept demeaning and very low paid work, men migrate, children are withdrawn from school, health care is deferred, housing crumbles, and old people stay in bed to conserve energy. When crises are prolonged, people deplete their savings, sell their property, and assume more and more debt. People also said they lose sleep, become less social, and sometimes turn to activities outside the law.”** In summary, **“Economy-wide policies and market downturns can have sharply adverse effects on poor people’s livelihoods, ability to purchase food, and access to basic services. In some places, the opening of domestic markets to international competition has forced small producers to compete with lower-priced foreign goods or has made key imported inputs unaffordable. In other places, people have found themselves pushed into the low end of the informal sector as policy and market changes have led to factory closures and the collapse of large farms and agro-industries.”**⁵⁷⁸

At the same time, developed nations should be scrapping their own subsidies and opening up their economies to developing nation exports to help accelerate their economic development. There is much that could be improved here; the current situation is shameful. Martin Meredith is but one amongst many who have called for this, pointing out in his work *The State of Africa* that **“industrialised countries operate a system of subsidies and tariff barriers that have a crippling effect on African producers. The total value of their agricultural subsidies amounts to more than 1 billion dollars a day – \$400 billion a year – nearly as much as the gross domestic product of the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. Western surpluses produced at a fraction of their real cost are then dumped on African markets, undermining domestic**

⁵⁷⁷ Stiglitz, J., *Making Globalization Work*, (2006), pp. 20 – 21, see also pp. 56, 76 – 81, 84 – 85, 129 – 131; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 122 – 150, 204, 213 – 216, 223 – 236, 240; Chang, H-J., *Globalisation, Economic Development and the Role of the State*, (2003), pp. 292 – 293, 325 – 328 etc.

⁵⁷⁸ *Voices of the Poor 3: From Many Lands*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 471 – 472, 288, see also pp. 333 – 361, 471 – 476; *Voices of the Poor 2: Crying Out for Change*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 169 – 171; Stiglitz, J., *Globalization and its Discontents*, (2002); Chang, H-J., *Bad Samaritans*, (2008) etc.

*producers. Simultaneously, African products face tariff barriers imposed by industrialised countries, effectively shutting them out of Western markets.”*⁵⁷⁹

The international community should also scrap or significantly weaken patent law and intellectual property rights, except in the creative industries, including reforming the *Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs)* and relevant World Trade Organization rules. Such agreements and laws are touted as incentivising innovation. In reality there is little evidence for this. Getting new products to market first and best; drawing heavily from open source academic and state funded research; public brand recognition and industry secrecy, are all seen by business leaders as much more important for stimulating innovation. Instead, tough patent and intellectual property law hinders the natural free flow of technology and ideas to poorer countries, which we have seen is critical for economic development. Once again this is especially pertinent since the world’s developed countries made extensive use of technology transfer (and sometimes outright theft of technology and ideas) during their own process of economic development. Ha-Joon Chang is only one among many development economists to sound the warning that unless the current system of patents and intellectual property rights is radically reformed, **“developing countries are likely to find it difficult to develop their own technological capabilities. With severe restrictions on their opportunities to imitate and make minor improvements – routes that have been so crucial in the development of technological capabilities in the now advanced countries”**.⁵⁸⁰

The international community can further help to facilitate and accelerate the natural process of the adoption of the latest business thinking and technology, through proactively training, mentoring and supporting civil servants, entrepreneurs and business people from developing countries.⁵⁸¹ The international community should live up to commitments they have already made to cancel the historic and unpayable debt of the world’s poorest nations, often lent and borrowed decades ago under dubious conditions, to release these nations, rather than hold them back, as they develop strong and fair domestic economies. This should be additional to overseas aid budgets. They should also ban future irresponsible lending and create an international bankruptcy mechanism to enable nations that are trying to do the right thing, but have become crippled with historic unpayable debt, to wipe the slate clean and have a fresh start.⁵⁸²

The international community has a further key role to play by reforming and providing much tougher regulation of their financial sectors to prevent recurrences of events like the 2008 financial crisis, which have hugely detrimental effects on developing countries. In practice this means: 1) preventing predatory lending and overly risky behaviour; 2) increasing capital reserve requirements to restrict reckless lending and ensure reserves are higher; 3) separating regular ‘high street’ banking from riskier commercial international finance; and, 4) ensuring no bank becomes ‘too big to fail’. Individual firms and staff should also be held legally

⁵⁷⁹ Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), pp. 695, see also p. 696; Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion*, (2008), pp. 159 – 160; Moyo, D., *Dead Aid*, (2010), pp. xi, 114 – 119 etc.

⁵⁸⁰ Chang, H-J., *Globalisation, Economic Development and the Role of the State*, (2003), p. 298, see also pp. 273 – 304; *Even it Up*, Oxfam, (2014), pp. 23, 94 – 95, 119; *Making Trade Work for Least Developed Countries*, UN Conference on Trade and Development, (2016), p. 13 etc.

⁵⁸¹ *UNCTAD Findings on Services, Development and Trade*, UNCTAD, (2014), p. 22; Easterly, W., *The White Man’s Burden*, (2007), p. 322; Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion*, (2008), pp. 111 – 115 etc.

⁵⁸² *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, UN General Assembly, (2015), pp. 26, 29; Sachs, J., *The End of Poverty*, (2005), pp. 59, 85, 99 – 102, 106 – 107, 280 – 281, 342 – 343; Ghani, A. & Lockhart, C., *Fixing Failed States*, (2009), pp. 18, 160 – 163 etc.

accountable for criminal behaviour and reckless actions. As the British economist Diane Coyle observes, *“There is as close to consensus as I’ve ever experienced in the economics profession that the financial sector should not be allowed to retain the structure and behaviours that caused the crisis – although as yet politicians have done nothing fundamental. The banks are too big, too connected to each other so that when one failed the whole system came tumbling down, and too similar so that each went awry in the same way. They have served low-income customers very poorly indeed. Plenty of reforms have been suggested. Through breakups enforced by antitrust agencies and through regulations such as higher capital requirements, banks should be made smaller.”*⁵⁸³



Figure 5.34: The international community can support nations as they develop, through tougher regulation of financial markets, to prevent destabilising global economic crises.

As well as actioning this in their own nations, the international community should also work collaboratively through global institutions, such as the G20 or the International Monetary Fund, to agree global deals establishing international rules in these areas and to spot and manage global economic shocks when they do occur. If the worst happens, the lessons from history indicate that it is better for governments to guarantee and bail out major banks and create extra credit to restore confidence in the system as they did in 2008 and 2009, rather than allowing them to fail and collapse triggering global depression as happened in 1929. As the economist Stephanie Kelton wrote in an essay in the book *Rethinking Capitalism*, looking back on the 2008 – 2009 financial crisis, *“the full-blown catastrophe that the financial crash could have triggered has been averted; an economic depression like the one experienced after the 1929*

⁵⁸³ Coyle, D., *The Economics of Enough*, (2011), p. 277, see also pp. 85 – 92, 217, 226 – 228, 256 – 257, 277 – 279; Goldin, I., *Divided Nations*, (2014), pp. 10 – 18, 53, 78 – 81, 130; Stiglitz, J., *The Price of Inequality*, (2012), pp. xiv – xvi, 34 – 36, 40, 80, 89 – 90, 119, 167 – 169, 175, 178, 191 – 202, 246 – 248, 269 – 270 etc.

*crash did not materialise ... the answer can only be found in the prompt reaction – partly intentional but partly automatic – of fiscal and monetary policy variables. This is what really differentiated the present crisis from that of 1929: the combination of aggressive liquidity provision, actively enforced by central banks, plus large public deficits, mainly due to a mechanical reaction of government budgets to the economic downturn prevented a new Great Depression.”*⁵⁸⁴ Ideally, tougher regulation and the reforms outlined above should decrease the frequency of this scenario occurring. All of these approaches should be taught in schools as well as promoted more widely in society throughout the international community, through publicly funded information and education campaigns, so that current and future generations understand how their nations can help developing nations to lift themselves out of poverty. So, in summary ...

The international community should:

- Reform the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to give developing countries maximum freedom to pursue protectionist and other policies in the early stages of their economic development
- Not force economic liberalisation or any other ideological model onto developing nations, either overtly through the multinational system or covertly through technical advice and support, but allow them the freedom to choose the economic path that works for them
- Scrap subsidies and open up their own economies to developing nation exports
- Scrap or significantly weaken patent law and intellectual property rights (except in the creative industries), including reforming the *Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs)* and relevant WTO rules, to support the transfer of technology and ideas to developing countries
- Provide generous training, mentoring and support for developing country civil servants, entrepreneurs and business people
- Cancel unpayable developing country debt, and treat this as additional to, rather than part of, overseas aid
- Ban future irresponsible lending
- Create an international bankruptcy mechanism to allow nations crippled with historic unpayable debt to wipe the slate clean and start afresh
- Provide tougher regulation of the financial sector to: 1) prevent predatory lending and overly risky behaviour; 2) increase capital reserve requirements; 3) separate regular from commercial banking; and, 4) ensure no bank becomes ‘too big to fail’. Ensure individual companies and staff are held legally accountable for criminal behaviour and reckless actions. Work together through global institutions to agree global deals to establish international rules in these areas
- Work together to spot and manage global economic shocks when they do occur through guaranteeing and bailing out major banks and creating extra credit to restore confidence in the system
- Teach these approaches in schools and through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand how their nations can and are helping developing nations lift themselves out of poverty

⁵⁸⁴ Kelton, S., *The Failure of Austerity: Rethinking Financial Policy*, in Jacobs, M. & Mazzucato, M. (Eds.), *Rethinking Capitalism*, (2016), p. 28, see also pp. 3, 29 – 34; Commission on Growth and Development, *Post-Crisis Growth in Developing Countries*, (2010), pp. 7 – 8, 16 – 17, 25 – 26, 32 – 34, 37; Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (2013), pp. 472 – 473, 547 – 553 etc.

Tax and social spending

As we have seen, a strong and fair economy is an essential pre-requisite for wide-scale poverty reduction. However, as we have also seen, it is not enough in itself. Governments also need to tax that economy and redistribute the proceeds through the provision of services to ensure all benefit and no one is left behind.⁵⁸⁵ Once more, this is a process that must be led domestically but which the international community can also support. Furthermore, it should be noted that all the lessons from history in this area help to reduce both absolute poverty and relative inequality within nations. Tax and social spending policies should not be delayed until after a strong and fair economy has been developed. They should be implemented at the same time as the policies for developing a strong and fair economy outlined above. Indeed, there is a growing wealth of evidence that taxation and social spending policies also significantly contribute to the development of strong and fair economies, helping to develop, for instance, a better educated, healthier, wealthier workforce with fewer social costs.⁵⁸⁶

Lead domestically

There are many lessons to learn from countries that have effectively driven down poverty and inequality through tax and social spending. Starting with Bismarck's welfare reforms in Germany in the 1880s (one of the first examples of states using tax money to provide basic social protection), nations throughout Europe, North America, Oceania and Latin America took on the provision of a growing amount of social spending from the late nineteenth century and throughout the first half of the twentieth century. This intensified even further after the Second World War and spread to Asia and Africa, as new independent governments emerged from the end of colonialism. Today, virtually all nations around the world attempt to tax and provide basic services to some degree or other. There are hundreds of nations we can turn to for lessons on how to do this effectively.

First, we see that nations need to establish and implement an effective taxation system. As a key report from the UN Development Programme on tackling inequality, *Humanity Divided*, stresses, ***“a well-functioning tax administration system remains critical for mobilizing resources. Successful tax administration reforms have moved towards coherent systems, in semi-autonomous revenue authorities protected from political interference, and with independence in operations and human resource management (Cornia et al., 2011). There is mostly only anecdotal evidence on the impact of revenue authorities, but this points towards an improvement in the effectiveness of revenue collection and of managerial and staff capacity (IMF et al., 2011). Creating and updating reliable databases of taxpayers is also an important mechanism to improve the effectiveness of tax authorities. Segmenting the taxpayer population between small, medium and large taxpayers, who have very different needs, can also help enable a better allocation of administrative resources and facilitate compliance. Generally, it is more important to allocate resources and staff to ensure compliance of large taxpayers, while the tax collection for small enterprises needs to be***

⁵⁸⁵ Sachs, J., *Common Wealth*, (2008), pp. 255 – 268; Deaton, A., *The Great Escape*, (2013), pp. 93 – 100, 105, 115 – 125, 143 – 149, 151; Castles, F., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, (2010) etc.

⁵⁸⁶ Stiglitz, J., *The Price of Inequality*, (2012), pp. 5 – 6, 22 – 23, 92; *Even it Up*, Oxfam, (2014), pp. 9 – 10, 39 – 40, 66; *Inclusive Growth and Development Report*, World Economic Forum, (regular report) etc.

simplified.”⁵⁸⁷ Taxation should be on a progressive sliding-scale so the poorest pay little or nothing and the richest pay the most. This is a key principle, widely recognised by economists, experts and leading development agencies like Oxfam, who in their report, *Working for the Many*, strongly recommended, **“Governments must also prioritize progressive tax policies that fight inequality, taxing everyone according to their means”**, for all the evidence **“underlines a double imperative for governments: to ensure progressive taxation that can redistribute once when collected and again when spent on inequality-busting public services.”**⁵⁸⁸

A balance needs to be struck here so that tax is not set at a level that disincentivises business and entrepreneurial activity. This can be helped by ensuring that as far as possible, tax is focused on capital and unearned inherited wealth as opposed to income. Socially, nations should encourage work and achievement, and try not to penalise people for working hard. However, they should prevent spiralling inequality and social incohesion through the emergence of a new financial aristocracy who have inherited their fortunes, or simply live off the interest generated by large sums of capital and have no need to work at all. The Bible’s lessons on [good work for all](#) and [avoiding creating dependency and a non-working culture](#) (which we saw earlier) are fair and apply to those at the top as much as to those at the bottom. This approach is now being espoused by growing numbers of economists and development experts, perhaps most famously in recent years by the French economist Thomas Piketty, who concludes in his book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, **“the ideal policy for avoiding an endless inegalitarian spiral and regaining control over the dynamics of accumulation would be a progressive global tax on capital. Such a tax would also have another virtue: it would expose wealth to domestic scrutiny, which is a necessary condition for effective regulation of the banking system and international capital flows. A tax on capital would promote the general interest over private interests while preserving economic openness and the forces of competition.”**⁵⁸⁹

Activity that is socially bad (smoking, unhealthy foods, environmental damage etc.) should be discouraged by taxing it as heavily as possible, and conversely, activity that is good (healthy foods, social causes etc.) should be taxed as little as possible. The former senior researcher for the UN Development Programme Kate Raworth, is one of a growing number of economists and politicians to stress this point in her book, *Doughnut Economics*, **“Governments have historically opted to tax what they could, rather than what they should, and it shows. Tax windows and you’ll get dark houses, as Britain discovered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; tax employees and you’ll head for a jobless economy, as many countries are discovering today.”** Instead what is needed, among other taxing of social undesirable activity, is **“The long-advocated switch from taxing labour to taxing non-renewable resources”**.⁵⁹⁰ We shall return to this further in [Part 6](#). When it comes to public spending, governments may cautiously borrow money to invest in some of the areas listed above under [Strong and fair](#)

⁵⁸⁷ *Humanity Divided*, UNDP, (2013), p. 247, see also pp. 244 – 246; Murphy, R., *The Joy of Tax*, (2015), pp. 25 – 27, 128 – 206; *Owning Development: Taxation to Fight Poverty*, Oxfam, (2011); etc.

⁵⁸⁸ *Working for the Many*, Oxfam, (2014), pp. 19, 2, but also see the whole report; Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (2013), pp. 335, 373 – 374, 443 – 444, 455, 471 – 473, 493 – 539, 572 – 573; *Poverty and Shared Prosperity*, World Bank, (regular report) etc.

⁵⁸⁹ Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (2013), p. 471, see also pp. 373 – 376, 444, 446, 455, 473, 493 – 534, 539, 541 – 544, 556, 572 – 573; *The Case for a Billionaire Tax*, Oxfam, (2016); Murphy, R., *The Joy of Tax*, (2015), pp. 123, 180 – 187 etc.

⁵⁹⁰ Raworth, K., *Doughnut Economics*, (2017), pp. 237 – 238; Murphy, R., *The Joy of Tax*, (2015), pp. 63 – 64; *Resilient People, Resilient Planet*, UN Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel on Global Sustainability, (2012), p. 54 etc.

[economy](#), since this should generate increased economic returns for the nation, and thus the debt can be paid off. However, all state social spending of the kind outlined in this section needs to be funded from tax, not borrowing, which can trap a nation in spiralling debt. For, as the British economist Diane Coyle says in her work, *The Economics of Enough*, **“in almost every rich economy governments have already borrowed some money to finance welfare, health, and pension systems, and will have to borrow a great deal more in the future to continue with these systems.”**⁵⁹¹

We have already seen in the lessons from the Bible that tax should be used to fund social spending in the areas of unemployment benefits (in the form of guaranteed state funded jobs) and social protection (pensions and disability benefits). In addition, nations that have successfully lifted themselves out of poverty and dramatically reduced inequality, have used social spending to provide universal and decent education and healthcare for all citizens as significant factors in helping to achieve this. Again the UN Development Programme’s key *Humanity Divided* report stresses, **“The provision of basic social services such as education, health and nutrition is a key function of governments and an important instrument to promote human development and to ensure a more equal distribution of outcomes”**, and that **“it is critical to focus public expenditure on the universal provision of social services, with a particular emphasis on the sectors and groups experiencing the greatest disadvantages. Improvements in the distribution of education, health and nutrition outcomes also require specific service delivery programmes and modalities, such as early childhood interventions or integrated health systems that cut across sectors and deliver cohesive packages of services tailored to the specific needs of the groups left behind. Moreover, the effective implementation of these programmes requires capable institutions equipped with adequate human resources to deliver services, strong local governments that ensure that services reach the most marginalized communities, and the ability to coordinate across sectors so that services are comprehensive.”**⁵⁹²

Most development experts would add that for developing nations, the provision of basic water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) systems for the poorest should also be seen as an essential basic public service. As a seminal study surveying grassroots communities in dozens of countries across the developing world, conducted by the World Bank, *Voices of the Poor*, stresses, **“People in many communities speak forcefully of the lack of adequate and safe water as an acute deprivation. Water shortages and difficulties accessing safe drinking water appear most serious and widespread in the African countries. However, poor women and men from all the regions describe daily struggles to obtain water for human use. There are problems of distance, quantity, seasonality, quality and safety of supply; environmental issues like flooding, siltation and pollution; questions of maintenance; and often combinations of these. Water is also critical for animals and crops.”**⁵⁹³ In their provision

⁵⁹¹ Coyle, D., *The Economics of Enough*, (2011), p. 93; see also Ferguson, N., *The Great Degeneration*, (2012), pp. 40 – 48; Stiglitz, J., *Globalization and its Discontents*, (2002), pp. 241, 251 etc.

⁵⁹² *Humanity Divided*, UNDP, (2013), pp. 252, 13, see also pp. 2, 12, 93 – 94, 227, 238, 253 – 259; Deaton, A., *The Great Escape*, (2013), pp. 115 – 149, 151; Sen, A., *Development as Freedom*, (2001), pp. 39, 41 – 51, 63, 90 – 91, 120, 128 – 129, 133 – 134, 143 – 145, 258, 288; Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), pp. 3, 59, 90, 107 – 108, 125 – 129, 227 – 228, 236 – 238, 243, 251 – 316, 498 – 499; Milanovic, B., *Global Inequality*, (2016), pp. 221 – 222; *Working for the Many*, Oxfam, (2014) etc.

⁵⁹³ *Voices of the Poor 2: Crying Out for Change*, World Bank, (2000), p. 73, see also pp. 72 – 75, 80 – 81; *Voices of the Poor 1: Can Anyone Hear Us?*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 47 – 48, 83; *Voices of the Poor 3: From Many Lands*, World Bank, (2000), pp. 32 – 33, 43, 63, 98, 156 – 157, 164, 174, 185, 283 – 284, 297, 349, 404 – 407, 421; *Progress on Drinking Water, Sanitation and Hygiene*, WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme, (annual report); Sachs, J., *The End of Poverty*, (2005), pp. 184 – 185, 233 – 238 etc.

of basic services, states should also seek to especially target the most vulnerable and the communities left farthest behind.⁵⁹⁴



Figure 5.35: Governments should ensure the provision of key basic services such as education and healthcare for all their citizens.

It should not, however, be assumed that the state is the best or only provider of such services. Most nations will probably have a mixed economy of state, private sector and civil society groups all providing basic services in a nationally appropriate combination. Nevertheless, in our modern world we do widely accept that states have a moral responsibility to ensure the development needs of all their citizens are met, and that they are the ultimate guarantor of these if all else fails. Some of these needs, such as health and education, states may provide directly, others, such as food or housing, states will often provide by ensuring a strong and fair economy that provides good jobs, or via the cash provision of unemployment and incapacity benefits and pensions. Either way, to effectively eliminate poverty, modern states need to be the ultimate guarantor to catch those the market fails. This is clearly articulated in the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, one of the key international human rights instruments, which sets out basic rights and services, such as healthcare, education, social protection or a decent standard of living, and concludes that states have the ultimate responsibility for ensuring their provision for all, stressing **“Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take steps, individually and through international assistance and co-operation, especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the**

⁵⁹⁴ *Owning Development: Taxation to Fight Poverty*, Oxfam, (2011), pp. 9, 48; Castles, F., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, (2010), pp. 448 – 461; Micklethwait, J. & Wooldridge, A., *The Fourth Revolution*, (2014), pp. 241 – 246 etc.

present Covenant by all appropriate means".⁵⁹⁵ Once again, as in the other sections in this report, the importance of these values of care for all in society and ensuring all are provided for and none left behind must be taught in schools through the formal education system and reinforced in wider society through publicly funded information and education campaigns. So, in summary ...

Governments should:

- Establish and implement an effective tax system
- Apply a progressive sliding scale in tax, so the poorest pay least and the richest most
- Tax capital and unearned inherited wealth rather than earned income, as far as possible
- Tax socially undesirable activity and not socially desirable activity, as far as possible
- Borrow and invest money for developing a strong and fair economy but only fund social spending from tax not borrowing
- Provide good education for all citizens
- Provide good healthcare for all citizens (covering both physical and mental health)
- Ensure good water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services are provided for all citizens
- Target the communities who are most left behind in all social support provision
- Recognise that a mixed economy of state, private sector and civil society may be needed to deliver effective social services, however ...
- Be the ultimate guarantor of all the development needs considered in this section for all citizens if all else fails, either directly providing them (often healthcare and education) or through cash benefits to enable their purchase (often food and housing)
- Teach these values of care for all in society and ensuring none are left behind, in schools through the formal education system and in society through public information campaigns

Support internationally

Once again, whilst the primary role in taxing and redistributing to meet basic needs and drive down poverty must be with the individual nation itself, the international community can do a lot to support this. First, in the area of capturing sufficient tax to fund social spending, nations should practice complete global tax transparency. This means signing up to, implementing and significantly strengthening the internationally recognised *Multilateral Competent Authority Agreement* and its *Standard for Automatic Exchange of Financial Account Information in Tax Matters* to enable financial information of residents to be automatically shared each year, and tax avoidance (especially for tax owed to developing nations) to be identified and shut down. The international community should also create a new international agreement to prevent the shifting of money out of countries and into 'tax havens' (countries charging low or zero tax rates), to avoid paying a fair amount of tax. The international community is feeling increasing pressure to agree such laws from tax and development experts who can see the important benefits they would bring in tackling poverty. As Kate Raworth says in her book, *Doughnut Economics*, the international community must ***"end the extraordinary injustice of tax loopholes, offshore havens, profit sharing, and special exemptions that allow many of the world's richest people and largest corporations – from Amazon to Zara – to pay negligible tax in the countries in which they live and do business. At least \$18.5 trillion is hidden by wealthy individuals in tax havens worldwide, representing an annual loss of more than \$156 billion in tax revenue, a sum that could end extreme income poverty twice over. At the same***

⁵⁹⁵ *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, UN, (1966), Article 2; see also Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 40 – 41; Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 216 – 217 etc.

*time, transnational corporations shift around \$660 billion of their profits each year to near-zero tax jurisdictions such as the Netherlands, Ireland, Bermuda and Luxembourg.”*⁵⁹⁶

This global agreement should also set standard minimum percentage rates for national taxes, and corresponding percentage rates of government income, to spend on basic services at a significant and healthy level in every country. This would prevent the ‘race to the bottom’ whereby nations compete with each other to cut tax rates in order to attract investment and international corporations, and thereby undermine the amount they have to spend on basic services, thus driving up poverty and inequality in society. A good start has been made in this area through the OECD’s *Two-Pillar Solution to Address the Tax Challenges Arising from the Digitalisation of the Economy*. This commits all nations that sign up, to taxing large multinationals at a minimum of 15%. Every nation should sign up to this agreement. However, global deals on tax need to go much further. Drawing together all the many lessons from the Bible and from history, both domestically and internationally, that we have seen so far in this report, Arise suggests a revised global tax and social spending agreement should commit every nation to collect in tax, and spend through government spending, an annual amount equivalent to at least 45% of the national economy. One third of this amount would come from income taxes (income tax, national insurance etc.), one third from wealth taxes (land tax, inheritance tax, council tax, wealth tax etc.) and one third from other taxes (corporation taxes, taxes on goods and services etc.). Income and wealth taxes must be significantly progressive so the poorest pay less and the richest more. Taxes on income and on returns from wealth should be set at the same level. Various specific types of income, wealth and other taxes and levels should be negotiated and standardised between nations as part of this global agreement. At least two thirds of this income should be spent on healthcare, education and social protection (pensions, benefits etc.), in order to provide healthcare and education for all and support the unemployed, sick and elderly in society. The other third should be spent on other government functions. These levels and proportions of taxation and expenditure would match those in the most economically successful developed countries with the greatest levels of social development and lowest levels of inequality.⁵⁹⁷ Governments would then need to develop their own national tax and social spending laws to implement this international agreement in every nation. The international community should also help by training and capacity building developing country civil servants in the establishment of good tax systems and the effective provision of basic services.⁵⁹⁸

Whilst developing nations are still establishing strong and fair economies and taxation and social spending systems of their own, the international community can help fill the gap by the generous provision of overseas aid to help provide basic services and meet immediate development needs. This should be at the internationally agreed level of 0.7% of Gross Domestic Product from all developed nations. As Jeffrey Sachs explains in his book *The Age of Sustainable Development*, **“the UN General Assembly in 1970 formally adopted the goal that high-income countries should contribute 0.7 percent of their national income to ODA [Official development Assistance].”** Of course, **“Aid is not a permanent need or solution.**

⁵⁹⁶ Raworth, K., *Doughnut Economics*, (2017), pp. 276 – 277; see also *Tax Avoidance and Evasion*, Tax Justice Network, (2017); *Tax Battles*, Oxfam, (2016) etc.

⁵⁹⁷ See lessons from all sections on tax and social spending and Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (2013), pp. 474 – 534; Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012), pp. 12 – 14, 79 – 83, 116, 120 – 133, 146 – 147, 149 – 174, 204; Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 154, 172, 174 – 176 etc.

⁵⁹⁸ Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion*, (2008), pp. 111 – 115; Deaton, A., *The Great Escape*, (2013), pp. 321 – 322; *World Development Report 2011*, World Bank, (2011), (most recent World Development Report focused on conflict), pp. 30, 34 – 35, 272, 275 etc.

Countries that receive aid can reach a level of income through economic growth whereby they soon ‘graduate’ from the need for aid entirely. China and Korea are two examples of countries that relied on aid when they were poor and then graduated from aid and indeed more recently became significant donor countries. Roughly speaking, graduation from aid can occur when a country passes from low-income to middle-income status.” But until countries reach that point ***“aid can work”*** and indeed it is ***“vital when people are very poor and facing life-or-death challenges, such as malaria, AIDS, safe childbirth, safe water, sanitation, or growing enough food to stay alive.”***⁵⁹⁹

Aid should be provided for the sole aim of poverty reduction. It should be focused on the poorest and should not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender, age or in any other way. It should not be ‘tied’ or linked in any way to supporting developed country exports or foreign policy.⁶⁰⁰ All aid should be harmonised and coordinated by the national government when it comes into a developing nation, behind a single national development plan. This should be nationally developed and owned, with significant input from poor communities who are directly affected.⁶⁰¹ As far as possible, all aid should be channelled into national budgets and spent by the national government to make it efficient and help reinforce and strengthen the national authorities in their legitimate role. Where concerns about corruption and good governance are so great that they cannot be addressed through rigorous monitoring, then the international community may choose to deliver aid into a nation via alternative routes, such as UN agencies or Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) operating in the field. In which case a lead agency should be identified to play the coordinating role the government would normally play, and to liaise with the national government until the situation has improved and aid can be transferred to be channelled through the national finances. These are principles widely held by the international community.⁶⁰² Aid should come in the form of grants not loans to avoid saddling poor countries with future debt crises. Aid commitments should be stable, consistent and committed over multiple years, not short-term ‘stop and start’, to help with financial planning.⁶⁰³ All aid should be fully transparent, rigorously monitored and

⁵⁹⁹ Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), pp. 172, 501, see also pp. 108 – 109, 171 – 175, 281 – 282, 299 – 305, 498 – 502; *Accountability and Ownership*, Oxfam, (2016); *Global Trends: Challenges and Opportunities in the Implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals*, UN Development Programme, (2017), pp. 60 – 63 etc.

⁶⁰⁰ *Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Disaster Relief*, ICRC, (1994), p. 3; *The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, (2005, 2008), pp. 5, 18; *Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, (2011), p. 5 etc.

⁶⁰¹ *Rome Declaration on Harmonisation*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, (2003); *The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, (2005, 2008), pp. 3 – 4, 15 – 17, 20; *Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, (2011), pp. 3, 5 etc.

⁶⁰² *Accountability and Ownership*, Oxfam, (2016), pp. 1, 21 – 22, 27 – 30, 37 – 38; *The New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States*, International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, (2011); *Rome Declaration on Harmonisation*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, (2003) etc.

⁶⁰³ *Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, (2011), p. 7; *The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, (2005, 2008), pp. 1, 15, 20 – 21; *Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development*, UN, (2002), p. 48 etc.

independently evaluated and scrutinised to prevent corruption and for effective impact.⁶⁰⁴ Finally, as we have seen, aid should only ever be seen as short-term. It plays a crucial role in meeting an immediate need, but it is no substitution for developing nations building strong and fair economies and taxing them in order to redistribute and meet the basic needs of the poorest. No nation in the world has ever developed as a result of aid alone. Therefore, a sliding scale of phasing down and graduating from aid when it is no longer needed should be in place for all nations.



Figure 5.36: The international community should provide generous overseas aid to poorer nations, to support their development and help them respond to humanitarian emergencies.

Alongside major aid programmes, the international community will need to provide short-term emergency humanitarian relief in contexts of natural disasters or conflict. A significant proportion of that humanitarian support should be invested in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), rebuilding and planning in ways that minimises destruction from future predictable, cyclical disasters. All the principles set out above for best practice in aid should be equally applied in these contexts. Moving beyond government aid and humanitarian programmes, the international community should also implement policies and practices which facilitate and strengthen major private financial flows to support developing countries. These include charitable giving through the important work of many Non-Governmental Organisations; money sent home from diaspora communities from Africa, Asia and Latin America working

⁶⁰⁴ Easterly, W., *The White Man's Burden*, (2007), pp. 113 – 15, 26, 169 – 171, 323 – 325, 332 – 333; *Core Humanitarian Standard*, Core Humanitarian Standard Alliance, (2014), pp. 2, 9, 11, 13 – 14; *Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response*, The Sphere Project, (2011), pp. 5 – 6, 10, 24 etc.

overseas, known as ‘remittances’; or philanthropy and social investment from wealthy individuals.⁶⁰⁵

At the international level, all nations should abide by, promote, uphold and further strengthen international norm setting standards on development, such as the *Sustainable Development Goals*. They should do the same for international standards for best practice in the delivery of aid such as the *Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation*; *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*; *Accra Agenda for Action*; *Rome Declaration on Harmonisation*; *Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Disaster Relief*; *Core Humanitarian Standard* and the *Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response*. Such agreements have a powerful norm setting effect, establishing and advancing what is considered normal and appropriate and providing internationally agreed standards against which nations can be held to account. Finally, these methods for supporting developing nations to collect finance and use it to provide basic services should be taught in schools as well as promoted more widely in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns, so that current and future generations understand why and how their nation is helping to lift poorer countries out of poverty. So, in summary ...

The international community should:

- Practice complete global tax transparency by signing up to, implementing and significantly strengthening the *Multilateral Competent Authority Agreement* and its *Standard for Automatic Exchange of Financial Account Information in Tax Matters*
- Reduce the opportunities for multinational companies to avoid tax, by signing up to, implementing and significantly strengthening the *Two-Pillar Solution to Address the Tax Challenges Arising from the Digitalisation of the Economy*
- Negotiate a new global tax and social spending agreement that: 1) prevents the shifting of money out of countries where people are resident or companies are operating into ‘tax havens’, and; 2) commits every nation to collect in tax, and spend through government spending, an annual amount equivalent to at least 45% of the national economy, one third from income taxes (income tax, national insurance etc.), one third from wealth taxes (land tax, inheritance tax, council tax, wealth tax etc.) and one third from other taxes (corporation taxes, taxes on goods and services etc.). As part of this agreement, income and wealth taxes must be significantly progressive so the poorest pay less and the richest more. Taxes on income and on returns from wealth should be set at the same level. Various specific types of income, wealth and other taxes and levels should be negotiated and standardised between nations. At least two thirds of this income should be spent on healthcare, education and social protection (pensions, benefits etc.). The other third to be spent on other government functions
- Ensure all national governments develop their own national tax and social spending laws to implement this international agreement
- Train and capacity-build developing nation civil servants in tax collection and the provision of social services
- Give generous overseas aid of at least 0.7% of Gross National Income to bridge the gap and fund basic services whilst nations are still developing

⁶⁰⁵ *Global Trends: Challenges and Opportunities in the Implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals*, UNDP, (2017), pp. 70 – 72; Naím, M., *The End of Power*, (2013), pp. 60, 205 – 211; Eberly, D., *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, (2008), pp. 51 – 58 etc.

- Ensure aid is solely targeted on poverty reduction, not supporting developed country exports or foreign policy, or discriminating on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender, age or in any other way
- Ensure all aid is harmonised and coordinated by the national government at a country level behind a single national development plan that is nationally developed and owned, with significant input from poor communities
- Ensure aid is channelled into national budgets and spent by the national government to make it efficient, and help reinforce and strengthen the national authorities in their legitimate role. Where concerns about corruption and good governance prevent this, deliver aid into a nation via UN agencies and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), with a lead agency playing the coordinating role until the situation has improved and aid can be transferred back through the national finances
- Require aid to come as grants not loans
- Ensure aid is stable, consistent and committed over multiple years to aid financial planning
- Make aid fully transparent, rigorously monitored and independently evaluated
- Ensure aid is only ever short-term with a sliding scale for phasing down and exiting from aid as nations develop
- Provide humanitarian relief in the context of disasters, with a significant proportion invested in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR)
- Support private financial flows for development such as charitable giving through NGOs; remittances from diaspora communities; philanthropy and social investment
- Pass, support, publicise and strengthen international norm setting standards and agreements on development and aid such as the *Sustainable Development Goals*
- Teach these approaches in schools and through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand why and how their nation is helping to lift poorer countries out of poverty

PRIORITISE

The lessons we have considered in Part 5 from the Bible, and from history, give the world a blueprint as to how to tackle poverty and eliminate inequality. We, as individual Christians and the global church, should passionately advocate for this, to help dramatically accelerate the progress we are seeing so that it goes much further and faster, and ensures all are lifted out of poverty. But if we could do just one thing, what should that be? The Bible and history indicate that it is the development of strong and fair economies which is the most essential. Throughout this great period of change that began with the industrial revolution some 250 years ago, developing economies have resulted in the emergence of educated and empowered middle classes which led calls for greater democracy and human rights, and higher levels of taxation and social spending. Declining poverty and inequality has in turn increased social stability, reducing conflict. Surely then, we must prioritise investing in the most effective actions for growing strong and fair economies in order to further drive forward all this change? Well, as we move into the next and final of our five major areas – the environment – we will find there is a terrible sting in the tail of this story of progress, that hugely challenges us as Christians, the church, and the world, for the future. We will need strong and fair economies, but not quite as we know them. So rather than agree a priority here, let's press on and consider our fifth and final area, the environment, and draw this grand story together.



PART 6: ENVIRONMENT

We have seen that our perfect world would be one where all know Jesus, all are discipled, and where systemic social injustice and poverty have been eliminated. However, evangelism, discipleship, social justice and development are all entirely dependent on a healthy and flourishing natural environment, which provides the food and fresh water we need to eat and drink, the clean air we need to breathe, the clothing we wear, and the natural resources to build our homes and form the basis of our economy etc. Furthermore, this wonderful creation – on which we all depend – was created, and is still owned, by God, who called it ‘good’ and who, through Jesus’ death and resurrection, is redeeming and restoring not just humanity but the whole of his good creation. Our perfect world, then, would also be one in which our natural environment flourishes and provides all we need. For thousands of years, we have taken this healthy environment as a given. However, as our scientific understanding has advanced over the last 50 years, it is becoming increasingly apparent that this may no longer be the case. Before we consider the science, let us first begin by looking at what the Bible teaches us about a correct Christian Biblical approach to the environment, and the principles and lessons we can draw from it to guide our interaction with the natural world today.

1) WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY?

A framework to guide humanity’s approach to the environment

First, the Bible is clear that all of creation was created by God. As we read in the very first verse of Genesis, ***“In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.”***⁶⁰⁶ It is also clear that God continues to be active in his creation, upholding and sustaining it, for ***“He covers the sky with clouds; he supplies the earth with rain and makes grass grow on the hills. He provides food for the cattle and for the young ravens when they call.”***⁶⁰⁷ Furthermore, God also continues to own creation. It belongs to him, not to us, for ***“To the LORD your God***

⁶⁰⁶ Gen 1 – 2, see also Ex 20: 11; Nehemiah 9: 6; Job 38 – 41; Psalm 33: 6 – 9; Psalm 102: 25; Prov 8: 22 – 31; Isa 42: 5; Jer 10: 12; Jer 51: 15 – 16; John 1: 1 – 4; Acts 17: 24; Col 1: 16; Hebs 1: 10; Hebs 11: 3; Rev 10: 6 etc.

⁶⁰⁷ Psalm 147: 4, 8 – 9, 15 – 18, see also Psalm 65: 9 – 13; Psalm 75: 3; Psalm 104; Psalm 135: 6 – 7; Psalm 136: 25; Isa 40: 26; Jer 5: 24; Jer 10: 13; Jer 14: 22; Jer 51: 16; Col 1: 16 – 17; Hebs 1: 3; Hebs 2: 10 etc.

*belong the heavens, even the highest heavens, the earth and everything in it.”*⁶⁰⁸ We are told repeatedly that God’s creation is good, beautiful and wonderful, as Genesis relates, **“God saw all that he had made, and it was very good.”**⁶⁰⁹ Furthermore, not just humanity, but all creation worships God, as David cried **“Let the heavens rejoice, let the earth be glad; let them say among the nations, ‘The LORD reigns!’ Let the sea resound, and all that is in it; let the fields be jubilant, and everything in them! Let the trees of the forest sing, let them sing for joy before the LORD”**.⁶¹⁰ We see a clear Biblical principle that creation is good, and has incredible beauty, worth and wonder in its own right, beyond simply what it can provide for human beings. It has inherent value and is worth conserving and treasuring. As Moses told the Israelites, **“the land you are crossing the Jordan to take possession of is a land of mountains and valleys that drinks rain from heaven. It is a land the LORD your God cares for; the eyes of the LORD your God are continually on it from the beginning of the year to its end”**, and the Psalms declare **“You, LORD, preserve both people and animals.”**⁶¹¹



Figure 6.1: Creation was made by God, and still belongs to him. It is good, beautiful and wonderful and has inherent value and worth beyond what it can provide for human beings, and should be conserved and treasured in its own right.

Turning to consider our place in this picture, we see that humanity itself is not separate, but a part of God’s creation. As the prophet Isaiah says, God is **“the Creator of the heavens, who stretches them out, who spreads out the earth with all that springs from it, who gives breath to its people, and life to those who walk on it.”**⁶¹² Nevertheless we are special, created in

⁶⁰⁸ Deut 10: 14, see also Lev 25: 23; 1 Sam 2: 8; Job 41: 2; Psalm 24: 1; Psalm 50: 10 – 12; Psalm 74: 16; Psalm 89: 9, 11; Psalm 95: 4 – 5; Psalm 135: 6 – 7; Isa 37: 16; Hebs 1: 2; Hebs 2: 10 etc.

⁶⁰⁹ Gen 1 – 2, see also 2 Sam 23: 4; Job 38 – 41; Psalm 19: 1 – 6; Psalm 65: 9 – 13; Psalm 104; Psalm 139: 14; Psalm 148; Prov 30: 24 – 31; Matt 6: 26, 28 – 30; Matt 10: 29 – 31; Luke 12: 6 -7, 24, 27 – 28 etc.

⁶¹⁰ 1 Chron 16: 30 – 33, see also Nehemiah 9: 6; Psalm 19: 1 – 6; Psalm 65: 9 – 13; Psalm 69: 34; Psalm 96: 11 – 13; Psalm 97: 6; Psalm 98: 7 – 9; Psalm 103: 22; Psalm 148; Isa 44: 23; Rev 5: 13 etc.

⁶¹¹ Deut 11: 11 – 12; Psalm 36: 6, see also Gen 1 – 2; Gen 6 – 9: 17; 2 Sam 23: 4; Job 38 – 41; Psalm 19: 1 – 6; Psalm 104; Psalm 148; Matt 6: 26, 28 – 30; Matt 10: 29 – 31; Luke 12: 6 – 7, 24, 27 – 28 etc.

⁶¹² Isa 42: 5, see also Gen 1 – 2; Gen 3: 19; Gen 6 – 9: 17; 1 Chron 16: 30 – 33; Job 12: 10; Psalm 8: 3 – 5; Psalm 36: 6; Psalm 96: 11 – 13; Psalm 104; Psalm 139: 13 – 16; Psalm 148; Isa 11: 6 – 9; Isa 45: 12 etc.

God's image. We hear in Genesis that ***"God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them."***⁶¹³ Furthermore, he placed us in a position to rule over creation, for as God said when he created humanity, ***"Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that moves on the ground."***⁶¹⁴ We are to work creation and use its natural resources for our food, water, clothing, heating, housing and other needs. Again the Psalms say ***"He makes grass grow for the cattle, and plants for people to cultivate – bringing forth food from the earth: wine that gladdens human hearts, oil to make their faces shine, and bread that sustains their hearts."***⁶¹⁵ Moreover, we are entirely dependent on creation to provide us with these things that we need, and by extension on creation continuing to remain in a healthy state in order to continue to provide us with these things. We cannot survive without a healthy creation.

However, as we farm creation and use its natural resources, the Bible is clear we should not do this in an exploitative, rapacious and destructive way, but in a balanced and managed fashion, protecting and preserving creation. Genesis tells us how ***"The LORD God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it"*** and Proverbs that ***"The righteous care for the needs of their animals"***.⁶¹⁶ Indeed this is not just a moral exhortation to us, but throughout the Old Testament there are multiple specific laws to limit and prevent human exploitation of the natural environment. Thus, there were laws that every seventh day was a Sabbath of rest for people, but also ***"so that your ox and your donkey may rest"***. Similarly, there were laws that every ***"seventh year let the land lie unploughed and unused"***, in part for the poor to gather from, but also so that ***"the wild animals may eat what is left"***, thus ***"The land is to have a year of rest."*** This happened again every fiftieth year in the year of Jubilee. There were also laws to prevent the overexploitation of animals and animal cruelty. For example, from a nest the Israelites were told ***"You may take the young, but be sure to let the mother go, so that it may go well with you"***, and to preserve nature, thus if they found themselves besieging a city the Israelites were instructed ***"do not destroy its trees by putting an axe to them, because you can eat their fruit."***⁶¹⁷

Considering what this looks like in the case of our food, before the fall, and indeed for some considerable time afterwards, humanity was given only plants to eat. We read in Genesis how God said, ***"I give you every seed-bearing plant on the face of the whole earth and every tree that has fruit with seed in it. They will be yours for food. And to all the beasts of the earth and all the birds in the sky and all the creatures that move along the ground – everything that has the breath of life in it – I give every green plant for food."***⁶¹⁸ Later God expanded this to include meat from animals, as he said to Noah and his sons, ***"The fear and dread of you will fall on all the beasts of the earth, and on all the birds in the sky, on every creature that moves along the ground, and on all the fish in the sea; they are given into your hands. Everything that lives and moves about will be food for you. Just as I gave you the green***

⁶¹³ Gen 1: 26 – 27, see also Gen 5: 1 – 2; Gen 9: 6; Luke 3: 38; Acts 17: 28 – 29; James 3: 9

⁶¹⁴ Gen 1: 26 – 28, see also Gen 2: 19 – 20; Psalm 8: 3 – 8; Jonah 4: 10 – 11; Matt 6: 26, 28 – 30; Matt 10: 29 – 31; Luke 12: 6 -7, 24, 27 – 28; James 1: 18; James 3: 7

⁶¹⁵ Psalm 104: 14 – 15, see also Gen 1: 29; Gen 2: 16 – 17; Gen 3: 17 – 23; Gen 9: 2 – 3; Deut 8: 7 – 9, 12 – 13; Psalm 65: 9 – 13; Prov 14: 4; Prov 27: 18, 23 – 27; Jer 29: 5, 28; Eze 34: 14, 27, 29; James 3: 7 etc.

⁶¹⁶ Gen 2: 15; Prov 12: 10, see also Num 22: 21 – 33; 1 Sam 17: 34 – 35; Prov 27: 18, 23 – 27; Isa 14: 8, 20; Isa 66: 3; Jer 33: 12; Nahum 3: 16; Amos 7: 14; Amos 9: 14; Luke 2: 8 etc.

⁶¹⁷ Ex 23: 10 – 12, 19; Lev 25: 2 – 7, 11 – 12, 20 – 22; Deut 22: 6 – 7; Deut 20: 19 – 20, see also Ex 34: 26; Lev 19: 23 – 25; Lev 22: 27 – 28; Lev 26: 32 – 35, 43; Deut 5: 12 – 14; Deut 14: 21; 2 Chron 36: 21; Neh 10: 31 etc.

⁶¹⁸ Gen 1: 29 – 30, see also Gen 2: 9, 16 – 17; Gen 3: 17 – 23

*plants, I now give you everything.”*⁶¹⁹ However, when Jesus comes again to bring his kingdom in full and restores us to that original picture of harmony with God, one another and the rest of creation, it seems there will no longer be any consumption of meat, and that we (and indeed the animals) will return to that essentially vegetarian state. The imagery that the Bible uses of that time points to this, ***“The wolf will live with the lamb, the leopard will lie down with the goat, the calf and the lion and the yearling together; and a little child will lead them. The cow will feed with the bear, their young will lie down together, and the lion will eat straw like the ox. The infant will play near the cobra’s den, and the young child will put its hand into the viper’s nest. They will neither harm nor destroy on all my holy mountain, for the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the LORD as the waters cover the sea.”***⁶²⁰

The Bible therefore seems to see humans as primarily eating plants, with permission – to a lesser extent – to also consume some meat. Certainly every person in Biblical times, as in most other historical periods, would have consumed mainly vegetables and cereals, and only small amounts of meat and dairy, compared to those of us living in developed nations today. Amazingly, the vast majority of doctors and dieticians in the world today confirm that the way God has designed our bodies to be healthy is indeed to eat mainly fruit and vegetables (at least a third), and cereal and carbohydrates (at least a third), with a small amount of meat (less than a sixth) and dairy (less than a sixth), and when we do eat meat, to eat white meat and fish rather than red meat as much as possible.⁶²¹ Furthermore, this is also exactly the kind of diet the world needs to return to today, as current western diets with high red meat consumption are environmentally unsustainable, due to the vast amounts of land and fresh water required for animal grazing and mono-crop agriculture. We saw this when we considered [Social Justice, Development and Environment](#) in Part 3 on Discipleship. The rediscovery of such a ‘Biblical diet’ is today widely accepted as important by both environmental scientists and health experts.⁶²²

Overall then, the Biblical picture of humanity’s relationship with the environment is as a caring steward placed in authority over the natural world and permitted to use its resources, but never in an exploitative and destructive way, remembering that creation still belongs to God, not to us. As the people of Israel were told by God when they entered the Holy Land, ***“The land must not be sold permanently, because the land is mine and you reside in my land as foreigners and strangers.”***⁶²³ This is a powerful concept even for those without a faith, since the vast majority of people recognise that each generation cannot claim to ‘own’ the land, but must pass on the world in good condition to the next generation, if our children and grandchildren are to survive and flourish. The Bible shows us that before the fall, humanity did indeed live in balance and harmony with both God and the natural world, which effortlessly provided all our needs. We hear how ***“the LORD God had planted a garden in the east, in Eden; and there he put the man he had formed. The LORD God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground – trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food.”***⁶²⁴ However, as we saw in Part 1 when we considered [What is God doing in the world? – Creation, fall,](#)

⁶¹⁹ Gen 9: 2 – 3, see also Deut 14: 4 – 20; Mark 7: 14 – 19; Roms 14; 1 Cor 8

⁶²⁰ Isa 11: 6 – 9, see also Isa 65: 17 – 25; Roms 8: 19 – 22; Rev 21: 4; Rev 22: 1 – 2

⁶²¹ *The Eatwell Guide*, National Health Service, www.nhs.uk/live-well/eat-well/the-eatwell-guide. Similar sources of information exist for other countries.

⁶²² *The Elephant in the Boardroom*, World Resources Institute, (2017), pp. 16 – 22; *Changing Climate, Changing Diets*, Chatham House, (2015); Berners-Lee, M. & Clark, D., *The Burning Question*, (2013), pp. 155 – 159, 191 – 192 etc.

⁶²³ Lev 25: 23, see also Gen 1 – 2; Gen 3: 17 – 23; Gen 6 – 9: 17; Deut 11: 11 – 17; Deut 8: 7 – 20; Psalm 8: 3 – 8; Psalm 148; Prov 12: 10; Jer 33: 12; Eze 34: 11 – 16, 26 – 31; Amos 9: 14; James 1: 18 etc.

⁶²⁴ Gen 1 – 2, see also John 1: 1 – 4

[redemption, glory](#), by turning away and rejecting God, humanity fractured not only our perfect relationship with God, but also our relationship with the natural world. The natural world was in some sense ‘broken’, so that, although it remains fundamentally ‘good’, just as we still bear the image of God despite our fallen nature, the effortless provision of all our needs by creation can no longer be taken for granted. This means natural disasters may occur and we must work hard to ensure creation continues to provide us with the things we need to survive. Decay, death and conflict are now a reality, both in our own bodies and for the whole of creation. We read how God said to Adam at the time of the fall, ***“Cursed is the ground because of you; through painful toil you will eat food from it all the days of your life. It will produce thorns and thistles for you, and you will eat the plants of the field. By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food until you return to the ground”***.⁶²⁵

Within this overall picture of human sin leading to brokenness in wider creation, the Bible also warns us that this was not just a one-off instance, but that today the land can also continue to become barren and unfruitful when humanity rejects God in multiple acts of rebellion. Thus, the prophet Jeremiah mourns, ***“How long will the land lie parched and the grass in every field be withered? Because those who live in it are wicked, the animals and birds have perished.”***⁶²⁶ In the Old Testament this was most obvious in the context of idolatry, but also when people rejected God’s standards of justice and his law more widely, including his laws to respect and preserve his creation. The idea that the land will continue to bounteously give us all that we need, even if we reject God, behave with injustice, and mistreat his creation, is not Biblical. Furthermore, as we shall see, when environmental destruction happens as a result of our actions, it is the poorest and most vulnerable people in our world that are hit hardest. We know from [Part 5 on Development](#) that we are to bless and care for those in poverty⁶²⁷ and love our global neighbour as ourselves.⁶²⁸ So this is yet another Biblical reason for us as Christians to care for creation.

Wonderfully, as we saw in [Part 1](#), when we look forward, we see that God is outworking a plan for the healing and restoration of all these broken relationships. The Bible shows again and again that God is concerned with preserving not just humanity, but the whole of his ‘good’ creation. The Psalms tell us ***“The LORD is good to all; he has compassion on all he has made”***, and in the story of Noah we hear how in the ark God saved not just humanity but ***“two of all living creatures, male and female, to keep them alive”***, and that afterwards his covenant to never again bring such a flood, was not just with humanity but was ***“my covenant between me and you and all living creatures of every kind.”***⁶²⁹ Thus Jesus’ death and resurrection was not just to open the way for humanity to be reconciled and restored to God, but for the whole of creation as well. Paul tells us that God’s plan was ***“through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether things on earth or things in heaven, by making peace through his blood, shed on the cross ... This is the gospel that you heard and that has been proclaimed***

⁶²⁵ Gen 3: 17 – 23, see also Gen 5: 29; Deut 32: 10; Isa 41: 17 – 20; Isa 49: 8 – 10; Jer 2: 6; Hosea 4: 1 – 3; Hosea 6: 7; Roms 5: 14; Roms 8: 19 – 22; 1 Cor 15: 21 – 22; Rev 21: 4 – 5

⁶²⁶ Jer 12: 4, see also Lev 25: 18 – 19; Lev 26; Deut 11: 9 – 17; Deut 28; 2 Sam 21: 1, 14; 2 Chron 7: 13 – 14; Jer 3: 2 – 3; Jer 23: 10; Eze 5: 16 – 17; Eze 14: 13; Hosea 4: 1 – 3; Joel 1 – 2; Micah 7: 13 etc.

⁶²⁷ Lev 25: 35 – 37; Deut 10: 17 – 18; Deut 15: 4 – 11; Psalm 12: 5; Psalm 82: 3 – 4; Psalm 146: 7 – 9; Prov 14: 31; Prov 29: 7; Isa 58; Matt 11: 2 – 6; Matt 19: 21; Mark 10: 21; Luke 7: 17 – 22; Luke 10: 25 – 37; Luke 12: 33; Luke 14: 12 – 14; Luke 18: 22; Luke 19: 8; Acts 10: 1 – 4; Gal 2: 10; James 1: 27 etc.

⁶²⁸ Lev 19: 18; Deut 6: 5; Deut 10: 12; Deut 11: 13; Josh 22: 5; Matt 7: 12; Matt 19: 19 Matt 22: 34 – 40; Mark 12: 28 – 34; Luke 6: 31; Luke 10: 25 – 28; Roms 13: 8 – 10; Gal 5: 14; James 2: 8; 1 John 4: 7 – 21

⁶²⁹ Psalm 145: 9 – 11, 15 – 17, 21; Gen 6 – 9: 17, see also Lev 26: 32 – 35, 43; Deut 11: 12; 2 Chron 36: 20 – 21; Psalm 36: 6; Psalm 104; Psalm 136: 25; Isa 11: 6 – 9; Eze 36: 1 – 15; Matt 6: 26, 28 – 30; Matt 10: 29 – 31; Luke 12: 6 – 7, 24, 27 – 28 etc.

*to every creature under heaven”, and elsewhere that “the creation waits in eager expectation for the children of God to be revealed. For the creation was subjected to frustration, not by its own choice, but by the will of the one who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself will be liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the freedom and glory of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning as in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time.”*⁶³⁰

When Jesus comes again, ushering in his kingdom in full, it will not be to burn up creation and whisk those who know him off to a ‘heaven’ in the sky, but to bring heaven to earth, and redeem and restore the whole of his creation in a very earthy and real way, as he originally intended it to be. Just as Jesus’ body was renewed and transformed, but still very real and physical after his death and resurrection,⁶³¹ and ours too will be renewed and transformed into our heavenly but still physical bodies when he comes again,⁶³² so the whole of creation, whilst it may similarly pass through some sort of tribulation, will be renewed, restored, healed and transformed as the new heaven and earth, in the way God always intended it to be. Revelation says *“There will be no more death or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away”*, and Isaiah tells us how *“The wolf and the lamb will feed together, and the lion will eat straw like the ox ... They will neither harm nor destroy on all my holy mountain”*.⁶³³ Finally, whilst the Bible begins with a garden, it ends with a garden city, where John saw *“the river of the water of life, as clear as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb down the middle of the great street of the city. On each side of the river stood the tree of life, bearing twelve crops of fruit, yielding its fruit every month. And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations. No longer will there be any curse.”*⁶³⁴ So we do not see just a return to the old pre-fall state, but a dynamic forward moving restored kingdom of God, in which God, humanity and creation move forward together in a restored relationship. The Bible then provides us with a rich framework to guide humanity’s approach to the environment. So, in summary ...

Governments should:

- Recognise that creation is good, beautiful and wonderful and has inherent value and worth beyond what it can provide for human beings, and should be conserved and treasured in its own right
- Recognise that humanity should farm creation and use its natural resources to provide the food, clean water, fresh air, clothing, housing and many other things we need in order to survive
- Acknowledge that humanity is entirely dependent on the environment remaining healthy in order to continue to provide us with these things we need to survive
- Ensure that as humanity farms creation and uses its natural resources, we should never do so in environmentally exploitative, rapacious and destructive ways, but in a balanced and managed fashion, protecting and preserving the environment, and not leave this up to chance but ...

⁶³⁰ Col 1: 15 – 20, 23; Roms 8: 19 – 22, see also 1 Chron 16: 30 – 33; Psalm 96: 10 – 13; Psalm 98: 7 – 9; Psalm 148: 6; Isa 11: 6 – 9; Isa 49: 8 – 10; Isa 51: 3; Eze 47: 1 – 12; Matt 19: 28; Acts 3: 21; 2 Cor 5: 19; James 1: 18; Rev 3: 12; Rev 21 – 22 etc.

⁶³¹ Matt 28; Mark 16; Luke 24; John 20 – 21; Acts 1: 1 – 9; Acts 2: 31 – 33; Acts 13: 37; Roms 6: 3 – 11; 1 Cor 15; 2 Cor 4: 7 – 14; Phil 3: 20 – 21; Col 1: 15 – 22; 1 Tim 3: 16; 1 Pet 3: 18

⁶³² Roms 6: 3 – 11; 1 Cor 15; 2 Cor 4: 7 – 14; 2 Cor 5: 1 – 7, 17; Phil 3: 20 – 21; Col 1: 15 – 22

⁶³³ Rev 21 – 22; Isa 65: 17 – 25, see also 1 Chron 16: 30 – 33; Psalm 96: 10 – 13; Psalm 98: 7 – 9; Psalm 148: 6; Isa 11: 6 – 9; Isa 66: 22; Eze 47: 1 – 12; Roms 8: 19 – 22; 2 Cor 5: 19; Col 1: 15 – 20, 23; 2 Pet 3: 7 – 13; James 1: 18; Rev 3: 12; Rev 16; Rev 6 – 9 etc.

⁶³⁴ Rev 22, see also Eze 47: 1 – 12; Zech 14: 5 – 11; Rev 3: 12

- Pass and enforce laws that prevent the exploitation of the natural environment for its own sake, and also ...
- Pass and enforce laws that prevent people from damaging the environment in ways which harm others, thus following the principle that the law should be based on people being free to do what they want unless it harms others, at which point the law steps in
- Promote a diet that is healthy and is also good for people and planet, that is based upon mainly fruit and vegetables (at least a third), and cereal and carbohydrates (at least a third), with a small amount of meat (less than a sixth) and dairy (less than a sixth), and eating white meat and fish rather than red meat wherever possible. This should include legislation requiring shops and restaurants to provide more and better labelled vegetarian and vegan options
- Recognise that each generation cannot claim to ultimately ‘own’ creation, but is merely a steward, and should pass it on in good condition to future generations
- Recognise that failing to follow God’s standards and Biblical principles of justice, including these principles for the proper care and preservation of the environment, will result in creation turning barren and failing to give us what we need to survive

2) WHAT DOES HISTORY TEACH US?

How do we judge humanity’s impact on the environment? – Planetary Boundaries

The Bible describes what our relationship with the environment should be. Let us now turn to the lessons from history to see what today it actually is. Scientists tell us that our natural environment and climate has always changed throughout history. However, this is a slow process that usually takes tens of thousands of years or longer.⁶³⁵ The question is whether humanity itself is now despoiling God’s creation and changing our environment in far more rapid ways than we can possibly adapt to. Humanity could potentially do this in two ways. Firstly, by introducing new chemicals and substances into the natural world, or artificially changing the balance of those elements that already exist, in ways which dangerously downgrade and damage the environment. Secondly, we could do this by over-consuming natural resources (fresh water, crops, trees etc.) faster than the planet can replenish them. How do we begin to assess whether either of these things is happening or not? The most up-to-date science which attempts to look at the entirety of this problem has been brought together by dozens of the world’s leading environmental scientists who identified a series of ‘Planetary Boundaries’ in two ground-breaking scientific papers in 2009 and 2015. If these critical planetary boundaries are crossed, we will dangerously destabilise our environment. This framework has received widespread recognition by scientists around the globe, the governments of the world, the United Nations, World Bank and other international institutions. As the original papers explain, ***“Anthropogenic pressures on the Earth System have reached a scale where abrupt global environmental change can no longer be excluded. We propose a new approach to global sustainability in which we define planetary boundaries within which we expect that humanity can operate safely. Transgressing one or more planetary boundaries may be deleterious or even catastrophic due to the risk of crossing thresholds that will trigger non-linear, abrupt environmental change within continental-to planetary-***

⁶³⁵ Hansen, J., *Storms of my Grandchildren*, (2011), pp. 36 – 51; Lynas, M., *Six Degrees*, (2008), pp. 208, 217 – 236; Kolbert, E., *Field Notes from a Catastrophe*, (2015), pp. 85 – 86, 129 – 131 etc.

scale systems. We have identified nine planetary boundaries".⁶³⁶ These nine boundaries are inter-related, so fortunately we do not need to assess all nine of them in detail in order to judge how humanity is impacting the environment, but instead can consider the underlying causes which are driving change across all of them.

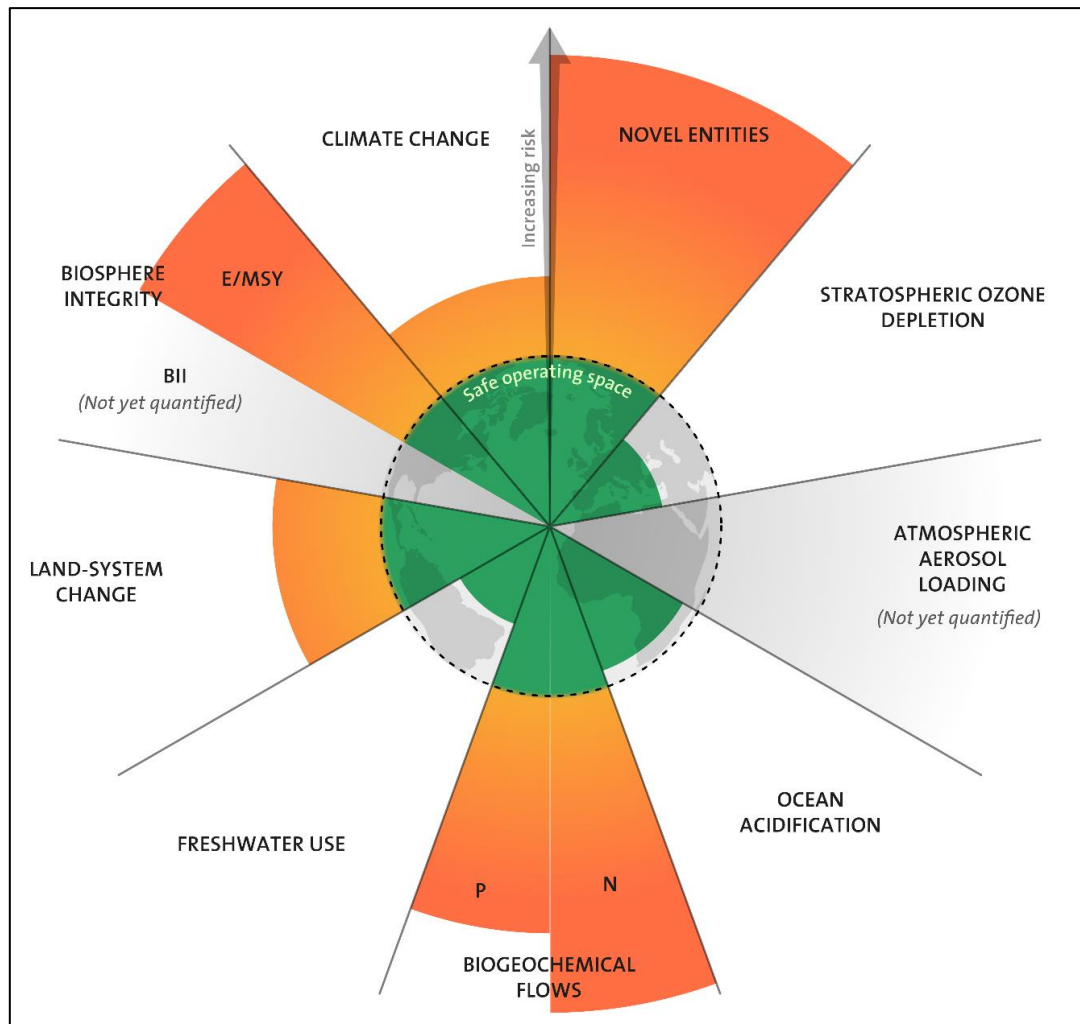


Figure 6.2: Planetary Boundaries⁶³⁷

The first, and probably most familiar, of these boundaries is **i) climate change**. In the last 200 years, human activity has dramatically increased the amount of one major greenhouse gas (carbon dioxide [CO₂], over 80% of man-made emissions) and five minor greenhouse gases (methane and nitrous oxide, and sulphur hexafluoride, hydrofluorocarbons [HFCs] and perfluorocarbons [PFCs], collectively known as the fluoride or ‘F-gases’) in our atmosphere. This has overwhelmingly been caused by the burning of fossil fuels (coal, oil, gas), as well as deforestation (plants absorb CO₂ and other greenhouse gases, therefore with significantly less trees and plants, many more greenhouse gases remain in the atmosphere) and as by-products of various industrial and agricultural processes, including methane emissions from cattle and

⁶³⁶ *Planetary Boundaries: Exploring the Safe Operating Space for Humanity*, Ecology and Society 14 (2), (2009); see also *Planetary Boundaries: Guiding Human Development on a Changing Planet*, Science 6223 (347), (2015); Lynas, M., *The God Species*, (2012); *A Safe and Just Space for Humanity*, Oxfam, (2012) etc.

⁶³⁷ Designed by Azote for Stockholm Resilience Centre, based on analysis in Persson et al 2022 and Steffen et al 2015

paddy fields. This in turn strengthens the greenhouse effect, a natural process by which energy from the sun is trapped in our atmosphere, keeping the planet warmer than it would be without it, enabling life to exist.

The late Sir John Houghton, a climate scientist, first chair of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (the world's premier international body of leading climate scientists), and a devout Christian, summarises the science of climate change well in his book *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing*, ***“We know for sure that because of human activities, especially the burning of fossil fuel, coal, oil and gas, together with widespread deforestation, the gas carbon dioxide has been emitted into the atmosphere in increasing amounts over the past 200 years and more substantially over the past 50 years. Every year these emissions currently add to the carbon already present in the atmosphere at least a further 8000 million tonnes, much of which will remain there for a period of 100 years or more. Because carbon dioxide is a good absorber of heat radiation coming from the Earth's surface, increased carbon dioxide acts like a blanket over the surface, keeping it warmer than it would otherwise be ... With the increased temperature the amount of water vapour in the atmosphere also increases, providing more blanketing and causing it to be even warmer. The gas methane is also increasing because of different human activities, for instance mining and agriculture, and adding to the problem. Being kept warmer may sound appealing to those of us who live in cool climates. However, an increase in global temperature will lead to global climate change. If the change were small and occurred slowly enough we would almost certainly be able to adapt to it. However, with rapid expansion taking place in the world's industry the change is unlikely to be either small or slow.”***⁶³⁸

This strengthening of the greenhouse effect has already led to an increase in the global average temperature of just over one degree to date, compared to the historic average before the industrial revolution.⁶³⁹ On top of this, even if all man-made greenhouse gas emissions were to cease tomorrow, we already face further warming as the concentration of the gases we have already released builds up in the atmosphere. Such a relatively rapid change is unanimously recognised by climate scientists as unprecedented in human and even geological history, as a key report by the London-based Royal Society says, ***“Recent estimates of the increase in global average temperature since the end of the last ice age are 4 to 5°C (7 to 9 °F). That change occurred over a period of about 7,000 years, starting 18,000 years ago. CO2 has risen by 40% in just the past 200 years ... If the rise in CO2 continues unchecked, warming of the same magnitude as the increase out of the ice age can be expected by the end of this century or soon after. This speed of warming is more than ten times that at the end of an ice age, the fastest known natural sustained change on a global scale. The present level of***

⁶³⁸ Houghton, J., *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing, Fifth Edition*, (2015), p. 9, but also see the whole book; *Climate Change 2021, The Physical Science Basis, Working Group 1, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2021); *Global Warming of 1.5°C, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2018), pp. 4 – 5; *Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation, Summary for Policy Makers and Technical Summary*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2012), pp. 7, 33 – 34; *Weather, Climate and the Air we Breathe*, World Meteorological Organization, (2009), pp. 7 – 10, 25 – 29 etc.

⁶³⁹ *Global Warming of 1.5°C, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2018); *World of Change: Global Temperatures*, NASA, www.earthobservatory.nasa.gov/world-of-change/global-temperatures; *Is the Climate Warming?*, The Royal Society, (2020), www.royalsociety.org/topics-policy/projects/climate-change-evidence-causes/question-1/ etc.

atmospheric CO2 concentration is almost certainly unprecedented in the past million years, during which time modern humans evolved and societies developed.”⁶⁴⁰



Figure 6.3: The vast increase in human greenhouse gas emissions over the last 200 years is leading to global climate change.

A global average temperature rise of a few degrees doesn't sound like much, but the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (the most authoritative scientific body on climate change in the world), every credible scientific institution in the world, and the overwhelming majority of tens of thousands of climate scientists around the globe, all warn of the potentially devastating impacts that such a change would have. These impacts include heat waves, droughts, floods, cyclones, wildfires, landslides, huge biodiversity loss, massive polar melting, the melting of the world's glaciers, sea-level rise, the devastation of coral systems, mass food and fresh water shortages, ill health, huge negative economic impacts, conflicts over scarce resources, the creation of huge numbers of climate refugees, and much more. All of which would of course be most devastating in the world's poorest countries and communities.⁶⁴¹

⁶⁴⁰ *Climate Change: Evidence and Causes*, The Royal Society, (2014), p. 9, see also pp. 3 – 4, 10, B2 – B5; *Climate Change 2022, Mitigation of Climate Change, Working Group 3, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2022); *Climate Change 2021, The Physical Science Basis, Working Group 1, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2021), pp. 7, 9; *The Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2019), p. 22; Hansen, J., *Storms of my Grandchildren*, (2011) etc.

⁶⁴¹ *Climate Change 2022, Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Working Group 2, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2022), pp. 11 – 21; *Climate Change 2021, The Physical Science Basis, Working Group 1, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2021), pp. 5 – 6, 9 – 14, 17 – 36, 39 – 41; *Global Warming of 1.5°C, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2018); *Climate Change and Land, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2020); *The Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2019); *Atlas of Mortality and Economic Losses from Weather, Climate and Water*

Global climate change is also the driver of another planetary boundary: **ii) ocean acidification**. As more greenhouse gases are emitted and the world warms, this increases the levels of acidity in the world's oceans which is devastating for marine ecosystems and the complex land-based ecosystems, including humanity, that depend upon them.⁶⁴² We will therefore look at trends in greenhouse gas emissions, since our near perfect world would be one where greenhouse gas emissions are rapidly declining, in order to address the planetary boundaries of climate change and ocean acidification.

Next, let us turn to the boundary of **iii) biosphere integrity**. With every passing discovery we become increasingly aware of the hugely diverse and complex web of species and ecosystems which make up our biosphere, and which are critically dependent on each other. Any major decline in the total numbers and diversity of the species in the world would be a crime against God's beautiful creation, and would have dangerous and far reaching impacts on humanity. We depend upon these ecosystems for our survival.⁶⁴³ Our near perfect world then, would be one where the level of biodiversity was at least steady, or indeed improving, not declining. We will therefore consider rates of biodiversity change to assess how we are doing on this planetary boundary.

Measuring levels of biodiversity loss also helps us assess how we are doing on three further planetary boundaries: **iv) atmospheric aerosol loading**, **v) novel entities** and **vi) biogeochemical flows**. These are all caused by humanity polluting the environment through the release of tens of thousands of artificial ('novel') chemicals and aerosols, or increasing levels and interfering with the cycles of naturally occurring elements, such as phosphorus and nitrogen, through various agricultural and industrial processes. Such pollution risks degrading our environment in ways which could be incredibly dangerous to humanity.⁶⁴⁴ Ideally, we would like to measure levels of pollution for these substances, but a lot of this information isn't available. However, one of the most common impacts of pollution is biodiversity loss. Hence examining rates of biodiversity loss should also give us a reasonable indication of whether the pollution which drives these three planetary boundaries is at a damaging level.

In addition to the impact of pollution, the major drivers of biodiversity loss are climate change (which we have already considered), and primarily the loss of natural habitats through human expansion. This leads us to our next planetary boundary **vii) land-system change** – the deforestation and conversion of wild land for agriculture, thus destroying the natural ecosystems critical for the health of our environment. The expansion of agriculture and food

Extremes, World Meteorological Organization, (2014); Houghton, J., *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing, Fifth Edition*, (2015), pp. 2 – 8, 75 – 76, 124, 143 – 217, 252 – 256, 350 etc.

⁶⁴² Lynas, M., *Six Degrees*, (2008), pp. 53 – 56; *Living Blue Planet*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2015), pp. 3, 12, 21, 24 – 25, 33 – 34, 44, 56, 60; *Climate Change 2021, The Physical Science Basis, Working Group 1, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2021), pp. 6, 9, 28 – 30, 34 – 35, 39; *Climate Change 2022, Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Working Group 2, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2022), pp. 11, 19, 21; *Global Warming of 1.5°C, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2018), pp. 5, 8 – 9, 13; *The Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2019), pp. 8 – 9, 13 – 14, 16, 21 – 22, 25 – 29, 31 etc.

⁶⁴³ Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), pp. 34, 190 – 192, 205, 340, 447 – 480; *Living Planet Report*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (bi-annual flagship report); *Planetary Boundaries: Exploring the Safe Operating Space for Humanity*, Ecology and Society 14 (2), (2009); *Planetary Boundaries: Guiding Human Development on a Changing Planet*, Science 6223 (347), (2015) etc.

⁶⁴⁴ *A Safe and Just Space for Humanity*, Oxfam, (2012), pp. 12 – 15, 17; Lynas, M., *The God Species*, (2012), pp. 21, 85 – 109, 139, 157 – 197, 235; Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), p. 561 etc.

production is also the primary driver putting pressure on our next boundary, **viii) fresh water use**, as more and more of the world's limited and precious fresh water is demanded for agriculture and food production.⁶⁴⁵ We will therefore consider the levels of deforestation, as well as the amount of land and marine territory in our world which is formally protected from damaging human expansion.

With our final planetary boundary: **ix) stratospheric ozone depletion**, we have some encouraging news. Stratospheric ozone depletion is caused by the release of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) into the atmosphere which has resulted in a hole in the ozone layer, a layer in our atmosphere which protects us from ultraviolet radiation from the sun.⁶⁴⁶ Fortunately this was one of the first global environmental crises to be discovered in the 1980s, and the *Montreal Protocol* banning CFCs globally was agreed by world governments in 1987 and has been incredibly effective, to the extent that the ozone layer is now recovering.⁶⁴⁷ We therefore do not need to measure progress on CFCs, as the world has successfully addressed this planetary boundary already; a source of encouragement and hope for the future. Finally, we will also consider the rate of human population growth and consumption, to judge what pressure this is putting on all nine planetary boundaries. Taken together then, we can be confident that examining the following environmental indicators will give us a good picture of whether humanity is living in harmony and balance with creation, as God intended, or whether we are damaging God's creation by living beyond planetary boundaries ...

INDICATOR	SOURCE
Greenhouse gas emissions	<i>The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018)</i> , Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)
Biodiversity loss	<i>Living Planet Index</i> , World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2022)
Levels of deforestation or reforestation	<i>Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020</i> , Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020)
Percentage of land/sea turned over to human occupation and agriculture	<i>Protected Planet Report 2020</i> , International Union for Conservation of Nature & United Nations Environment Programme World Conservation Monitoring Centre, World Database on Protected Areas, (2020)
Pollution levels	Information not available

⁶⁴⁵ *Global Environmental Outlook 6: Summary for Policy Makers*, UNEP, (2019), pp. 4, 6, 8 – 9, 12 – 13, 16, 19 – 20; *Living Planet Report*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (bi-annual flagship report); *Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020*, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020) etc.

⁶⁴⁶ *Planetary Boundaries: Exploring the Safe Operating Space for Humanity*, Ecology and Society 14 (2), (2009); *Planetary Boundaries: Guiding Human Development on a Changing Planet*, Science 6223 (347), (2015); Houghton, J., *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing, Fifth Edition*, (2015), pp. 50 – 53, 266 – 267, 347; Meadows, D., Meadows, D. & Randers, J., *Limits to Growth, The 30-Year Update*, (2010), pp. xii, xvii, 1, 113, 123, 181 – 202, 222, 228, 257 etc.

⁶⁴⁷ Goodall, C., *Sustainability: All that Matters*, (2012), pp. 53 – 54; *Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer*, (UN, 1985); *The Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer*, UN, (1987, incorporating adjustments in 1990, 1992, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2007 and 2016); Dietz, R. & O'Neill, D., *Enough is Enough*, (2013), pp. 69 etc.

Percentage of waste vs percentage recycled	Information not available
Population growth	- Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., <i>World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition</i>, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020) - Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., <i>World Christian Trends</i>, (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001) - Both drawn from the <i>World Christian Database</i>, hosted by the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary - UN Population Division, access via <i>World Development Indicators</i>, World Bank, (2022)

Figure 6.4: Environmental indicators to judge progress towards a better world

So, what do they tell us?

Where have we come from?

Well, starting with a consideration of greenhouse gas emissions, our worst fears begin to be realised. Since fossil fuel consumption and industrialisation took off, there has been a staggering increase in global carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions (the major greenhouse gas) since the 1850s, with a particularly dramatic rise in the years after the Second World War. The data relating to other greenhouse gases also shows significantly increasing emissions (Figure 6.5).

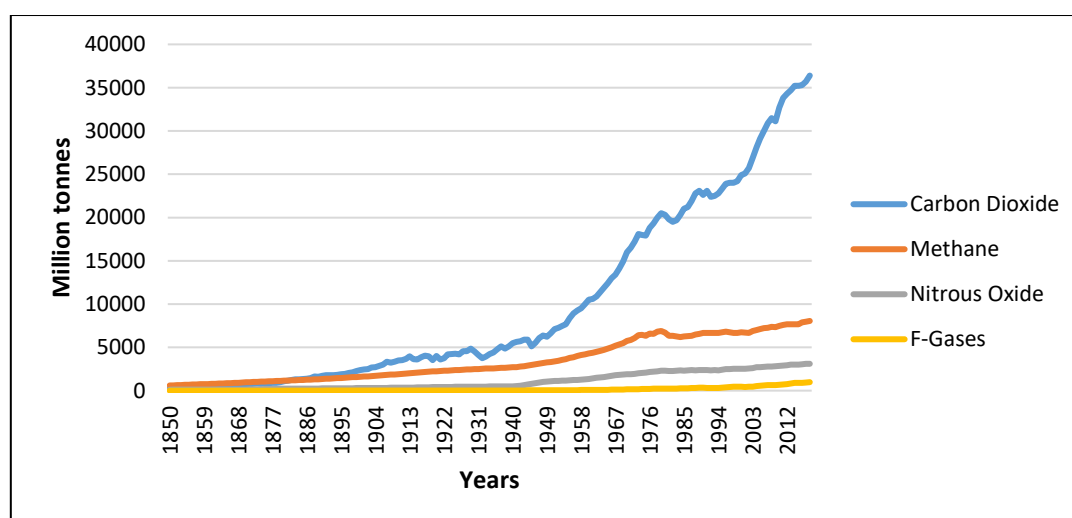


Figure 6.5: Global greenhouse gas emissions ⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁸ The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018), Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)

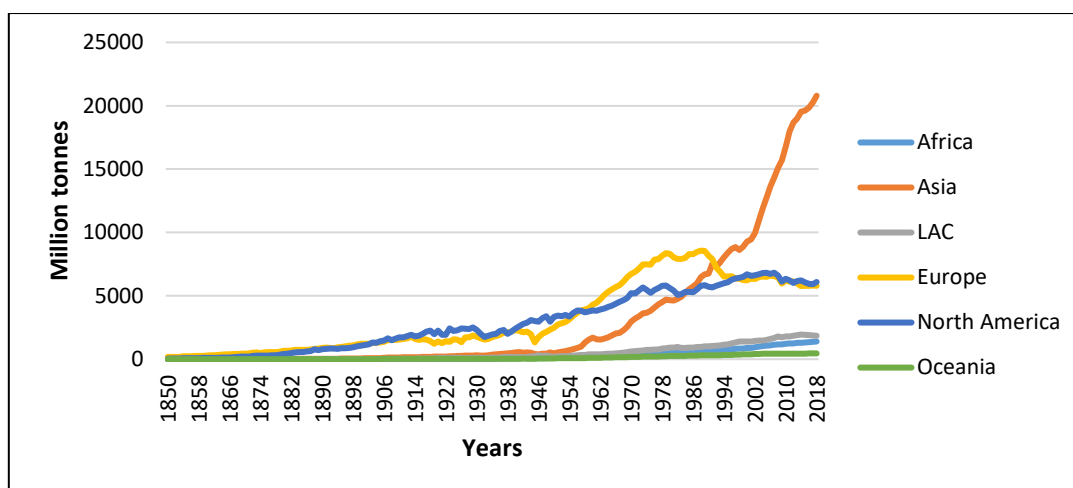


Figure 6.6: CO2 emissions ⁶⁴⁹

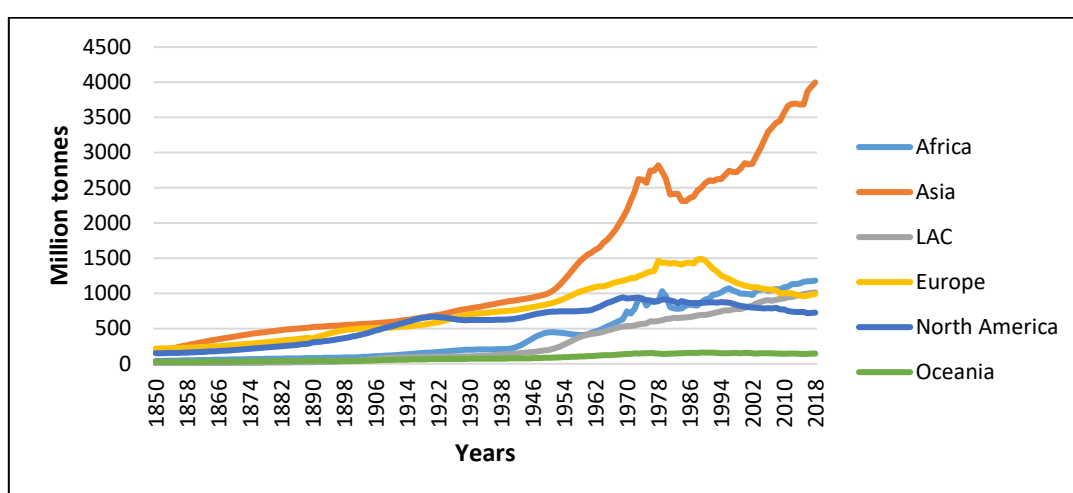


Figure 6.7: Methane emissions ⁶⁵⁰

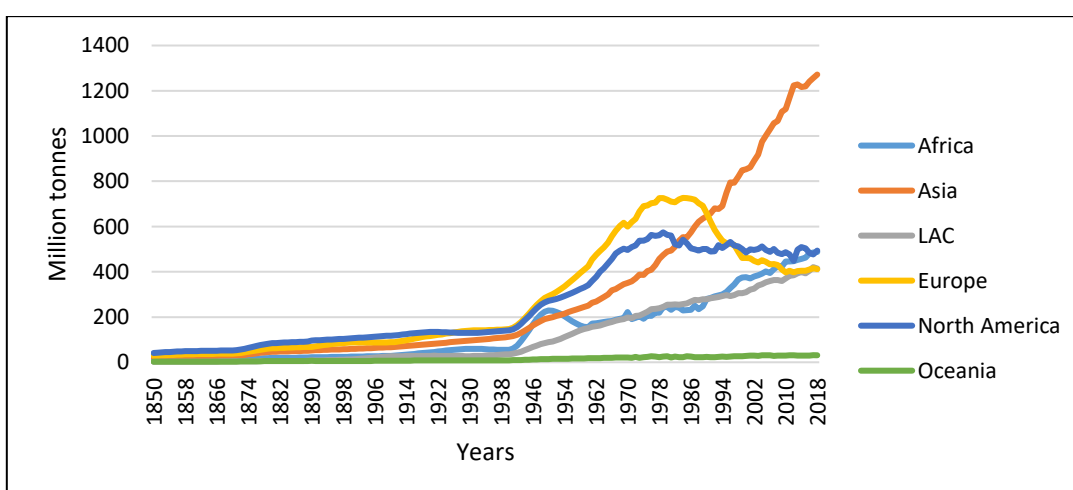


Figure 6.8: Nitrous oxide emissions ⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁹ The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018), Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)

⁶⁵⁰ The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018), Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)

⁶⁵¹ The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018), Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)

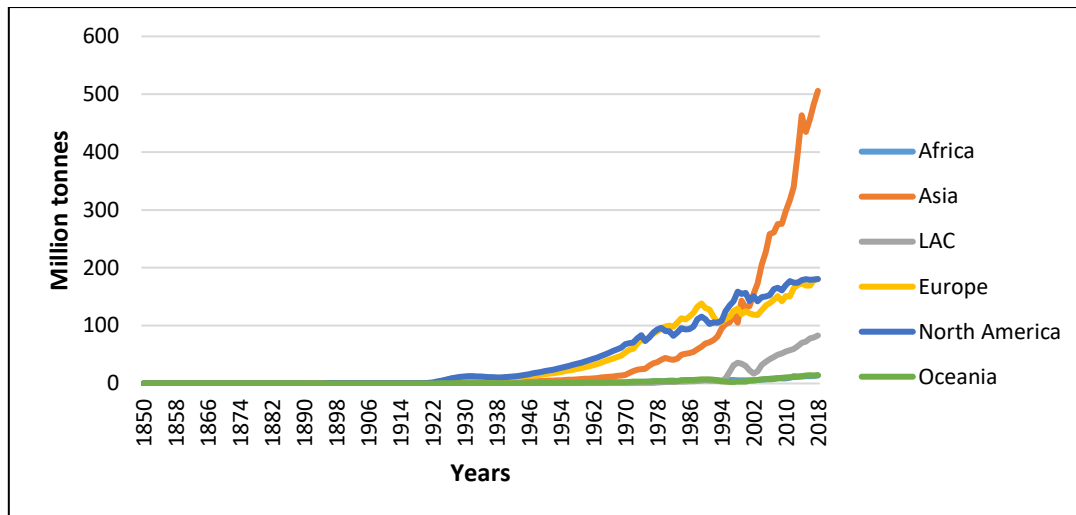


Figure 6.9: F-gases emissions ⁶⁵²

This increase has occurred for every greenhouse gas in every continent, with the exception of Europe and North America where CO₂, methane and nitrous oxide emissions have all actually declined in recent years (Figures 6.6 – 6.9). European and North American nations believe this decline is a result of the introduction of environmental policies, which have successfully begun to reduce their emissions whilst still retaining a healthy economy, setting out a model for the rest of the world to follow. There is some truth in this. However, it is also largely due to the fact that Europe and North America are increasingly transitioning into post-industrial, services and knowledge-based economies.⁶⁵³ Europeans and North Americans still use fossil fuels and consume industrial goods, but increasingly they are no longer manufactured at home but in other parts of the world, effectively offshoring European and North American emissions. Indeed, this can be seen clearly in the particularly dramatic increase in emissions in Asia, as more and more nations in the world’s most populous continent begin to develop and industrialise (as we saw in [Part 5: Development](#)). The Canadian journalist, academic and social activist Naomi Klein confronts this challenge in her book *This Changes Everything*, “*climate change, when fully confronted, does raise some awfully thorny questions about what we in the wealthy world owe to the countries on the front lines of a crisis they had little hand in creating. At the same time, as elites in countries like China and India grow ever more profligate in their consumption and emissions, traditional North-South categories begin to break down and equally tough questions are raised about the responsibilities of the rich and the rights of the poor wherever they happen to live in the world ... As we have seen, emissions in North America and Europe still need to come down dramatically but, thanks largely to the offshoring of production enabled by the free-trade era, they have pretty much stopped growing. It’s the fast-rising economies of the Global South – with China, India, Brazil and South Africa leading the pack – that are mostly responsible for the surge in emissions in recent years*” and therefore “*the real battle will not be lost or won by us. It will be won or lost by those movements in the Global South that are fighting their own Blockadia-style struggles – demanding their own clean energy revolutions, their own green jobs, their own pools of carbon left in the ground.*”⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵² The PRIMAP-hist national historical emissions time series (1850-2018), Climate Watch, World Resources Institute, (2022)

⁶⁵³ *Turning Points*, World Resources Institute, (2017); Coyle, D., *The Economics of Enough*, (2011), pp. 157, 181 – 208, 232, 268; *CO₂ Emissions from Fuel Combustion*, International Energy Agency, (annual report) etc.

⁶⁵⁴ Klein, N., *This Changes Everything*, (2014), pp. 411 – 412; see also Porritt, J., *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, (2007), pp. 142 – 147; Helm, D., *Natural Capital*, (2016), pp. 25 – 27; Raworth, K., *Doughnut*

At the same time, whilst we have looked here only at total emissions since this is what counts for driving global climate change, if we were to consider average emissions per person, we would see that overwhelmingly the citizens of the world's richest nations still consume far, far more than their fair share of total emissions, compared to those parts of the world that are still developing. Therefore, this growth in Asia and other parts of the world merely represents a catching up with the western norm. This is a 'climate justice' challenge widely recognised by politicians and environmental experts. As the academics Mike Berners-Lee and Duncan Clark say in their book *The Burning Question*, ***“the average Sub-Saharan African lifestyle takes less than a tonne of carbon dioxide a year to provide. That compares to around six tonnes globally, fifteen tonnes in much of Europe and more than twenty in North America and Australia.”***⁶⁵⁵ Any approach to tackling climate change must also fully address this gross injustice.

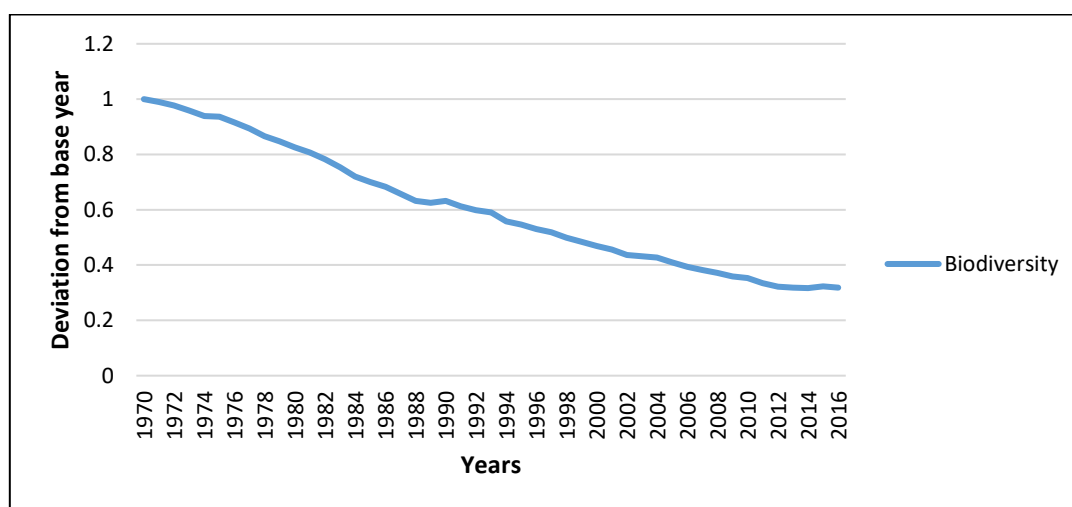


Figure 6.10: Changes in global biodiversity⁶⁵⁶

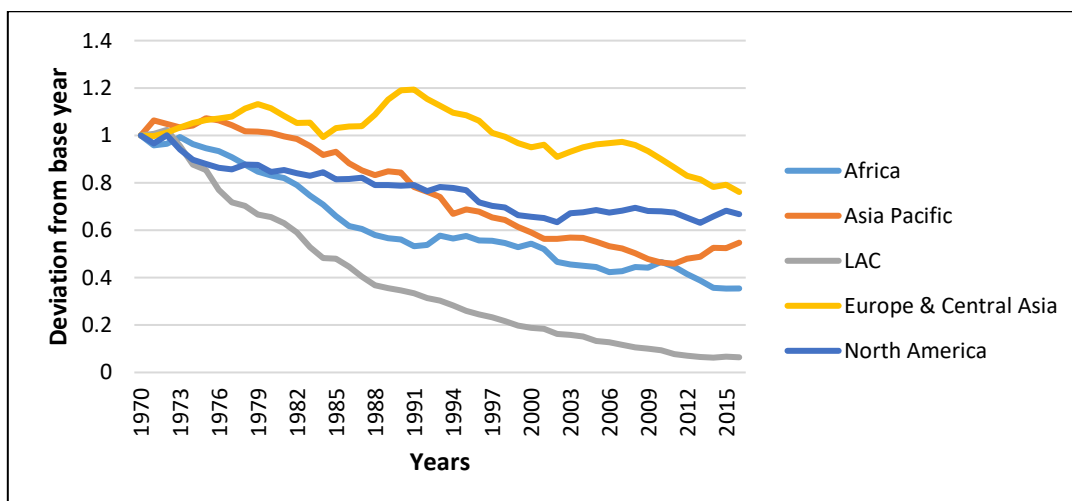


Figure 6.11: Changes in biodiversity per continent⁶⁵⁷

Economics, (2017), pp. 248 – 260; Goodall, C., *Sustainability: All that Matters*, (2012), pp. 29 – 41; Jackson, T., *Prosperity Without Growth, Second Edition*, (2017), p. 70 etc.

⁶⁵⁵ Berners-Lee, M. & Clark, D., *The Burning Question*, (2013), p. 67, see also pp. 64 – 72; Stern, N., *Why are we Waiting?*, (2016), pp. 275 – 277, 281 – 285; *Overconsumption?*, Friends of the Earth, (2009), pp. 3, 5, 7, 9, 20 – 22 etc.

⁶⁵⁶ *Living Planet Index*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2022)

⁶⁵⁷ *Living Planet Index*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (2022)

Turning to consider biodiversity, the picture is even bleaker. There has been a shocking decline in total biodiversity across the world since records began in 1970 (Figures 6.10 – 6.11). Today, there are less than a third of all the species, and the total numbers of organisms within each species, than were recorded in 1970. In other words, the total biodiversity of the world has been reduced by two thirds in little over 50 years. This is most pronounced in economically developing regions like Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). It is less advanced, though still very serious indeed, in more economically developed regions like Europe and North America. This spectrum represents the varying degrees of development of nations across the world – some are at the industrialising and more heavily polluting stage, and others, such as Europe and North America, have largely transitioned to less polluting and more service and knowledge-based economies. These more developed economies now have the additional resources and institutional capacity to create and enforce the environmental legislation to reduce the damage to their own levels of biodiversity. Once again, this is no excuse for any moral superiority. Developed nations in Europe and North America devastated their own biodiversity during their own periods of heavy industrialisation, and indeed, their biodiversity rates continue to decline today. Both this better trend in the developed world and the huge challenge in the developing world is widely recognised by scientists and climate activists, such as Mark Lynas, who explains in his book examining the Planetary Boundaries, *The God Species*, ***“In all developed countries, aquatic biodiversity has improved in the most polluted rivers of yesteryear, simply because sewage sludge is now properly treated, and releases of toxins by industrial enterprises are strongly regulated by national and regional environmental agencies. In rapidly industrialising countries, by contrast, horror stories continue to filter out from places like China about vast pollution incidents, and extraordinarily damaging levels of contamination. All of these arise from a failure of regulation, and can only be dealt with by national authorities having the capacity, the will and the funding to properly supervise industries and to mandate the construction of proper sewage treatment and other pollution controls.”***⁶⁵⁸

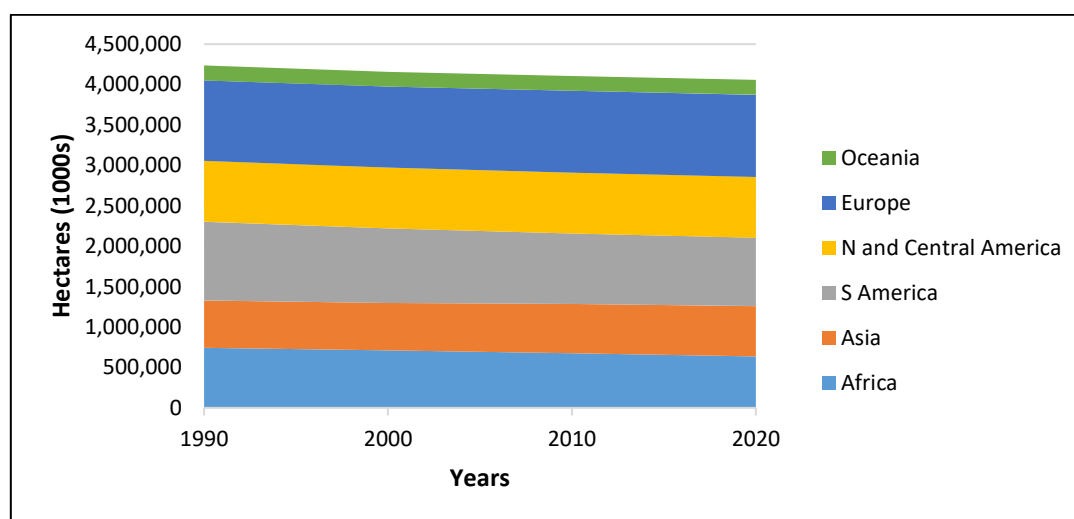


Figure 6.12: Forest area in the world⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁸ Lynas, M., *The God Species*, (2012), p. 166, see also pp. 184 – 191; *Hidden Consequences*, Greenpeace, (2011); Meadows, D., Meadows, D. & Randers, J., *Limits to Growth, The 30-Year Update*, (2010), pp. xiii, 108 – 111; Goodall, C., *Sustainability: All that Matters*, (2012), pp. 122 – 127; Diamond, J., *Collapse*, (2006), p. 472; *Equality, Security and Sustainability*, Institute of Development Studies, (2017), p. 15 etc.

⁶⁵⁹ *Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020*, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020)

The data on deforestation initially presents a more positive picture. The total forest area in the world is declining, but far less dramatically than we might expect, and indeed the rate is slowing (Figure 6.12). The 2020 *Global Forest Resources Assessment*, the most comprehensive and authoritative report on the state of the world's forests conducted every five years by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, concludes ***“The rate of net forest loss decreased substantially over the period 1990–2020 due to a reduction in deforestation in some countries, plus increases in forest area in others through afforestation and the natural expansion of forests.”***⁶⁶⁰ In Europe, North America and Asia, the total forest area has actually increased in recent decades. Once more, there is no case for moral superiority however. The world's more developed and temperate regions deforested their own nations on a vast scale in the centuries when they were industrialising, but in more recent decades, as their economies have moved beyond this phase, they are doing much better at reforestation.

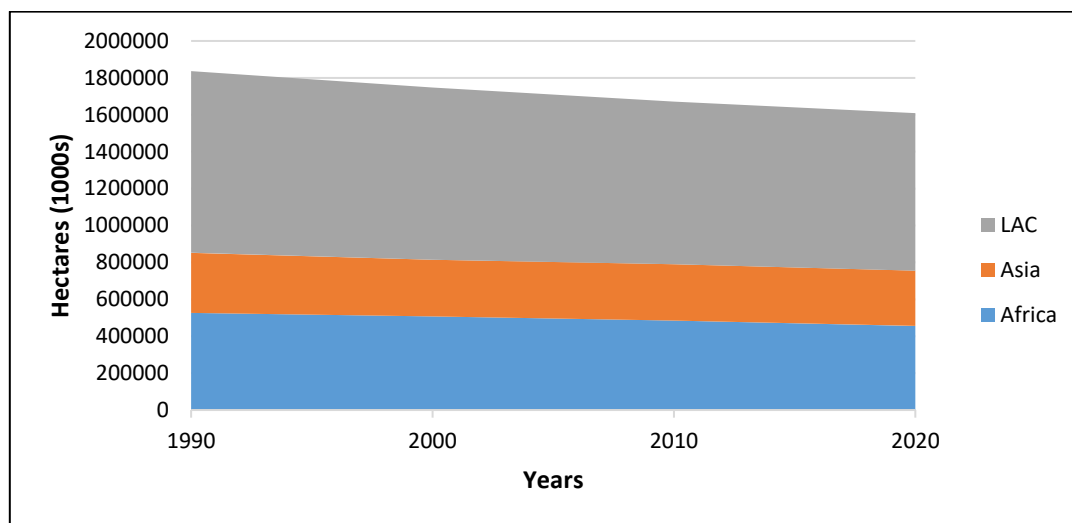


Figure 6.13: Forest area in rainforest nations⁶⁶¹

Much less encouragingly, if we drill down beneath the global total and just look at the world's 30 major rainforest nations (Figure 6.13), we see a steeper rate of decline in rainforests at a global level, and in each of the three continents where they are found: Latin America, Asia and Africa. Thus denser, ancient tropical forest, which is home to a huge number of species and has more capacity to absorb CO₂, is increasingly being replaced with newer, less biodiverse temperate forest which absorbs less CO₂. Again the 2020 *Global Forest Resources Assessment* found that ***“More than 90 percent of deforestation in 1990–2020 was in the tropical domain”***.⁶⁶²

⁶⁶⁰ *Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020*, FAO, (2020), p. xi, but also see whole report; *Ending Global Deforestation*, Chatham House, (2013), pp. vi, 4 etc.

⁶⁶¹ *Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020*, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020)

⁶⁶² *Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020*, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020), p. 18, see also pp. xi, xiii, xiv, 18 – 19, 25 – 40, 48 – 50, 125; *Keeping Track of our Changing Environment*, UN Environment Programme, (2011), p. 39; Meadows, D., Meadows, D. & Randers, J., *Limits to Growth, The 30-Year Update*, (2010), pp. 75 – 79 etc.

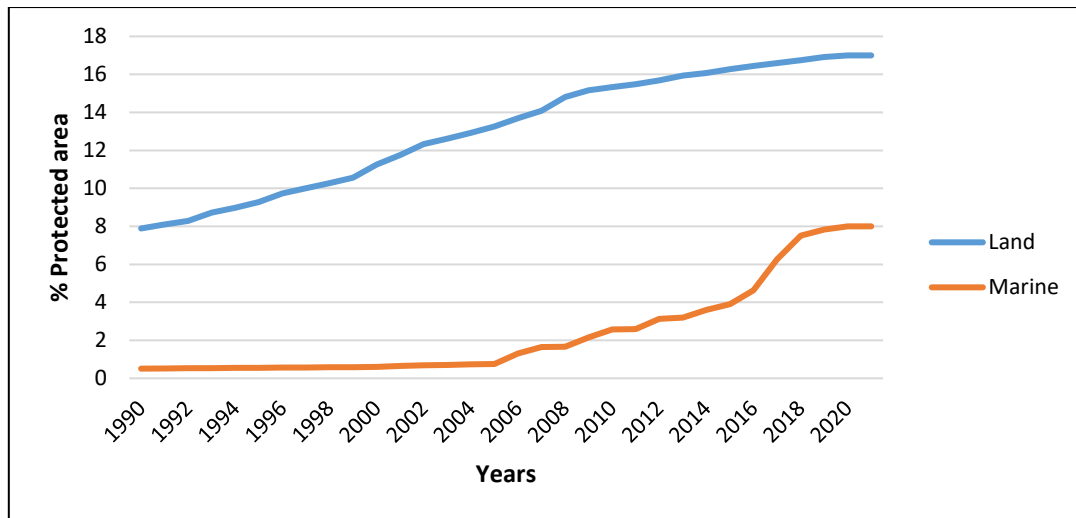


Figure 6.14: Global total protected area ⁶⁶³

More positively, the total amount of protected land across the world has grown significantly in every continent from virtually nothing a century ago, to 16.64% of all land and 7.74% of the seas and oceans today (Figure 6.14), helping to protect biodiversity from what would otherwise be an even steeper decline.

Finally, the global population has seen a staggering increase from historically relatively low levels of growth, rising from a billion people worldwide 200 years ago, to almost eight billion today (Figure 6.15).

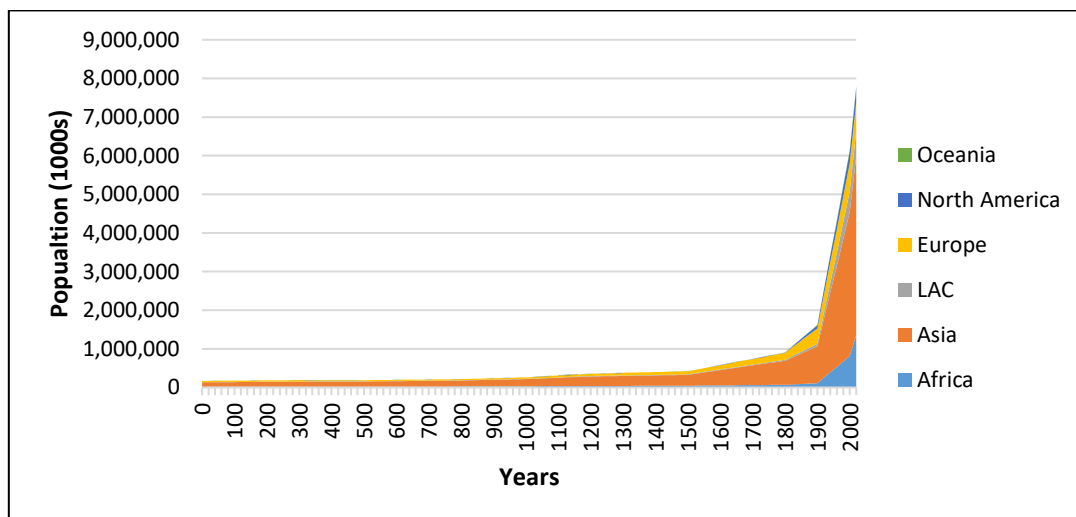


Figure 6.15: Total world population over the last 2000 years ⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶³ *Protected Planet Report 2020*, International Union for Conservation of Nature & United Nations Environment Programme World Conservation Monitoring Centre, World Database on Protected Areas, (2020)

⁶⁶⁴ Barrett, D. B. & Johnson, T. M., *World Christian Trends*, (2001), pp. 320 – 333; Johnson, T. M. & Zurlo, G. A., *World Christian Encyclopedia, Third Edition*, (2020), pp. 919 – 932

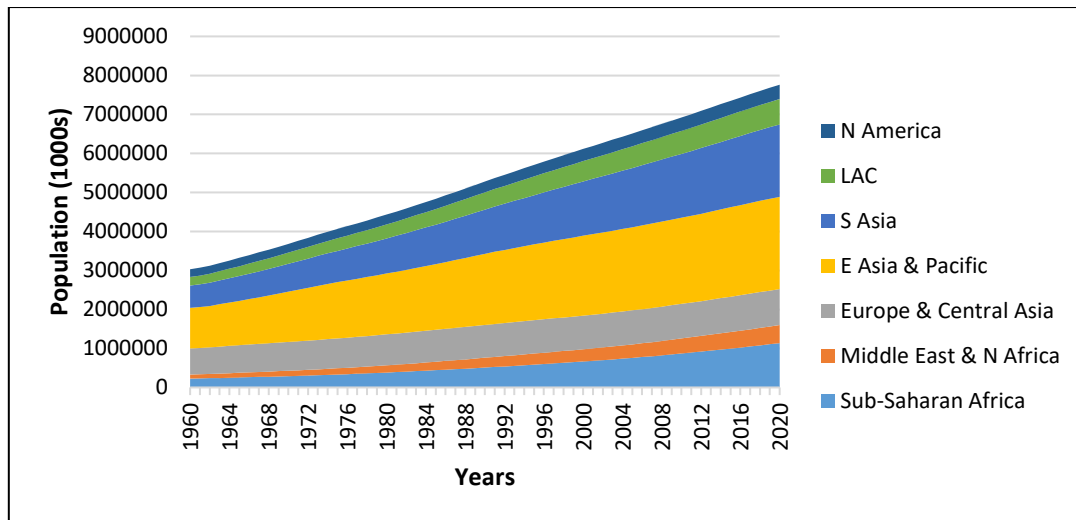


Figure 6.16: Population growth by continent since 1960 ⁶⁶⁵

The total population is growing in every continent (Figure 6.16). However, its increase is once again most dramatic in those regions of the world that are currently going through periods of industrialisation and development such as Asia and Africa, and is slowest in areas such as Europe and North America that have already passed through this phase. This is because in pre-industrial societies the birth rate tends to be high, with families having five, six or more children, but tragically only one, two or three surviving to adulthood, and hence the overall population growth is slow. As nations begin to develop, improvements in wealth, better food security, access to safe water, vaccinations and medication, all help to reduce child mortality rates significantly. As a result, most children survive to adulthood, and the overall population rises dramatically. ⁶⁶⁶

Fortunately, as this process continues, women and girls increasingly gain access to decent education, and health services and family planning become widely available. Also couples no longer face the tragic need to have large families in order to ensure some children survive into adulthood to help provide for them in old age. As a result of these factors, after a lag, the birth rate drops from five, six or more children to one, two or three, and as a result, the overall population stabilises again. This is the stage that the world is currently at. ⁶⁶⁷ As a result, globally the rate of population growth, whilst still staggering, has not increased since the early 1970s as more and more nations develop. Experts believe the global population will stabilise at around 9 – 10 billion in the middle of the twenty-first century.

Therefore, despite some positives, overall we see a pretty grim picture across the vast majority of the planetary boundaries and environmental trends we have considered. Humanity seems to be a very long way from the framework the Bible gives us for living in harmony with the environment, God's creation. But how have we ended up in this mess?

⁶⁶⁵ UN Population Division, access via *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, (2022)

⁶⁶⁶ Sachs, J., *Common Wealth*, (2008), pp. 157 – 202; Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 402, 474, 559 – 560, 562 – 564; Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), pp. 289 – 291 etc.

⁶⁶⁷ Deaton, A., *The Great Escape*, (2013), pp. 15, 156, 244 – 245; Sachs, J., *Common Wealth*, (2008), pp. 157 – 202; Sen, A., *Development as Freedom*, (2001), pp. 215 – 218 etc.

The negative flip side of social and technological progress and the two great agricultural and industrial revolutions

In [Parts 4](#) and [5](#) on [Social Justice](#) and [Development](#) we saw a positive picture. The world has transitioned from a historic norm of widespread conflict, poor human rights, non-existent democracy, crushing poverty and rural subsistence, to an improved situation with higher standards of living across all these areas. As we have seen, this change has been triggered by the spread of industrialisation and economic development around the world over the last 200 years. In Part 6 on the Environment, we see almost exactly the opposite picture! For the vast majority of history, humanity has lived in balance with creation. Certainly humans had an impact on the natural environment, possibly contributing to the extinction of several large mammal species during the hunter gatherer period, and clearing extensive forest and wild lands to convert for farming since the agricultural revolution.⁶⁶⁸ In some societies, humans out consumed their natural resource base entirely, resulting in dramatic collapses of those civilisations, as was famously documented by the scientist and historian, Jared Diamond, in his book *Collapse*.⁶⁶⁹ However, overall, humans lived well within natural planetary boundaries, and the environment was broadly healthy.

In the last 200 years, this situation has changed dramatically, and we are facing an environmental crisis across most of the planetary boundaries. Turning first to consider climate change, greenhouse gas emissions are soaring, leading to dangerous climate change, set to become catastrophic in the years ahead. The latest assessment report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the most authoritative scientific body on climate change in the world, emphasises this at great length, reviewing a mountain of data and evidence to conclude unequivocally, ***“Widespread, pervasive impacts to ecosystems, people, settlements, and infrastructure have resulted from observed increases in the frequency and intensity of climate and weather extremes, including hot extremes on land and in the ocean, heavy precipitation events, drought and fire weather” ... “These include increased heat-related human mortality, warm-water coral bleaching and mortality, and increased drought-related tree mortality” ... “Adverse impacts from tropical cyclones, with related losses and damages, have increased due to sea level rise and the increase in heavy precipitation. Impacts in natural and human systems from slow-onset processes such as ocean acidification, sea level rise or regional decreases in precipitation have also been attributed to human induced climate change” ... “Climate change has caused substantial damages, and increasingly irreversible losses, in terrestrial, freshwater and coastal and open ocean marine ecosystems” ... “Hundreds of local losses of species have been driven by increases in the magnitude of heat extremes, as well as mass mortality events on land and in the ocean”*** Climate change is also resulting in ***“the retreat of glaciers”*** and ***“permafrost thaw”***. ***“Increasing weather and climate extreme events have exposed millions of people to acute food insecurity and reduced water security, with the largest impacts observed in many locations and/or communities in Africa, Asia, Central and South America, Small Islands and the Arctic” ... “Climate change has adversely affected physical health of people globally” ... “The occurrence of climate-related food-borne and water-borne diseases has increased” ... “Increased exposure to wildfire smoke, atmospheric dust, and aeroallergens have been associated with climate-***

⁶⁶⁸ Juniper, T., *What has Nature ever done for us?*, (2013), pp. 82, 149 – 150; Lynas, M., *The God Species*, (2012), pp. 33 – 37; *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Overall Synthesis Report of the Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, (2005), p. 26; Kolbert, E., *The Sixth Extinction*, (2014), pp. 224 – 238; Berners-Lee, M. & Clark, D., *The Burning Question*, (2013), p. 7 etc.

⁶⁶⁹ Diamond, J., *Collapse*, (2006); Lynas, M., *Six Degrees*, (2008), pp. 3 – 6, 131 – 135, 174 – 175; Kolbert, E., *Field Notes from a Catastrophe*, (2015), pp. 93 – 99, 117 – 121 etc.

sensitive cardiovascular and respiratory distress. Health services have been disrupted by extreme events such as floods” ... “Hot extremes including heatwaves have intensified in cities, where they have also aggravated air pollution events and limited functioning of key infrastructure. Observed impacts are concentrated amongst the economically and socially marginalized urban residents” ... “Infrastructure, including transportation, water, sanitation and energy systems have been compromised by extreme and slow-onset events” ... “Economic damages from climate change have been detected in climate-exposed sectors, with regional effects to agriculture, forestry, fishery, energy, and tourism, and through outdoor labour productivity” ... “Climate change is contributing to humanitarian crises where climate hazards interact with high vulnerability. Climate and weather extremes are increasingly driving displacement in all regions”.



Figure 6.17: Climate change is leading to more extreme floods, droughts, storms, heatwaves, wildfires, sea-level rise, the growth of deserts and numerous other changes, all of which impact the poorest hardest.

Similarly, a joint review by another leading scientific global body on climate change, the World Meteorological Organization, and the World Health Organization, the world’s leading health body, *Atlas of Health and Climate*, reports, **“Human health is profoundly affected by weather and climate. Extreme weather events kill tens of thousands of people every year and undermine the physical and psychological health of millions. Droughts directly affect nutrition and the incidence of diseases associated with malnutrition. Floods and cyclones can trigger outbreaks of infectious diseases and damage hospitals and other health infrastructure, overwhelming health services just when they are needed most. Climate variability also has important consequences for health. It influences diseases such as**

diarrhoea and malaria, which kill millions annually and cause illness and suffering for hundreds of millions more. Long-term climate change threatens to exacerbate today's problems while undermining tomorrow's health systems, infrastructure, social protection systems, and supplies of food, water, and other ecosystem products and services that are vital for human health. While the impact of climate change on health is felt globally, different countries experience these impacts to different degrees. Evidence shows that the most severe adverse effects tend to strike the poorest and most vulnerable populations."

Yet another key report from the London-based Royal Society, one of the world's oldest and most authoritative scientific institutions, stresses, *"Global warming of just a few degrees will be associated with widespread changes in regional and local temperature and precipitation as well as with increases in some types of extreme weather events. These and other changes (such as sea level rise and storm surge) will have serious impacts on human societies and the natural world. Both theory and direct observations have confirmed that global warming is associated with greater warming over land than oceans, moistening of the atmosphere, shifts in regional precipitation patterns and increases in extreme weather events, ocean acidification, melting glaciers, and rising sea levels (which increases the risk of coastal inundation and storm surge). Already, record high temperatures are on average significantly outpacing record low temperatures, wet areas are becoming wetter as dry areas are becoming drier, heavy rainstorms have become heavier, and snowpacks (an important source of freshwater for many regions) are decreasing. These impacts are expected to increase with greater warming and will threaten food production, freshwater supplies, coastal infrastructure, and especially the welfare of the huge population currently living in low-lying areas."*⁶⁷⁰ We also now face the danger of runaway climate change, as global warming triggers certain tipping points. For example, the release of tens of millions of tonnes of methane as tundra begins to thaw, or the reduction in the amount of solar light and heat reflected back into space by large surface areas of ice due to melting ice caps. Tipping points like these mean that global climate change starts to happen faster and faster, a vicious downward spiral.⁶⁷¹

As if all of that were not bad enough, global climate change is also already leading to ocean acidification, which scientists overwhelmingly regard as having devastating impacts for all life on earth. In her study of climate change impacts around the world, *Field Notes from a Catastrophe*, the journalist Elizabeth Kolbert writes, *"Owing to the extra CO2 that's been added to the seas so far, the oceans are now about 30 percent more acidic than they were at the start of the Industrial Revolution. If current trends continue, by the end of this century they will be 150 percent more acidic. This is a huge change in what amounts to a geological instant, and it's anticipated that it will have drastic consequences, though what, exactly,*

⁶⁷⁰ *Climate Change 2022, Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Working Group 2, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2022), pp. 11 – 13, see also pp. 14 – 21; *Atlas of Health and Climate*, World Meteorological Organization & World Health Organization, (2012), p. 4, but also see the whole report; *Climate Change: Evidence and Causes*, The Royal Society, (2014), p. 19, but also see the whole report; *Climate Change 2021, The Physical Science Basis, Working Group 1, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2021), pp. 5 – 6, 9 – 14, 17 – 36, 39 – 41; *Global Warming of 1.5°C, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2018); *Climate Change and Land, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2020); *The Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2019); Kolbert, E., *Field Notes from a Catastrophe*, (2015); Lynas, M., *High Tide*, (2005) etc.

⁶⁷¹ Hansen, J., *Storms of my Grandchildren*, (2011), pp. ix, 42 – 43, 50, 72, 81 – 89, 120, 142 – 144, 250 – 260, 274 – 276; Lynas, M., *Six Degrees*, (2008), pp. 23 – 28, 115 – 121, 186 – 190, 197 – 206, 229, 246, 250 – 252; Houghton, J., *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing, Fifth Edition*, (2015), pp. 45 – 46, 106 – 116, 195, 208 – 209, 278 etc.

*those consequences will be is difficult to predict. (Ocean acidification is associated with some of the worst crises in the history of life, including the end-Permian extinction, 250 million year ago, which killed off something like 90 percent of all species then on the planet.) Ocean acidification is apt to change the makeup of microbial communities, which in turn, will alter the availability of crucial nutrients, like nitrogen and iron. It will change the way light passes through the water, and also sound. (It's expected the seas will become noisier.) Perhaps most significantly, it is going to make life more difficult for organisms like clams, oysters, and starfish that construct shells or external skeleton out of the mineral calcium carbonate. One group that appears particularly sensitive to changes in water chemistry is stony corals. Thus, a world of unchecked ocean acidification will also, most likely, be a world without coral reefs. 'The potential consequences of such acidification are nothing less than catastrophic,' J.E.N. Vernon, the former chief scientist of the Australian Institute of Marine Science, has written."*⁶⁷²



Figure 6.18: Climate change results in more devastating storms and extreme weather events.

In addition to climate change and ocean acidification, we are also driving plants and animals to extinction and destroying the world's biodiversity at a terrifying rate, not only devastating God's beautiful creation, but dangerously degrading the complex and finely balanced ecosystems on which all life, including humanity, depends. The *Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, one of the most comprehensive and wide-ranging studies ever produced into the state of the natural environment involving the top environmental scientists from around the world, reached this stark conclusion, ***"Over the past few hundred years, humans have increased the species extinction rate by as much as 1,000 times background rates typical over***

⁶⁷² Kolbert, E., *Field Notes from a Catastrophe*, (2015), pp. 202 – 203, see also pp. 210 – 235, 256; *Global Environmental Outlook 6: Summary for Policy Makers*, UN Environment Programme, (2019), pp. 7, 9 – 10, 19; Juniper, T., *What has Nature ever done for us?*, (2013), pp. 207 – 211, 218 – 219 etc.

*the planet's history. Extinction is a natural part of Earth's history. Most estimates of the total number of species today lie between 5 million and 30 million, although the overall total could be higher than 30 million if poorly known groups such as deep-sea organisms, fungi, and microorganisms including parasites have more species than currently estimated. Species present today only represent 2 – 4% of all species that have ever lived. The fossil record appears to be punctuated by five major mass extinctions, the most recent of which occurred 65 million years ago. The average rate of extinction found for marine and mammal fossil species (excluding extinctions that occurred in the five major mass extinctions) is approximately 0.1 – 1 extinctions per million species per year. There are approximately 100 documented extinctions of birds, mammal, and amphibians over the past 100 years, a rate 50 – 500 times higher than background rates. Including possibly extinct species, the rate is more than 1,000 times higher than background rates.”*⁶⁷³

As part of this process of massive biodiversity loss, overfishing has become a huge scourge. A 2015 report from the World Wildlife Fund and the Zoological Society of London, *Living Blue Planet*, surveyed a mountain of data on the state of the world's fish. The findings are shocking, *“Today, the world's fish stocks are under considerable pressure, with 29 per cent classified as overfished and a further 61 per cent as fully exploited, with no ability to produce greater harvests (FAO 2014b). This is a big problem for future global food security. Overfishing not only affects the balance and interaction of life in the ocean, but also the social and economic well-being of the coastal communities that depend on fish for their way of life ... As a result of this growing pressure, the number of fish stocks that are overfished and fully fished has increased, while less than 10 per cent of fisheries have any capacity for expansion.”*⁶⁷⁴ Also on land, over hunting is having devastating impacts.⁶⁷⁵ As is the human assisted spread of ‘invasive species’.⁶⁷⁶

Pollution too is rampant; more data piles up every year from academics and international organisations indicating just how bad this has become. A lot of this was brought together by the UN Environment Programme in a major study *Towards a Pollution Free Planet* which concluded, *“Pollution today is pervasive and persistent. While the world has achieved significant economic growth over the past few decades, it has been accompanied by large amounts of pollution, with significant impacts on human health and ecosystems and the ways in which some of the major Earth system processes, such as the climate, are functioning. Though some forms of pollution have been reduced as technologies and management strategies have advanced, approximately 19 million premature deaths are estimated to occur annually as a result of the way societies use natural resources and impact*

⁶⁷³ *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Overall Synthesis Report of the Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, (2005), p. 36, but also see the whole report; see also Kolbert, E., *The Sixth Extinction*, (2014); *Living Beyond Our Means: Statement from the Board of the Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, (2005); *Living Planet Report*, World Wildlife Fund & Zoological Society of London, (bi-annual flagship report) etc.

⁶⁷⁴ *Living Blue Planet*, WWF & ZSL, (2015), p. 26, but also see the whole report; *Keeping Track of our Changing Environment*, UN Environment Programme, (2011), pp. 69 – 72; Collier, P., *The Plundered Planet*, (2010), pp. 153 – 171 etc.

⁶⁷⁵ *The IUCN Red List of Threatened Species*, International Union for the Conservation of Nature, (2015), pp. 14 – 17; Diamond, J., *Collapse*, (2006), pp. 6 – 7, 487 – 488; *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Overall Synthesis Report of the Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, (2005), pp. 12, 91 etc.

⁶⁷⁶ *Living Beyond Our Means: Statement from the Board of the Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, (2005), pp. 12 – 13; *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Overall Synthesis Report of the Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, (2005), pp. 12 – 18, 57 – 58, 67 – 69, 90 – 91; Kolbert, E., *The Sixth Extinction*, (2014), pp. 104 – 107, 193 – 216, 263; *The Future We Want*, UN General Assembly, (2012), p. 31 etc.

*the environment to support production and consumption.” The report went on to find that “Pollution can have negative impacts and disproportionate burdens on women and men, and particularly on the poor and the vulnerable such as the elderly, children and the disabled, affecting their rights to health, water, food, life, housing and development. Many toxic dumpsites are located in poor areas, leading to environmental injustice. Pollution has significant economic costs from the point of view of health, productivity losses, health-care costs and ecosystem damages. These costs, already substantial, are expected to rise over time, not only because of the direct effect of pollution on health, but also the impact of weakened livelihoods, as well as the longer-term impact on ecosystem services, that in turn affect local communities, societies and economies ... Pollution poses a direct threat to respecting, protecting and promoting human rights and gender equality, international human rights obligations related to health, life, food and water, safeguarding a healthy and sustainable environment for present and future generations”.*⁶⁷⁷



Figure 6.19: Pollution from agricultural and industrial processes is poisoning land and water, resulting in devastating impacts on God's creation.

Humanity also now produces vast amounts of waste every day that litters, destroys and degrades the natural world. Many of the worst impacts are in the poorest countries where the infrastructure to process and manage waste is often weak or non-existent. The Christian relief and development organisation Tearfund explains in a key report on the issue, ***“Mountains of waste are harming some of the most vulnerable communities in both low-income and middle-income countries. Informal settlements are often choked with waste, and frequently grow up around dump sites due to a lack of alternatives. People in these settlements are already***

⁶⁷⁷ Towards a Pollution Free Planet, UNEP, (2017), pp. 6 – 7, but also see the whole report; Leonard, A., *The Story of Stuff*, (2010); Klein, N., *This Changes Everything*, (2014), pp. 310 – 315, 324 – 334, 350 – 352, 424 – 434, 439 etc.

*living in poverty, and air, soil and water pollution resulting from the waste that surrounds them increases their risk of disease and sometimes death. This problem is driven by the way that waste and resources are currently managed. At present many products (and their packaging) are made to be used for only a short time and then discarded. When they are thrown away they waste valuable resources and harm people's health, the planet and future generations. Around nine million people die every year of diseases linked to the mismanagement of waste and pollutants. That is six times as many as die from AIDS-related illnesses, and 20 times more than die from malaria each year.”*⁶⁷⁸



Figure 6.20: Humanity now produces vast amounts of waste every day that litters, destroys and degrades the natural world. Many of the worst impacts are in the poorest countries where the infrastructure to process and manage waste is often weak or non-existent.

Turning to the planetary boundaries of changes in land use and fresh water we find a similar terrifying picture. The journalist and historian Andrew Marr summarises the findings of scientific studies and surveys on water and land use change in the conclusion to his *History of the World*, “*There are now severe water shortages in many parts of the world, particularly Asia and Africa, as more and more people suck from rivers that grow no larger – or, because of the construction of huge dams, have grown smaller*”, and furthermore “*across much of the world, the degradation of soils has reached a point where even the intensive use of fertilizer is not improving crop yields. In Africa, food production per head has actually fallen*

⁶⁷⁸ Why Advocate on Waste and a Circular Economy?, Tearfund, (2017), pp. 4 – 5, see also p. 3; A New Textiles Economy, Ellen MacArthur Foundation, (2017), pp. 19 – 21, 31, 36 – 37, 39 – 40, 66 – 68, 91; The New Plastics Economy, Ellen MacArthur Foundation, (2017), pp. 6, 11 – 12, 18, 20 – 23, 27, 29, 35; Trentmann, F., *Empire of Things*, (2016), pp. 622 – 675 etc.

since 1960; in China, about a third of arable land has been abandoned because of erosion.”
679



Figure 6.21: Deforestation of the world's ancient and biodiverse rainforests is continuing, with major consequences for the environment and human health.

Similarly, deforestation, especially of the world's ancient and biodiverse rainforests is continuing, with major consequences for the environment and human health. A study from the London-based international affairs think tank Chatham House, *Ending Global Deforestation* found ***“Worldwide, more than 1.6 billion people – almost a quarter of the global population – depend on forests for at least part of their livelihoods, including for fuelwood, foodstuffs and medicinal plants. The exploitation of forests, along with other natural resources, contributes to development, but in many countries forest-management practices are clearly unsustainable, taking place at the expense of biodiversity and the natural regulation of water and climate, and undermining subsistence support and cultural values for some communities. In some countries, armed conflict has been funded by revenues from timber sales. Between 12 and 15 per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions is estimated to derive from deforestation” ... “in Latin America commercial agriculture, including livestock, was the most important direct driver of deforestation, contributing around two-thirds of total deforestation. In Africa and sub-tropical Asia, commercial agriculture and subsistence agriculture accounted for around one-third of deforestation each. Mining and infrastructure development both played larger roles in Africa and Asia than in Latin America; mining accounting for about 10 per cent of deforestation in Africa and***

⁶⁷⁹ Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 560 – 561, see also pp. 474, 562 – 563; *Global Environmental Outlook 6: Summary for Policy Makers*, UNEP, (2019), pp. 4, 6, 8 – 9, 12 – 13, 16, 19 – 20; *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Overall Synthesis Report of the Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, (2005); *Living Beyond Our Means: Statement from the Board of the Millennium Ecosystems Assessment*, Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, (2005) etc.

*infrastructure for about 10 per cent in Africa and Asia. Urban expansion was most significant in Asia, accounting for another 10 per cent of the total, probably owing to large population growth. For forest degradation ... timber and logging activities accounted for more than 70 per cent in Latin America and Asia, whereas fuelwood collection and charcoal production were the main drivers for Africa.”*⁶⁸⁰

In general, the trends considered above have been driven by an enormous increase in human consumption placing unsustainable pressure on the planet's natural boundaries. As the economist Professor Tim Jackson says in his book *Prosperity Without Growth*, ***“The material profligacy of consumer society is depleting key natural resources and placing unsustainable burdens on the planet's ecosystems. Establishing clear resource and environmental limits is vital. Integrating these limits into both economic structure and social functioning is essential ... to proceed as though limits were irrelevant to human endeavour is to invite disaster.”***⁶⁸¹

We are witnessing the flip side of the great progress we have seen on social justice and development over the past 200 years. The tragic irony of our times is that the same process of industrialisation and economic development which has led to so much positive change is also driven by high consumption of fossil fuels, the mass expansion of industrial and agricultural processes releasing polluting chemicals, and an economic model which gobbles up natural resources far faster than the earth can replenish them through natural processes. This same process of development has also boosted food production and health resulting in a dramatic increase in the global population, which risks creating further pressures. We have become the victims of our own success. The historian, Ian Mortimer, explains this in his book *Centuries of Change*, ***“The demand side of mankind's exchange with the Earth and the supply side are thus in agreement. The twentieth century was not only when we satisfied more of our needs than ever before but also when we exploited Earth's non-renewable resources at an unprecedented rate. It was therefore unlike any previous period. In socio-economic terms, we are living on a newly discovered planet. The problem is, of course, that we only have one planet, and using up a large proportion of its most useful resources in one century was not particularly clever”***. Or as another historian of long-term trends, Ian Morris, puts it in his book looking at human development over millennia, *Why the West Rules – For Now*, ***“global warming is perhaps the ultimate example of the paradox of development, because the same fossil fuels that drive the leap in social development since 1800 have also filled the air with carbon, trapping heat.”*** The same point is made by yet another historian of historical trends, Yuval Noah Harari, ***“The Industrial Revolution opened up new ways to convert energy and to produce goods, largely liberating humankind from its dependence on the surrounding ecosystem. Humans cut down forests, drained swamps, damned rivers, flooded plains, laid down tens of thousands of kilometres or railroad tracks, and built skyscraping metropolises. As the world was moulded to fit the needs of Homo sapiens, habitats were destroyed and species went extinct. Our once green and blue planet is becoming a concrete and plastic shopping centre.”***⁶⁸²

⁶⁸⁰ *Ending Global Deforestation*, Chatham House, (2013); pp. 4 – 5, but also see the whole report; *Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020*, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2020); *Intact Forest Landscapes*, Greenpeace, (2011) etc.

⁶⁸¹ Jackson, T., *Prosperity Without Growth, Second Edition*, (2017), p. 201, but also see the whole book; Meadows, D., Meadows, D. & Randers, J., *Limits to Growth, The 30-Year Update*, (2010); Skidelsky, E. & Skidelsky, R., *How Much is Enough?*, (2013) etc.

⁶⁸² Mortimer, I., *Centuries of Change*, (2014), p. 322, see also pp. 320 – 325, 328 – 344; Morris, I., *Why the West Rules – For Now*, (2011), pp. 598 – 599, see also pp. 552, 600 – 603; Harari, Y. N., *Sapiens*, (2014), p. 392, see also pp. 392 – 394, 465 – 466 etc.

We are now changing our climate and degrading our environment in massive and dangerous ways. We have left the Holocene and entered what scientists have widely termed the ‘Anthropocene’, the geological era where humanity is the driving force changing the environment and biosphere. As the environmental journalist Mark Lynas asserts in his book exploring Planetary Boundaries, *The God Species*, ***“On a planetary scale, humans now assert unchallenged dominion over all living things. Our collective power already threatens or overwhelms most of the major forces of nature, from the water cycle to the circulation of major elements like nitrogen and carbon through the entire Earth system. Our pollutants have subtly changed the colour of the sky, whilst our release of half a trillion tonnes of carbon as the greenhouse gas CO₂ into the air is heating up the atmosphere, land and oceans. We have levelled forests, ploughed up the great grasslands and transformed the continents to serve our demands from sea to shining sea. Our detritus gets everywhere, from the highest mountains to the deepest oceans; abandoned plastic bags drift ghostlike in the unfathomable depths, even kilometres beneath the floating Arctic ice cap. Wherever you look, this truth is there to behold: pristine nature – Creation – has disappeared for ever. There is a name for this new geological era. The Holocene – the 10,000-year, climatically equable post-ice age era during which human civilisation evolved and flourished – has slipped into history, to make way for the Anthropocene. For the first time since life began, a single animal is utterly dominant: the ape species *Homo sapiens*.”***⁶⁸³ If we continue unchanged along this path, we will fall off a cliff. As we have seen historically, whenever societies have out consumed and polluted their natural resource base, they have collapsed. We are now doing this on a global scale and face a collapse into a new global dark age, which will cause massive human suffering and loss of life and wipe out all the gains in development and social justice that have been achieved over the last 200 years.

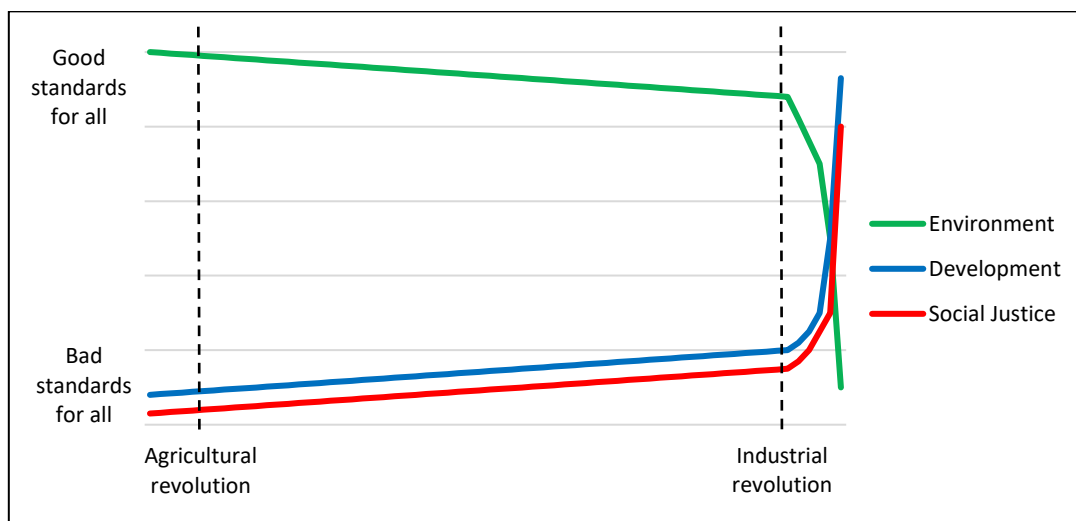


Figure 6.22: The Anthropocene: the 200 years since the industrial revolution have witnessed huge progress in social justice and development, but this has come at the price of terrible destruction in the natural environment.

In many ways none of this is anyone’s fault. For most of the past 200 years humanity simply did not understand the damage we were doing to God’s creation. However, now we do understand. So where do we go from here? How do we recapture that Biblical framework for living in harmony with God’s creation? Well continuing forward with business as usual is not

⁶⁸³ Lynas, M., *The God Species*, (2012), p. 5, see also pp. 10, 12, 21, 29 – 30, 66, 84, 183, 199; Kolbert, E., *The Sixth Extinction*, (2014), pp. 92 – 110, 265; Sachs, J., *Common Wealth*, (2008), pp. 57 – 81 etc.

an option. Climate change and environmental degradation is already hitting the poorest, most vulnerable people in our world who did the least to cause it, hardest. This is widely recognised by scientists, development experts and politicians.⁶⁸⁴ Furthermore, if we continue with present levels of consumption, pollution, environmental destruction and climate change we will face a global collapse as we degrade the natural environment, upon which human economy, society and survival depends, below the point where it can sustain us. This will wipe out all the gains in social justice and development made in the last 200 years. It will push all of us back into a grim world of crushing poverty and an environment which can only sustain a much smaller human population. It will trigger significant conflict over diminishing resources in a context almost certainly too poor and conflict ridden to sustain good levels of human rights and democracy.

The Club of Rome, a group of leading environmentalists, economists and academics was one of the first groups to sound the warning of this possibility of global collapse in its famous 1972 report *Limits to Growth*. Thirty years later in a crucial update the authors stressed once again that ***“Collapse is not an attractive future. The rapid decline of population and economy to levels that can be supported by the natural systems of the globe will no doubt be accomplished by failing health, conflict, ecological devastation, and gross inequalities. Uncontrolled collapse in the human footprint will come from rapid increases in mortality and rapid declines in consumption.”*** Their concerns are echoed by scientists, academics, politicians, economists and international affairs experts around the world. One such is the scientist and historian Jared Diamond, who in his book *Collapse*, details the historical environmental collapse of various civilizations, before warning that we now face the prospect of a similar catastrophic environmental collapse at a global level. He stresses that ***“Globalization makes it impossible for modern societies to collapse in isolation, as did Easter Island and the Greenland Norse in the past. Any society in turmoil today, no matter how remote – think of Somalia and Afghanistan as examples – can cause trouble for prosperous societies on other continents, and is also subject to their influence (whether helpful or destabilizing). For the first time in history, we face the risk of a global decline.”***⁶⁸⁵

On the other hand, going backwards to a pre-industrial world is not desirable either. As we have seen, that was a world of widespread conflict, poor social justice standards and crushing poverty. God would want us to continue, not undo, the social justice and development progress of the past 200 years, far less kick away the ladder and prevent nations that are still developing from enjoying these same benefits. Leading environmentalists agree. As the British scientist and activist Tony Juniper says, ***“we should not romanticise history. Most of the human story was brutal and filled with hazard, from disease and starvation. Life was short and painful***

⁶⁸⁴ *Climate for You*, World Meteorological Organization, (2011); *Climate Change 2022, Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Working Group 2, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2022), pp. 11, 14, 16, 28, 35; *Climate Change 2022, Mitigation of Climate Change, Working Group 3, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2022), pp. 52, 55, *Climate Change and Land, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2020), p. 17; *Global Warming of 1.5°C, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2018), pp. 9 – 10, 18 – 19; *The Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2019), pp. 16 – 19, 32, 34; *Managing the Risks of Extreme Events and Disasters to Advance Climate Change Adaptation, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2012), pp. 5 – 7; Klein, N., *This Changes Everything*, (2014), pp. 23, 40, 47 – 54, 103 – 106, 416 etc.

⁶⁸⁵ Meadows, D., Meadows, D. & Randers, J., *Limits to Growth, The 30-Year Update*, (2010), p. xi – xii, but also see the whole book; Diamond, J., *Collapse*, (2006), p. 23, but also see the whole book; Morris, I., *Why the West Rules – For Now*, (2011), pp. 598 – 603, 611 – 613 etc.

and the rise of agriculture and cities is in part a means of escape – a search for comfort, convenience and longevity. And it has worked.” Similarly, the late Sir John Houghton, the first chair of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and a devout Christian, adds *“it is just not practical. The world population is now over six times what it was 200 years ago and about three times that of 50 years ago. The world cannot be adequately fed without farming on a reasonably intensive scale and without modern methods of food distribution ... a ‘back to nature’ viewpoint is neither balanced nor sustainable.”*⁶⁸⁶ So is there another way?

A third great ‘green economy’ revolution – Shift to clean energy and a circular economy

Yes, the world needs another great revolution in technological and social development, as significant as the two previous agricultural and industrial revolutions. This time we need a green economy revolution,⁶⁸⁷ shifting to **clean energy** and a **circular economy**, and it’s already begun.

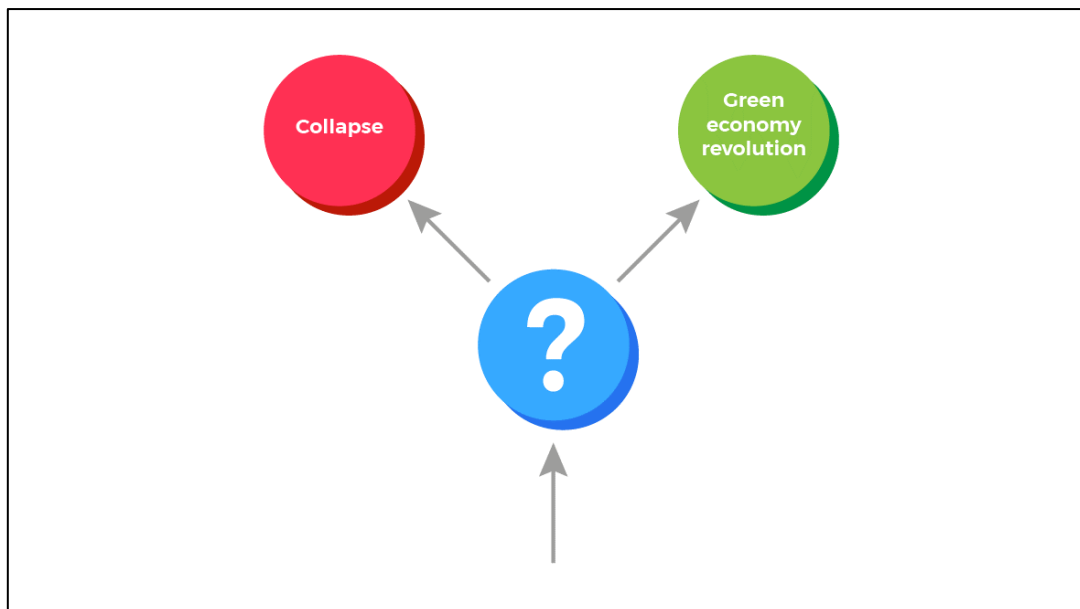


Figure 6.23: The choice before humanity, a global environmental collapse which will undo 200 years of progress on social justice and development, or a green economy revolution.

Nations still need to develop strong and fair economies, which they can tax to provide social spending, in order to drive down poverty and create the conditions which in turn lead to improved social justice, as we saw in [Part 5 on Development](#). Furthermore, as history indicates, ensuring nations continue to develop as fast as possible is in turn critical to slow and stabilise population growth and avoid putting further pressure on all the planetary boundaries. However,

⁶⁸⁶ Juniper, T., *What has Nature ever done for us?*, (2013), p. 256, see also p. 257; Houghton, J., *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing, Fifth Edition*, (2015), p. 220; see also Collier, P., *The Plundered Planet*, (2010), pp. 8, 16, 212 – 219, 226 etc.

⁶⁸⁷ Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), pp. 2 – 3, 85 – 86, 167, 199, 214 – 217, 481 – 496, 505 – 511; Porritt, J., *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, (2007); *Towards a Green Economy: A Synthesis for Policy Makers*, UN Environment Programme, (2011) etc.

in future the economies which drive this development must shift completely away from dependence on activities that damage God’s creation. In practice this will mean two things. First, the energy which is essential for driving these economies must shift to become 100% renewable **clean energy**, not greenhouse gas emitting. As the British economist Nicholas Stern, the lead author of the *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change* (the first rigorous analysis of the economic impacts of climate change), says, to avoid the worst impacts of runaway climate change we must reach “**essentially zero emissions in the second half of this century, zero-carbon electricity by mid-century**”, or indeed much sooner.⁶⁸⁸

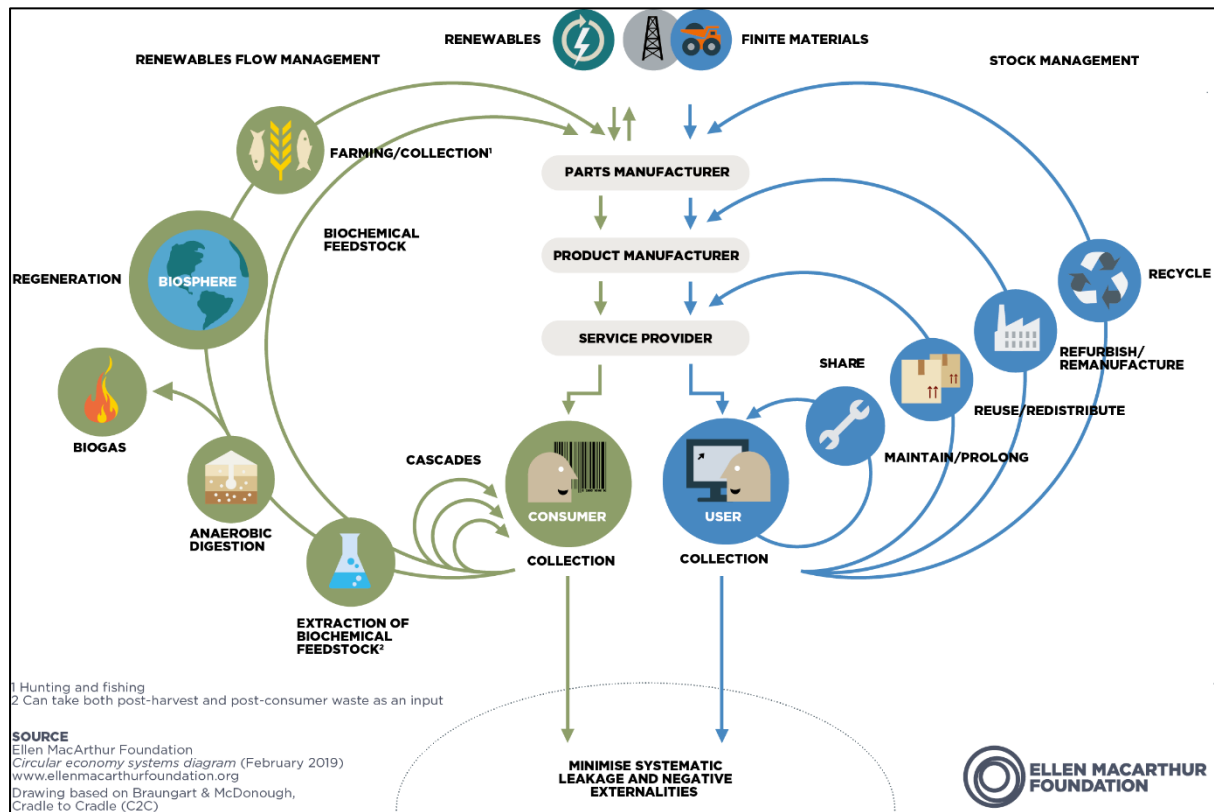


Figure 6.24: The circular economy

Second, rather than continuing to use our current linear economic model which uses polluting methods to extract, consume, and then discard natural resources faster than the planet can replenish them, we must shift to what experts call a **circular economy**. Just as nothing is wasted in nature but gets broken down and reused in the biosphere, a circular economy would eliminate all pollution, overconsumption and waste and push resources back around the economy in a circular fashion, moving us back into balance with creation as God intended. Specifically, it would ensure that no damaging polluting activity is used in production; that all natural resources are produced in sustainable ways, not taking out more than is put back in; and that waste of all kinds is not discarded, but circulated around the economy as inputs to business. The need to transition to such a circular economy is increasingly widely recognised by economists, development experts and environmentalists. To take just one example, a report by

⁶⁸⁸ Stern, N., *Why are we Waiting?*, (2016), p. 304, but also see the whole book; *Paris Agreement*, UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, (2015), pp. 4 – 6; *Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation, Summary for Policy Makers and Technical Summary*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2012); *Climate Change and Land, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2020), p. 23 etc.

the UN Environment Programme and other key international agencies, *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, stressed ***“To stay within planetary boundaries, economic growth has to be decoupled from resource use and environmental degradation (Rockström et al. 2009). This can be achieved by a transition from the linear model of economic consumption and production to circular economies in which resources are efficiently used and materials can be reused or recycled at their highest possible value, reducing waste – and keeping the extraction of new resources – to a minimum.”***⁶⁸⁹

A green economy revolution focused on **clean energy** and a **circular economy** is the only way in which we can continue to work towards social justice and development for all, whilst guaranteeing that we remain safely within all the planetary boundaries. But how can the world trigger this third great green economy revolution and make this shift? Well, in [Part 4 on Social Justice](#), we encountered the Biblical principle that all law should be based on people being free to do what they want unless that harms others, at which point the law intervenes. We also saw in [Part 5 on Development](#) that this principle naturally extends into the market, allowing people to engage in all kinds of business activity freely until the point at which it harms others at which point the law again intervenes. Finally, we saw the same principle earlier in Part 6 when we examined the Biblical [framework to guide humanity’s approach to the environment](#) – that the state should use the law to prevent human activity that harms creation, both for its own sake, and because dangerous environmental degradation harms others, especially the poorest in our world.

Furthermore, where we have seen some positive change in the environment it has been precisely because of legislation preventing damaging environmental activity, such as: the *Montreal Protocol* outlawing the use of CFCs, Europe and North America’s reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, slowing and reversing deforestation in temperate countries, and the growing amount of protected land and territorial waters. As the academic Mark Mazower puts it in his study on the international community, *Governing the World*, from the 1970s, ***“developed-country governments were doing more domestically for the environment in the 1970s than ever before ... Able to push things through the European Economic Community more easily than the UN, Europeans started regulating everything from acid rain to noise pollution. Thus the 1970s saw significant environmental diplomacy: as many treaties were drawn up in a single decade as in the previous forty years. One consequence was that the seas became markedly cleaner as agreements were reached to control marine dumping and land-based sources of marine pollution as well ... At the same time, American public opinion and scientific research propelled international cooperation over the ozone layer. Despite pressure from the aerosol industry, US lawmakers banned CFCs in aerosols, and after American companies protested that any future action needed to be international rather than unilateral, the UN again became heavily involved. UNEP-sponsored research uncovered a vast seasonal hole over Antarctica that was growing each year, and at Montreal in late 1987, UNEP brokered an agreement. It fell short of a total ban. But it was remarkable all the same for being the first time that countries committed themselves by treaty to protect the atmosphere even at some cost to their own economies.”***⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁹ *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, UNEP and various agencies, (2017), p. 121, see also pp. 6 – 7, 120 – 133; *Towards the Circular Economy*, World Economic Forum, (2013); Trentmann, F., *Empire of Things*, (2016), pp. 622 – 675, 682 – 690 etc.

⁶⁹⁰ Mazower, M., *Governing the World*, (2013), pp. 336 – 337; Juniper, T., *How many Lightbulbs does it take to Change a Planet?*, (2008); *Bounding the Planetary Future*, Tellus Institute, (2015), pp. 8 – 9 etc.

So, the ideal approach to address the impact our economic model is having on the environment would be to follow this Biblical principle of using the law to prevent individuals and companies from engaging in activities that harm God's creation and other people. This would mean simply banning greenhouse gas emissions to trigger the shift to **clean energy**, and banning polluting activity, the unsustainable extraction of natural resources and all non-recyclable waste in order to trigger the shift to a **circular economy**. We would then allow the market to adapt to these new laws, innovating and developing alternative ways for providing all that we need. This approach would appear to be the right one to trigger a shift to a **circular economy** where much of the technology that is required already exists; what is needed is political will. However, for **clean energy**, in some areas the alternatives simply don't exist yet, or are not in a form where they can be rapidly scaled up to pick up the shortfall. So, a straight ban now would leave millions without access to energy, transportation and many goods, faster than the market could innovate and technology advance to provide them.

In recent decades as the environmental challenge has become clearer, the people of the world (even the most committed environmental activists) have shown again and again, that even in the face of disaster they are not going to give up a modern lifestyle with access to energy, travel and manufactured goods. As the late Sir John Houghton, the first chair of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, put it in his book *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing*, ***“most people that have them would not be prepared to be without the technical aids – electricity, central heating, refrigerator, washing machine, television and so on – that give the freedom, the interest and the entertainment that is so much taken for granted. Moreover, increasing numbers of people in the developing world are also taking advantage of and enjoy these aids to a life of less drudgery and more freedom.”***⁶⁹¹ Therefore, a straight ban isn't ever going to be accepted. On the other hand, people don't actively want to damage our natural environment. If there are alternative options that are not costly or inconvenient then they will be welcomed. The world therefore needs a transition path to move smoothly, but also as rapidly as possible, through this great shift, to the point where all environmentally damaging activity can be banned because alternatives are available. Logically, the way forward then is for ...

- 1) Governments to set out clearly and unambiguously that they will ban environmentally damaging activities as soon as possible, with specific dates and a tight timeframe, which should consist of ...
- 2) Banning damaging activity now where there is already an alternative
- 3) Minimising damage in areas where there is currently no viable alternative through a) driving up efficiency standards, to minimise waste and leakage, and b) reducing overall use of that activity
- 4) Using taxes, subsidies and other mechanisms to drive investment into alternative technologies in those areas where there aren't currently viable alternatives, in order to develop and scale them up as fast as possible
- 5) Setting future dates for the banning of those environmentally damaging activities, which are in line with projections for when alternatives will be available

⁶⁹¹ Houghton, J., *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing, Fifth Edition*, (2015), p. 220; see also Porritt, J., *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, (2007), pp. 293 – 308, 336 – 337, 346; Berners-Lee, M. & Clark, D., *The Burning Question*, (2013), pp. 2, 85, 109, 121 – 125, 131 – 136 etc.

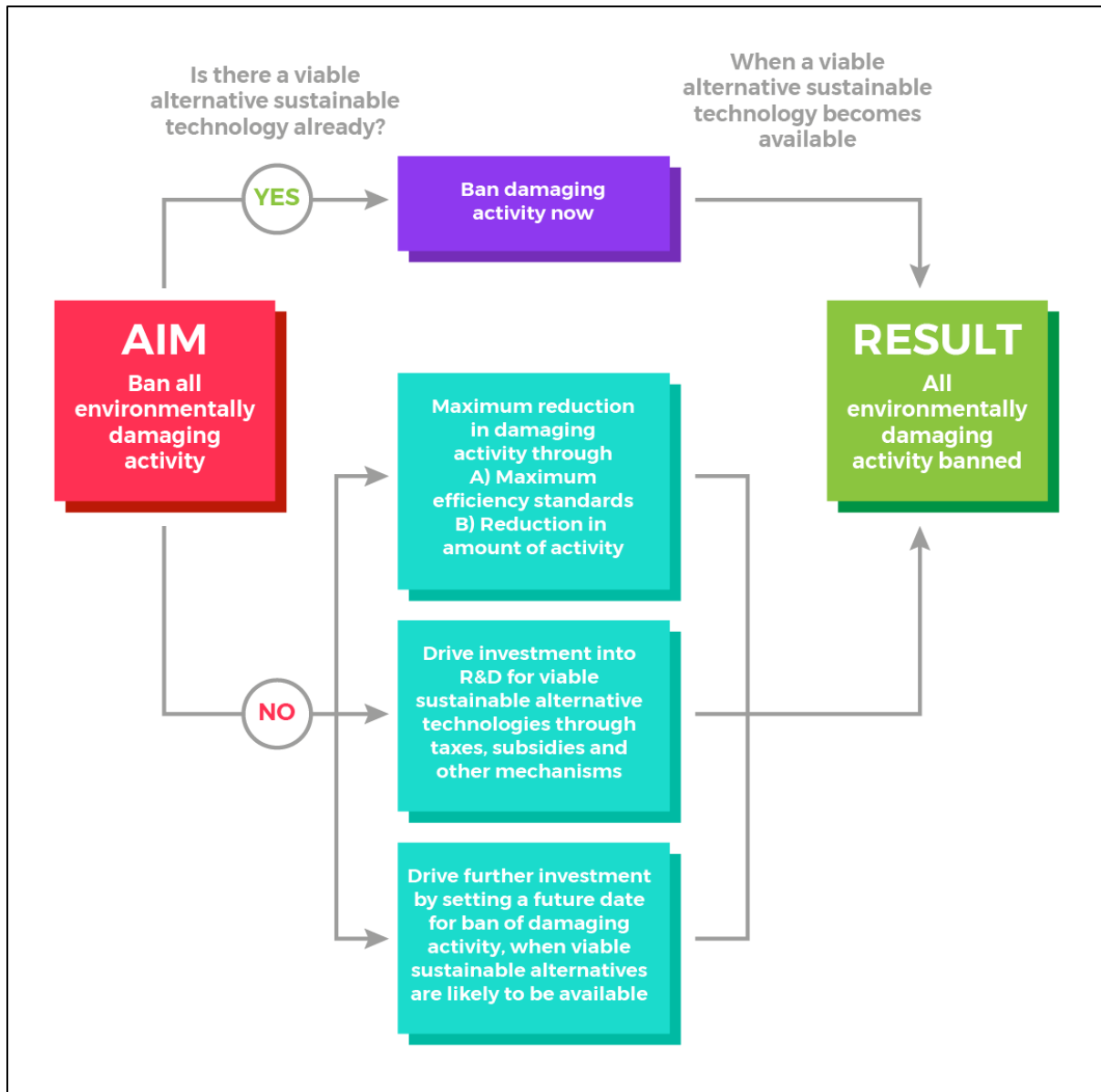


Figure 6.25: Process for moving as rapidly as possible to banning all environmentally damaging activity, whilst still ensuring access for all to modern energy, goods and services.

This is not an anti-business approach. Rather it is about phasing down one sector of the economy whilst phasing up another, creating new businesses, opportunities and jobs, just as economies have always changed and evolved. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of economists and business experts now agree that the green economy revolution will in fact significantly boost businesses and economies and create more jobs and wealth. As a key report from the UN Environment Programme, *Towards a Green Economy*, puts it, ***“Perhaps the most widespread myth is that there is an inescapable trade-off between environmental sustainability and economic progress. There is now substantial evidence that the ‘greening’ of economies neither inhibits wealth creation nor employment opportunities, and that there are many green sectors which show significant opportunities for investment and related***

growth in wealth and jobs.”⁶⁹² Furthermore, as we saw in [Part 5 on Development](#), as with any other process of economic transition, governments should also include significant support to retrain workers who find themselves in declining industries so they can find work in the vast new **clean energy** and **circular economy** sectors that are opening up.

Finally, this is not an impossible dream, indeed, as we have seen it is the only real choice open to us, and it has already begun. The *Montreal Protocol* outlawing the use of CFCs, Europe and North America’s reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, slowing and reversing deforestation especially in temperate countries, the growing amount of protected land and territorial waters, the many international environmental treaties, the already rapidly growing share of the world’s energy that is provided by renewable technology and the 2015 *Paris Agreement* on climate change are all big steps forward along this path. The third great green economy revolution shifting us to a **clean energy** driven **circular economy** has already begun! Our examination of history has provided us with the lessons the world needs to drive this great transition forward further and faster and to complete it, restoring humanity to the balanced relationship with creation that the Bible sets out. We can now turn to outline the specific policies that will be required.

WHERE DO WE NEED TO GO NEXT?

Clean energy

High-level strategy

Looking first at clean energy, if we follow the process set out in the previous section, the governments of the world need to first announce clearly and unambiguously that they will rapidly transition towards banning all greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy, moving the world to 100% clean energy as fast as possible. Here significant progress has already been made. The framework for this agreement exists in the landmark 2015 *Paris Agreement* under the *UN Framework Convention on Climate Change* which commits governments to **“Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, recognizing that this would significantly reduce the risks and impacts of climate change”**. And therefore, **“In order to achieve the long-term temperature goal set out in Article 2, Parties aim to reach global peaking of greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible, recognizing that peaking will take longer for developing country Parties, and to undertake rapid reductions thereafter in accordance with best available science, so as to achieve a balance between anthropogenic emissions by sources and removals by sinks of greenhouse gases in the second half of this century”**.⁶⁹³ In summary, the world’s governments are committed to remain below 1.5 degrees of average warming above pre-industrial levels and to reach ‘net zero’ emissions by 2050. (Net zero means that any remaining greenhouse gas emissions are offset by other actions such as tree planting that remove the equivalent amounts of greenhouse gas from the atmosphere.)

⁶⁹² *Towards a Green Economy: A Synthesis for Policy Makers*, UNEP, (2011), pp. 2 – 3, see also pp. 6 – 7, 12 – 13, 33, 38; *Delivering on the Clean Energy Economy*, World Resources Institute, (2012); *Towards a Circular Economy*, Ellen MacArthur Foundation, (2015), pp. 10 – 12 etc.

⁶⁹³ *Paris Agreement*, UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, (2015), pp. 3 – 4, but also see the whole agreement; *UNFCCC Convention*, UNFCCC, (1992); *The Emissions Gap Report*, UN Environment Programme, (annual report); Houghton, J., *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing, Fifth Edition*, (2015), pp. 263 – 290 etc.



Figure 6.26: The world must move away from the use of all fossil fuels, and transition to 100% clean energy as rapidly as possible.

This is a great start but is not ambitious enough. The level of national emissions cuts commitments under this deal are currently a long way from being sufficient. Therefore, as well as implementing the *Paris Agreement*, governments also need to significantly strengthen it by bringing forward the target date to move to 100% clean energy by 2030 (with tough intermediate targets), in order to ensure the world stays below 1.5 degrees of warming, whilst still maintaining energy access for all. This is not as ambitious as it sounds. The proportion of total energy provision coming from 100% clean energy worldwide is already growing at a staggering rate. Many cities, companies and organisations have already made a 2030 commitment, the US is committed to a 50% cut on greenhouse gas emissions by 2030,⁶⁹⁴ the European Union to a 55% cut by 2030,⁶⁹⁵ and the UK a 78% cut by 2035.⁶⁹⁶ Many other nations are also actively considering more ambitious targets. Having agreed a significantly strengthened *Paris Agreement*, governments then need to put it into effect in every nation by bringing in national climate change laws and action plans with tight targets and timeframes to meet a 100% clean energy target by 2030. Ultimately most of the economic activity will be driven by the private sector. However, this won't just happen without a clear, proactive national government plan with targets and policies that unleash the finances, ingenuity and dynamism of the private sector to drive this transition to 100% clean energy.

Following the steps laid out in the previous section, these national action plans should specify, for each greenhouse gas emitting sector (**electricity generation, transport, gas heating and cooking, industrial processes, agriculture and deforestation**), how they will ...

- 1) immediately ban greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy where there are clean energy alternatives already available
- 2) where immediately scalable clean energy alternatives are not currently available use quotas and targets to scale down greenhouse gas emitting forms

⁶⁹⁴ Biden pledges to slash greenhouse gas emissions in half by 2030, CNBC, (Apr 2021), www.cnbc.com/2021/04/22/biden-pledges-to-slash-greenhouse-gas-emissions-in-half-by-2030.html

⁶⁹⁵ EU agrees to slash carbon emissions by 2030, The New York Times, (Dec 2020), www.nytimes.com/2020/12/11/world/europe/eu-climate-emissions.html

⁶⁹⁶ UK enshrines new target in law to slash emission by 78% by 2035, Gov.uk, (Apr 2021), [www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-enshrines-new-target-in-law-to-slash-emissions-by-78-by-2035#:~:text=The%20UK%20government%20will%20set,today%20\(Tuesday%202020April\)](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-enshrines-new-target-in-law-to-slash-emissions-by-78-by-2035#:~:text=The%20UK%20government%20will%20set,today%20(Tuesday%202020April))

of energy and scale up clean energy over a tight time period leading to a future ban⁶⁹⁷

- 3) cut subsidies and massively increase taxes on greenhouse gas emitting energy to drive the transition⁶⁹⁸
- 4) invest funds generated from these ‘carbon taxes’ (and indeed from the public finances more widely) into research and development of clean energy technology to speed the transition

There are some specific areas where clean energy technologies are least developed, which must have particular focus, and we will consider those later in this section, sector-by-sector. However, generally even where clean energy technology is already available, such as renewable electricity generation, electric vehicles or heating, funds should continue to be channelled for research and development in order to continually improve and make these areas ever more powerful, efficient and effective, generating more power from smaller inputs, greater range from smaller vehicle batteries etc. On top of these public funds, a strengthened *Paris Agreement* and national climate change laws will also drive a much larger source of funds from the private sector for clean energy research and development, as investors see there is no future in other forms of energy.⁶⁹⁹

In addition to publicly funded research into clean energy technology, governments should also use many of the policies to grow a vibrant, clean energy industry, which we saw worked successfully for developing [Strong and fair economies](#) in Part 5 on Development. This might include tariffs, tax breaks, subsidies, public procurement, some state owned enterprises and a positive dialogue and partnership between government and the private sector, as key elements in their national plan to transition to 100% clean energy. As a key report by various UN and other international agencies, *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, says, ***“In many ways, steering investment towards a green economy is not that different from steering them towards conventional industrial policy objectives, such as higher value added and enhanced productivity. As Schwarzer (2013:vi) puts it, ‘...green industries are essentially infant industries, with all the characteristics of conventional infant industries and subject to the same opportunities and challenges of promoting them.’... Also the available instruments are very similar, including information and coordination platforms, regulations, standards and labels, differential taxes and credit subsidies.”***⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁷ *Early Insights on Long-Term Climate Strategies*, World Resources Institute, (2017), pp. 7 – 11, 14, 16 – 18, 22; Stern, N., *Why are we Waiting?*, (2016), pp. 23 – 28, 30 – 31, 35 – 36, 40, 223 – 225, 228 – 230, 233, 239; *Renewable Energy Policies in a Time of Transition*, International Energy Agency and various agencies, (2018) etc.

⁶⁹⁸ *Climate Change 2022, Mitigation of Climate Change, Working Group 3, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2022), pp. 14 – 17, 60; *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, UN Environment Programme and various agencies, (2017), pp. 5, 11 – 12, 14, 17, 29, 45, 47, 61 – 63, 71 – 76, 93, 102 – 119, 141, 148, 181, 209, 211; Helm, D., *The Carbon Crunch*, (2012), pp. 9 – 10, 70 – 72, 114, 175 – 182, 186 – 194, 196, 209 – 211, 214, 241 – 243 etc.

⁶⁹⁹ Helm, D., *The Carbon Crunch*, (2012), pp. 10, 211 – 213, 244 – 245; *Scaling Technologies to Decarbonize Energy*, World Economic Forum, (2015); *Delivering on the Clean Energy Economy*, World Resources Institute, (2012) etc.

⁷⁰⁰ *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, UNEP and various agencies, (2017), p. 11, but also see the whole report; Mazzucato, M., *The Entrepreneurial State*, (2015) pp. 121 – 177; *Two Degrees of Innovation*, World Resources Institute, (2011) etc.

Electricity generation

Let us turn then to consider what these national action plans for banning fossil fuel energy and getting to 100% clean energy as rapidly as possible should look like in each of the major sectors of greenhouse gas generation. First, in the area of **electricity generation**, clean energy alternatives are already available for all areas, except arguably for ‘baseload’ energy. (This is the power needed at times when the sun is not shining or the wind is not blowing, and renewable clean energy is therefore not available.) Therefore, there should be an immediate, rapid timetable towards a ban for all forms of fossil fuel generated energy production except for a small percentage required for baseload energy. In practice this means first an immediate ban on coal, especially coal power plants. This is by far the dirtiest, most polluting form of fossil fuel. As the political advisor and economist Dieter Helm puts it in his book *The Carbon Crunch*, **“all fossil fuels are not equally bad and, of these, coal bears the lion’s share of responsibility. Coal is worse than oil, and much worse than gas.”** And therefore, **“Getting out of coal is an absolute and immediate priority”**.⁷⁰¹

The remaining forms of fossil fuel energy should be rapidly scaled down and progressively banned as fast as renewable energy can come on stream to replace them. Economists, scientists, engineers, politicians, business people and others note how rapidly renewable energy is now being scaled up and deployed as a real tipping point is reached. To give just one example, in their report *Renewable Energy Policies in a Time of Transition*, the International Energy Agency and other agencies found that **“Renewables have experienced a remarkable evolution over the past decade. Indisputably, they now form the leading edge – in combination with energy efficiency – of a far-reaching global energy transition. Spurred by innovation, increased competition, and policy support in a growing number of countries, renewable energy technologies have achieved massive technological advances and sharp cost reductions in recent years. Consequently, the growth in their deployment has come to outpace that of any other energy source.”**⁷⁰²

Renewable energy will come from a combination of sources: solar, wind, hydropower, geothermal and wave and tidal energy. Solar power perhaps has the greatest potential. As the British economist Nicholas Stern, the lead author of the *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change*, says in his book *Why are we Waiting?*, **“Enough solar energy hits the earth every 90 minutes to power the planet for a year. It is thus no surprise that solar energy technologies are rapidly becoming utilized. Solar photovoltaic, in particular, is one of the fastest-growing energy technologies”**⁷⁰³ Wind energy is also key. The anthology, *Drawdown*, details the top 100 most effective technologies for tackling climate change, and begins this list with wind power. As the book’s authors say, **“Wind energy is at the crest of initiatives to address global warming in the coming three decades”**, and taking just one example, **“In the United States, the wind energy potential of just three states – Kansas, North**

⁷⁰¹ Helm, D., *The Carbon Crunch*, (2012), pp. 32, 10, see also pp. 33 – 48, 55, 66, 68 – 69, 195, 198, 200 – 201, 206 – 211; Hansen, J., *Storms of my Grandchildren*, (2011), pp. 172 – 193, 205, 238 – 249, 269; *Re-Powering Markets*, International Energy Agency, (2016), pp. 21, 27 – 28 etc.

⁷⁰² *Renewable Energy Policies in a Time of Transition*, IEA and various agencies, (2018), p. 11, but also see the whole report; Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. 1 – 36; *Towards a Green Economy: A Synthesis for Policy Makers*, UN Environment Programme, (2011), pp. 11 – 16, 26, 38 etc.

⁷⁰³ Stern, N., *Why are we Waiting?*, (2016), pp. 50 – 51, see also pp. 38, 42, 52 – 55, 79 – 80, 86, 98, 117, 123, 228 – 229; *Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation, Summary for Policy Makers and Technical Summary*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2012), pp. 8 – 26, 34 – 45, 60 – 71, 103 – 158; *An Energy Revolution is Possible*, Friends of the Earth, (2016) etc.

*Dakota and Texas – would be sufficient to meet electricity demand from coast to coast.”*⁷⁰⁴ Hydropower is another important source of renewable energy. As the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change rightly says in its report *Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation*, **“Hydropower is a renewable energy source where power is derived from the energy of water moving from higher to lower elevations. It is a proven, mature, predictable and cost-competitive technology.”**⁷⁰⁵



Figure 6.27: Renewable clean energy is best provided by a combination of sources: wind, solar, hydropower, geothermal and wave and tidal energy.

Tidal, wave or ocean current driven energy are also important sources of clean energy. Turning again to *Drawdown*, the book’s authors explain, **“Wave-and tidal-energy systems harness natural oceanic flows to generate electricity.”** **“The appeal of wave and tidal energy is its consistency: No energy storage is required.”** **“The opportunity of marine-based energy is massive, but realizing it will require substantial investment and expanded research.”**⁷⁰⁶ Finally, geothermal is also widely recognised by environmentalists, scientists and energy policy experts as a major renewable option in many countries, depending on national circumstances. As a key report from the environmental agency Friends of the Earth, *An Energy Revolution is Possible*, says, **“There are a range of different methods for using the heat**

⁷⁰⁴ Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), p. 2 – 3, see also pp. ix, 1 – 4, 23; *Delivering on the Clean Energy Economy*, World Resources Institute, (2012); *Status of Power System Transformation*, International Energy Agency, (annual report) etc.

⁷⁰⁵ *Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation, Summary for Policy Makers and Technical Summary*, IPCC, (2012), p. 80, see also pp. 8 – 26, 34 – 45, 81 – 87, 103 – 158; *Renewable Energy Policies in a Time of Transition*, International Energy Agency and various agencies, (2018), pp. 14, 17, 29, 57 – 59, 72, 74, 89; *An Energy Revolution is Possible*, Friends of the Earth, (2016) etc.

⁷⁰⁶ Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. 12 – 13, see also pp. 187; Houghton, J., *Global Warming, The Complete Briefing, Fifth Edition*, (2015), p. 333; *Tracking Clean Energy Progress*, International Energy Agency, (annual report) etc.

*naturally created within the Earth's core for useful purposes. In areas where the local geology allows relatively easy access to high temperatures, usually along geological fault lines, geothermal electricity has been generated for decades. For example, 25% of Iceland's electricity comes from geothermal power, though as they also use geothermal heat directly to heat buildings, it accounts for 66% of Iceland's total primary energy use. In parts of the world which have suitable resources there is the potential to significantly expand the use of geothermal power. Geothermal power can reliably generate electricity constantly, regardless of weather or seasons."*⁷⁰⁷

Currently, in many countries, large fossil fuel power plants generate electricity which is pumped into a national grid. In contrast, renewable energy lends itself much better to local, decentralised generation (even to the household level) by multiple small units. This significantly reduces the 'baseload' energy requirement, since it reduces the vast amounts of energy currently lost in transporting electricity long distances through a national grid. Instead it makes energy immediately and locally available where needed, and facilitates the charging of smaller battery units at local and household level to provide energy. It also reduces the need for vast solar or wind farms, since much smaller units can be integrated subtly and less visibly at a local level. Governments should therefore focus on decentralised local renewable energy provision in their national action plans.⁷⁰⁸ In addition, all energy grids should be updated to become 'smart grids'. These use modern digital technology and real time information to predict and detect energy demands, and areas of wastage, and direct energy flows to the most needed areas when they are required. Thus, they help energy grids to use energy in the most efficient way possible, rather than their current hugely wasteful fashion. The 'baseload' energy challenge can also further be reduced, and ultimately removed, by focusing a significant part of clean energy research and development into improving battery storage to enable power generated by renewable energy sources to be stored in larger amounts for longer periods. This is widely recognised as a top challenge for research and development investment by scientists, environmentalists and engineers.⁷⁰⁹ A part of clean energy research and development should also be focused on producing energy directly from hydrogen and oxygen (and other similar technologies) through hydrogen fuel cells to further help with the 'baseload' issue and potentially revolutionise safe clean energy in a much wider way over the long-term.⁷¹⁰

If all of this is not sufficient to provide 'baseload' energy, then the following solutions should be considered in the short-term, depending on national circumstances, to 'keep the lights on' until clean renewable decentralised energy is able to provide 100% of national energy needs.⁷¹¹ First, nuclear power may be an option for some countries. A caution here is that historically it has taken multiple years (sometimes decades) for nuclear power plants to be constructed and

⁷⁰⁷ *An Energy Revolution is Possible*, Friends of the Earth, (2016), p. 8, but also see the whole report; *Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation, Summary for Policy Makers and Technical Summary*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2012), pp. 8 – 26, 34 – 45, 71 – 80, 103 – 158; Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. 6 – 7 etc.

⁷⁰⁸ *Renewable Energy Policies in a Time of Transition*, IEA and various agencies, (2018), pp. 5, 14 – 15, 19 – 20, 23, 26 – 27, 60, 65 – 68, 72 – 75, 88, 90; *The Future Electricity Grid*, World Resources Institute and various agencies, (2016); *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, UN Environment Programme and various agencies, (2017), pp. iii, 7, 28, 30 – 31, 157 – 158, 181 etc.

⁷⁰⁹ Lynas, M., *The God Species*, (2012), pp. 79 – 80; *Scaling Technologies to Decarbonize Energy*, World Economic Forum, (2015), pp. 6, 17 – 18; Helm, D., *The Carbon Crunch*, (2012), pp. 77 – 78, 215, 223 – 224 etc.

⁷¹⁰ Sachs, J., *Common Wealth*, (2008), pp. 99 – 100; Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. 194 – 195; Jacobs, M. & Mazzucato, M. (Eds.), *Rethinking Capitalism*, (2016), p. 174 etc.

⁷¹¹ Goodall, C., *Sustainability: All that Matters*, (2012), pp. 109 – 112; *Re-Powering Markets*, International Energy Agency, (2016), pp. 30, 32 – 33, 45 – 48, 73 – 120, 173 – 217, 237 – 238

become operational. Therefore, unless a nation's nuclear power infrastructure is relatively developed, it may be more effective to go straight to commissioning more decentralised local renewable energy with improved battery storage. For some nations however, nuclear power may be a short-term option.⁷¹² In other contexts, fitting Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) technology (which captures and stores carbon, eliminating all emissions), to existing fossil fuel power plants may be an option. However, CCS technology is in its infancy, so again CCS should only be considered as a short-term option where it can genuinely be applied faster than moving straight to decentralised local renewable energy provision.⁷¹³ Finally, another option for some nations may be moving rapidly from coal to gas, as a less polluting form of fossil fuel energy (or 'bridging fuel') for 'baseload' energy, in order to rapidly decrease their greenhouse gas emissions. However, once again this is only a short-term measure, and unless nations already have the gas infrastructure in place it may be quicker to simply move straight to decentralised local renewable energy with improved battery storage.⁷¹⁴ Ultimately, using a combination of the policies above, all nations should be moving towards 100% clean energy in energy production as rapidly as possible, phasing out and banning all greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy production.

Transport

Turning next to the area of **transport**; the construction of new cars, trucks, lorries and trains which use fossil fuels should be immediately banned, since electric alternatives are already available. After a short period (perhaps five years), this ban should extend to existing vehicles, with a heavily subsidised package to support any of the public still using petrol vehicles to upgrade to electric alternatives. This should be combined with investing in the national infrastructure to support these alternatives, such as the widespread availability of charge points for cars, trucks and lorries, and wires and rails for electric trains. As one key report from the International Energy Agency says, ***"The use of renewable energy in transport offers numerous benefits, such as enhanced energy security, reduced transport-related carbon emissions and increased opportunities for sustainable economic growth and jobs"***, and another report from the UN Environment Programme adds that ultimately ***"the complete global fleet should be electric."***⁷¹⁵ When it comes to flights and shipping there are no viable alternatives to fossil fuel energy currently widely available. Therefore, a focus on providing clean energy powered flights and shipping technology should be a major priority for research and development. In the meantime, the use of biofuels should be considered to power flights and shipping. In general biofuels should not be encouraged as a renewable energy option because of the problems associated with land use change and agriculture. However, limiting them to flights and shipping until other clean energy options become available makes this risk

⁷¹² Berners-Lee, M. & Clark, D., *The Burning Question*, (2013), pp. 184 – 188; Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. 18 – 21; Lynas, M., *The God Species*, (2012), pp. 70 – 73, 81, 124 – 125, 130, 167 – 182 etc.

⁷¹³ *Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation, Summary for Policy Makers and Technical Summary*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2012), pp. 7, 19, 21, 37, 122 – 123, 132 – 144, 147, 163; *Climate Change 2022, Mitigation of Climate Change, Working Group 3, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2022), pp. 19 – 20, 32, 36 – 38; *Global Warming of 1.5°C, Summary for Policy Makers*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2018), pp. 14 – 15, 21; *Scaling Technologies to Decarbonize Energy*, World Economic Forum, (2015), pp. 4, 6 – 7, 18 – 19; Juniper, T., *How many Lightbulbs does it take to Change a Planet?*, (2008), pp. 43 – 44 etc.

⁷¹⁴ Helm, D., *The Carbon Crunch*, (2012), pp. 10, 151 – 152, 155, 195 – 213, 243; *10 Questions to Ask About Integrated Resources Planning*, World Resources Institute, (2014), p. 14 etc.

⁷¹⁵ *Renewable Energy Policies in a Time of Transition*, International Energy Agency and various agencies, (2018), p. 41, see also pp. 5, 11 – 13, 17 – 18, 20, 22 – 23, 38 – 55, 93, 95, 100 – 102; *Towards a Pollution Free Planet*, UN Environment Programme, (2017), p. 56, see also p. 52; *Can Transport Deliver GHG Reductions at Scale?*, World Resources Institute, (2016) etc.

manageable. The British economist Nicholas Stern is just one of many economists and engineers to stress *“the use of advanced biofuels in air transport and some combination of biofuels, electrification, and perhaps carbon capture and storage (CCS) for sea transportation”*.⁷¹⁶



Figure 6.28: All cars, trucks, lorries and trains should transition to become 100% electric as rapidly as possible.

Buildings and industrial processes

Turning to **gas heating and cooking**; governments should immediately ban new buildings which use this technology, since it is already possible to meet these needs through electricity generated from clean sources. National programmes should be put in place to convert existing building stock to use clean energy generated electricity for heating/hot water/cooking, again ensuring there is no gap in provision. Put simply, *“heating and other energy using sectors need to be electrified”*, according to a report on *Green Industrial Policy* by the UN Environment Programme and various key international agencies; a sentiment widely shared by economists and environmental experts.⁷¹⁷ In the area of **industrial processes**, in some cases, fossil fuels are still directly burnt to produce sufficient heat. This should be immediately banned, as it is possible to generate significant heat from clean energy generated electricity, as we saw when we considered electricity generation. Significant greenhouse gas emissions also

⁷¹⁶ Stern, N., *Why are we Waiting?*, (2016), p. 42, see also p. 69; Juniper, T., *What has Nature ever done for us?*, (2013), pp. 65 – 67; *Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency in Developing Countries*, UN Environment Programme and various agencies, (2017), p. 49 etc.

⁷¹⁷ *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, UNEP and various agencies, (2017), p. 6, see also p. 70; Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. 22, 83 – 106; *Renewable Energy Policies in a Time of Transition*, International Energy Agency and various agencies, (2018), pp. 5, 11 – 13, 17 – 20, 22 – 37, 93 – 95, 100 – 102 etc.

occur from **agriculture** and **deforestation**. We will look at those areas in our next section on the [Circular economy](#).

Across all sectors

Across all sectors, the maximum possible energy efficiency and emissions standards should be applied to minimise waste, leakage and the amount of power needed. As the British environmental activist Tony Juniper says, ***“Making our energy use more efficient is the quickest route of all to cutting emissions”***. Relying on energy efficiency alone is not sufficient, as multiple studies have shown that energy (and hence money) saved in one area of the economy tends to be spent in another area, thus not reducing the overall level of emissions. However, used in combination with all the other policies outlined in this section, it makes a powerful and important contribution.⁷¹⁸ Where greenhouse gas emissions remain in the short-term (perhaps in some ‘baseload’ energy, flights and shipping etc.) until a transition to 100% clean energy has been obtained, offsetting payments should be required by law, in addition to paying ‘carbon taxes’ as discussed earlier in this section. Whilst carbon taxes are used to fund new clean energy technology, offsetting should be used to fund tree planting in developing country rainforests (or similar projects) to the scale necessary to absorb an equivalent amount of greenhouse gases to those generated. If all these steps fail to reduce greenhouse gas emissions rapidly enough, then governments may need to go even further, using quotas or rationing to reduce the use of fossil fuel generated energy, whilst allowing as much use of clean energy as desired. This is recognised as a necessary policy if others fail by many academics and environmental activists and economists, such as Rob Dietz and Dan O’Neill, who write in their book *Enough is Enough*, ***“Ration schemes provide each person or company with the right to use a specified amount of a resource. For instance, each person could be allocated a certain number of kilowatt-hours of electricity per month. Such a scheme could decrease both the quantity of resources drawn from mines (e.g., coal and uranium) and the amount of wastes flowing into the environment (e.g., carbon dioxide and nuclear waste).”***⁷¹⁹

Finally, to ensure public understanding and buy in and to nudge public behaviour in ways which drive the transition even faster, governments should invest in public information and education campaigns (as well as teaching it in schools as part of the national curriculum) on the need to transition to 100% clean energy, and how individuals can support this in their own lives. As Jonathan Porritt, the British founder of the leading sustainability charity Forum for the Future and former leader of the Green Party and Friends of the Earth, writes in his book *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, ***“Whichever way one looks at this, education is absolutely at the heart of the transformation process – starting in our own homes, workplaces, leisure centres, professional bodies or institutions, clubs, trade unions and so on. And it’s as much a re-education of the heart that we are talking about here as the continuing education of the mind ... In terms of more formal educational systems in our schools, colleges and universities, the battle is already well and truly joined in most Organisation for Economic Co-operative Development (OECD) countries. Two priorities emerge as regards ‘education for sustainable development’ (ESD) on the formal curriculum: competing for space and funds to find creative and intelligent ways of enabling young people to learn and experience***

⁷¹⁸ Juniper, T., *How many Lightbulbs does it take to Change a Planet?*, (2008), p. 48, see also pp. 47 – 50, 130 – 131; Stern, N., *Why are we Waiting?*, (2016), pp. 30, 42 – 43, 46 – 50, 69 – 70, 74, 81, 86, 101, 103, 119, 125 – 127, 224, 226, 232, 236, 239, 262, 266, 280, 323; Berners-Lee, M. & Clark, D., *The Burning Question*, (2013), pp. 1, 36, 47 – 63, 73 – 74, 108, 114 – 115, 119, 151 etc.

⁷¹⁹ Dietz, R. & O’Neill, D., *Enough is Enough*, (2013), p. 64, see also p. 143; Porritt, J., *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, (2007), p. 30; Lynas, M., *Six Degrees*, (2008), pp. 278 – 279 etc.

*what it means, in practice, to be a citizen of our living Earth; and making sure that all places of learning embody that heightened awareness about responsibility to the world and its people in their design, construction, management and engagement with their surrounding communities.”*⁷²⁰ So, in summary ...

Governments should:

High-level strategy

- Sign up to and significantly strengthen the *Paris Agreement* in order to set a rapid global path to ban all greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy and move to 100% clean energy by 2030 at the latest (with tough intermediate targets), whilst keeping the lights on and providing energy access for all
- Develop national climate change laws and action plans to implement a significantly strengthened *Paris Agreement* in every nation that ... 1) immediately bans greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy where there are clean energy alternatives already available; 2) where they are not, uses quotas and targets to scale down greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy and scale up clean energy over a tight time period leading to a future ban, and 3) cuts subsidies and massively increases taxes on greenhouse gas emitting energy
- Invest significant public funds into research and development to improve and scale up clean energy technology
- Use many of the policies to grow a vibrant clean energy industry from the [Strong and fair economies](#) section of Part 5, including tariffs, tax breaks, subsidies, public procurement, some state owned enterprises and a positive partnership between government and the private sector

Electricity generation

- Immediately ban coal fired power plants
- Set a very rapid timetable towards a ban of the remaining forms of fossil fuel generated energy production as fast as renewable energy can come on stream to replace it, except (if necessary) for a small percentage required for ‘baseload’ energy
- Use a mix of solar, wind, hydropower, geothermal, tidal, wave or ocean current driven energy to provide this renewable energy, depending on national circumstances
- Ensure this renewable energy is generated in a local decentralised manner, so energy is immediately and locally available to reduce the need for large national grid ‘baseload’ energy
- Update all energy grids to become ‘smart grids’, so they use modern digital technology and real time information to predict and detect energy demands, and areas of wastage, and direct energy flows to the most needed areas when they are required
- Focus significant clean energy research and development resources onto improving battery storage technology to enable power generated by renewable sources to be stored in larger amounts for longer periods in order to reduce and remove the need for fossil fuel generated ‘baseload’ energy as rapidly as possible
- Focus part of clean energy research and development resources towards producing energy directly from hydrogen and oxygen (and other similar technologies) to again further help with the ‘baseload’ issue
- If there is still a need for ‘baseload’ energy that renewable sources can’t yet meet, then nuclear power, fossil fuel plants with Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS), or moving from coal to gas, as a less polluting ‘bridging fuel’, may be used as options depending on

⁷²⁰ Porritt, J., *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, (2007), p. 332, see also pp. 333 – 335; *Agenda 21*, UN, (1992), pp. 79, 84, 320 – 328; *Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development*, UN, (2002), p. 11 etc.

national circumstances, but only in the short-term until these needs can be fully met by renewable sources

Transport

- Immediately ban the construction of new cars, trucks, lorries and trains which use fossil fuels, since electric alternatives are already available
- After a short period (perhaps five years) ban the remaining fossil fuel cars, trucks, trains and lorries
- Provide a heavily subsidised package to support any of the public still using petrol vehicles to upgrade to electric alternatives
- Invest in the national infrastructure to support these alternatives, such as the widespread availability of charge points for cars and wires and rails for electric trains
- Use biofuels for flights and shipping until other renewable energy alternatives are available
- Invest in research into clean energy planes and boats
- Extend ban to fossil fuel planes and boats once clean energy alternatives become available

Buildings and industrial processes

- Immediately ban new buildings which use fossil fuels for heating/hot water/cooking, since it is already possible to meet these needs through clean energy generated electricity
- Launch a national programme to completely convert existing building stock to use clean energy generated electricity for heating/hot water/cooking
- Ban the burning of fossil fuels for industrial processes and use clean energy alternatives instead

Across all sectors

- Apply the maximum possible energy efficiency and emissions standards across all sectors to minimise waste, leakage and the amount of power used
- Require compulsory carbon offsetting for all use of fossil fuels, to fund tree planting in developing country rainforests (or similar projects) of the equivalent amount required to absorb the emissions generated
- Use quotas and rationing for the use of fossil fuel generated energy if the above steps are not reducing emissions fast enough
- Publicise and explain the need to transition to 100% clean energy, and how individuals can support this in their own lives through school education and public information campaigns

Circular economy

Having considered the steps outlined above to shift our modern global economy to becoming based on 100% clean renewable energy, we now need to also apply the other lessons from history to shift that economy from a linear model, which uses polluting methods to extract, consume, then discard natural resources, to a completely circular economy. Beginning at the input end, the use of polluting chemicals in agricultural and manufacturing processes should be banned where there is a non-damaging alternative. Where there is no viable alternative, then the same approach should be applied in the short-term as we saw with fossil fuels; to drive down their usage and scale up investment in research into clean alternatives until these do become viable and the polluting chemical can be banned. There should be ongoing environmental screening of all chemicals used in agricultural and manufacturing processes. If any which were previously thought to be benign turn out to be environmentally damaging the

same process should be applied to them. This process should also be applied to the greenhouse gases which are produced through agricultural and manufacturing processes, beyond just the use of fossil fuels. There is growing momentum from experts around the world for such an approach, as the environmental activist Annie Leonard says in her study of runaway global consumption and pollution, *The Story of Stuff*, ***“Rather than focus on reducing any one population’s (like children’s) exposure to hazardous chemicals, the simplest solution is to phase out toxics altogether and replace them with safe materials. This approach is far more effective, since the level of hazard in a chemical is controllable, while exposure is not, especially with chemicals that persist, disperse, and build up throughout ecosystems.”***⁷²¹

In addition, the extraction of any biosphere resource (through fishing, agriculture, hunting, logging, the use of fresh water etc.) in ways which are not properly managed and replenished, taking out more than they put back in and hence consuming limited natural capital, should also be banned. This can be done immediately, since the technologies to manage all these processes sustainably, whilst also enhancing their productivity, are all already available. One of the major recommendations from the 2012 report of the UN Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel on Global Sustainability, *Resilient People, Resilient Planet*, was precisely that, ***“Governments and international organizations should work to create a new green revolution — an ‘ever-green revolution’ — for the twenty-first century that aims to at least double productivity while drastically reducing resource use and avoiding further loss of biodiversity, topsoil loss and water depletion and contamination.”***⁷²² At the same time, all further human settlement and expansion for agriculture, or any other purpose, into currently wild lands should also be banned; halting deforestation and protecting biodiversity and natural habitats. The British environmentalist, Tony Juniper, is just one of many to make this point in his book *What has Nature ever done for us?*, which charts many of the innumerable economic and social benefits the natural environment provides, ***“During the last two centuries or so, we humans have converted about 70 per cent of the planet’s grasslands, about half the savannah biome and nearly half of the deciduous forests. While there is still scope for expansion into new virgin land to increase the area of soil available for food production, there are very important reasons as to why those wilder places should remain as they are”.*** We have now reached ***“the stage where it is unwise to convert more natural habitats”.***⁷²³ Again this can come into immediate effect, since the technologies to manage existing agricultural and waste land sustainably, whilst also boosting production, already exist.

Alongside preventing this human incursion into wild lands, steps should also be taken to limit the spread of other invasive species, which have historically been a major cause of biodiversity loss. Indeed the nations of the world are in theory already committed to this under the 1992 *UN Convention on Biological Diversity*, which commits nations to ***“Prevent the introduction of, control or eradicate those alien species which threaten ecosystems, habitats or species”.***⁷²⁴

⁷²¹ Leonard, A., *The Story of Stuff*, (2010), p. 107, see also pp. 70 – 71, 95 – 96, 98 – 99, 102, 104 – 107, 114, 119 – 129, 143, 326; *Towards a Pollution Free Planet*, UN Environment Programme, (2017); *Energy and Air Pollution*, International Energy Agency, (2016) etc.

⁷²² *Resilient People, Resilient Planet*, UN Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel on Global Sustainability, (2012), p. 40, see also pp. 13, 38 – 42; *Blueprints for a Greener Footprint*, World Economic Forum, (2016); *Ecological Farming: The Seven Principles of a Food System that has People at its Heart*, Greenpeace, (2015) etc.

⁷²³ Juniper, T., *What has Nature ever done for us?*, (2013), pp. 37 – 38, see also pp. 72 – 75, 93, 218 – 219, 224, 238 – 243, 287 – 288; *Protected Planet Report*, Protected Planet, (bi-annual flagship report); Helm, D., *Natural Capital*, (2016), pp. 11 – 12, 183 – 184, 202 – 219 etc.

⁷²⁴ *UN Convention on Biological Diversity*, UNCBD, (1992), p. 6, but also see the whole convention; *Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development*, UN, (2002), pp. 19, 27; *Protected Planet Report*, Protected Planet, (bi-annual flagship report) etc.

Today's challenge is to close the gap between such statements and reality. The world needs to move beyond just stabilising the current situation, to positively investing in reforestation, the restoration of natural habitats and re-wilding programmes to begin to improve key environmental indicators and planetary boundaries, such as biodiversity. This is widely recognised as essential by scientists and environmental experts. As the Oxford economist and chair of the world's first Natural Capital Committee, Dieter Helm, says in his book *Natural Capital*, ***“Holding the line on the destruction of nature would be a great improvement, but it is far from ideal: the optimal level of natural capital is almost certainly much higher than the current depleted state of nature. We can do much better by improving those natural capital assets that have additional economic benefits if they are restored and enhanced, and thereby yield a higher level of sustainable economic growth.”*** This means ***“large-scale, ambitious restorations, focusing on systems and infrastructures. It is about wide-ranging and integrated river, landscape and marine improvements considered in the round, rather than as a series of smaller-scale projects, valuable though they are.”***⁷²⁵



Figure 6.29: To drive towards a circular economy, all waste should be banned; ending landfills, waste incineration and dumping at sea, and instead requiring 100% recycling or breaking products down safely and returning them to the natural environment.

Turning to industry, laws should be passed banning the manufacture of products that can't be completely recycled continuously or safely returned to the natural environment. There should also be laws to require products to be built with greater durability and a longer expected product life. Kate Raworth rightly stresses this point in her book, *Doughnut Economics*, ***“Taxes and subsidies can move markets, as we have seen, but the transformation from degenerative to***

⁷²⁵ Helm, D., *Natural Capital*, (2016), pp. 10 – 11, 202, see also pp. 8 – 13, 201 – 219, 247; Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. ix, 41, 107 – 134; *Agenda 21*, UN, (1992), pp. 16, 55, 81, 93 – 97, 107 – 110, 151, 169, 206 etc.

*regenerative industrial design needs to be backed by regulation too. At its most simple, it means phasing out the use of ‘red list’ chemicals and polluting production processes, while phasing in the use of life-friendly chemistry only, along with net-zero and net-positive industrial standards. The world’s most progressive enterprises are already aiming to perform to such standards: economy-wide regulations requiring regenerative design will ultimately help to move those ambitious business practices from being a rare exception to becoming the industry norm.”*⁷²⁶ At the waste end of the economy, all waste should be banned; ending landfills, waste incineration and dumping at sea, and instead requiring 100% recycling or breaking products down safely and returning them to the natural environment. All biosphere waste should be composted. Creating such a **“zero-waste society”** is one of the key proposals put forward by the British environmental activist, Tony Juniper, in his book *How many Lightbulbs does it take to Change a Planet?* As he says, **“The emphasis must be placed on phasing out waste”, for “It would be much better for the planet if we moved towards a zero-waste society.”** This is a call that many other environmentalists, scientists, politicians and economists would back.⁷²⁷

To support this, ‘extended producer responsibility’ laws should be passed that require producers to take responsibility for the safe recycling of their products (and all containers and packaging) once the customer has finished with them. Such laws massively incentivise companies to reduce packaging, as well as design products for durability and easy recycling, rather than passing the cost of dealing with their product waste to society. There is growing momentum for such laws among politicians, environmental experts and economists. As a key report on *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences* by various UN agencies puts it, **“extended producer responsibility is the prime concept to guide industry towards more circularity, because it incentivises producers to improve their products to increase circularity ... Extended producer responsibility means that the costs of disposal and recovery of input materials should be borne by producers at the end of a product’s lifetime. Companies can then either take products back or pay fees that cover the cost of recycling or waste management. Fees should vary, according to the treatment necessary for the input materials to be recovered. This would provide an incentive for producers to improve their product design (Wilts 2016). If companies use more resistant materials to make products reliable and durable, their payments for product disposal would be reduced (Bocken et al. 2016).”**⁷²⁸

Traditional linear extractive businesses should be given every support to adjust their model and way of working, as well as to retrain their workforce to help them comply with the new laws and become completely circular. Most designers, environmentalists and business groups would agree with a report by the London-based think tank Chatham House, *A Global Redesign?*, which stressed, **“Incorporating Circular Economy practices can require multiple companies to adjust their operations.”** And that **“Companies will take the lead on translating Circular Economy concepts into practical and profitable business models, but may need practical support in key areas. For example, clear metrics that are affordable to implement**

⁷²⁶ Raworth, K., *Doughnut Economics*, (2017), p. 238; see also *A Global Redesign?*, Chatham House, (2012), pp. 8, 15 – 16; Webster, K., *The Circular Economy, Second Edition*, (2017); Braungart, M. & McDonough, W., *Cradle to Cradle*, (2009) etc.

⁷²⁷ Juniper, T., *How many Lightbulbs does it take to Change a Planet?*, (2008), pp. 158 – 159, 162, see also pp. 156 – 167; Leonard, A., *The Story of Stuff*, (2010); Webster, K., *The Circular Economy, Second Edition*, (2017) etc.

⁷²⁸ *Green Industrial Policy: Concept, Policies, Country Experiences*, UNEP various agencies, (2017), p. 127; Juniper, T., *How many Lightbulbs does it take to Change a Planet?*, (2008), pp. 165 – 167; *Bending the Curve*, Tearfund, (2018), pp. 17 – 18 etc.

would help to encourage the participation of small and medium-sized businesses. Small businesses will also need guidance in areas such as the recovery, reuse and remanufacture of goods and materials.”⁷²⁹ Governments should also consider using many of the other policies to grow new circular economy businesses which we saw worked successfully for developing [Strong and fair economies](#) in Part 5. This might include tariffs, tax breaks, subsidies, public procurement, some state owned enterprises and a positive dialogue and partnership between government and the private sector.

All of these laws should be applied by every government at the national level. However, the nations of the world should also negotiate and agree a new global agreement on the circular economy, similar to the *Paris Agreement* on climate change. This should incorporate all the laws outlined above into a single global agreement ...

- 1) banning polluting chemicals
- 2) banning the unsustainable use of biosphere resources in fishing, agriculture, hunting, logging, fresh water etc.
- 3) banning further human expansion into wild lands
- 4) preventing invasive species
- 5) investing in conservation, re-wilding and reforestation programmes
- 6) banning the manufacture of products that can't be completely recycled continuously or safely returned to the natural environment
- 7) ending waste by requiring 100% recycling, or breaking products down safely and returning them to the natural environment
- 8) extending producer responsibility for the collection and recycling of products and packaging at the end of their product life

Such a new global agreement should thus revise, strengthen and incorporate the existing global agreements on the environment such as the *Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal*; the *Chemicals Convention*; the *Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora*; the *Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals*; the *Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter*; the *Globally Harmonised System of Classification and Labelling of Chemicals*; the *Rotterdam Convention on Prior Informed Consent Procedure for Certain Hazardous Chemicals and Pesticides in International Trade*; the *Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants*; the *Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management*; the *UN Convention on Biological Diversity*; the *UN Convention to Combat Desertification*; the *Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer*; and *The Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer* into a single global agreement on the circular economy.

Finally, as in other sections, all these approaches should be taught in schools as well as promoted more widely in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns, so that current and future generations understand and support the critical importance of moving to a circular economy model. As the Ellen MacArthur Foundation, one of the great champions of the circular economy, put it in their report *Towards a Circular Economy*, **“Education can play an important role in preparing future professionals for a new economic paradigm, particularly to create the skill base to drive circular innovation.**

⁷²⁹ *A Global Redesign?*, Chatham House, (2012), pp. 15 – 16, see also pp. 17 – 19; Braungart, M. & McDonough, W., *Cradle to Cradle*, (2009); *Green Industrial Policy and Trade*, UN Industrial Development Organization and other agencies, (2017), pp. 136 – 151 etc.

Governments should encourage the integration of circular economy and systems thinking into school and university curriculums.⁷³⁰ So, in summary ...

Governments should:

- Ban the use of polluting chemicals which are environmentally damaging in agricultural and manufacturing processes where there is a non-damaging alternative. Where there is no viable alternative, they should:
- Apply the same approach as that outlined above to shift to clean energy to drive down the amount of usage and scale up investment in research into clean alternatives until these do become viable and the polluting chemical can be banned
- Screen all chemicals used in agricultural and manufacturing processes. If any which were previously thought to be benign turn out to be environmentally damaging, the same process should be applied to them
- Ban the production of any biosphere resource (fishing, agriculture, hunting, logging, fresh water etc.) in ways which are not properly managed and replenished, so that more is not taken out than put back in
- Ban all further human settlement and expansion into currently wild lands
- Prevent invasive species
- Invest in conservation, re-wilding and reforestation programmes
- Ban the manufacture of products that can't be completely recycled continuously or safely returned to the natural environment
- Ban the dumping of waste in landfills or at sea and require 100% recycling or breaking products down safely and returning them to the natural environment instead
- Require all biosphere waste to be composted
- Extend producer responsibility to make businesses responsible for the safe collection and recycling of the packaging they use for their products, and of the products themselves at the end of their life
- Support businesses to adjust their model and way of working and retrain their workforce to comply with the new laws and become completely circular
- Use the policies under [Strong and fair economies](#) in Part 5 (such as tariffs, tax breaks, subsidies, public procurement, some state owned enterprises and a positive dialogue and partnership between government and the private sector) to grow new circular economy businesses
- Apply all of the above circular economy laws at the national level, but also ...
- Negotiate and agree a new global agreement on the circular economy (similar to the *Paris Agreement* on climate change) to apply all the above laws globally. This should revise, strengthen and incorporate existing global agreements on the environment
- Teach these approaches in schools and promote them more widely through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand and support the critical importance of moving to a circular economy

⁷³⁰ *Towards a Circular Economy*, Ellen MacArthur Foundation, (2015), p. 17; see also Webster, K., *The Circular Economy, Second Edition*, (2017), pp. 156 – 171; *Agenda 21*, UN, (1992), pp. 21, 84, 92, 117 – 118, 169, 320 – 328 etc.

Provide generous support to help developing nations shift to clean energy and a circular economy

Every nation in the world needs to make these shifts to clean energy and a circular economy. However, the world's richer developed nations have significantly greater resources and capacity to be able to do this. They should therefore provide support to help poorer nations as they also make this great transition. First and foremost, this is morally the right thing to do. It is also very much in the interests of richer nations. Environmental challenges cross national boundaries and are increasingly global. If poorer nations cannot be supported and helped in the area of the environment, then the impacts of this failure will be felt in developed nations as well, through a changing climate, deforestation, growing global poverty, environmental refugees, and growing political instability as resources become scarcer.

First then, developed nations should do all they can to facilitate and accelerate the transfer of clean energy and circular economy technology and skills to developing economies. The latest assessment report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change makes precisely this point, ***“International cooperation on technology development and transfer accompanied by capacity building, knowledge sharing, and technical and financial support can accelerate the global diffusion of mitigation technologies, practices and policies”***.⁷³¹ Richer nations should also provide generous training, mentoring and support for developing country entrepreneurs and business people working in clean energy and the circular economy, and for civil servants overseeing the transition of their nations.

In addition, there are specific issues pertinent to developing countries that also need to be addressed. For millions of the poorest people in the world, the challenge is not transitioning from using fossil fuels to clean energy so much as providing access to energy in the first place. As a key briefing from the environmental group Friends of the Earth says, ***“nearly one in five of the world’s population does not have access to electricity, and many more suffer from inconsistent or poor quality access ... The vast majority of those without electricity or clean cooking fuel access live in Africa and developing Asia.”*** A real push, therefore, is needed for universal energy access for all people in the world, provided by local decentralised renewable energy.⁷³² Furthermore, millions of the poorest people around the world mainly use firewood and kerosene stoves for cooking and heating, resulting in greenhouse gas emissions, deforestation and harmful local health impacts. A concerted effort to provide ecostoves as alternatives would make a significant difference. A key report from the International Energy Agency found, ***“Almost all biomass-related emissions in the residential sector occur in developing countries and are closely linked to the burning of fuelwood and charcoal in inefficient cookstoves: more than 2.7 billion people rely on such traditional use of biomass, with significant impacts on human health.”*** Therefore, ***“Cleaner cookstoves are a very cost-effective way of tackling household air pollution”***. A finding with which the overwhelming majority of environmental, energy and development experts would agree.⁷³³

⁷³¹ *Climate Change 2022, Mitigation of Climate Change, Working Group 3, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2022), p. 62, see also pp. 3, 13, 17, 42, 49, 52, 56, 60 – 61, 63; *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, UN General Assembly, (2015), pp. 8 – 10, 19, 23 – 24; *UN Framework Convention on Climate Change*, UNFCCC, (1992), pp. 10, 13 – 15, 22 etc.

⁷³² *Energy: Access and Sufficiency*, FOE, (2016), p. 1, but also see the whole report; *Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency in Developing Countries*, UN Environment Programme and various agencies, (2017); *Strategies for Expanding Universal Access to Electricity Services for Development*, World Resources Institute, (2017) etc.

⁷³³ *Energy and Air Pollution*, IEA, (2016), pp. 73, 55, but also see the whole report; Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. 44 – 45; *Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency in Developing Countries*, UN Environment Programme and various agencies, (2017), pp. 24 – 25, 61, 71 etc.

Developing countries are already experiencing the impact of a changing environment which hits the poorest first and hardest. Therefore, they need support both with the transition to clean energy and a circular economy, and to adapt to the impacts of a changing environment. Most environmentalists, development experts and diplomats would agree with the latest assessment report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change which stresses, ***“Adaptation, in response to current climate change, is reducing climate risks and vulnerability mostly via adjustment of existing systems. Many adaptation options exist and are used to help manage projected climate change impacts, but their implementation depends upon the capacity and effectiveness of governance and decision-making processes.”***⁷³⁴ The international community should support the provision of decent education for women and girls and access to health services and family planning for all, to limit population growth and the inevitable resulting greater burden on the natural environment. As we have seen, the success of such policies in reducing population growth is widely documented by demographers, UN agencies and development experts.⁷³⁵



Figure 6.30: Developing countries need support to adapt to the impacts of climate change, which they are already experiencing.

In order to fund these priority areas for developing countries, the international community should provide substantial ‘climate finance’ in addition to the overseas aid we discussed in [Part](#)

⁷³⁴ *Climate Change 2022, Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Working Group 2, Sixth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2022), p. 22, see also pp. 7 – 9, 23 – 35; *Managing the Risks of Extreme Events and Disasters to Advance Climate Change Adaptation, Summary for Policy Makers*, IPCC, (2012); *Paris Agreement*, UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, (2015), pp. 8 – 13; *The Adaptation Gap*, UN Environment Programme, (annual report) etc.

⁷³⁵ Meadows, D., Meadows, D. & Randers, J., *Limits to Growth, The 30-Year Update*, (2010), pp. 28 – 36, 239; Sachs, J., *Common Wealth*, (2008), pp. 41, 46, 177 – 200 etc.

[5 on Development](#). This should be significantly greater than the \$100 billion per year currently envisioned under the *Paris Agreement* to help the world's poorest countries, which have done the least to cause climate change but are being hit the hardest by it. As the *Paris Agreement* says, ***“As part of a global effort, developed country Parties should continue to take the lead in mobilizing climate finance from a wide variety of sources, instruments and channels, noting the significant role of public funds, through a variety of actions, including supporting country-driven strategies, and taking into account the needs and priorities of developing country Parties. Such mobilization of climate finance should represent a progression beyond previous efforts.”***⁷³⁶ The international community should also stop funding any fossil fuel or extractive linear economic activity with its traditional overseas aid budget, and instead support the development of new clean energy infrastructure and circular economy businesses, helping developing countries leapfrog the dirty phase of industrialisation and move straight to a green economy. Finally, these methods for supporting developing nations to shift to clean energy and a circular economy should be taught in schools as well as promoted more widely in society through publicly funded information and education campaigns, so that current and future generations understand why and how their nation is helping poorer countries to shift to clean energy and a circular economy. So, in summary ...

The international community and developing country governments should:

- Facilitate and accelerate clean energy and circular economy technology transfer to developing countries
- Train, mentor and support developing country entrepreneurs and business people working in clean energy and the circular economy, and civil servants overseeing the transition of their nations to a green economy
- Provide energy access for all people who currently lack it in developing nations through local decentralised renewable energy
- Finance poor communities to switch from using kerosene stoves and firewood to ecostoves
- Provide decent education for women and girls, and access to health services and family planning for all
- Support developing countries to adapt to the impacts of a changing environment that they are already experiencing
- Provide substantial ‘climate finance’, additional to overseas aid and significantly greater than the \$100 billion per year currently envisioned under the *Paris Agreement*, to help poor nations transition to clean energy and a circular economy, and adapt to the impacts of a changing environment that they are already experiencing
- Stop overseas aid budgets from funding any fossil fuel or extractive linear, non-circular, economic activity
- Teach these methods for supporting developing nations to shift to clean energy and a circular economy in schools and through public information campaigns, so that current and future generations understand why and how their nation is helping poorer countries to shift to clean energy and a circular economy

⁷³⁶ *Paris Agreement*, UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, (2015), p. 13, but also see the whole agreement; *UN Framework Convention on Climate Change*, UNFCCC, (1992), pp. 14 – 15, 22 – 23; *The Future We Want*, UN General Assembly, (2012), pp. 48 – 51 etc.

Future proof against natural shocks

In Part 6 we have looked at how human beings are damaging the environment and causing it to change in negative ways, at a faster rate than the slower natural cycles of climatic change. However, there are also natural events which can have a sudden and devastating impact on our environment, such as a major meteor strike, significant volcanic eruption, or the outbreak of deadly disease. These certainly have happened many times in the past, and indeed recently, as we saw with Covid-19.



Figure 6.31: The international community should invest in early warning systems and mitigating actions to future proof against natural shocks such as major meteor strikes, volcanic eruption and the outbreak of virulent diseases, like Covid-19.

So before we leave Part 6 on the Environment, it is important to note that governments should also invest in early warning systems and mitigating actions to help minimise and avoid such events. They should also invest significant public funds into research and development into technology that just generally advances society in socially positive directions (and prohibit scientific research that is dangerous or bad for society), whether linked to natural shocks or not, in order to keep society progressing. As the economists Michael Jacobs and Marianna Mazzucato put it in their volume *Rethinking Capitalism*, ***“By setting societal missions, and using their own resources to co-invest with long-term capital, governments can do far more than ‘level the playing field’, as the orthodox view would allow. They can help tilt the playing field towards the achievement of publicly chosen goals.”***⁷³⁷ So, in summary ...

⁷³⁷ Jacobs, M. & Mazzucato, M. (Eds.), *Rethinking Capitalism*, (2016), p. 20, see also pp. 21, 98 – 118, 183 – 184; Atkinson, A., *Inequality*, (2015), pp. 118 – 123, 303; Raworth, K., *Doughnut Economics*, (2017), pp. 85 – 86 etc.

The international community should:

- Invest in early warning monitoring systems and mitigating actions for major meteor strikes, volcanic eruption and the outbreak of virulent disease
- Take appropriate mitigating actions to minimise and avoid such events
- Invest public funds in research and development into technology that generally advances society in socially positive directions, and prohibit scientific research that is dangerous or bad for society

PRIORITISE

Drawing Part 6 on the Environment to a close, we have seen how the world has witnessed enormous positive changes in development and social justice over the past 200 years, driven by the roll out of the industrial revolution and strong and fair economies around the world. However, we have also witnessed the catastrophic flip side of this process, as those same economies – driven by fossil fuels and overconsumption of limited natural resources – have also caused appalling environmental destruction. Finally, we have seen that we still need strong and fair economies which we can tax in order to provide social spending to meet basic needs. However, in future they need to be powered by clean energy and to be circular economies.

So how do we prioritise from all of that the most effective things for the world to focus on? We need more than one specific action. We need a new economic paradigm, a new world view and orthodoxy which captures the best of what works, but also embraces what we need to do that is new in order to continue and complete the third great green economy revolution. That is why Arise has launched the 4 Shifts campaign (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/4-shifts).

Four Shifts economics captures the two great shifts we have seen in Part 6 on the Environment that the world needs to secure a safe environmental *ceiling* that keeps us well within planetary boundaries: [clean energy](#) and the [circular economy](#). It then holds them together with the two great shifts we saw in Part 5 on Development, which are necessary for guaranteeing the social *floor* below which no one should be allowed to fall, which lifts all out of poverty and in turn drives all progress on social justice: [strong and fair economies](#) from which nations can [tax and provide social spending](#) to meet basic needs.

There are many specific actions under each of these shifts that governments need to take, as we have seen in [Parts 5](#) and [6](#) of this report on [Development](#) and [Environment](#). There are also actions that we as individuals, and especially as individual Christians, need to take, which we saw in Part 3 on Discipleship when we considered [Social Justice, Development and Environment](#). Applied together, these changes would transform our global economy in both top-down and bottom-up ways to bring about the third great green economy revolution.

Arise's 4 Shifts campaign (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/4-shifts) brings these together into a simple overall framework which the world can understand, and we as individual Christians can sign up to and campaign for, so that we can work together to transform our world one step at a time.

SHIFT ONE: CLEAN ENERGY <i>From polluting fossil fuels to clean energy. Strengthen the global Paris Agreement on climate change to scale down the use of fossil fuels to zero emissions and scale up clean energy to 100% by 2030, banning the future use of fossil fuels. Bring in national climate change laws to implement it in every sector (energy, transport, buildings, industry etc.) in every nation.</i>	SHIFT TWO: CIRCULAR ECONOMY <i>From overconsumption and waste to the circular economy. Agree a global circular economy law to ban polluting activity, further human expansion into wild lands, the production of natural resources that takes out more than it puts back in, and all waste, in order to trigger the shift to a circular economy. Bring in national circular economy laws to implement it in every nation.</i>
SHIFT THREE: STRONG AND FAIR ECONOMIES <i>From aid and welfare dependent to self-sufficient and thriving strong and fair economies. Every government to develop a proactive national industrial and economic development strategy to create a diverse national economy that progressively moves up the value chain from agriculture to manufacturing to services to the knowledge economy, using whatever policies are most effective at each stage.</i>	SHIFT FOUR: TAX AND SOCIAL SPENDING <i>From economies that only work for the richest to societies which tax and provide social spending to also help the poorest. Agree a global tax and social spending agreement for every nation to collect tax at an amount equivalent to at least 45% of the national economy, one third from income taxes, one third from wealth taxes and one third from other taxes. Spend at least two thirds of this on healthcare, education and social protection (pensions, benefits etc.). Bring in national tax and social spending laws to implement it in every nation.</i>

Figure 6.32: Four Shifts economics

Only by pursuing the kind of policies outlined under 4 Shifts economics, can the world continue to improve standards of social justice and development as God would want (and indeed drive them even further and faster), whilst also working to return us to the proper and safe balance with our natural environment that the Bible describes. All of the scientific evidence we have considered shows us that the environmental crisis we are witnessing is coming to a head now, in our lifetimes. We are the first generation in history to truly understand the choice we face between collapse and a new green economy revolution. We are the generation that gets to choose which way the world will go, and the generation that future generations will look back and hold responsible, one way or another. As we turn to the seventh and final part of this report, we will also see that governments, business and the world can only hope to make this transition if we as individual Christians first find our voice, stand up and call for these four great shifts. If we Arise!

PART 7:

MOBILISATION PLAN

HOW CAN WE BEGIN TO MAKE OUR VISION A REALITY?

We have been on an epic journey throughout the course of this report to address the problems we identified in the [Introduction](#); problems that are holding us – as Christians – back from stepping up and truly living out our faith on the scale that we could, to radically impact our world. In [Part 1](#) we addressed the faulty theology many of us carry around in our heads, and saw that God’s will for the life of every Christian is to use all of the time, money, gifts, freedoms, information, skills and other resources he has given us to have maximum impact in advancing the kingdom of God, here in our world. What an amazing calling! Then in [Parts 2 – 6](#), we developed a vision for the advancement of God’s kingdom and what a near perfect world would look like. We mapped out a holistic, Biblical, and practical Christian vision for a better world across the inter-connected areas of [Evangelism](#), [Discipleship](#), [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#). Yet so much of this vision seems to be so far from where we are today. So much of it seems to require actions from distant governments and world leaders a million miles away from you and me. How can we begin to take steps to make our vision a reality? In this final Part 7, we will consider the third and final blockage we identified in the [Introduction](#); the lack of a practical plan to begin to turn our vision of a better world into reality. We will discover that the key to unlocking progress across all the areas of our vision: evangelism, discipleship, social justice, development and the environment, lies with ordinary Christians, like you and me.

1) EVANGELISM AND DISCIPLESHIP – ONLY ORDINARY CHRISTIANS CAN DO THIS

When we looked at [Evangelism](#) and [Discipleship](#) in [Parts 2](#) and [3](#), we saw that action needs to be taken by us, as individual Christians, as well as by our churches. How else will the world hear the good news about Jesus and grow in their faith if not through us? No other group in society can do this. So, here the power is already in our hands to get on with it. With evangelism, we saw that it is us, ordinary Christians, sharing our faith powerfully and effectively, that will have the greatest impact for the gospel, rather than any great speaker, missionary organisation or slick high-budget presentation. We all need help to do this, and that is why Arise has launched the Equipped to Share course to empower each of us to share the

gospel confidently, effectively and naturally with friends and family. When we considered discipleship, we saw that the Bible provides us with many amazingly practical habits, behaviours and guidance to help us grow closer to God and increasingly deeper in our journey of discipleship. The actions for individual Christians in the boxes at the end of each section in [Parts 2](#) and [3](#) on [Evangelism](#) and [Discipleship](#) can be used as a simple, regular (perhaps monthly) spiritual health check on our progress with our journey of discipleship. Therefore, it is easy to see that in the areas of evangelism and discipleship, the power is already in our hands as ordinary Christians, and as part of the global church, to move forward and begin to change our world.

2) SOCIAL JUSTICE, DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT – OTHER ACTORS HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY BUT AGAIN IT IS ORDINARY CHRISTIANS WHO HAVE THE POWER TO INITIATE CHANGE

However, when we came to consider [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#) in [Parts 4](#), [5](#) and [6](#), we saw that whilst there are certainly things that we as individual Christians can do, as well as our churches (covered in [Part 3 on Discipleship](#)), most of the major actions to drive change need to be taken by governments and the international community. We discussed the world's significant progress on development over the last 200 years stemming from the second great industrial revolution. This has driven huge progress in improving social justice as it created an educated middle class which led bottom-up reform movements which pressed for better human rights and democratic reform. However, we also saw that the roll out of the second great industrial revolution, driven by fossil fuels and vast physical consumption of limited natural resources, has driven huge negative environmental change.

Therefore, we now need a third great revolution; a green economy revolution to keep driving economic progress, but which uses clean energy and a circular economy to ensure it is now also environmental sustainability. We need to carry on supporting the bottom-up reform movements that such economic progress will continue to generate, as they strive for positive social justice reforms in countries all around the world. In the areas of social justice, development and environment then, ordinary Christians like you and me seem at first glance to be powerless to effect such significant changes at the global level. However, with closer consideration it soon becomes apparent that in these three areas as well, whilst governments, the international community and other parts of society all have important roles to play, once again real change must be, indeed can only be, initiated by ordinary Christians like you and me. The real power lies with us. To unpack why this is the case, let us look more closely at the major groups in society who play a role in addressing social justice, development and the environment and how they interact.

The primary actors in society who have an impact on social justice, development and the environment can be grouped into three key categories: the private sector (private companies, share-holder owned businesses, cooperatives etc.), government/state (including public sector services such as the police, military, some healthcare and education, etc.) and civil society (charities, faith groups, community groups, trade unions, academia, the media, society at large etc.). As the American civil servant and academic, Don Eberly explains in his book, *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, ***“This balance of interests and sectors can be represented as a three-legged stool: one leg represents the market. Another the state, and the third is the social sector, consisting of families, neighborhoods, places of worship, professional guilds, and***

*civic associations. Each leg of this stool must be firmly in place in order for a stable, well-ordered society to function.”*⁷³⁸

The role of business

Turning first to the private sector, we saw in [Part 5 on Development](#) that its role is to create the wealth in the national economy, provide the jobs, and generate the cash in the system which helps people directly, but also provides the resource base that can be taxed by the state to provide public services. It is essential to have a flourishing strong and fair private sector for a healthy economy and for all development. In [Part 6 on the Environment](#), we discussed the two great shifts to clean energy and a circular economy that the world needs for the third great green economy revolution. Only business has the innovation and the sheer scale of financial resources necessary to drive this great transition. As the landmark *Growth Report* from the Commission on Growth and Development stresses, ***“Relying on markets to allocate resources efficiently is clearly necessary (there is no known, effective substitute)”*** and ***“Government is not the proximate cause of growth. That role falls to the private sector, to investment and entrepreneurship responding to price signals and market forces.”***⁷³⁹

However, for all the strengths of business, and its important global role in delivering progress on social justice, development and the environment, the great weakness of business is that ultimately it must follow the most favourable route to maximise income and profit in order to survive, or face going under. As we saw in [Part 6 on the Environment](#), even though most people want to buy products and services that are ethical and sustainable, they will not do so if those products and services are significantly more expensive and inconvenient. Thus, whilst the vast majority of people in business want to do the right thing, if this will undermine the bottom-line performance of their company, they can only make small progress at the margins. Ultimately their hands are tied. Even if 90% of companies in an industry want to produce ethical and sustainable products and services, if 10% is happy not to, and therefore produces the same products and services significantly cheaper as a result, the 10% will undercut their competitors and put them out of business.

This is a natural and inevitable evolutionary law of the market recognised by economists and political commentators. In his book calling for a reform, rather than a scrapping, of capitalism, *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, the British environmentalist Jonathan Porritt wisely observes, ***“a growing number of business leaders have themselves commented on the fact that they are less in control of their companies’ destiny than the outside world appears to recognize, bound as they are by the iron clad laws of short-term profit maximization ... The idea of the relative powerlessness of multinational companies strikes many campaigners as counter-intuitive if not fantastical. But in a world where there are few restrictions on the movement of capital, and almost limitless opportunities for investors (both as listed institutions and as private operators) to move money at speed on the most marginal and most***

⁷³⁸ Eberly, D., *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, (2008), p. 30, see also pp. viii, 1, 4, 116 – 117, 290 – 302; Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 12, 17 – 20; Sachs, J., *Common Wealth*, (2008), pp. 50 – 52, 314 – 319 etc.

⁷³⁹ Commission on Growth and Development, *The Growth Report*, (2008), p. 4; *Doing Business*, World Bank, (annual report); Coyle, D., *The Economics of Enough*, (2011), pp. 211 – 217, 228 etc.

*short-term of potential gains, multinationals really do not call the shots today as they may once have done in the past.”*⁷⁴⁰



Figure 7.1: The role of business is to create the jobs that people need, and wealth, a part of which can be taxed to also meet the basic needs of the sick, elderly and disadvantaged.

In addition, because of this natural and evolutionary law of the market, those companies that have adapted and evolved to become the most successful under the current framework will by definition have the most to lose from any change to that framework and the most power and resources to lobby against that change.⁷⁴¹

Overall therefore, the private sector is essential for creating the strong and fair economies which create jobs and generate the wealth that leads to development and creates the middle classes which drive social justice improvements. The private sector however, finds it hard to initiate and lead necessary change and improvement in social justice, development and environment if it will drive up costs and make companies less competitive.

⁷⁴⁰ Porritt, J., *Capitalism as if the World Matters*, (2007), pp. 123 – 125; see also Ferguson, N., *The Ascent of Money*, (2009), pp. 349 – 362; Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 13 – 16 etc.

⁷⁴¹ Meadows, D., Meadows, D. & Randers, J., *Limits to Growth, The 30-Year Update*, (2010), p. 270; *Even it Up*, Oxfam, (2014), pp. 5, 13 – 14, 16 – 17, 26, 59 – 63, 83, 86, 94 – 96, 108; Hansen, J., *Storms of my Grandchildren*, (2011) etc.

The role of government

To solve this problem, society looks to the state to legislate to create a level playing field and to control and direct the way the economy functions in socially positive directions. In [Part 4 on Social Justice](#) we saw that the law should be based on people being free to do what they want unless that harms others, at which point the state should step in through the law and ban that harmful activity from taking place. [Part 5 on Development](#) showed that this same principle extends into the market, that companies should be free to do what they like unless that harms others, at which point the state again steps in to ban those practices. Thus, we see how the state and the private sector work together. By legislating against harmful business practices, the state prevents business from making profit in destructive ways. This doesn't collapse or kill the health of the economy, instead it re-directs the economy and unlocks the innovative, entrepreneurial creativity and the huge financial resources of the private sector to make profits in more socially desirable directions, just as the economy continually adapts and changes to every new development in technology.

This is why the actions set out in [Parts 4, 5 and 6 on Social Justice, Development and the Environment](#) primarily need to be taken by governments. This is not because governments have all the answers and business doesn't have a role, but because in taking those policy steps, governments redirect and unleash the power of business to provide the solutions the world needs. As Robert Dahl, the late political scientist says in his work *On Democracy*, ***“the basic institutions of market-capitalism themselves require extensive government intervention. Competitive markets, ownership of economic entities, enforcing contracts, preventing monopolies, protecting property rights – these and many other aspects of market capitalism depend wholly on laws, policies, orders, and other actions carried out by governments. A market economy is not, and cannot be, completely self-regulating.”*** Furthermore, ***“without government intervention and regulation a market economy inevitably inflicts serious harm on some persons; and those who are harmed or expect to be harmed will demand government intervention. Economic actors motivated by self-interest have little incentive for taking the good of others into account; on the contrary, they have powerful incentives for ignoring the good of others if by doing so they themselves stand to gain ... The most easily accessible candidate for intervening in a market economy in order to alter an otherwise harmful outcome, and the most effective, is the government of the state ... the historical record is clear: in all democratic countries, the harm produced by, or expected from, unregulated markets has induced governments to intervene in order to alter an outcome that would otherwise cause damage to some citizens.”*** Or as the former World Bank Chief Economist Joseph Stiglitz puts it, ***“it is plain that markets must be tamed and tempered to make sure they work to the benefit of most citizens. And that has to be done repeatedly, to ensure they continue to do so.”*** ... ***“Markets by themselves often fail to produce efficient and desirable outcomes, and there is a role for government in correcting these market failures, that is, designing policies (taxes and regulations) that bring private incentives and social returns into alignment.”***⁷⁴²

The other major roles of the state are two-fold. First, the traditional function described in Part 4 on Social Justice to [provide law, justice, peace and stability in society](#), which along with

⁷⁴² Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), pp. 174 – 176; Stiglitz, J., *The Price of Inequality*, (2012), pp. xiii, 33 – 34, see also pp. 30, 52, 57 – 58, 92 – 93, 173 – 178; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 153 – 155, 157 – 158, 161 – 162; Mazzucato, M., *The Entrepreneurial State*, (2015) pp. 4 – 6, 36; Stern, N., *Why are we Waiting?*, (2016), pp. 76, 81, 93 – 98, 110 – 111, 129, 221 – 238, 311 – 325; Collier, P., *The Plundered Planet*, (2010), p. 5 etc.

overseeing the economy was the only major function of states until the nineteenth century. Second, as discussed in [Part 5 on Development](#), since the nineteenth century the state has also increasingly had a role to tax the wealth generated by the private sector in strong and fair national economies in order to provide health care, education and social protection for the unemployed, elderly and incapacitated, to ensure no citizen is left behind in poverty. However, as with business, for all its strengths, the state also finds its hands tied. In democratic states (which as we saw in [Part 4 on Social Justice](#) are infinitely preferable to autocratic and oppressive regimes), the vast majority of people in government who want to do the right thing, including many Christians, find they cannot take major steps to improve social justice, development and environment if they impose greater cost and inconvenience on the electorate, and are therefore deeply unpopular and political suicide. This phenomenon is noted by many political scientists, perhaps most famously by the politician, journalist and academic, Moisés Naím in his book *The End of Power*, where he comments that in democracies the public have ever more *“frequent opportunities to select and reject the people who represent them as well as to voice through referenda their preferences in matters of public policy or national priorities.”* Therefore, *“politicians have had to re-earn the public’s consent many more times. This constant scrutiny and the burden of recurring electoral contests not only shortens the time horizon that elected officials use to make their decisions or to select the initiatives on which they will invest their time and political capital but also greatly limits their autonomy.”*⁷⁴³



Figure 7.2: The role of government is to provide law and order, and basic services for all, paid for through tax. Governments also legislate to drive business in socially positive directions.

⁷⁴³ Naím, M., *The End of Power*, (2013), p. 86, see also pp. xi – xiii, 1 – 2, 6, 74 – 106; Micklethwait, J. & Wooldridge, A., *The Fourth Revolution*, (2014); Sen, A., *Development as Freedom*, (2001), p. 156 etc.

Even non-democratic regimes ultimately rule with the consent of the populace and are wary of taking major steps that would upset and offend their populations for fear of the results. Again, this is widely recognised by politicians and academic experts. A major policy brief, *Non-Violence and Democratization*, from the Peace Research Institute Oslo, stresses that **“All governments are ultimately dependent on at least implicit popular compliance in order to rule and maintain control (see Sharp, 1973). Maintaining control and implementing policy is ultimately impossible if a sufficient number of people refuse to comply with or obey the government’s authority.”**⁷⁴⁴ So once again, whilst they can make limited improvements within the margins of what is politically possible, governments also ultimately find their hands tied if they don’t have a popular mandate from the people to take the actions necessary to significantly improve social justice, development and the environment.

The role of society

So whether it is business being constrained to only act in ways that customers are prepared to pay for, or government being constrained to only act in ways that are popular with the electorate, real power to initiate change that dramatically improves social justice, development and the environment comes back to the public, civil society, community, and ordinary people – like you and me. Civil society provides some services to support social justice, development and environment in small-scale local ways directly. However, it is when civil society finds its voice and influences public discourse and popular opinion that its power is really unleashed. It is when civil society sends signals to business and government that it cares about social justice, development and environment through what we say, what we buy and how we vote, that we expand what is politically possible. As the activist, Duncan Green, puts it in his study of *How Change Happens*, **“government is rarely the original source of new norms. In fact, the ideas for many of what we now consider the core functions of the state (social protection, education, healthcare) were incubated by activists before being taken up by the state, as were the rules of war and the principles of child rights. A similar process is now occurring regarding environmental stewardship, data transparency, and disabled people’s rights.”**⁷⁴⁵ This popular pressure enables governments to move, and take the actions and introduce the laws and policies required that we saw in [Parts 4, 5 and 6](#) on [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and [Environment](#). This in turn unlocks progress from the private sector and we truly begin to see our world transformed at scale.

This dynamic shouldn’t surprise us. We saw in [Part 5](#) how the industrial revolution gave rise to the growth of middle classes demanding improvements in social services and governance. We saw in [Part 4](#) how these same civil society reform movements over the past 200 years have continued to be the driving force behind advancements in human rights, democracy and social justice. This has been true for the spread of human rights, as the academic and social activist Aryah Neier says in his book *The International Human Rights Movement*, **“the driving force behind the protection of human rights worldwide, today and for roughly the past thirty-five years, has been the nongovernmental human rights movement.”** It has also been true for the spread of democracy, as the late Gene Sharp, wrote in his book *From Dictatorship to*

⁷⁴⁴ *Non-Violence and Democratization*, PRIO, (2016) p. 2, but also see the whole report; Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005), pp. 128 – 130, 158, 195 – 196; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), p. 494 etc.

⁷⁴⁵ Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), p. 54, see also pp. 2 – 3, 47 – 77, 87 – 88, 115 – 118, 179 – 195, 212 – 232; *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005); Donnelly, J., *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, (2013), pp. 24 – 25, 33 – 34, 208 – 210 etc.

Democracy, *“In recent years various dictatorships – of both internal and external origin – have collapsed or stumbled when confronted by defiant, mobilized people. Often seen as firmly entrenched and impregnable, some of these dictatorships proved unable to withstand the concerted political, economic, and social defiance of the people. Since 1980 dictatorships have collapsed before the predominantly nonviolent defiance of people in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Slovenia, Madagascar, Mali, Bolivia, and the Philippines. Nonviolent resistance has furthered the movement towards democratization in Nepal, Zambia, South Korea, Chile, Argentina, Haiti, Brazil, Uruguay, Malawi, Thailand, Bulgaria, Hungary, Nigeria, and various parts of the former Soviet Union”*.

Civil society has also led the way in the area of global development and poverty reduction. As the academic economist and former director of research at the World Bank, Martin Ravallion, says in his book *The Economics of Poverty*, *“In the history of the successful transitions out of extreme poverty made in today’s rich world, many people came to protest, join community or religious groups, labor and civil-rights movements, or political coalitions of one sort or another to lobby for governmental action. They often met staunch resistance and a great many brave people sacrificed their liberty and even their lives in those struggles over centuries. Successful promotion policies took time to evolve and were invariably mediated by politics. However, in due course, a self-reinforcing cycle emerged in the successful countries to help assure a sustained and (over time) more rapid escape from absolute poverty.”* And with the environment too it is again civil society which must lead the way. The scientist and historian, Jared Diamond, in his book looking at historical and present environmental over exploitation, *Collapse*, points out that *“In the long run, it is the public, either directly or through its politicians, that has the power to make destructive environmental policies unprofitable and illegal, and to make sustainable environmental policies profitable ... throughout human history, in all politically complex human societies in which people encounter other individuals with whom they have no ties of family or clan relationship, government regulation has arisen precisely because it was found to be necessary for the enforcement of moral principles. Invocation of moral principles is a necessary first step for eliciting virtuous behavior, but that alone is not a sufficient step ... Businesses have changed when the public came to expect and require different behavior, to reward businesses for behavior that the public wanted, and to make things difficult for businesses practicing behaviors that the public didn’t want.”*⁷⁴⁶

Indeed, it can be argued that when civil society and community – we the public – are disengaged and apathetic from the political process, rather than proactive and engaged, then the health of democracy itself begins to wither. The American civil servant and academic, Don Eberly, is one of many experts to stress the importance of this in his study *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, *“It is impossible to have a strong nation grounded in democratic values without vibrant nongovernmental institutions ... Much of the work of building and maintaining the*

⁷⁴⁶ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), p. 7, but also see the whole book; Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012), p. 1, but again also see the whole book; Ravallion, M., *The Economics of Poverty*, (2016), p. 596, see also pp. 62 – 82, 598 – 599; Diamond, J., *Collapse*, (2006), pp. 484 – 485; see also Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), pp. 85, 93, 181, 184 – 212, 270 – 271, 310 – 325, 362 – 363, 402 – 403, 414 – 419, 426 – 427, 455 – 462; Osborne, R., *Of the People, By the People*, (2011), pp. 4, 39 – 42, 97, 105 – 117, 121 – 125, 134, 155 – 188, 271 – 275 etc.

democratic state is done by citizens operating within communities ... The health of a republic is dependent on the vitality of civil society and the voluntary actions of the people.”⁷⁴⁷



Figure 7.3: The role of civil society is to provide some direct support for social justice, development and environment issues, but most importantly to agitate for change through what we say, what we buy and how we vote, thus unlocking progress through pressure, from governments and business.

Therefore, we need all three groups in society (business, government and civil society) to act in order to bring about lasting transformation in the areas of social justice, development and the environment. The private sector is essential to provide the wealth and jobs. The state is essential to legislate to drive the innovation of the private sector in socially positive directions, to provide justice and protection for its citizens, and to tax the economy to provide basic services for all, to ensure no one is left behind. Ultimately, however, all positive change is first demanded by civil society, community, the public. It is these demands which put pressure on the state, resulting in the necessary legislation to improve social justice, development and the environment, to which business then responds. Through this process, societies have progressed in improving social justice and development over the past 200 years, and as we saw in [Part 6](#), this same dynamic is now playing out in our generation as pressure mounts to end activities causing environmental destruction. In each area, as society and public conscience has become aware that activities that had previously been thought benign are in fact harmful to others, demand for change has grown. In every case, the first realisation that change is needed has emerged from civil society. It turns out that true power to initiate change does not lie with captains of industry, prime ministers and presidents, but with ordinary people, like you and me.

⁷⁴⁷ Eberly, D., *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, (2008), pp. 29 – 30, see also pp. 31, 85 – 88, 277 – 289; Wallensteen, P., *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (2015), pp. 135, 154 – 156; Han, H., *How Organizations Develop Activists*, (2014), pp. 2, 27 – 28, 40, 97, 152 – 155, 167, 170 – 171 etc.

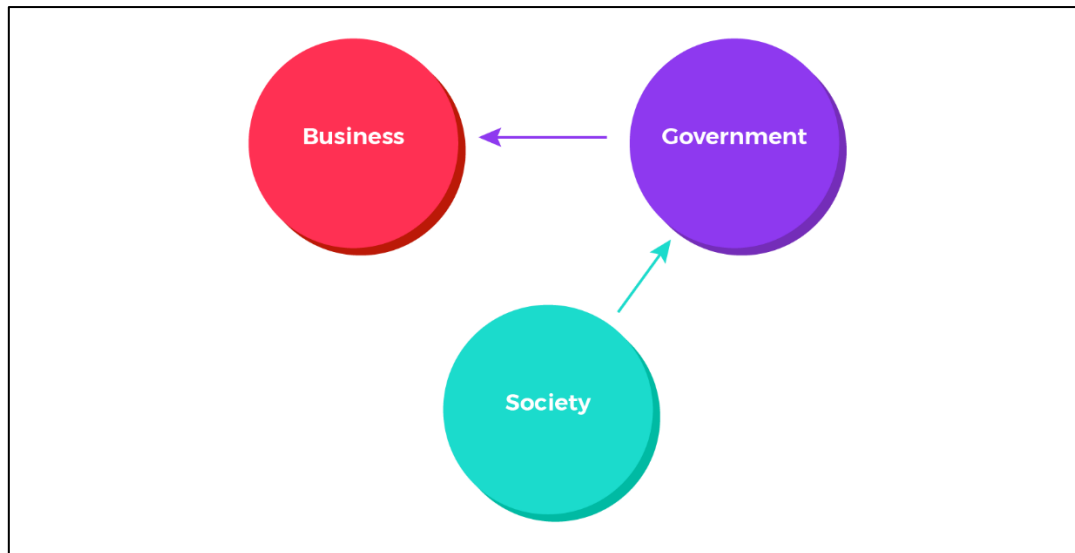


Figure 7.4: Civil society agitates for change to improve social justice, development and the environment. Government responds with legislation to implement these changes. Business adapts and drives investment and innovation in more socially positive directions, improving social justice, development and the environment.

The need for global agreements

So far, we have considered the dynamic between the private sector, the state and civil society, and their roles in tackling social justice, development and the environment within nations. However, in today's increasingly globalised world, we cannot ignore the international dimension. As companies and investors have become internationalised and able to move assets between countries more easily, they have been able to play nations off against each other, so that nations with the lowest levels of tax, and often the weakest laws on social justice, development and the environment can attract the most investment. This risks creating a race to the bottom, where nations cannot institute the right laws even if they want to, for fear of losing companies critical to their economy. The international relations academic, Andrew Hurrell, is one of many experts who comment on this broad phenomenon in his book *On Global Order*, ***“Increased trade also places governments under pressure to adopt pro-market policies, avoiding policies which would imply the need to harm business by taxation, or to raise interest rates as a consequence of increased borrowing. They find themselves forced to cut back the role of the public sector in order to attract inward investment from increasingly footloose multinational companies quick to punish governments who stray from the path of economic righteousness by exercising their exit option.”***⁷⁴⁸

During the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, there has been increasing awareness of this dynamic, as well as growing recognition of the need for the nations of the world to come together to tackle global problems that transcend national boundaries such as conflict, terrorism, climate change, financial crises or global pandemics. Thus, the institutions of global and regional governance have emerged: the United Nations, European Union (and other regional unions), World Trade Organization, G7, G20, OECD etc. As already discussed, for

⁷⁴⁸ Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009), pp. 198 – 199, see also pp. 104 – 110, 194 – 215, 294; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 195 – 212; Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 134 – 136, 144 – 145, 258, 278 – 288 etc.

all their imperfections and flaws, such institutions are critical international coordination and stabilisation mechanisms, and states should engage constructively to support these important international institutions. As the former World Bank Chief Economist, Joseph Stiglitz says, ***“We cannot go back on globalization; it is here to stay. The issue is how can we make it work. And if it is to work, there have to be global public institutions to help set the rules ... Globalization has meant that there is increasing recognition of arenas where impacts are global. It is in these arenas where global collective action is required – and systems of global governance are essential. The recognition of these areas has been paralleled by the creation of global institutions to address such concerns.”***⁷⁴⁹ States can work together internationally through these mechanisms in order to provide common laws, standards and level playing fields, stimulating peace, improving human rights and governance and driving international business in socially positive directions at the global scale.⁷⁵⁰

Looking to the future, these international institutions and the global deals they can agree are essential. We need to see the policies on [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#) set out in [Parts 4](#), [5](#) and [6](#) adopted not just at a national level, but also internationally, through global agreements. This will ensure nations are not held back from taking the right steps on social justice, development and the environment for fear of losing key domestic industries. In Parts 4 – 6, we explored some of the specific areas where states should work together to agree deals and norm setting standards in the areas of [democracy](#), [human rights](#), [international humanitarian law](#), [trade agreements](#), [tax agreements](#), [international development](#), [clean energy](#) and the [circular economy](#). The world does not need new institutions to form such agreements. It already has them. However, it does need these institutions to work more efficiently, so that global agreements can be reached faster and more effectively. All too often nations do not engage in such processes willingly, treating them as a common endeavour to tackle common problems. Instead they engage reluctantly, treating the process as a tough negotiation; trying to give the least and obtain the most from others. Consequently, nobody moves until all move, and thus all too often, progress stalls in a race to the bottom as all nations move at the pace of the most reluctant.

This is largely inevitable because of the stark reality that no international process or agreement is powerful enough to force major nations to do anything they don't want to do. A much more effective approach is to recognise that reality for what it is. When progress does come in international negotiations it is almost always when nations or groups of nations break the deadlock by putting new generous offers on the table unilaterally, making an offer regardless of whether it is reciprocated by other nations or not. Instead of trying to force nations to sign up to deals they don't want to do, this much more effective and open handed approach should be adopted. Nations should simply put on the table what they are prepared to do to address a common issue, in terms of finance and national policy, regardless of what others will do. If this approach is taken, no nation is held back by the reluctance of others, and no nation can hide behind others. Instead of a race to the bottom, it creates a virtuous upward spiral as no nation wants to be seen as a laggard. Progressive nations, therefore, form coalitions that build momentum (which ever more nations want to be seen to be part of) and can press ahead, without being held back by the blockers who instead become increasingly isolated and feel growing pressure to act themselves. As Professor Ian Goldin of Oxford University, former Vice

⁷⁴⁹ Stiglitz, J., *Globalization and its Discontents*, (2002), pp. 222 – 224; see also Cooper, R., *The Breaking of Nations*, (2003), pp. 23, 26 – 47, 70 – 73, 76 – 80, 84, 138 – 151, 160, 167 – 172; Watson, A., *The Evolution of International Society*, (1992), pp. 14, 282 – 290, 301 – 309, 323 etc.

⁷⁵⁰ Goldin, I., *Divided Nations*, (2014); Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009); Sachs, J., *The Age of Sustainable Development*, (2015), pp. 481 – 496 etc.

President and Director of Policy at the World Bank and a scholar of international relations comments in his book on global governance, *Divided Nations*, “*If a critical majority of states can be persuaded to participate in regulation or more direct action, the recalcitrant minority may be tolerated. Accepting that they are unlikely to subscribe to global rules may be vital if any progress is to be made. For issues of global gravity, the ‘coalition of the willing’ may be persuaded that the domestic cost of inaction is greater than the potential benefits of a more comprehensive international distribution of the burdens of action.*”⁷⁵¹



Figure 7.5: In the twenty-first century it is not enough for governments just to focus on the national level. States also need to work together internationally through institutions like the United Nations to provide common laws, standards and level playing fields to address the global challenges of social justice, development and the environment.

The most successful international agreements such as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the subsequent human rights conventions; international humanitarian law on warfare; the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty* and the *Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions*; the various environmental agreements; and the *Paris Agreement* on climate change have all followed this form. No nation is forced into agreeing, signing up and implementing them against its will through a negotiation. But as more increasingly do so, the pressure on the remaining nations becomes ever stronger. There are therefore some final recommendations we can make to the international community to help ensure that the changes

⁷⁵¹ Goldin, I., *Divided Nations*, (2014), p. 108, see also pp. 107 – 109, 124 – 127; Rodrik, D., *One Economics, Many Recipes*, (2007), pp. 205, 231 – 232; Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 108 – 109, 174 – 175 etc.

outlined in [Parts 4, 5](#) and [6](#) on [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#) are applied at the international, as well as at the national level.

The international community should:

- Recognise that we need global agreements, as well as national laws and policies for the recommendations to improve [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#) outlined in Parts 4, 5 and 6
- Recognise that, through the UN, WTO and other bodies, we already have the institutions we need to make global agreements; we don't need new ones
- Work to make those institutions work better, fairer and more efficiently
- Recognise that such agreements do not progress through tough negotiating approaches where nations refuse to reveal their positions, pursue naked national self-interest and refuse to move until every other nation also moves
- Transform the process of reaching such agreements by instead simply asking nations to put forward what they will do regardless of any other nation, thus creating a virtuous upward spiral where progressive nations form coalitions of the willing that build momentum (which ever more nations want to be seen to be part of) and can press ahead without being held back by the blockers, who instead become increasingly isolated and face growing pressure to act themselves

We need a global bottom-up reform movement from society to drive change

Such changes would help to ease the process of agreeing global deals to improve social justice, development and the environment. However, ultimately we have seen that no major nation can be forced into a global deal if they don't want it, and they won't want it if it is seen to be unpopular with their public back home. Once again governments find their hands tied. In the end they must want to do a deal, which as we have seen means they must be feeling significant domestic pressure for progress from their public, from civil society. Progress must come at a national level in order to unlock any progress at an international level. Therefore, in order to secure the global deals we need to advance social justice, development and the environment, we need to see domestic bottom-up reform movements emerging from civil society in different countries around the world. Such movements are especially key within the largest most powerful G20 nations, which have a controlling influence in any international process. It is this bottom-up pressure from civil society around the world which will truly transform the dynamics of global negotiations, as world leaders come to the table genuinely keen to do a deal because of the momentum and demand for change that is developing in their nation. Once again, it is clear that the power to initiate change at a global level, as well as at a national level, does not lie with politicians, world leaders and heads of state, but with civil society, community, the public, and ultimately; ordinary people like you and me.

This is the conclusion that the experts we have consulted in the course of this report have come to again and again. Historians, economists, academics, international relations experts, political advisers, foreign policy experts, development practitioners, scientists, environmentalists, investigative journalists, activists and many others from different disciplines, and from right across the political spectrum, come to the same conclusion; that ultimately all positive change in the past, and all hope for it in the future, has and must come from the demands of bottom-up reform movements emerging from the public and wider society. Thus the historian and political scientist, Francis Fukuyama, when discussing the growth of democracy around the

world, wrote in his work *Political Order and Political Decay*, ***“Democracy in the developed world became secure and stable as industrialization produced middle-class societies, that is, societies in which a significant majority of the population thought of themselves as middle class.” ... “Middle-class groups were the primary leaders of the democratic transitions that took place in Denmark, Greece, France, Argentina, Portugal, and Spain in the nineteenth century, and were important parts of the coalitions that pressed for full democratization in Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and Britain in the early twentieth” ... “As populations become wealthier and better educated, and as technology provides them with more access to information, the difficulty of exercising authority increases. When people discover they can think for themselves, or know things that the government doesn’t, they are much less willing to obey an edict simply because it was issued by an official. It is the broad social mobilization reflecting the rise of the middle classes that has led to the spread of formal democracy around the world over the past four decades.”***⁷⁵²

Similarly the late Robert Dahl, one of the world’s foremost experts on democracy, also ascribed the gradual spread of democracy over the last couple of centuries to bottom-up demand for change emerging from civil society in his work *On Democracy*, ***“The institutions of market-capitalism were spread to one country after another. Market-capitalism not only resulted in higher economic growth and well-being but also fundamentally altered a country’s society by creating a large and influential middle class sympathetic to democratic ideas and institutions ... It creates a large middling stratum of property owners who typically seek education, autonomy, personal freedom, property rights, the rule of law, and participation in government. The middle classes, as Aristotle was the first to point out, are the natural allies of democratic ideas and institutions.”***⁷⁵³ The politician, journalist and academic Moisés Naím in his book, *The End of Power*, once again identified bottom-up pressure for change from the emerging middle classes as the key driver for positive political and economic change, ***“The More and Mobility revolutions have created a new, vast, and fast-growing middle class whose members are well aware that others have even more prosperity, freedom, or personal fulfillment than they do – and who hope and expect to catch up ... both growing and shrinking middle classes fuel political turmoil. The embattled middle classes take to the streets and fight to protect their living standards while the expanding middle classes protest to get more and better good and services.” ... “A rising middle class demanded better public services, greater participation, and eventually more political freedom.”***⁷⁵⁴ Similarly, the political economists, Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, conclude at the end of their book *Why Nations Fail*, that peaceful, stable, inclusive and democratic national institutions emerge ***“only when a broad segment of society mobilizes and organizes in order to effect political change, and does so not for sectarian reasons or to take control of extractive institutions, but to transform extractive institutions into more inclusive ones.”***⁷⁵⁵

The US based human rights group, Freedom House, also found in a key report, *How Freedom is Won*, that overwhelmingly it is bottom-up reform movements that drive such change, ***“In the last three decades, dozens of corrupt, authoritarian, autocratic, one-party, and military regimes have fallen. As empires, multinational states, and colonial systems have receded, new states have emerged. Dictatorships collapse and new states and new democracies arise by a variety of means. As this study shows, far more often than is generally understood, the***

⁷⁵² Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), pp. 34, 406, 520, but also see the whole book

⁷⁵³ Dahl, R. A., *On Democracy*, (2015), pp. 164, 167 – 168, see also pp. 166, 169 – 172, 178

⁷⁵⁴ Naím, M., *The End of Power*, (2013), pp. 64, 84

⁷⁵⁵ Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J., *Why Nations Fail*, (2013), p.462, see also pp. 85, 93, 181, 184 – 212, 270 – 271, 310 – 326, 362 – 363, 402 – 403 414 – 419, 426 – 427, 455 – 462

*change agent is broad-based, nonviolent civic resistance which employs tactics such as boycotts, mass protests, blockades, strikes, and civil disobedience to de-legitimate authoritarian rulers and erode their sources of support, including the loyalty of their armed defenders.”*⁷⁵⁶

Similarly, in the most authoritative study in this field to date, *Why Civil Resistance Works*, the academics Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan once again find, *“in recent years organised civilian populations have successfully used nonviolent resistance methods, including boycotts, strikes, protests, and organized non-cooperation to exact political concessions and challenge entrenched power. To name a few, sustained and systematic nonviolent sanctions have removed autocratic regimes from power in Serbia (2000), Madagascar (2002), Georgia (2003), and Ukraine (2004 – 2005), after rigged elections; ended a foreign occupation in Lebanon (2005); and forced Nepal’s monarch to make major constitutional concessions (2006).”* After *“analysing 323 violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns between 1900 and 2006”* they found *“nonviolent resistance campaigns were nearly twice as likely to achieve full or partial success as their violent counterparts.”*⁷⁵⁷

Looking specifically at Africa, the historian, Martin Meredith, in his book *The State of Africa*, when identifying the force that has driven the improvements in democracy and human rights across the continent since the end of the Cold War, again concludes it is bottom-up social movements. *“Students were at the forefront of a wave of protests that erupted in one country after another, but other urban groups – businessmen, professionals, churchmen, labour unions and civil servants – soon joined in, demanding not just redress of economic grievances but political reform.”*⁷⁵⁸ In their work on nonviolent resistance, *A Force More Powerful*, Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall also conclude that peaceful bottom-up reform movements were the driving force for transforming democracy and human rights in the twentieth century. They observe that by the end of the century, of the heads of state who attend the opening of the UN General Assembly in New York each September, *“The great majority of these men and women were democratically elected presidents and prime ministers. Had such a meeting been held one hundred years before, all but a few would have been kings, emperors, generals, or other rulers who had reached power by violent force or dynastic inheritance. This was the most important political change that the twentieth century wrought, but it would not have come to pass without the actions of ordinary people who defied oppressive rulers through nonviolent power rather than by force of arms.”*⁷⁵⁹

Beyond democracy, Steven Pinker again pinpoints the key role of bottom-up demand for change in the long development of modern social justice and human rights in his work on the history of violence, *The Better Angels of our Nature*, *“a gradual shift in sensibilities is often incapable of changing actual practices until the change is implemented by the stroke of a pen. The slave trade, for example, was abolished as a result of moral agitation that persuaded men in power to pass laws and back them up with guns and ships. Blood sports, public hangings, cruel punishments, and debtors’ prisons were also shut down by acts of legislators who had been influenced by moral agitators and the public debates they began ... And when a practice has vanished from everyday experience because it was outlawed from the top down, it may fall off the menu of live options in people’s imaginations. Just as today*

⁷⁵⁶ *How Freedom is Won*, Freedom House, (2005), pp. 208 – 209, but also see the whole book

⁷⁵⁷ Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), pp. 6 – 7, 222, but also see the whole book

⁷⁵⁸ Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), p. 386

⁷⁵⁹ Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), p. 2, but also see the whole book

smoking in offices and classrooms has passed from commonplace to prohibited to unthinkable, practices like slavery and public hangings, when enough time passed that no one alive could remember them, became so unimaginable that they were no longer brought up for debate.”⁷⁶⁰



Figure 7.6: Whether it is the growth of democracy, reducing poverty, strengthening human rights, or improving the environment, experts from multiple fields all agree that the key to unlocking progress is bottom-up pressure from civil society reform movements in nation after nation.

The human rights expert and academic, Jack Donnelly, in his work *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, again agrees that the overwhelming lead role in securing human rights is played by bottom-up reform movements, *“A government that respects human rights is almost always the legacy of persistent national political struggles against human rights violations. Most governments that respect human rights have been created not from the top down but from the bottom up.”*⁷⁶¹ Looking more internationally, in *Inventing Human Rights* the historian Lynn Hunt also concludes when looking to the future, *“The history of human rights shows that rights are best defended in the end by the feelings, convictions, and actions of multitudes of individuals, who demand responses that accord with their inner sense of outrage.”*⁷⁶²

Moving beyond social justice, in the area of global development and poverty reduction too, expert after expert points to bottom-up civil society as driving the change that is needed. Thus, as we have seen, the academic economist and former director of research at the World Bank, Martin Ravallion, says in his book *The Economics of Poverty*, *“In the history of the successful transitions out of extreme poverty made in today’s rich world, many people came to protest, join community or religious groups, labor and civil-rights movements, or political coalitions of one sort or another to lobby for governmental action. They often met staunch resistance*

⁷⁶⁰ Pinker, S., *The Better Angels of our Nature*, (2012), pp. 203, see also pp. 188 – 190, 202, 574

⁷⁶¹ Donnelly, J., *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, (2013), pp. 208 – 209

⁷⁶² Hunt, L., *Inventing Human Rights*, (2008), p. 213

*and a great many brave people sacrificed their liberty and even their lives in those struggles over centuries. Successful promotion policies took time to evolve and were invariably mediated by politics. However, in due course, a self-reinforcing cycle emerged in the successful countries to help assure a sustained and (over time) more rapid escape from absolute poverty.”*⁷⁶³

Or as the Oxford-based development economist, Paul Collier writes in his key book *Wars, Guns and Votes*, *“The states of the mid-nineteenth century were run by the rich, and their priority was national security. The road from there to the present is paved with political protest from the excluded. Gradually, little by little, to avoid worse the rich expanded the franchise. This enabled them credibly to commit redistributive reforms that became irreversible without being so drastic that the economy was damaged. Nations inched towards democracy, and as they did so the priorities of government inched towards the priorities of ordinary citizens – the supply of public goods such as health and education instead of simply defense. Gradually the state became captured by the interest of ordinary citizens: we have arrived at the modern liberal democracy.”*⁷⁶⁴ Even today, such global bottom-up reform movements are continuing to progress development. A major report from the UN Development Programme on tackling growing global inequality, *Humanity Divided*, once again concludes, *“Not surprisingly, people the world over are demanding a change in direction. Through social movements and in protests in both the Global North and South, people are calling for better services, greater opportunity, dignity, and respect. They want responsive government and an end to the discrimination which aggravates and compounds inequalities”*.⁷⁶⁵

In the area of the environment too, all the experts look to bottom-up civil society reform movements as the key driver that will unlock change. The environmental activist and journalist, Mark Lynas, concludes at the end of his book surveying the devastating impacts of climate change around the world *High Tide*, that in order to see real change come, *“What’s still lacking most of all is a global citizens’ movement demanding that governments seriously confront the threat of climate change.”*⁷⁶⁶ Similarly, the American climate scientist James Hansen, one of the first to bring climate change to the world’s attention in the 1980s, after a lifetime of fighting to convince governments and business to take more urgent action to address climate change concludes in his book *Storms of my Grandchildren*, *“Ultimately it is the public that must become informed and place pressure on our governments”*. As he says in closing his book, *“The picture has become clear. Our planet, with its remarkable array of life, is in imminent danger of crashing. Yet our politicians are not dashing forward. They hesitate; they hang back. Therefore it is up to you. You will need to be a protector of your children and grandchildren on this matter. I am sorry to say that your job will be difficult – special interests have been able to subvert our democratic system. But we should not give up the democratic system – quite the contrary. We must fight for the principle of equal justice ... as in other struggles for justice against powerful forces, it may be necessary to take to the streets to draw attention to injustice ... The international community seems to be headed down a path toward inadequate agreements at best. Civil resistance may be our best hope. It is crucial for all of us, especially young people, to get involved.”*⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶³ Ravallion, M., *The Economics of Poverty*, (2016), p. 596, see also pp. 62 – 82, 598 – 599

⁷⁶⁴ Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 175 – 176, see also pp. 154, 172, 174

⁷⁶⁵ *Humanity Divided*, UNDP, (2013), p. xi

⁷⁶⁶ Lynas, M., *High Tide*, (2005), p. 307, see also p. 298

⁷⁶⁷ Hansen, J., *Storms of my Grandchildren*, (2011), pp. 246, 182, 277, see also pp. 244 – 249, 269

Similarly, the 2017 anthology *Drawdown* details the top 100 most effective technologies for tackling climate change. However, in order for these solutions to be implemented globally at the scale required, the authors conclude, like many others, that whilst there are many steps we can take as individuals to tackle climate change, ultimately it is only by coming together as a global movement that real change can be achieved. ***“What individuals can do is become a movement. As McKibben writes: ‘Movements are what take five or ten percent of people and make them decisive – because in a world where apathy rules, five or ten percent is an enormous number.’ Movements change how we think and how we see the world, creating more evolved social norms. What was once accepted and thought to be normal becomes unthinkable. What was marginalized or derided becomes honoured and respected. What was suppressed becomes recognized as a principle. The United States was founded on the premise that there are truths that are self-evident, and one of the unmentioned truths is that we only have one home. If we are to remain here, we must together take great care. To do that means we must become a ‘we’, a movement that is unstoppable and fearless. Movements are dreams with feet and hands, hearts and voices.”***⁷⁶⁸

The academics, Mike Berners-Lee and Duncan Clark, after meticulous discussion of the challenge of climate change in their book *The Burning Question*, also conclude that the only hope lies in bottom-up pressure from civil society, ***“Given the political and economic barriers to tackling climate change, a solution will remain unlikely without the world’s citizens being properly alert to the problem and pushing hard for action ... If the world felt fired up enough about the issue, citizens would shift their behaviour and voting to match their concerns – even taking to the streets if necessary. Greener governments would feel mandated to make difficult decisions. Fossil fuel lobbyists would still complain, but they couldn’t compete with widespread public pressure.”*** Therefore, they stress ***“Rapid change in society has always required large numbers of people demanding it – and taking to the streets where necessary – on the basis of passionate concern for a big moral issue. With so much power and money bound up with fossil fuel use, climate change will surely be no different. The right policies and technologies are important, but the ten trillion-dollar question is whether we can emerge from our collective slumber, roll up our sleeves and make it happen.”***⁷⁶⁹

After a similarly rigorous examination in her book, *This Changes Everything*, the Canadian journalist, academic and social activist, Naomi Klein also concludes that in the face of the global climate crisis, ***“It is slowly dawning on a great many of us that no one is going to step in and fix this crisis; that if change is to take place it will only be because leadership bubbled up from below”***. She agrees with the complex systems expert, Brad Werner, that only a ***“mass uprising of people – along the lines of the abolition movement and the civil rights movement – represent the likeliest source of ‘friction’ to slow down an economic machine that is careening out of control ... Put another way, only mass social movements can save us now.”***⁷⁷⁰

The former senior researcher for Oxfam and the UN Development Programme, Kate Raworth, is another expert to stress that it is bottom-up people movements that will drive positive change in the environmental crisis in her book *Doughnut Economics*, ***“It’s people power, not economic growth per se, that protects local air and water quality. Likewise it is***

⁷⁶⁸ Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), p. 216

⁷⁶⁹ Berners-Lee, M. & Clark, D., *The Burning Question*, (2013), pp. 121, 170, see also pp. 134, 167 – 169, 197 – 199

⁷⁷⁰ Klein, N., *This Changes Everything*, (2014), pp. 450, 465, see also pp. 10, 25 – 26, 59 – 62, 155 – 159, 291 – 466

*citizen pressure on governments and companies for more stringent standards, not the mere increase in revenue, that compels industries to switch to cleaner technologies.”*⁷⁷¹

Addressing the same problem of environmental collapse, but from the opposite end of the political spectrum, the Oxford based development economist, Paul Collier, also concludes that it is global, bottom-up people power that will provide the solution, in his book *The Plundered Planet*. In managing the natural assets in the world’s poorest countries, ***“The only chance that such societies will manage their opportunities equitably is if enough of their citizens form a critical mass of informed opinion. Along that whole chain the right decision will be taken again and again when it is subject to social pressure.”*** But also when dealing with environmental crises at a global level, ***“The bottom-up approach of providing common information about the problem to ordinary citizens is already proving more effective than this top-down approach. With astonishing speed the sharing of information has changed the political landscape. First in Europe, and more recently in America, ordinary citizens have grasped what their societies need to do to limit carbon emissions. They have pressured their governments to impose a mixture of taxation and regulatory controls on emissions ... Changes in policy have followed, not led public awareness. So long as individual governments respond to pressures from their own citizens, formal international cooperation between governments becomes both less important and easier to achieve ... The key to addressing global problems lies with the exploitation of the new collective power. This bottom-up approach holds out greater promise than re-engineering inter-governmental cooperation and also eases inter-governmental efforts.”***⁷⁷²

The American civil servant and academic, Don Eberly, also reaches this same conclusion in his book *The Rise of Global Civil Society*; that it is the rise of a globalised civil society that will be the key way to unlock progressive change at scale in the coming century, ***“indigenous civil society is taking root wherever information technology and government openness allow it to grow, and it is linking electronically with its counterparts around the world. For the first time in history, a dynamic and globally connected civil society is emerging, independent of government. This is the single greatest force for global progress in democratization, human rights and the rule of law.”***⁷⁷³ Similarly, Professor Ian Goldin of Oxford University, former Vice President and Director of Policy at the World Bank, in his book *Divided Nations*, after conducting a rigorous and depressing analysis of the current failure of global governance, and the unlikely prospects of its improvement by other means, draws out the growth of global civil society as a key source of hope for bringing about the improved world that we want to see. ***“The acceleration of globalization, literacy, and communication in recent decades has, we may hope, produced new levels of awareness that could lead to more proactive engagement to prevent global crises. Whether our accumulated connectivity and experience has created fresh perspectives on global governance and an ability to transcend national borders remains the most critical question of our time. Ethical concerns are rising around the world, with citizens increasingly finding the means to hold their governments, corporations, and societies to account for abusive practices.”*** Furthermore, ***“for global action to be effective there must be some degree of enforceability at the global level. Governments must do what they promise. This is not easy in a world with no single power centre. Inter-governmental reviews and pressure among governments is one route towards enforcement. Equally vital are wider public pressures which emerge when inactions or***

⁷⁷¹ Raworth, K., *Doughnut Economics*, (2017), pp. 209 – 210, see also p. 77

⁷⁷² *The Plundered Planet*, (2010), pp. 231, 239 – 241, see also pp. 229 – 243

⁷⁷³ Eberly, D., *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, (2008), pp. 277 – 278, but also see whole book

*failure are brought to light by the media, by the campaigning of NGOs, or by other public institutions.”*⁷⁷⁴

The American civil servant and academic, Joseph Nye, is another to stress the power of global bottom-up civil reform movements in his book *Soft Power*. Speaking about such Non-Governmental Organisations he shows how *“They develop new norms directly by pressing governments and business leaders to change policies, and indirectly by altering public perceptions of what governments and firms should be doing.”* *“Some have reputations and credibility that give them impressive domestic as well as international political clout. Others may lack credibility among moderate citizens, but have organizational and communication skills that allow them to mobilize demonstrations that governments cannot ignore.”*⁷⁷⁵

Another international relations academic, Andrew Hurrell also agrees, writing in his book *On Global Order*, *“Civil society matters because it is both a force for political change – resisting tyranny, building new understandings of sustainability, and humanizing global capitalism – and a regulative ideal.”* ... *“global civil society represents a pluralist and open arena for the negotiation of rules and norms based on genuine and unforced consent. It serves as a regulative ideal but one whose potential can be gauged from the changing real practices of world politics.”*⁷⁷⁶



Figure 7.7: To drive progress on social justice, development and the environment at a global scale, the key for the future, just as it was in the past, will be bottom-up reform movements emerging from civil society and pressuring their governments at a national level.

Or finally as the Oxfam academic and activist, Duncan Green, puts it in his book *How Change Happens*, there is *“little credit (and lots of brickbats) for leaders engaging in foreign policy, even if it involves saving the world economy. Activists can change that equation. Our*

⁷⁷⁴ Goldin, I., *Divided Nations*, (2014), pp. 166 – 167, 176, see also pp. 124 – 126, 148 – 152, 165

⁷⁷⁵ Nye, J. S. Jr., *Soft Power*, (2004), pp. 90, 94, see also pp. 91 – 93

⁷⁷⁶ Hurrell, A., *On Global Order*, (2009), pp. 103 – 104, see also pp. 99 – 102, 147 – 151, 198, 227 – 228, 307 – 308

*movements in the national and local arenas can make it politically feasible for governments, as well as enlightened leaders in the international system, to address climate change, pandemics, crime, weapons proliferation, migration or race-to-the bottom competition between nations on taxation.”*⁷⁷⁷ In another key work, *From Poverty to Power*, he again notes *“In recent years, North-South alliances of Civil Society Organisations have successfully pushed issues to the top of the political agenda at meetings of the G8, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization. Landmark initiatives, such as the International Criminal Court and International Landmines Treaty, were spearheaded by joint efforts of concerned citizens and Non-Governmental Organisations, while sustained campaigns have sought to improve the respect of transnational corporations for labour rights and reduce the damage they cause to local communities and environments. Over the next few years, international campaigning of this nature will be crucial in pressuring governments to make and keep the commitments needed to reduce carbon emissions, as well as cover the rising costs of adaptation to climate change in poor countries.”*⁷⁷⁸

All of these experts and many more⁷⁷⁹ from so many different fields and political perspectives all come to the same conclusion. To drive progress on social justice, development and the environment at a global scale, the key for the future, just as it was in the past, will be bottom-up reform movements emerging from civil society and pressuring their governments at a national level. This opens up the political space for those governments to do the right thing domestically, but also to adopt and enforce these same critical policies for social justice, development and the environment worldwide through global agreements.

Only ordinary Christians can form the heart of this movement and achieve the change we need

Ordinary Christians must be at the heart of this global civil society movement for change. We saw back in the [Introduction](#) that our resources as Christians to respond to the world’s problems are vast. Whilst there are already many Christians living amazing lives of sacrifice and service, as well as churches and Christian organisations doing wonderful work around the world, overall we have barely begun to demonstrate our potential to truly change our world. We are a sleeping giant with enormous untapped energy. One in every three people globally is a Christian. Christianity is the world’s largest and most global faith. The church is the largest civil society organisation in the world. As Christians, we are present at the grassroots level, in virtually every community in most countries. Christianity is the majority religion in six out of seven of the world’s most powerful G7 nations. It is the majority religion in seven out of ten of the world’s largest economies, and a significant minority in several others. Its adherents are collectively more wealthy and politically influential than those of any other faith. Most importantly of all, we have the Lord of the universe hearing and answering our prayers, and the Holy Spirit to guide us and give us everything we could ever possibly need for the task. As we have seen, all positive change must begin with ordinary people – like you and me – at the heart of civil society. And the people of God are the most powerful group in the world to mobilise and shift civil society, if we find our voice, step up and speak out. If not us, then who will do this? If not now, then when? This is the task God is calling us to in this generation.

⁷⁷⁷ Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 148 – 149, see also pp. 140 – 147, 224 – 226

⁷⁷⁸ Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 53 – 54

⁷⁷⁹ See also Fukuyama, F., *State Building*, (2005), p. 47; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013); Sharp, G., *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (2012); Diamond, J., *Collapse*, (2006), pp. 484 – 485; Dietz, R. & O’Neill, D., *Enough is Enough*, (2013), pp. 111, 137, 162 – 165, 175 – 176 etc.

He has placed us exactly where he needs us to be, in the nations, communities and situations where he needs us. God is not looking to presidents, prime ministers, economists and captains of industry to change our world, he is looking to us.

We shouldn't be surprised at this. It is the way God has always worked. From the very beginning to the very end of the Bible, God has always raised up his people, ordinary people, to challenge the powerful and change the world. Joseph was the youngest of twelve brothers, a foreign immigrant, a slave and a prisoner, yet God used him to speak truth to the Pharaoh of Egypt, probably the most powerful man in the world at that time, in a moment of impending crisis, ***“Let Pharaoh appoint commissioners over the land to take a fifth of the harvest of Egypt during the seven years of abundance. They should collect all the food of these good years that are coming and store up the grain under the authority of Pharaoh, to be kept in the cities for food. This food should be held in reserve for the country, to be used during the seven years of famine that will come upon Egypt, so that the country may not be ruined by the famine.”*** Thus, through Joseph, God saved Egypt and the surrounding nations.⁷⁸⁰ Later God chose to use Moses, not when he was a prince of Egypt, the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter, but when he had fallen from power and was a murderer and a refugee, living in exile and working as a humble shepherd, a man with a speech impediment and full of fear, who pleaded ***“Lord. Please send someone else”***.⁷⁸¹ Yet God used him to challenge Pharaoh, ***“This is what the LORD, the God of Israel, says: ‘Let my people go’”***, and as a result, to free the whole Israelite nation from slavery in Egypt, the super-power of its day, and lead them to the promised land.⁷⁸² In that land, God raised up prophets and judges to lead his people, not from the rich, the noble or powerful, but from amongst ordinary people. These were judges like Gideon, a man full of doubt, working on his father's farm, hiding from his oppressors. God chose him to save his nation from the exploitative rule of the Midianites, despite the fact that by his own confession ***“My clan is the weakest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my family.”***⁷⁸³ Later God chose Jephthah, the illegitimate son of a prostitute, driven out of his father's home and living as a refugee in exile, to rise up and save his people from the oppression of the ruling Ammonites.⁷⁸⁴

When God established the line of kings in Israel that would eventually culminate in Jesus, he chose not the strongest, richest, most noble or most powerful, but the youngest and smallest of eight brothers. David was a boy so insignificant; his father hadn't even considered bringing him to meet the prophet Samuel who was to make one of his sons king, but had left him out in the wilds looking after the sheep.⁷⁸⁵ When David himself made poor policy decisions, was threatened by a coup and abused his power as king to murder one of his subjects and steal his wife, God raised up the prophet Nathan to speak truth to power and challenge David to repent of his injustice and reverse his mistakes. Thus, fearlessly Nathan challenged David, ***“This is what the LORD, the God of Israel, says: ‘I anointed you king over Israel, and I delivered you from the hand of Saul ... Why did you despise the word of the LORD by doing what is evil in His eyes? You struck down Uriah the Hittite with the sword and took his wife to be your own.’”***⁷⁸⁶ When David's descendants and the rulers of the surrounding nations similarly oppressed their people and acted with injustice, God raised up more prophets like Elijah, Elisha,

⁷⁸⁰ Gen 37 – 47

⁷⁸¹ Ex 2: 1 – 4: 18

⁷⁸² Ex 4: 28 – Deut 34

⁷⁸³ Judges 6: 11 – 8: 32

⁷⁸⁴ Judges 11

⁷⁸⁵ 1 Sam 16

⁷⁸⁶ 2 Sam 12, see also 2 Sam 7; 1 Kings 1

Isaiah, Jeremiah or Ezekiel from amongst the ordinary people, to follow in Nathan's footsteps and challenge and advocate towards the rulers and authorities. They were humble shepherds like Amos, full of fear and petulance like Jonah, or like Jeremiah felt ***"I do not know how to speak; I am too young"***. Yet they were the ones God chose to challenge the politically powerful of their day to ***"Wash and make yourselves clean. Take your evil deeds out of my sight; stop doing wrong. Learn to do right; seek justice. Defend the oppressed. Take up the cause of the fatherless; plead the case of the widow."***⁷⁸⁷

After the kingdoms of Israel and Judah had been defeated and God's people had gone into exile in Babylon, God again chose to use, not the most powerful, but Daniel, a foreigner, a prisoner of war in exile in a foreign court, and Esther, an orphan, also a foreign exile, seized and placed as a sex slave in a harem, forced to hide her Jewish identity. Yet God called them ***"for such a time as this"*** and used them to confront and speak truth to the Babylonian and Persian kings. They challenged them, ***"grant me my life – this is my petition. And spare my people – this is my request. For I and my people have been sold to be destroyed, killed and annihilated"***, and in so doing saved the Jewish people from religious persecution and even genocide. Daniel rose to the highest political levels where he served with justice and without corruption, advised kings on good policy and called on them to rule with justice, ***"Your Majesty, be pleased to accept my advice: Renounce your sins by doing what is right, and your wickedness by being kind to the oppressed. It may be that then your prosperity will continue."***⁷⁸⁸

Later God again didn't use the wealthiest, noblest or mightiest to lead his people out of exile and back to the Holy Land, but two other exiles and immigrants from a religious and ethnic minority group: Ezra, a priest and academic, and Nehemiah, a servant who poured the king's wine. He raised them up to speak truth to the Persian kings, and to advocate to them when they faced violent opposition from bureaucrats and officials. They led the rebuilding of the temple and the city walls. They also spoke out for justice. Nehemiah stopped the exploitation of the poor in Jerusalem, who were forced to sell ***"our fields, our vineyards and our homes"*** and even ***"subject our sons and daughters to slavery"*** in order to borrow money at exorbitant rates just to feed themselves and pay their taxes during a famine. As Nehemiah said, ***"When I heard their outcry and these charges, I was very angry. I pondered them in my mind and then accused the nobles and officials. I told them, 'You are charging your own people interest! ... Give back to them immediately their fields, vineyards, olive groves and houses, and also the interest you are charging them'"***.⁷⁸⁹

The story of the New Testament also begins not with God using the wealthy, the politically powerful, or the noble, but John the Baptist, a wild preacher in the desert whose ***"clothes were made of camel's hair"*** and whose ***"food was locusts and wild honey"***. Yet God used him to prepare the way for Jesus and again to challenge and speak truth to power. He called on tax collectors: ***"Don't collect any more than you are required to"***, on soldiers: ***"Don't extort money and don't accuse people falsely – be content with your pay"***, and ultimately on the king to act with justice, for we hear, ***"John rebuked Herod the tetrarch because of his marriage to Herodias, his brother's wife, and all the other evil things he had done"***.⁷⁹⁰ Ultimately, when God himself took on human form in the person of his son Jesus, he came not

⁷⁸⁷ Amos 1: 1; Jonah 1; Jonah 4; Jer 1: 4 – 10; Isa 1: 16 – 17, see also 1 Kings 17 – 19; 1 Kings 21: 17 – 29; 2 Kings 1 – 8; Isa – Mal etc.

⁷⁸⁸ Esther; Dan 1 – 6;

⁷⁸⁹ Nehemiah, see also Ezra

⁷⁹⁰ Matt 3; Luke 3: 1 – 22, see also Matt 11: 7 – 14; Matt 14: 3 – 12; Mark 1: 1 – 14 Mark 6: 14 – 29; Luke 7: 24 – 30; Luke 9: 7 – 9; John 1: 6 – 37; John 3: 22 – 36

as a wealthy and mighty king or emperor, but as an ordinary man, born in a stable, raised as a refugee in exile. A poor and humble carpenter hailing from a provincial backwater that led people to comment disdainfully, *“Isn’t this the carpenter’s son?”* and *“Nazareth! Can anything good come from there?”*⁷⁹¹ He too would speak truth to power, for as Matthew’s Gospel tell us, he would fulfil the words of the prophet Isaiah, *“he will proclaim justice to the nations ... A bruised reed he will not break, and a smouldering wick he will not snuff out, till he has brought justice through to victory”*. He opposed the powerful money changers and merchants who exploited worshippers and had turned the temple from *“a house of prayer for all nations”* to *“a den of robbers”*. He also sent messengers to the local puppet king who was trying to kill him to *“Go tell that that fox”* that he would not be deterred from his mission. He challenged the teachers of the law and the Pharisees who *“sit in Moses’ seat”* (and therefore would have been the political, as well as the religious authorities of their day, if their country had not been occupied by the Romans), because they followed minor religious rules but *“neglect justice and the love of God”*. Ultimately of course, Jesus would represent God’s truth before the Sanhedrin and the Roman governor himself.⁷⁹²

When it came to calling those who would follow him, Jesus didn’t choose the wealthy and the powerful to found his church and take his message of the coming of the kingdom of God, and salvation for all, to the world. Instead, he chose the poor, many probably illiterate, fishermen, hated tax collectors, prostitutes, all full of doubts, fears and inadequacies.⁷⁹³ Later in the early church, we find the message spreading, not primarily amongst the rich and powerful, but amongst the poor, ordinary slaves, servants, tentmakers, cloth sellers, tanners, jailers, doctors and lawyers. As Paul reminded the church in Corinth, *“Brothers and sisters, think of what you were when you were called. Not many of you were wise by human standards; not many were influential; not many were of noble birth. But God chose the foolish things of the world to shame the wise; God chose the weak things of the world to shame the strong. God chose the lowly things of this world and the despised things – and the things that are not – to nullify the things that are”*.⁷⁹⁴ Once again, it was these ordinary people that God chose to carry the message of his kingdom before the masters, soldiers, civil servants, governors, kings, powers and authorities, to speak this ultimate truth to power, and where necessary, to advocate and demand their own political rights and freedoms. For as Jesus said, *“On my account you will be brought before governors and kings as witnesses to them and to the Gentiles.”*⁷⁹⁵ Right throughout the Bible then, it is not princes, kings or wealthy business leaders to whom God entrusts his plan, but a movement of ordinary people with a vision, following him obediently and transforming their world.

This has also been true in more recent decades. If we think back to the bottom-up nonviolent civil society reform movements of the past 200 years considered [earlier](#), Christians have been the heart and the driving force of many of these. We should not be surprised at this, as the

⁷⁹¹ Matt 13: 54 – 57; John 1: 45 – 46, see also Matt 2; Mark 6: 1 – 6; Luke 2; John 7: 40 – 52

⁷⁹² Matt 12: 17 – 21; Matt 21: 12 – 13; Mark 11: 15 – 17; Luke 19: 45 – 46; Luke 13: 31 – 32; Matt 23: 2; Ex 18: 13 – 26; Luke 11: 42, see also Matt 9: 9 – 15; Matt 12: 1 – 14; Matt 15: 1 – 20; Matt 26: 57 – 27: 26; Mark 14: 53 – 15: 15; Luke 7: 36 – 50; Luke 11: 37 – 12: 1; Luke 14: 1 – 6; Luke 15: 1 – 2; Luke 22: 54 – 23: 25; John 2: 13 – 16; John 7: 32 – 53; John 8: 3 – 11; John 9: 13 – 41; John 11: 46 – 57; John 12: 42; John 18: 12 – 19: 16; Hebs 1: 8 – 9 etc.

⁷⁹³ Matt 4: 18 – 22; Matt 8: 26; Matt 9: 9; Matt 10: 3; Matt 14: 25 – 32; Matt 21: 31 – 32; Mark 1: 16 – 20; Mark 2: 14; Mark 4: 40; Luke 5: 1 – 11, 27 – 28; Luke 7: 36 – 50; Luke 9: 34; John 20: 24 – 29 etc.

⁷⁹⁴ 1 Cor 1: 26 – 28, see also; Acts 9: 43; Acts 16: 14 – 15; Acts 18: 3; Roms 16: 10 – 11; Eph 6: 5 – 8; Phil 4: 22; Col 3: 22; Col 4: 14; 2 Tim 4: 19; Titus 2: 9; Titus 3: 13; James 2: 5 – 7; 1 Pet 2: 18 etc.

⁷⁹⁵ Matt 10: 18 – 20, see also Mark 13: 9 – 11; Luke 12: 11 – 12; Luke 21: 12 – 15; Acts 9: 15; Acts 10; Acts 13: 6 – 12; Acts 16: 19 – 20; Acts 21: 31 – 28: 31; Roms 16: 23; Eph 6: 12; 1 Tim 6: 1 – 2; Titus 2: 9 – 10 etc.

academic Jonathan Schell says in his work studying the history of these movements, *The Unconquerable World*, there is one **“saying that, in the Western tradition, must be considered the foundation stone of any philosophy of nonviolence, namely Jesus’ ‘They that live by the sword shall die by the sword.’ The advice does more than prescribe conduct; it makes a claim about the nature of the human world. We cannot suppose Jesus means that everyone who kills will be killed. But we can suppose he means that violence harms the doer as well as his victims; that violence generates counterviolence; and that the choice of violence starts a chain of events likely to bring general ruin.”**⁷⁹⁶ It is this Christian faith which has inspired ordinary Christians to strive for and bring about peaceful, nonviolent, bottom-up change for hundreds of years.

Ordinary Christian churches and teaching from the Protestant radicalism of seventeenth century England, transplanted to colonial America, was foundational to the creation of democracy itself. Roger Osborne tells us in his study of democracy, *Of the People By the People*, how this began **“in a church hall in Putney where common soldiers, fresh from the battlefields of the English Civil War and with vernacular Bibles in hand, argued for the right of every man to have a say in government. Across the Atlantic we see how the practice of democracy came to America, rooted in the church gatherings, town meetings and beliefs of its immigrant settlers.”**⁷⁹⁷ Later, Christian theology on the concepts of ‘common good’, ‘civil society’ and ‘subsidiarity’ were key to strengthening and deepening these democratic principles.⁷⁹⁸

In Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Christian activists famously campaigned for the end of slavery. In his *Church History in Plain Language*, Bruce L Shelley describes how **“The Evangelicals secured petitions; they published quality abolitionist literature; they lectured on public platforms; they campaigned on billboards. They used all the modern means of publicity. Nonconformists rallied in support, and for the first time in history women participated in a political contest. The Evangelicals fanned the flame, then they carried the fire to parliament where Wilberforce and four colleagues from Clapham – the ‘Saints’ in Commons – tried to arouse complacent leaders to put a stop to the inhumane slave trade. Finally, victory crowned their labors. On February 23, 1807, the back of the opposition was broken ... That halted the legal traffic in human lives, but the slaves were still in chains. Wilberforce continued the battle for complete emancipation until age and poor health forced him from Parliament. He enlisted the skills, however, of a young Evangelical, Thomas Fowell Buxton, to assume leadership of the ‘holy enterprise’. Buxton was a wise choice. The certainty of the passage of the Emancipation Act, freeing the slaves in the sprawling British Empire, came on July 25 1833, four days before Wilberforce died ... the Clapham Sect remains the shining example of how a society, perhaps the world itself, can be influenced by a few men of ability and devotion.”**⁷⁹⁹ In America too, ordinary Christians championed the abolition of slavery in the northern states of the US in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries before the Civil War.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁶ Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005), p. 207

⁷⁹⁷ Osborne, R., *Of the People, By the People*, (2011), p. 4, see also p. 106

⁷⁹⁸ Eberly, D., *The Rise of Global Civil Society*, (2008), p. 280; see also Skidelsky, E. & Skidelsky, R., *How Much is Enough?*, (2013), pp. 185 – 190

⁷⁹⁹ Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), pp. 385 – 386, see also pp. 383 – 384; Mortimer, I., *Centuries of Change*, (2014), pp. 251 – 252; MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), pp. 866 – 873 etc.

⁸⁰⁰ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 35 – 36



Figure 7.8: In Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Christian activists like William Wilberforce were central in the campaign that ended the slave trade. In America too, during the same period, ordinary Christians in the northern states of the US championed the abolition of slavery.

Christians also led the drive for prison reform in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain. In just one example, the academic Rev Dr A Skevington Wood records how *“Wesley also advocated prison reform, and encouraged John Howard (1726 – 90) in his crusade for reform.”*⁸⁰¹ Later, ordinary Christians and local churches played leading roles in driving the various political reform movements in nineteenth century Britain, which gradually made politics more just and democratic and less corrupt. Thus for example, a popular idea among the Chartists, who campaigned for universal suffrage among other things, was that *“Jesus Christ was in effect the first Chartist”*.⁸⁰² Ordinary Christians and churches also played a central role in the successful campaigns to improve child labour and workers’ rights, and indeed in the other major social reform movements in nineteenth century Britain and Europe. In *Church History in Plain Language*, Bruce L Shelley again shows, *“After the middle of the nineteenth century, however, an increasing number of Christians, Catholic and Protestant, worked zealously for improved conditions for laborers ... In largely Protestant England support for the labouring man came primarily from the Nonconformist denominations. Until the middle of the nineteenth century labor unions were illegal, but the labor movement found strong support among Nonconformists, especially the Primitive Methodists. Many of the leaders of the labor movement had their apprenticeship as Methodist lay preachers. They simply carried into the workingmen’s associations the zeal, organizing skills, and the preaching experience found in the Methodist chapels ... In general, workers in nineteenth-*

⁸⁰¹ Wood, A. S., *Awakening in Dowley, T. (Ed.), Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), p. 402, see also p. 447

⁸⁰² *Campaigning for Change*, Friends of the Earth & History & Policy, (2016), p. 44, see also p. 161; Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), p. 447

*century England slowly gained both political power and better working conditions. Step by step, act by act, England whittled away at the old laissez faire doctrine and improved life for her working citizens: no children under ten could work, women and children were limited to a ten-hour day, safety inspections were introduced in factories, and many others.”*⁸⁰³ Similarly, Robert and Edward Skidelsky, when reviewing progressive historic changes in their critique of modern consumer society *How Much is Enough?*, find that, *“Most of the liberal reformers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Christians”*.⁸⁰⁴

Christian influences were also key in the foundation and development of international humanitarian law. As the academic and social activist, Aryah Neier, records in his book *The International Human Rights Movement*, in 1859 Henri Dunant, a devout Christian and businessman from Geneva, *“was travelling in Italy and came upon a battlefield in northern Italy, near the village of Soliferno, where the French and Italians were fighting the Austrians. Dunant was horrified at the carnage. He was less concerned with those who had been killed than with the many thousands who had been wounded and were, for the most part, lying where they fell. Many were dying of thirst or because nothing was being done to staunch their bleeding. Together with a few local women, a doctor or two, and some tourists, Dunant ministered to as many of the wounded as possible. Subsequently, he wrote a book about the incident, A Memory of Solferino. It led directly to Dunant’s role in the establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1863 and the adoption of the First Geneva Convention in 1864, which focused on the protection and care of the sick and the wounded in war.”*⁸⁰⁵

Further afield, throughout the brutal era of European colonialism from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, whilst many churches were complicit in colonial crimes, many other ordinary Christian and missionaries stood out to defend indigenous people from the colonial authorities. In his study of the theology of mission throughout Christian history, *Transforming Mission*, the academic, David J Bosch, records that *“Within the crucible of Latin America’s colonial history the name of Bartolomé de Las Casas will always be a shining example of a missionary who was, until the bitter end, a champion of the oppressed. Protestant missionary history tells us of comparable examples. Some of these are totally forgotten; others are known in various degrees. I have already mentioned the tensions the first two Danish-Halle missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, experienced with the colonial authorities in Tranquebar from the moment of their arrival there in 1706. And South African history informs us about the selfless service of the first London Missionary Society missionary, J. Th. Van der Kemp (1747 – 1811), of the indefatigable labors of John Philip (1775 – 1851) on behalf of the autochthonous population, and of many others, such as J. W. Colenso. Individuals like these, and the agencies in which service they stood, were often the only ones to intervene on behalf of the indigenous people in a given colonial situation.”*⁸⁰⁶

Elsewhere, ordinary Christian missionaries, such as David Livingstone who *“was a genuinely outraged critic of African slavery”*, campaigned against the East African slave trade in the

⁸⁰³ Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), pp. 426 – 429; see also Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), p. 401; *Campaigning for Change*, Friends of the Earth & History & Policy, (2016), p. 161; Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), p. 447 – 448 etc.

⁸⁰⁴ Skidelsky, E. & Skidelsky, R., *How Much is Enough?*, (2013), pp. 217 – 218

⁸⁰⁵ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), p. 119, see also p. 118

⁸⁰⁶ Bosch, D. J., *Transforming Mission* (1998), pp. 310 – 311, see also pp. 236, 312 – 313; Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), pp. 438 – 439, 441 – 442; Shelley, B., *Church History in Plain Language*, (2013), pp. 296 – 297 etc.

nineteenth century.⁸⁰⁷ Similarly, simple Christian missionaries spoke out against the abuse of the local population in the nineteenth century Belgian Congo. As the political scientist, Francis Fukuyama, describes in his work, *Political Order and Political Decay*, ***“the Belgian Congo stood out among colonial administrations as particularly brutal and exploitative. The practices of the Force Publique and Belgian companies were exposed by Protestant missionaries and activists like E. D. Morel seeking to protect ordinary Congolese from their depredations. Public opinion back in Europe eventually forced the Belgian government to clamp down on Leopold’s private enterprise.”***⁸⁰⁸ Further east, missionaries also advocated strongly on behalf of China against exploitation by the British. In a chapter in the study, an *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, the historian Andrew Walls explains ***“The missions came into direct conflict with trading interests in China. The attempts by Western powers to force the opium trade on China were opposed vigorously by missionaries.”***⁸⁰⁹ Later in the nineteenth century, ordinary Christians successfully campaigned against injustice perpetrated against women, young girls and all the people of China. The academic and social activist, Aryah Neier, records how ***“The campaign to end the Chinese practice of footbinding was led by foreign missionaries and by Chinese political reformers.”***⁸¹⁰ Ordinary Christian missionaries and others also spoke out in defence of the rights of Armenian Christians persecuted under the Ottoman Turks in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the *Atlas of Global Christianity* says, ***“Human rights advocacy was another important realm of mission endeavour, particularly in defence of oppressed Christian populations such as Armenians under the Ottoman Turks.”***⁸¹¹

Back in Europe, Christian social concern and activism in Germany was critical in leading towards what is often seen as the world’s first social or welfare state, introduced by Bismarck in the 1880s. This in turn inspired Christian activists and pressure for basic social reforms across Europe. As Francis Fukuyama has put it, ***“the introduction of Calvinism in the Prussian lands created a whole series of new social institutions, from schools to parishes registering local populations to poor-relief houses, which were eventually taken over by and assimilated into a new, more modern state. This created competitive pressures for similar reforms among Lutheran and Catholics, not just in Prussia but also throughout Europe.”***⁸¹²

A whole host of academics pick up this story in the monumental *Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. They record the crucial role played by churches, ordinary Christians and Christian theology in the early formation of the modern welfare state in Europe, North America and Australasia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, which as we have seen, has done so much to lift so many out of poverty. The welfare state emerged out of a context of ***“Pre-existing traditions of amelioration and correction, quintessentially the varying strands of (above all, Christian) ‘philanthropy’”,*** where ***“Christianity that developed into a form of ‘organized religion’, with churches as ‘interest groups’, Christian democracy as an extraordinarily strong political actor, and a rich religious associational landscape that was and still is prominently involved in the provision of social services, poor relief, and social protection”*** for ***“all major branches of Christianity stress, in one way or another, the privileged position of the poor, the Christian duty of neighbourly love, charity, good***

⁸⁰⁷ Marr, A., *A History of the World*, (2013), p. 442, see also Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), p. 264 etc.

⁸⁰⁸ Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), p. 301

⁸⁰⁹ Walls, A., *Outposts of Empire*, in Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), p. 488

⁸¹⁰ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), p. 37

⁸¹¹ Robert, D., L., *Missionaries sent and received, worldwide, 1910 – 2010* in Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009), p. 258

⁸¹² Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), p. 69

Samaritanism, and good works". Thus Christian theology was *"crucial in shaping the approach to social issues in the emergent European Christian Democratic parties, which were to become one of the driving forces for the expansion of welfare systems in continental Europe over the course of the twentieth century"*, pioneered when *"A new class of national reformers emerged with its own ethos, a secular orientation (though often with a background in 'practical Christianity'), and a commitment to the amelioration of living conditions."*⁸¹³

During the same period, in America, Christian reformers and activists successfully challenged and changed deep rooted corruption and patronage in politics in the late nineteenth century Progressive Era.⁸¹⁴ They also successfully advocated for America's first laws protecting forests and wild lands at the turn of the twentieth century.⁸¹⁵ Thousands of miles away in Russia, ordinary Christian priests were instrumental in the overwhelmingly peaceful Russian uprising of 1905 which succeeded in extracting significant democratic concessions and reforms from Tsar Nicholas II. As the late Gene Sharp records, *"At a strike meeting on January 6, 1905, Father Georgii Gapon announced it was time to appeal to the Tsar for both political and economic changes. He circulated a petition based on the view that political change was the precursor of economic change. The petition was not anti-monarchist. It asked the Tsar for an eight-hour working day, improved wages, human rights, universal secret suffrage, popular representation, an elected constituent assembly, and other demands. By January 7, 85% of the 175,000 workers in the capital were on strike."*⁸¹⁶

Later in the early decades of the twentieth century, Gandhi is of course perhaps the most famous example of an ordinary grassroots activist changing the world through speaking out, using bottom-up advocacy in South Africa and India. Gandhi, not a Christian himself, found inspiration for his nonviolent activism in Jain, Buddhist and Hindu thinking, but once again, most crucially of all, *"Ghandi also found vigorous expressions of the same precept in Christian thought, especially in the Sermon on the Mount and in the writings of Leo Tolstoy. He read Tolstoy's book The Kingdom of God is Within You in 1894 and found himself 'overwhelmed' by the Russian's argument against violence."*⁸¹⁷ In the 1940s, ordinary Christians and churches similarly practiced peaceful civil disobedience and spoke out to defend Jewish communities in Nazi occupied Europe. In one example recorded by Steve Crawshaw and John Jackson in their book on nonviolent reform movements, *Small Acts of Resistance*, *"In France, in the village of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, thousands of Jews found safe harbor with the complicity of almost the entire population of Le Chambon and surrounding villages. The heart of the resistance was the local pastor, André Trocmé ... He worked with thirteen church ministers and their congregations, in and around Le Chambon. Villagers forged identity documents and ration cards, provided education for children, and smuggled people to safety in neighbouring Switzerland. Five thousand lives were saved in this way."* Meanwhile in Bulgaria, Christians were at the heart of a mass civil movement which refused to hand over the nation's Jewish population for execution, *"Church leaders offered churches and monasteries as places of refuge"* and *"The head of the Bulgarian church, Metropolitan Stefan, demonstratively received the country's chief Rabbi in his home ... As a result of this*

⁸¹³ Pierson, C., & Leimgruber, M., *Intellectual Roots*; Kersbergen, K. V. & Manow, P., *Religion*; Palier, B., *Continental Western Europe*, in Castles, F., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, (2010), pp. 33, 265 – 266, 604, 33, see also pp. 6, 37, 45, 66, 265 – 277

⁸¹⁴ Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), pp. 206 – 207

⁸¹⁵ Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), pp. 174 – 180, 206 – 207

⁸¹⁶ Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005), p. 73, see also p. 74

⁸¹⁷ Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), p. 65, see also pp. 305 – 306; Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005), pp. 112 – 113 etc.

*quiet collective defiance, almost all the Jews in Bulgaria proper – 48,000 people, in all – were saved.”*⁸¹⁸

In the aftermath of the Second World War, many ordinary Christian activists deeply influenced the development of modern human rights and the drafting of key international human rights instruments, such as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Christian organisations, such as the World Council of Churches, were also one of the few groups to champion human rights internationally in the following decades, and Amnesty International was founded in 1961 by an ordinary Christian lawyer, Peter Benenson.⁸¹⁹ After all, the very concept of human rights, which has done so much to improve the lives of billions around the world, has its roots in Christian teaching and theology. As Ian Mortimer says in his book examining change over the past millennium, *Centuries of Change*, the idea that all people are free and equal, which underpins human rights is *“a Christian sentiment in origin”*. Similarly, historian Yuval Noah Harari, though not remotely Christian, recognises this in his work, *Sapiens*. Thus, in discussing the concept of unalienable rights in the *American Declaration of Independence*, he points out *“The Americans got the idea of equality from Christianity, which argues that every person has a divinely created soul and that all souls are equal before God.”* Similarly, modern western liberal humanism *“is, in fact, founded on monotheist beliefs. The liberal belief in the free and sacred nature of each individual is a direct legacy of the traditional Christian belief in free and eternal individual souls.”* And indeed also *“Like liberal humanism, socialist humanism is built on monotheist foundations. The idea that all humans are equal is a revamped version of the monotheist conviction that all souls are equal before God.”* Thus, *“Our liberal political and judicial systems are founded on the belief that every individual has a sacred inner nature, indivisible and immutable, which gives meaning to the world, and which is the source of all ethical and political authority. This is a reincarnation of the traditional Christian belief in a free and eternal soul that resides within each individual.”*⁸²⁰ And right up to the present day, ordinary Christians and local churches continue to be at the forefront of campaigning for human rights around the world.⁸²¹

In the 1960s, ordinary Christian churches and pastors, such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Rev Fred Shuttlesworth, deeply driven by their Christian faith, famously rose up to lead the successful nonviolent struggle for racial equality in the American civil rights movement. The academic Jonathan Schell says, *“King’s nonviolence, of course, had foundations deeper than mere legal strategy. It was rooted in the Christian faith of the black churches of the South, which were both a point of origin and a mainstay of the movement ... King, a Baptist minister, found all that he needed to say about love in the Bible. When his house was bombed during the boycott in Montgomery, and an angry crowd of black supporters assembled, he counselled, ‘Don’t get panicky. Don’t get your weapons. If you have weapons take them home. He who lives by the sword will perish by the sword. Remember that is what Jesus said. We are not advocating violence. We want to love our enemies. I want you to love your enemies. Be good to them. This is what we must live by. We must meet hate with love.’ Later he said, ‘Somebody must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate and the chain of evil in the universe. And you do that by love.’ When an officer who*

⁸¹⁸ Crawshaw, S. & Jackson, J., *Small Acts of Resistance*, (2010), pp. 77 – 79; see also Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 212, 233 – 234

⁸¹⁹ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 26 – 56, 42, 96 – 102, 109, 118 – 118, 187 – 191

⁸²⁰ Mortimer, I., *Centuries of Change*, (2014), pp. 219 – 220; Harari, Y. N., *Sapiens*, (2014), p. 122, 257 – 258, 263

⁸²¹ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 239 – 240, 242

had just called Shuttlesworth a ‘monkey’ then kicked him in the shin and was taking him off to jail, asked him – perhaps in disappointment – ‘Why don’t you hit me?’ Shuttlesworth replied, ‘Because I love you,’ and smiled.”⁸²² Elsewhere, ordinary local church leaders and Christians also spoke out in favour of the rights of poor farm workers in California in the late 1960s⁸²³ and against Franco’s regime in Spain.⁸²⁴



Figure 7.9: Ordinary Christian churches and pastors, such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Rev Fred Shuttlesworth, led the civil rights movement in the US in the 1960s.

In the 1960s and 70s, ordinary Christians and local churches advocated against oppressive regimes across Africa. Thus, in Uganda in the years following independence, *“The tyrannical rule of Milton Obote (1962 – 71) and Idi Amin (1971 – 8) propelled the churches to suspend their old rivalries and seemingly portray a united voice of protest”*.⁸²⁵ In Southern Africa, church leaders spoke out in support of miner’s rights in Namibia and Angola in the 1970s. The late Gene Sharp records how in 1971 following a supportive ruling by the International Court, *“On June 30, leaders of two African Lutheran churches wrote letters in support of the International Court decision, which were read in all churches. Copies were also sent to South African Prime Minister John Vorster. Other tribal chiefs, churchmen, and Africans also gave their approval. Churches, including the Dutch Reformed Church, had long condemned the contract labor system, labelling it a ‘form of slavery’. They argued that, as*

⁸²² Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005), pp. 246 – 247, see also pp. 243 – 245; Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 124 – 133, 137, 153, 155, 157 – 158, 429 – 430, 437; MacCulloch, D., *A History of Christianity*, (2010), pp. 976 – 978 etc.

⁸²³ Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005), pp. 176, 179, 183 – 184

⁸²⁴ Tilly, C., *Democracy*, (2009), p. 156

⁸²⁵ Mwaura, P. N., *Christianity in Eastern Africa, 1910 – 2010*, in Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009), p. 115

a result of the system, family life was broken and prostitution and alcoholism had become commonplace.”⁸²⁶ Elsewhere ordinary Christian missionaries stood up to the dictator Tombalbaye in Chad,⁸²⁷ and church leaders opposed Mobutu in Zaire.⁸²⁸

In addition to influencing change in Africa, ***“The churches in Asia during the last century have made significant contributions to the betterment of society, especially in the areas of education, medical work and social welfare. In addition, churches have been involved in advocating changes in socio-economic structures and challenging injustice in various nations by promoting awareness among Christians or actively engaging in campaigns on behalf of the poor and oppressed”*** according to the Atlas of Global Christianity. To take just three examples, in Japan ***“a Christian pacifist, Tetsu Katayama, effectively put a stop to the remilitarisation desired by the Americans and some other Japanese, and Christians have also campaigned for the rights of minorities such as the indigenous Ainu people in Hokkaido.”*** Whilst in India, ***“Dalit Christian leaders and theologians constantly challenge injustice and have made significant contributions to uplifting the dignity of these deprived groups in Indian society.”***⁸²⁹ And in South Korea, in the 1980s church leaders spoke out for democratic reform, notably ***“Cardinal Kim’s leadership role in mass Korean protests demanding democratic change”*** as cited by the development economist Charles Kenny.⁸³⁰

Perhaps most famously, ordinary Christians, local churches and church leaders united across the Philippines in the 1970s and 80s to stand up against the brutal regime of the dictator Ferdinand Marcos, leading to his eventual peaceful overthrow in 1986. In their book *Why Civil Resistance Works*, Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan recount how ***“The Catholic Church, which would play a crucial role in the People Power campaign, was the last remaining national institution that maintained independence and legitimacy during Marcos’s rule ... Inside the Church hierarchy, the most important figure was Archbishop Cardinal Jaime Sin. Cardinal Sin became an outspoken opponent of martial law as early as 1974, when he led a prayer vigil and denounced the regime’s military raid on a seminary and arrest of dozens of people. More than five thousand people attended the vigil, which was the largest protest against martial law at the time. Sin continued to denounce the regime’s use of torture and other human rights abuses into the 1980s, while at the same time rejecting the use of violence to challenge the regime.”***⁸³¹

This amazing story of ordinary Christians, local churches and church leaders speaking out against injustice has also been widespread in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). However this has not been without cost. The Oxfam academic and activist, Duncan Green, in his book *From Poverty to Power* stresses ***“Across Latin America, radical Catholics have made a ‘preferential option for the poor’, leading movements against oppressive governments. This prompted one notorious rightwing death squad in El Salvador to print bumper stickers urging its followers to ‘be a patriot, kill a priest’. The killers went even further, assassinating***

⁸²⁶ Sharp, G., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, (2005), pp. 207 – 208, see also pp. 209, 212 – 213

⁸²⁷ Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), p. 349

⁸²⁸ Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), pp. 301 – 302

⁸²⁹ Kim, S. C. H., *Christianity in Asia, 1910 – 2010*, in Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009), p. 135

⁸³⁰ Kenny, C., *Getting Better*, (2012), p. 135

⁸³¹ Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), pp. 151 – 152, see also pp. 5, 147 – 171, 195; Naím, M., *The End of Power*, (2013), p. 84; Popovic, S., *Blueprint for Revolution*, (2015), p. 212 etc.

*San Salvador's Archbishop Romero in 1980 because of his public stand against military repression.”*⁸³²

Meanwhile, Christians and ordinary churches also spoke out against the brutal regime of General Augusto Pinochet in Chile in the 1970s and 80s. Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall quote one example in their work on nonviolent resistance, *A Force More Powerful*. The church in Chile **“offered sanctuary and clandestine help to those driven before the breaking wave of violence, and it also offered meeting venues for organizations that were, if not banned, officially ‘in recess.’ Four years into Pinochet’s reign, Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez and the Archdiocese of Santiago created the Vicaria de la Solidaridad (the vicariate of solidarity) to help victims of repression. It recorded disappearances and offered legal aid, shelter, and medicine to survivors. ‘Officially, our mandate was human rights, not political activism, but that made us an opponent of the government,’ explained Father Christian Precht, who headed the Vicaria. ‘Defending human rights is practically the same thing as promoting democracy. They’re different sides of the same coin. We helped in any way we could, and it was sometimes dangerous. Our priests and nuns were attacked by the government.’ With less drama than law madres in Argentina, the Vicaria set out to achieve the same goal: to make certain that the regime’s crimes would be known far and wide.”**⁸³³

In Brazil the church has also stood up and fought for those living in poverty.⁸³⁴ In one notable example from the 1980s, Christian leaders worked together to publish a hugely impactful book, *Brazil: Never Again*, exposing widespread torture and human rights abuses by the authorities. Steve Crawshaw and John Jackson recount the story in their book on nonviolent bottom-up change, *Small Acts of Resistance*, **“It all began with three churchmen. Jaime Wright, a Presbyterian minister whose brother was tortured and murdered by the military, first came up with the idea in 1979. Cardinal Paulo Arns, Catholic archbishop of São Paulo, enthusiastically backed the proposal. He stored secret materials on church premises, and became the project’s patron. Philip Potter, Dominican-born general secretary of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, raised funds on behalf of his Brazilian colleagues.”** In the end **“The book remained in the Brazilian best-seller lists for two years. It became the best-selling work of nonfiction in the country’s history. On September 23, 1985, just two months after the publication of *Brasil: Nunca Mais*, Brazil signed the United Nations convention against torture.”**⁸³⁵

During the same era, an ordinary Christian radio station and other Christian activists helped expose human rights abuses and bring about reforms in Haiti,⁸³⁶ and churches worked for peace and reconciliation in Nicaragua.⁸³⁷ Ordinary Christians and churches played a key role in successful peace, human rights and democracy movements in other Latin American countries, such as Guatemala, where **“In the face of continued resistance to negotiations from the military and private sector interest groups, the Catholic Church played a key role in facilitating a broader public debate on the issue. As a result, the government established the National Reconciliation Commissions (CNR) and convened a National Dialogue in 1989.”**

⁸³² Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), pp. 31 – 32; see also Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (2016), p. 233; Naím, M., *The End of Power*, (2013), p. 84 etc.

⁸³³ Ackerman, P. & Duvall, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 281 – 282, see also pp. 277, 290 – 293; Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), pp. 162 – 163, 167, 267; Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay*, (2015), p. 272 etc.

⁸³⁴ Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), p. 191

⁸³⁵ Crawshaw, S. & Jackson, J., *Small Acts of Resistance*, (2010), pp. 127 – 129

⁸³⁶ Neier, A., *The International Human Rights Movement*, (2013), p. 177

⁸³⁷ Lederach, J. P., *Building Peace*, (2010), pp. 27 – 29, 50 – 51

Later the church played the key mediation role in peace talks.⁸³⁸ Ordinary Christians and local churches also advocated for human rights, peace, justice and reconciliation over many years in Colombia's long-running civil war.⁸³⁹ In Bolivia, and in many other countries, ordinary Christians and local churches have advocated for the rights of indigenous communities,⁸⁴⁰ including advocating for the rights of native Americans in the US.⁸⁴¹

Back in Europe, ordinary Christians and churches played a crucial role in the peaceful overthrow of communism in Poland and other countries across Eastern Europe in 1989. Peter Ackerman and Jack Duval in their book *A Force More Powerful*, record how in Poland in the 1970s and 80s ***“the Catholic hierarchy looked beyond matters of faith and spoke out on the great national questions. Stefan Wyszynski, the Church’s Primate, and Karol Wojtyla, the bishop of the Krakow archdiocese, had been moving the Church toward cautious but unmistakable opposition in the 1970s. Wyszynski’s sermons showed sympathy for the material demands of industrial workers and hailed the ‘courageous defense of freedoms and of the right to unite and organize for one’s aims,’ words that virtually endorsed the work of groups like KOR (the Workers’ Defense Committee). The tree of the Church thus gave welcome shade to Poland’s harried dissidents, more than a few of whom were nonbelievers.”*** This went further in 1979 when Pope John Paul II visited Poland and publicly ***“affirmed Christian faith in opposition to atheism, and he indirectly condemned violations of human rights and Soviet domination of Poland. Poland’s future, he predicted, ‘will depend on how many people are mature enough to be nonconformists.’ By 1979 these were no longer novel statements from Church leaders.”*** Christians in Poland and across Eastern Europe continued to play a leading role in all these bottom-up reform movements, until as the historian Richard Pierard records, a decade later ***“In 1989, when it became clear that the Soviets would not interfere in the internal affairs of the bloc countries, a wave of grassroots uprisings swept Eastern Europe. Following the Polish example, first Hungary, and then East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania replaced their communist regimes with democratic ones. Christians were visible in all of these efforts, especially in the German Democratic Republic, where churches served as gathering points for those disaffected with the system, and the church leadership negotiated with state officials and counselled the populace to moderation and non-violence.”***⁸⁴²

A few years later, ordinary Christians, churches and Christian leaders at every level also played a fundamental role in standing up against and ending apartheid in South Africa. The historian, Richard Pierard, explains how ***“South African Christians played the leading role in the struggle against apartheid. Individuals such as Alan Paton (1903 – 88), Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1931 –), Beyers Naudé (1915 – 2004); groups such as the South African Council of Churches, the Christian Institute and African Enterprise; theological declarations such as the Kairos Document (1985) and the Kabare Statement (1987), were acclaimed for their bold criticism of the system. Various churches in the country, especially charismatic ones, provided models of integrated life, and by 1990 even the mainline churches were speaking out against apartheid. As more and more Christians withdrew their support***

⁸³⁸ Ladisch, V., *The Challenges of Implementation*, in Wolff, S. & Yakinthou, C. (Eds.), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies*, (2012), p. 207

⁸³⁹ Lederach, J. P., *Building Peace*, (2010), p. 124

⁸⁴⁰ Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), p. 72

⁸⁴¹ Wolff, S. & Yakinthou, C. (Eds.), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies*, (2012), p. 80

⁸⁴² Ackerman, P. & Duval, J., *A Force More Powerful*, (2000), pp. 131 – 132, see also pp. 124 – 133, 137, 153, 155, 157 – 158, 429 – 430, 437; Pierard, R., *An Age of Ideology*, in Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), p. 519, see also p. 581; Crawshaw, S. & Jackson, J., *Small Acts of Resistance*, (2010), pp. 174 – 175 etc.

from the system, and international economic and political boycotts left South Africa isolated, apartheid was dismantled and multi-racial democratic rule was established, with the first free election in 1994. The heroic Nelson Mandela became the first president. Assisting in the process of reconstruction was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in which Christian leaders played a key role.”⁸⁴³

Elsewhere in Africa, from the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, right through the 1990s, ordinary Christians and churches campaigned for democratic reform. To take just three examples, ***“In Kenya, Malawi and Zambia, the churches played an important role in the movements for multiparty democracy in the 1990s ... The churches mobilised the faithful through education, lobbying and advocacy on issues of social justice, human rights, civic education and democracy. They also have been in the vanguard of agitation for constitutional reform, even acting as mediators between the state and the citizens.”***⁸⁴⁴ Christian churches and media spoke out against corruption in Rwanda in the 1980s and 90s. As the historian Martin Meredith records, ***“In 1988 a Catholic newspaper, Kinyamateka, began to publish candid articles about political issues. Though the government responded by arresting several journalists, other newspapers and journalists took up the cause, reporting on corruption and the lavish lifestyle of the ruling elite. In February 1990 Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter condemning nepotism, regionalism and official corruption.”***⁸⁴⁵ Meredith also notes how churches spoke out against the regime of the Malawian dictator, Banda, in the 1990s, ***“On the first Sunday in Lent in March 1992, a pastoral letter, written by all eight Catholic bishops, was read out in every Catholic church in the country. Using a mixture of biblical exegesis and traditional African proverbs, the letter amounted to a scathing indictment of the poverty, corruption, inequality, censorship and political repression that were commonplace in Malawi.”*** The government responded with further repression, but ***“Other churches, however, spoke out in support of the bishops.”***⁸⁴⁶

Christian communities speaking out to both parties also played the central role in ending the murderous civil war in Mozambique in 1992.⁸⁴⁷ Elsewhere in the 1990s – and right up to today – ordinary Christians and churches have also led campaigns for peace in Sudan, and now South Sudan.⁸⁴⁸ In Nigeria, ordinary Christians and churches successfully campaigned against the involvement of the oil company Shell in human rights violations perpetrated by the government in the 1990s. Annie Leonard describes one incident from this struggle in her book on environmentalism, *The Story of Stuff*, and recounts how Christians and activists meeting in a church in New York reacted to the news of the wrongful execution of the Nigerian activist Ken Saro-Wiwa in 1995, ***“literally hundreds of people rushed out of the church into the streets to march to Shell’s office in Midtown Manhattan. Some were crying. Some were so angry that they lay down in the entranceway, blocking the door and disrupting Shell’s business until the police came and dragged them away.”***⁸⁴⁹ The following year, ordinary Christian NGOs

⁸⁴³ Pierard, R., *An Age of Ideology*, in Dowley, T. (Ed.), *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, (2014), p. 520, see also p. 586; Schell, J., *The Unconquerable World*, (2005), p. 251; Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), p.430 etc.

⁸⁴⁴ Mwaura, P. N., *Christianity in Eastern Africa, 1910 – 2010*, in Johnson, T. M. & Ross, K. M. (Eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity*, (2009), p. 115; see also Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), pp. 386, 388; Overy, R. (Ed.), *The Times Complete History of the World*, (2015), p. 320 etc.

⁸⁴⁵ Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), pp. 491

⁸⁴⁶ Meredith, M., *The State of Africa*, (2013), pp. 407 – 408

⁸⁴⁷ *World Development Report 2011*, World Bank, (2011), (most recent World Development Report focused on conflict), p. 182; see also Lederach, J. P., *Building Peace*, (2010), pp. 53 – 54

⁸⁴⁸ Prendergast, J., *Applying Concepts to Cases*, in Lederach, J. P., *Building Peace*, (2010), pp. 154 – 160

⁸⁴⁹ Leonard, A., *The Story of Stuff*, (2010), p. 41

helped advocate for and negotiate a peaceful end to civil war in Mali where *“the successful mediatory role played by Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) in helping to end the civil war in Mali in 1996”* was pivotal, according to the peace mediator and academic Christopher Mitchell.⁸⁵⁰



Figure 7.10: Christians have been central to the nonviolent resistance movements which have dramatically improved democracy and human rights, and reduced poverty, around the world since the Second World War.

Meanwhile in the west, ordinary Christians and Christian organisations have advocated for ethical consumption and campaigned for fair global trade rules in the decades since the Second World War. In his study of the historical development of our modern consumer society, *Empire of Things*, Frank Trentmann explains, *“To tackle global poverty, individual acts of charity*

⁸⁵⁰ Mitchell, C., *Mediation and the Ending of Conflicts*, in Darby J. & Mac Ginty, R. (Eds.), *Contemporary Peacemaking*, (2008), p. 99

were no longer enough. *A new repertoire of consumer activism was taking shape among Christian missions, youth groups and Third World Movements.*” And that *“The two groups that were more than any other behind the transition from charity to trade justice were Christian youth and students.”*⁸⁵¹ In Europe, ordinary Christians and churches have also been strong advocates for family friendly policies.⁸⁵²

As the twentieth century came to a close and the twenty-first century began, ordinary Christians, local churches and church leaders around the world, successfully advocated for vast reductions in the crippling foreign debt of poor nations through the Jubilee 2000 movement; a movement founded by churches and based on the Biblical principle of Jubilee and debt cancellation. As Jeffrey Sachs recalled in his book *The End of Poverty*, *“The movement attracted a wide coalition of religious groups and NGOs, initially in Europe and especially the United Kingdom. In the late 1990s, it became a mass social movement: during a 1998 summit in Birmingham, the movement’s leaders presented a global petition, which twenty-two million petitioners in sixty countries had signed, calling on rich-world leaders to drop the debt of poor nations. Leading entertainers, including Muhammad Ali and especially Bono, campaigned for the movement. Pope John Paul II, who linked the campaign to the Jubilee celebration of the year 2000 and the biblical call from Leviticus for a fresh start for the indebted in a Jubilee year, gave the movement vast reach ... When the movement finally gathered steam in the United States, leaders of the religious right, particularly Spencer Bachus (R-Alabama) took up the issue. Bachus authored key provisions of debt relief legislation and helped to shape a bipartisan coalition that reached across traditional liberal supporters of foreign assistance and representatives of the religious right who viewed the debt issue in religious terms. The US Congress approved a generous debt relief package”.*⁸⁵³

In Africa, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, ordinary Christians and local churches advocated and worked for peace between different ethnic groups in Kenya;⁸⁵⁴ courageously and successfully stood up and denounced religious and ethnic conflict in Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo;⁸⁵⁵ and successfully stood up in defiance against the brutal regime of Charles Taylor in Liberia,⁸⁵⁶ and worked for peace and reconciliation in that country.⁸⁵⁷ On the issues of corruption, good governance and political reform, Christians have also once again played a key role across the continent.⁸⁵⁸ Further north, ordinary Christians helped mobilise the peaceful Arab Spring uprising that led to the ousting of President Hosni Mubarak in Egypt in 2011. Despite enduring centuries of religious division and discrimination, Christians modelled Christ’s love and unity with Muslim reformer activists in Tahrir Square in the face of oppression from the regime. As Sroja Popovic recounts in his manual for peaceful social change activists everywhere, *Blueprint for Revolution*, *“One Friday, as a throng of Muslims kneeled down for the holy prayer, their fellow Christians did something unheard of in the country’s uneasy history: they held hands and formed a protective cordon, shielding their Muslim friends from harassment and giving them the space to pray in peace. Two days*

⁸⁵¹ Trentmann, F., *Empire of Things*, (2016), pp. 573 – 574, see also pp. 575 – 580; Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 212 – 213 etc.

⁸⁵² Castles, F., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, (2010), pp. 147 – 148

⁸⁵³ Sachs, J., *The End of Poverty*, (2005), pp. 342 – 343; see also Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), p. 31; Mazower, M., *Governing the World*, (2013), p. 368 etc.

⁸⁵⁴ Lederach, J. P., *The Moral Imagination*, (2005), p. 135 – 138

⁸⁵⁵ Green, D., *From Poverty to Power*, (2012), p. 233

⁸⁵⁶ Crawshaw, S. & Jackson, J., *Small Acts of Resistance*, (2010), pp. 63 – 65

⁸⁵⁷ Lederach, J. P., *Building Peace*, (2010), pp. 54 – 55

⁸⁵⁸ Collier, P., *Wars, Guns and Votes*, (2009), pp. 53 – 54

later, as Sunday rolled around, it was the Christians' turn to pray and the Muslims' turn to stand guard." As a local church leader Rev Ihab al-Kharat said *"we unify our ranks ... We will keep protesting until the fall of tyranny."*⁸⁵⁹

Up to the present day, across Africa and the developing world, ordinary Christians and churches are successfully speaking out and advocating on a myriad of different social justice, development and environment issues every day. The Christian relief and development organisation, Tearfund, captures many such examples in its guide to practical advocacy, the *Advocacy Toolkit*. Thus in Liberia, *"The Association of Evangelicals of Liberia (AEL), a Tearfund partner, is well known for water and sanitation work. Together with other non-governmental organisations (NGOs), development partners, civil society, United Nations (UN) agencies, the private sector and government ministries, they drafted a national policy framework to ensure that citizens would have access to safe, clean water and improved sanitation facilities, provided for by law ... There followed several months of lobbying and asking for the policy framework to be approved but finally the president signed it."*⁸⁶⁰ Christians and local churches have similarly campaigned successfully for improvements in water and sanitation in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya and Ethiopia.⁸⁶¹

Still in Africa, but further south, the *"Evangelical Association of Malawi (EAM), established good relationships with the national government, and particularly with ministers in departments responsible for issues that directly impact poor communities. As a result of its rapport with the government, EAM was invited to join a national consultation process set up by the government to help it set the national budget. EAM was consistently invited to these consultation meetings and invited to speak on behalf of poor communities and to represent their needs, which it was able to do because of its connections to churches across the whole of the country. EAM's role included significant work in bringing together national church leaders to mediate between the government and the opposition, and in ensuring that the voices of poor communities were heard. As a result of EAM's involvement in the process, the Malawi government strengthened its policies to deal with issues of food security and poverty reduction and, when the national budget was passed, it was drafted in such a way as to support the implementation of programmes that favoured poor people."*⁸⁶²

Meanwhile, ordinary Christians have been successfully advocating on the issue of HIV in neighbouring Mozambique, where *"Many people in Mozambique are living below the poverty line and do not have guaranteed food security. Natural hazards, such as widespread flooding, compound the problem, particularly among people living with HIV. This was an issue that concerned Rede Cristã, a network of Christian NGOs and churches in Mozambique and one of Tearfund's partners. Over several years, members of Rede Cristã developed relationships with officials in all the departments of the Mozambique government that were concerned about HIV. Together, they lobbied and helped draft a law setting out the rights of people living with HIV to adequate food supplies and levels of nutrition. After the law was passed, they worked closely with their church members to ensure the law was implemented"*⁸⁶³.

⁸⁵⁹ Popovic, S., *Blueprint for Revolution*, (2015), p. 164 – 165; see also Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J., *Why Civil Resistance Works*, (2013), p. 229

⁸⁶⁰ *Advocacy Toolkit*, Tearfund, (2015), p. 5

⁸⁶¹ *Advocacy Toolkit*, Tearfund, (2015), pp. 70, 106, 200

⁸⁶² *Advocacy Toolkit*, Tearfund, (2015), p. 152

⁸⁶³ *Advocacy Toolkit*, Tearfund, (2015), p. 155

In Egypt today, Christians continue to speak out on behalf of the poor and marginalised. As Tearfund's Advocacy Toolkit records, ***“Joint Relief Ministry (JRM), a ministry of the Episcopal Church, was a Tearfund partner in Egypt that worked with displaced people from the Horn of Africa. Many of the displaced people wanted to be allowed to remain in Egypt or settle permanently in another country, so JRM helped them apply and appeal to the UNHCR (the UN refugee agency), which has responsibility for determining refugee status. JRM, together with other supporting organisations, trained and guided members of the displaced community on how to advocate to UNHCR. With particularly difficult cases, legal advice was obtained.”***⁸⁶⁴ In many other cases across Africa, ordinary Christians and churches continue to advocate, for child rights in Rwanda; the rights of marginal nomadic herders in Niger; environmental sustainability in South Sudan; political reform in Zimbabwe and much, much more besides.⁸⁶⁵

Also in other parts of the world, ordinary Christians and churches continue to successfully advocate to improve social justice, development and the environment. To take one example, ***“Haiti used to be one of many countries where accessibility and affordability were two of the biggest barriers to education. Many poor families did not have schools in their communities and those that did could not afford to send their children there. This caused concern to Tearfund partner Federation of Haitian Protestant Schools (Fédération des Ecoles Protestantes d’Haïti – FEPEH). Its vision was for Haitian society to be transformed by every child having a good-quality basic education. So, as part of Haitian Foundation of Private Schools (Fondation Haïtienne de l’Enseignement Privé – FONHEP) and in coalition with others, they decided to advocate for change. Alongside other civil society representatives, FEPEH developed relationships through meetings and conversations with the Haitian Minister for Education and other key government officials, presenting them with the needs of Haiti’s poorest children. Their request was simple – they wanted a national policy that would commit to: reduce the cost of private education for poor families in Haiti; improve the access to, and quality of, primary education across the country; and promote community-based schools. The result of this sector-wide dialogue was the establishment of a National Organisation for Partnership in Education (Office National du Partenariat en Education – ONAPE) and the development of a national policy providing education for all in Haiti.”***⁸⁶⁶ Elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), ordinary Christians and churches have successfully advocated for the provision of safe, clean water for poor communities in Brazil.⁸⁶⁷ In Asia, ordinary Christians and churches have successfully advocated for better disaster preparedness policies and the rights of slum dwellers in India,⁸⁶⁸ and for the rights of local communities and people living with HIV in Nepal,⁸⁶⁹ and much more besides.

Ordinary Christians and churches around the world have also been campaigning and speaking out successfully on climate change and the environment in recent decades.⁸⁷⁰ In the US, churches have advocated against environmental and racial injustice. To take just one example, in 1987 in ***“the first study to solidly document that the racial composition of a community was the most significant factor in determining whether or not a toxic waste facility was likely***

⁸⁶⁴ Advocacy Toolkit, Tearfund, (2015), p. 187

⁸⁶⁵ Advocacy Toolkit, Tearfund, (2015), pp. 6, 86, 203 – 204

⁸⁶⁶ Advocacy Toolkit, Tearfund, (2015), p. 74

⁸⁶⁷ Advocacy Toolkit, Tearfund, (2015), p. 164

⁸⁶⁸ Advocacy Toolkit, Tearfund, (2015), pp. 154, 186

⁸⁶⁹ Advocacy Toolkit, Tearfund, (2015), pp. 90, 156

⁸⁷⁰ Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), pp. 228 – 229; Rose, C., *How to Win Campaigns*, (2010), p. 129; Klein, N., *This Changes Everything*, (2014), pp. 353 – 358, 464; Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), pp. 190 – 191 etc.

*to be located nearby: Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States, published by the United Church of Christ (UCC). This astounding report showed that three out of every five African Americans and Hispanic Americans lived in communities with uncontrolled toxic waste sites.”*⁸⁷¹



Figure 7.11: Ordinary Christians are central to the nonviolent people movements leading action on climate change and the environment around the world in recent decades and today.

From the mid 1990s up until 2000, ordinary Christians and local churches successfully campaigned against the environmentally damaging dumping of US waste in Haiti.⁸⁷² Ordinary local churches have also supported the legal rights of indigenous peoples in their environmental struggles, for example, as a report from Friends of the Earth on indigenous peoples' rights records, *“The Subanon Indigenous communities in Mindanao, in the Philippines, for example, with the support of church groups and other civil society organisations, have stopped a mining concession and accompanying militarisation within their ancestral lands.”*⁸⁷³ Ordinary Christians have also been central to the fight against deforestation. The 2017

⁸⁷¹ Leonard, A., *The Story of Stuff*, (2010), pp. 112 – 113

⁸⁷² Leonard, A., *The Story of Stuff*, (2010), p. 289

⁸⁷³ *Community Rights, Corporate Wrongs*, Friends of the Earth, (2011), p. 4, see also pp. 8 – 9

anthology of the top 100 most effective technologies for combatting climate change, *Drawdown*, notes ***“Henri des Roziers, a French Catholic priest who doubles as a human rights lawyer, has emerged in Brazil as the next likely target of big landowners bent on turning parts of the rainforest into grazing land for cattle. The price for killing him is estimated around \$38,000.”***⁸⁷⁴ In addition, Christians and churches played a major role in building pressure for the achievement of the landmark 2015 *Paris Agreement* on climate change. For example, the Oxfam academic and activist Duncan Green notes in his book *How Change Happens*, ***“in 2015 some of the most encouraging progress on climate change came from a Papal Encyclical on the Environment”***.⁸⁷⁵

Ordinary Christians, local churches and church leaders can even be found speaking out on some of the newer concepts in this report, such as the circular economy. A key report by Tearfund records one example from Brazil, ***“Diaconia is an NGO made up of 11 churches, working with over 4,000 family farmers in rural Brazil to help small-scale agricultural production that is good for the environment. The NGO is pioneering bio-digester technology to turn animal waste into cooking gas and compost for soil. As a result of Diaconia’s advocacy work, the Brazilian Government’s National Rural Housing Programme is expanding this technology across Brazil. In total, 355 bio-digesters will be set up in 23 municipalities across six states.”***⁸⁷⁶

So we see, from the beginnings of the Old Testament; down through the Judges, Kings and Prophets; in Jesus’ ministry and that of the disciples; through the great bottom-up reform movements around the world over the last 200 years and up to the present day, God has called his people – ordinary Christians in ordinary local churches – over and over and over again, to stand up and speak out for change in the areas of social justice, development and the environment. It is clear. The major power holders of our world: governments and big business have their hands tied. The answers aren’t going to come from them, but from us. In the end, we get the world we deserve. If we opt out and stay silent, the system will stop progressing change for social justice, development and the environment. But if we opt in and become active, we truly are the ones who hold the keys to initiating change that will transform the world. We cannot look to anyone else to change the world, we must look to God and to those he chooses to work through ... us. We are the inheritors of that amazing tradition of Christians standing up and speaking out in our generation. We are the ones we have been waiting for. We are the ones God is calling to arise.

WE MUST ... ARISE!

In the past, ordinary Christians have often been held back from living out this calling by three problems: faulty theology, the lack of a vision for a changed world, and the lack of a practical strategy to implement that vision. Through this report, we have attempted in [Part 1](#) to address that faulty theology, to understand that each of us is called to use all our time, resources and skills to help roll out the kingdom of God in our world. Next, in [Parts 2 – 6](#), we developed a practical, holistic, Christian vision of what that better world might look like. Now, finally in Part 7, we have seen that wherever we turn, in every area, the power to initiate the practical change to implement that vision – in evangelism and discipleship, as well as in social justice, development and the environment – lies with us. We are not powerless. On the contrary, we

⁸⁷⁴ Hawken, P. (Ed.), *Drawdown*, (2017), p. 110

⁸⁷⁵ Green, D., *How Change Happens*, (2016), p. 66

⁸⁷⁶ *Why Advocate on Waste and a Circular Economy?*, Tearfund, (2017), p. 16

are the only ones who really do have the power to change our world. We are a sleeping giant. We only need to find our voice, step up and speak out. We only need to arise. But how do we actually do that? We can understand and believe the need for change in our heads and hearts, yet often that does not translate into meaningful action in our lives. We all lead busy lives. We are all overloaded by thousands of competing messages and demands, vying for our time and attention every day. We need all the possible help we can get to begin to turn our vision into reality in our lives, and in our world, in manageable ways, one step at time.

That is why Arise was set up. Instead of being overwhelmed with multiple good causes, Arise aims to provide a one-stop shop, providing a holistic vision for the entirety of the change we need to see in the world and then helping you to take action to bring about that change, one step at a time. Our mission is to help catalyse, mobilise, empower, equip and release ordinary Christians, like you and me, into powerful bottom-up action around the world. We exist to help convert your passion for change into action. We do this by focusing on just two things ...

- 1) We suggest a holistic and Biblical Christian **vision** for a better world, through this report, that is updated every five years (www.ariseuk.org/vision)
- 2) Then, through our website, we help ordinary Christians, like you and me, to **take one action each week to put that vision into practice** (www.ariseuk.org/sign-up)

We take actions across the whole breadth of our vision for evangelism, discipleship, social justice, development and the environment towards a changed world. However, we focus on the prioritised strategic interventions, which we have seen are the most effective at the end of Parts 2 – 6. These are ...

- a) **Evangelism**: mobilising ordinary Christians to share their faith confidently and effectively through our **Equipped to Share** course (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share)
- b) **Social Justice**: supporting bottom-up reform movements struggling to improve their societies around the world through our weekly campaign actions (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/reform-movements)
- c) **Development and Environment**: pushing for a third great revolution; a green economy revolution to lift all out of poverty without wrecking the planet through our **4 Shifts** campaign (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/4-shifts)

In addition, we have seen how this report can be used as a simple spiritual health check for our journey of **Discipleship** by regularly checking how we are progressing with the actions in boxes for ordinary Christians at the end of each section in [Parts 2](#) and [3](#).

Of course, there are many other great Christian organisations out there doing fantastic work, many of which we encountered in [Part 3](#). Arise's aim is not to duplicate or compete with this work, but to reinforce and strengthen it. Therefore, we show how the work of these Christian organisations is all contributing to something like the broader Biblical and holistic Christian vision of a better world suggested in this report. Wherever possible, we aim to reinforce their causes through our weekly actions, only generating new actions when there is a gap not addressed by another organisation. Once again, in all of the areas we have considered, the key strategic intervention needed to bring about change will not come from those in government, or at the top of industry, but from ordinary Christians, like you and me. We need only Arise.

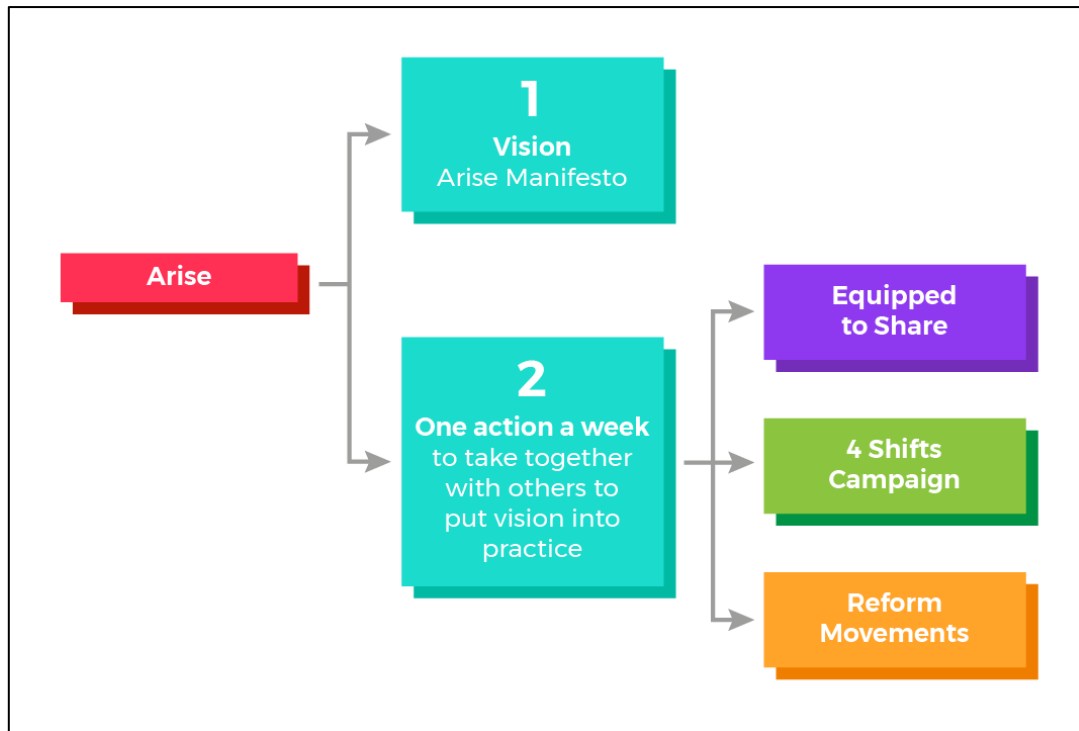


Figure 7.12: Arise suggests a Christian vision for a better world, then mobilises ordinary Christians to take action to help realise this vision. Actions focus on: sharing faith confidently through the Equipped to Share course; pushing for a green economy revolution through the 4 Shifts campaign; and supporting Reform Movements striving for justice around the world.

If the Christian vision for our world that we have explored together in this report resonates with you, then taking the first step to play your part in putting this into action is the simplest thing in the world – go to the website and sign up to Arise (www.ariseuk.org/sign-up). We won't overload you, just send you one action each week that you can take. That's it! We will make each weekly action as practical, easy and simple as possible. Do as many or as few of these as you can manage. We don't need your money and will never ask for it, but we do need you. Later you can go deeper and do more if you want to and the Spirit prompts you, but starting with just one thing a week (or whatever you can manage) makes this real and manageable. If you are interested, we can also connect you with other Christians in your church, community, town or city who have signed up to Arise, so we can encourage and support each other and work together for change. Will you sign up to Arise with us? Will you commit to doing just one thing each week to help advance the kingdom of God and see lives transformed as we together, one step at a time, begin to change our world?

As more and more of us join, as we take weekly actions, and as we run **Equipped to Share** (www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share) courses in our churches, we change our consumption habits, challenge our political representatives, support reform movements around the world, pray together, recruit our neighbours and set up small action groups in our churches, then momentum builds and change comes. As this is replicated, amongst ordinary Christians and local churches setting up Arise movements in different countries around the world, then a global movement of ordinary Christians at the heart of civil society calling for change really starts to take shape. Pressure on governments around the world grows, and as they respond, they in turn unleash the power of the private sector in socially positive directions and build

momentum towards global deals for improving social justice, development and the environment.

The more and more of us who sign up to Arise, the more and more powerful our movement becomes, bringing about direct change in our own lives and churches, and influencing businesses, governments and society to change too. This is how God always meant his people, his church, to be; dynamic, world changing, noticed and impactful, just like the early church that revolutionised the Roman Empire, peacefully and from the bottom-up. And when we, Jesus' followers, God's church, step up in this way, what a witness to our saviour that is. How much more attractive to our world will our faith seem then! Will you join with us? Will you become part of the Arise movement? Together we can begin to change our world for the better. Now is our time. There is more to life than this. We are all called to be world changers, to lead lives of meaning and purpose that make a difference. No one else can do this apart from us. We have done it before and we can do it again. We are the ones God has tasked with this challenge in this generation. We are the ones we have been waiting for. Together we can do this. Join us today. Be part of something that will change the world forever ... Arise!

APPENDIX:

POLICY PROPOSALS

PART 1: THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH

How close are we to that perfect world? – Indicators

Governments should:

- Adopt the indicators of success under [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and [Environment](#) used in this report as national metrics to guide their actions, rather than using solely economic indicators like GDP

PART 2: EVANGELISM

Missionary communities

The church should:

- Send missionaries to unevangelised areas where there are no Christians
- Send those called to be ‘evangelists’
- Send missionaries out together in groups as missionary communities
- Be led by the Holy Spirit as to where to send them
- Target the cities, especially the capitals, for particular focus
- Equip missionary communities to use locally culturally specific methods of evangelism
- Support missionary communities to plant new local churches
- Connect these new local churches to the wider global church
- Don’t send missionary communities to plant churches in areas where local churches already exist, even where existing churches are dormant and nominal. Instead support revival within these local churches and their evangelistic ministries
- Focus research and resources on reaching the Islamic world
- Send missionary communities from social groups that are as culturally and ethnically close as possible to those they are seeking to reach
- Make effective use of radio, TV and internet ministries to share the gospel

Local church evangelism

The church should:

- Keep a relentless focus and intentionality on evangelism
- Help the local church take responsibility for evangelising its local area once the missionary community has planted it
- Build loving, open and radically generous local church communities that attract others
- Massively focus on training and empowering ordinary Christians in local congregations to share the gospel confidently and naturally with their friends, family and neighbours through initiatives like Arise's Equipped to Share course, www.ariseuk.org/campaigns/equipped-to-share
- Make church services as welcoming as possible to non-believers
- Promote networked local churches, where the focus is on multiple congregational spaces around the main meeting: small groups where non-Christians can be invited, such as, Alpha groups, discipleship courses, mother and toddler groups, mid-week services, men's and women's meetings, youth groups, older people's groups, the group that meets in the pub on Sunday night, the church football team etc.
- Sub-divide churches into multiple local churches in the same area when they become too full to make meeting together practical
- Particularly focus research and resources on communicating the gospel effectively to the post-Enlightenment agnostic/atheist western world
- Particularly focus on communicating the gospel effectively to young people
- Proactively engage with the media, projecting a positive image of Christianity which creates fertile cultural soil for conversion

Individual Christians should:

- Be sharing our faith, rather than just leaving it to a few 'evangelists'
- Pray that God would give us the courage and the words to share our faith
- Pray daily for all the people we will be coming into contact with each day to come to faith
- Spend lots of time with non-Christians
- Take every opportunity to be sociable and in conversation with non-Christians
- Be radically loving, kind and generous to all
- Pray for healing and other miracles as a witness to Jesus
- Turn 'everyday conversations' into 'faith conversations' by finding a natural way of mentioning our faith in the context of whatever conversation we are having. Start by doing this once a day, working up to doing it once with every person we are in conversation with during the day. Most won't be interested and will move the conversation on and that's fine, but some will respond and with them we can go deeper and move from a 'faith conversation' into a 'gospel conversation' and talk about Jesus
- Keep creating these opportunities and broadcasting the Christian message far and wide with all we come into conversation with, rather than keep coming back to the same few who may not be interested
- Invite, involve and embed those who do respond in the life of our local church community
- Take time to walk with these people within that local church environment as they ask questions, explore, come to make a commitment and beyond, truly making disciples, not just converts

PART 3: DISCIPLESHIP

Prayer

Individual Christians should:

- Have a daily ‘quiet time’, ideally in the morning. This should involve ...
 - Going to a quiet place where we won’t be interrupted
 - Thanking and worshipping God
 - Repenting of anything wrong we have done since we last repented
 - Reading the Bible
 - Spending a few minutes asking God if there is anything he wants to say to us and quietly listening
 - Praying for others and our world
 - Praying for ourselves and our day ahead
 - Praying for protection
- Pray in ad hoc ways throughout our day as we need to
- Pray together with other Christians in church and when we meet
- Pray simple and short prayers
- Persevere in our prayers

Obedience, calling and direction

Individual Christians should:

- Go to a quiet place where we won’t be interrupted
- Ask God what he wants us to do about a particular major decision and quietly listen
- Set a time when we will end our time of listening and make the decision as best we can
- Check our decision against the Bible
- Get prayers and advice about our decision from other Christians
- Write up the decision we make
- Review our current situation and daily routine to see if there is anything we need to change to make our decision a reality
- Persevere in the direction we have felt called to go when we face setbacks
- Regularly listen to God again and review the progress we are making

Personal attitude and integrity

Individual Christians should:

- Be radically loving to all, loving our neighbour as ourselves
- Interrupt what we are doing to make time for others if they need us – put people first
- In particular, look out for the needy and marginalised
- Be quick to listen and slow to speak
- Show no favouritism
- Respect our elders
- Be hospitable
- Be bold and courageous
- Seek wisdom, education, knowledge and understanding
- Choose to be upbeat and optimistic
- Be humble – don’t show off our good deeds looking for praise
- Be patient
- Be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves

- Be self-disciplined
- Be law abiding, unless the law compels us to compromise our faith
- Vote
- Not gossip or criticise others behind their backs
- Not mock or tease others
- Not judge
- Not lie
- Stay calm and not get angry with others
- Not be envious or jealous
- Not look at other women or men with lust
- Not make an oath or swear by anything
- Not swear, blaspheme or use profanities
- Not worry
- Not be argumentative
- Not grumble or complain
- Not be hypocritical
- Not get into debt
- Worship God alone and not engage in any other sort of worship or spiritual activity

Work, rest and health

Individual Christians should:

- Work hard
- Balance this with significant time off to rest, relax and have fun
- Eat healthily and not be greedy
- Not get drunk
- Take daily exercise
- Get enough sleep
- Not smoke
- Not take drugs
- Wash and clean ourselves daily

Family life

Individual Christians should:

- Remain single if we can, but ...
- Marry if we find it too difficult to remain single
- Only marry another Christian
- Stay with our spouses if we were already married before we became Christians, unless they choose to leave us
- Only consider re-marrying if our non-Christian spouse has left us or our Christian spouse has died, otherwise ...
- Stay married for life
- Divorce only for reasons of unfaithfulness
- Be loving, kind and devoted to our spouses
- Enjoy sex within marriage
- Love and raise our children well
- Honour and obey our parents
- Support wider family members who can't support themselves

Church life

Individual Christians should:

- Attend a local church weekly and be active members
- Receive one adult baptism as soon as possible after we become Christians
- Regularly take communion, and also do it more informally when we eat together
- Worship with other Christians in church
- Fast regularly
- Teach, admonish and disciple each other, and all participate in church services
- Respect and obey our leaders
- Confess our sins to each other
- Not be a stumbling block to others
- Lend to each other without charging interest
- Hold all things in common with other Christians

The work of the Holy Spirit

Individual Christians should:

- Receive and pass on the baptism of the Holy Spirit by the laying on of hands and prayer
- Seek and pray for spiritual gifts such as ...
 - Wisdom
 - Knowledge
 - Faith
 - Healing
 - Miracles
 - Prophecy
 - Distinguishing between spirits
 - Tongues (which can be used for private worship as well as public worship if someone can interpret them)
 - The interpretation of tongues
 - Visions
 - Dreams
- Use spiritual gifts in local church meetings to build us all up by speaking one at a time, sharing prophecies, dreams and visions for the whole church to prayerfully consider
- Cast out demons
- Heal the sick
- Anoint the sick with oil
- Raise the dead

Spiritual warfare and persecution

Individual Christians should:

- Flee from temptation, avoid putting ourselves in positions where we will be tempted and remove ourselves from them when they occur
- Choose to dwell on positive things to shape our thinking in the face of doubts
- Choose not to care what others think of us
- Choose not to compare ourselves with others
- Persevere in tough times
- Turn the other cheek and love our enemies
- Pray for those who persecute us
- Pray for those in authority

- Forgive all who wrong us, and as far as it is up to us be reconciled with them
- Flee to avoid persecution
- Stand in solidarity with fellow Christians where they are persecuted

Social Justice, Development and Environment

Individual Christian should:

- One: Pray
- Two: Give radically
 - Give all our income, except what we need for necessities and a few occasional treats, and live simple lives
 - Give through Christian organisations that operate via local churches wherever possible
 - Only pass on a reasonable amount to our children when we die, giving most away
- Three: Take direct practical action to meet the needs of the people we come into contact with, and our local environment, in a myriad of hands-on ways, including ...
 - Financially support extended family members in need
 - Always pay our taxes in full and don't practice tax avoidance
 - If we are blessed with a family, prayerfully considering having no more than two children to limit future population growth and the pressures on the planet
 - Don't just walk past homeless people, but give them contact details for local authorities that can help get them off the street, food vouchers for high-street food outlets, and tracts. (Carry these around with us)
 - Take every opportunity in the jobs we have, whether it be politicians, civil servants, public sector employees, lawyers, police officers, members of the armed forces, journalists etc. (social justice), teachers, health professionals, private sector employees, entrepreneurs etc. (development), scientists, conservations etc. (environment), to take practical actions and decisions which improve social justice, development and the environment.
- Four: Consume ethically in the products and services we buy
 - Buy products with known ethical standards wherever possible, thus supporting development in poor nations
 - Where these are not available, buy other products from the developing world, still supporting development in poor nations
 - Buy from small, local firms for everything else, thus helping keep people out of poverty near to home by supporting small and medium enterprises, the healthy backbone of any economy
 - Buy goods and services from companies that pay a reasonable Living Wage wherever possible
 - Buy goods and services from companies that pay a fair share of tax wherever possible
 - Divest our pensions and other financial savings from investment in unethical practices and fossil fuel industries, and instead invest them in companies with good ethical standards and in green energy renewable companies
 - Switch to a green electricity provider
 - Convert our homes from using gas for heating, hot water and cooking, to electricity from the same green provider (if we can afford it)
 - Reduce our use of electricity and gas as much as possible through actions such as switching off lights and unplugging devices when not in use, wearing warmer clothing rather than putting the heating on, and ensuring our home is properly insulated

- Use an energy monitor to help identify ways of reducing our energy use at home
- Walk or cycle rather than using other vehicles where possible
- Use public transport, car shares or occasionally rent a car rather than owning one, but if we do need a car we should ...
- Buy an electric car which can be charged using green electricity (if we can afford it)
- Reduce to just one car per family
- Buy as fuel efficient and low emission car as possible
- Reduce our flights as much as possible
- Use trains or boats instead of planes where possible
- Offset any fossil fuel emissions we have from either our home or travel with an offsetting company that can plant trees to absorb the equivalent amount of emissions we have made
- Buy organic food, meat and other animal products that are free-range, as much as possible
- Only buy wood products that are sustainably logged
- Buy second-hand rather than new wherever possible, reducing overconsumption and driving more funds towards good causes
- Have a healthy diet that is based upon mainly fruit and vegetables (at least a third), and cereal and carbohydrates (at least a third), with a small amount of meat (less than a sixth) and dairy (less than a sixth), and eating white meat and fish rather than red meat wherever possible
- Reduce and eliminate buying plastic products, as plastic can only be recycled a limited number of times before it ends up as waste
- Reduce waste from our homes as much as possible, making a note of every item we put in our bins, then searching online to see if there is a recyclable, re-usable, non-waste alternative. This should include composting all organic waste
- Five: Advocate to those in power to take action on social justice, development and environment ...
 - Sign up to speak out in advocacy on the major social justice, development and environment issues once a week with Arise (www.ariseuk.org/sign-up)

The church should:

- One: Pray
- Two: Give radically
- Three: Take direct practical action to meet the needs of the people in our local communities and our local environment in a myriad of hands-on ways
- Four: Model the same ethical consumption in the products and services it buys as outlined for individual Christians above
- Five: Advocate to those in power to take action on social justice, development and environment
- Teach that all Christians should pray, give, take practical action, consume ethically and advocate for social justice, development and environment
- Teach that most of us will be specifically called to spend the majority of our time in full-time employment in one of these areas, as politicians, civil servants, public sector employees, lawyers, police officers, members of the armed forces, journalists etc. (social justice), teachers, health professionals, private sector employees, entrepreneurs etc. (development), scientists, conservations etc. (environment), and affirm, celebrate and support Christians called into these roles

Leadership and unity in the church

The church should:

- Appoint a group of elders to lead local churches
- Appoint deacons under these elders to manage the practical running of the local church
- Ensure groups of local churches are overseen by a bishop or equivalent
- Make major decisions affecting the whole church at a gathering of the bishops
- Ensure its leaders, at every level, model servant leadership
- Ensure leaders are mature in their faith, not recent converts
- Ensure leaders hold to sound doctrine
- Ensure leaders model personal attitude and integrity
- Ensure leaders' children are believers, as evidence of their ability to lead others in faith
- Test leaders before appointing them
- Financially support full-time leaders if they want or need it
- Ensure accusations against leaders are brought by two or three witnesses
- Publicly rebuke leaders who seriously sin before the church, then accept their repentance and forgive them allowing the church to move on
- Report the discovery of any serious abuse or law breaking by leaders or church members to the police and address it openly and publicly in the church, don't cover it up
- Vigorously pursue unity across all churches and denominations that accept the core principles of the Christian faith
- Promote unity within local churches by teaching that individual Christians should resolve their arguments, first privately one-to-one, then with two or three other witnesses, then before the whole church, and eventually expelling the unrepentant person if none of these steps resolve the issue
- Avoid indulging in inward looking and divisive arguments over minor theological points and instead be unified and outward facing in pursuing the church's mission to roll out the kingdom of God in the world
- Financially support vulnerable members of the local church
- Withhold financial support from those not genuinely in need who are taking advantage
- Financially support the members of other local churches across the global church when they are in need

PART 4: SOCIAL JUSTICE

Democracy, human rights and good governance

Standards for democracy, human rights and good governance

Governments should:

- Understand that all national authorities have been appointed by God, whether they recognise him or not
- Administer justice
- Administer the law justly
- Ensure full equality for all before the law, and in all aspects of life
- Treat suspects as innocent until proven guilty
- Ensure people in positions of national authority are of high personal moral standing
- Ban all bribery and ensure there is no corruption

- Use minimum force necessary to enforce the law, as the only institution which should be able to use force, and the first of only three situations in which governments can use force
- Ensure the law is based solely on people being free to do what they want unless it harms others (as defined in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*), at which point the law steps in
- Be secular or agnostic in nature, not backing any one particular faith, but allowing all to live together in peace, showing compassion and flexibility to individual religious or cultural needs, providing no harm is done to others
- Have no established church linked to the state
- Ban murder
- Ban assault
- Ban rape
- Ban theft
- Ban kidnapping
- Ban extortion and blackmail
- Ban abortion, whilst providing maximum loving care and support for single women and couples who find themselves with unwanted pregnancies
- Ban slander
- Prosecute people for giving false testimony
- Prosecute people for negligence
- Be democratic
- Ensure there is an active parliament
- Use proportional representation, single transferable vote or other such electoral systems rather than ‘first past the post’ to ensure fairer more effective government
- Embrace a local culturally and contextually relevant form of democracy within these principles
- Not be able to legislate on anything that undermines the principle that people should be free to do what they want unless it harms others on which the law is based, or undermines the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*
- Ensure separation of the legislative, executive and judicial arms of government
- Establish a highly professional, competent, educated and committed civil service
- Ensure separation of the police and military, and that both stay out of politics and under civilian authority
- Ensure clear water between the state and the private sector through various mechanisms, including a ban on businesses making donations to political parties, and requiring those serving in government not to be major shareholders in, or on the board of, any company
- Devolve decisions to the lowest possible appropriate level of government
- Continually reform and update government systems and bureaucracy where needed
- Model transparency
- Establish an independent national audit office and ombudsmen for different sectors
- Enable public consultation and involvement in decision making
- Ensure there is a free press, but one that is open to prosecution for slander and false accusation, and require the same amount and level of coverage to be given to retracting a false story as was given to initially airing it
- Ensure the same laws are applied to online social media platforms, so genuine freedom of expression is protected, but both the platforms and their users can be prosecuted for slander, false accusation, invasion of privacy, and threats and abuse. Require the same

amount and level of coverage to be given to retracting a false story as was given to initially airing it

- Require major political parties to only spend the same amount on elections, in practice limiting it to the amount the poorest party can afford
- Require parties in a legal dispute to only spend the same amount on legal fees, in practice limiting it to the amount the poorest party can afford
- Provide a rapid legal process
- Prosecute and imprison criminals unflinchingly where necessary (especially for violent crimes) in order to protect innocent citizens
- Ban torture
- Ban the death penalty and imprison people instead
- Focus prisons on reforming and rehabilitating criminals through one-to-one psychological support, compulsory but paid work to develop a healthy work culture, supporting them to get work once they leave, and ensuring there is no discrimination against those with a criminal record (with the exception of safeguarding checks for those convicted of rape or abusing children or vulnerable people)
- Teach these standards for democracy, human rights and good governance in schools and promote them to the wider public through information and education campaigns

Improving democracy, human rights and good governance through pressure within nations

Bottom-up civil society reform movements should:

- Not lead rebellions or revolutions using armed force, but instead ...
- Demand and work for reform using radical but peaceful methods

Strategy and organisation

- Engage the maximum numbers of people
- Connect people into local groups to work for the cause together, build friendships and support each other, rather than strive alone
- Build an ever-growing coalition of groups calling for change
- Unite these groups behind a clear, specific ask for the change they want to see
- Conduct research in order to come up with credible policy proposals and asks
- Develop a clear strategy for turning those asks into reality
- Have a clear leadership structure for decision making
- Identify and make use of inspirational leaders
- Maintain internal systems of discipline to prevent losing control of the movement to violent elements
- Develop communications routes to get their message out
- Use social media and other online communications to disseminate their message and mobilise the movement
- Start communications from where their audience is, making full use of stories and other means to really connect, rather than talking past them
- Frame the 'ask' of the movement in moral terms, so in time it becomes an unarguable moral principle

Tactics

- Seize and keep the initiative through varied advocacy tactics, each designed to increase the movement and its power and decrease the power of the opposition, forcing them to respond to the agenda the movement is setting
- Use creative, fun and visual tactics. The only limit to possible tactics is imagination, but some classic tactics are ...

- Lobby policy makers at all levels
- Build relationships with sympathetic individuals inside government at all levels, and place your own people there through jobs and running for office, in order to build an effective, combined inside intelligence/outside pressure strategy
- Observe, report and publicise human rights abuses and other injustices
- Use the law to bring legal challenges against unjust situations through the courts
- Mobilise members to write letters to political representatives
- Mobilise members to sign petitions
- Purchase shares in offending businesses and engage in shareholder action
- Organise boycotts
- Hold mass demonstrations, protests and marches in iconic and highly visible places of power
- Arrange smaller, bespoke, creative protests, events and stunts to attract media attention
- Engage in civil disobedience including strikes, withdraw cooperation from the regime

Evaluate, learn, adapt and persevere

- Plan for how risk can be minimised for activists as much as possible, however ...
- Expect oppression to come and plan how to make maximum use of it to further shame authorities and publicise the cause so it backfires on the perpetrators
- Evaluate each advocacy tactic immediately after use and incorporate the learning into what to do next
- Learn from other reform movements
- Persevere, for years if necessary, until change is achieved, but ...
- Identify quick wins along the way to build momentum
- Ensure the whole strategy and every advocacy tactic is aimed at peeling away more and more support from those in authority, in order to make them increasingly isolated and their position increasingly untenable, until change comes. In particular ...
 - Capture the sympathy of the media
 - Capture the sympathy of the diaspora community and use them to leverage further pressure from outside of the nation
 - Secure the support of the international community
 - Capture the sympathy of the military and police

Victory

- Pre-plan and be ready when sudden breakthrough comes, after pressure has built. There will be a window of opportunity for rapid positive change for which activists must be ready
- Avoid moving too fast and slipping into instability, violence and conflict
- Prioritise reconciliation over legal prosecution of dictators, giving them an incentive to compromise, reform or leave power, rather than fight to the end
- Don't assume victory once a dictator has gone, keep going until full democracy, human rights and good governance have been installed
- Teach these methods for improving democracy, human rights and good governance through pressure within nations in schools, and promote them through publicly funded information and education campaigns, so that current and future generations understand how to bring about positive change peacefully and effectively

Improving democracy, human rights and good governance through pressure from outside of nations

The international community should:

- Only provide external pressure when a significant domestic reform movement wants it, and follow their direction to prevent it backfiring on the populace
- Recognise democracy, human rights and good governance can't be imposed militarily by force
- Provide sustained diplomatic pressure
- Capacity build public sector workers in unjust nations, instilling values of good governance
- Ban companies registered in their country from making bribes in other countries, as well as domestically
- Require complete transparency of the remaining legitimate payments
- Freeze the bank accounts of the leaders of corrupt nations
- Recover stolen assets from those accounts and return them to the people
- Sign and implement the *Arms Trade Treaty* which bans arms sales to countries where they are likely to be used for repression
- Impose targeted sanctions which impact the rulers of unjust regimes, rather than general boycotts that impact the innocent populace
- Impose travel bans on the leaders of unjust regimes
- Welcome all refugees and asylum seekers from conflict or oppressive regimes, but ...
- Prevent mass economic migration
- Pass, uphold, publicise and strengthen international democratic, human rights and good governance norm setting standards and agreements
- Work together to clearly and publicly condemn violations of democratic, human rights and good governance standards in the eyes of the world, and of history
- Establish a league of democratic nations which countries can aspire to join
- Act with integrity in line with their democratic, human rights and good governance values, especially in their foreign policy, in order to make those values still more attractive to others
- Teach these methods in schools and promote them more widely in society through publicly funded information campaigns so that current and future generations understand why their nation is pursuing such policies, and how democracy, human rights and good governance can be improved through pressure from outside of nations

Conflict

Prevent major conflicts emerging

The international community should:

- Never pursue aggressive wars of expansion
- Defend their citizens if they are invaded, the second of only three instances in which the Bible indicates states can use force
- Prioritise regular and cordial diplomatic communication, relations, dialogue and meetings (including at the highest levels), especially between powerful nations
- Build a broad consensus and shared values, between nations, on what good governance, peaceful co-existence, democracy and human rights looks like, along the lines set out in this report under [Standards for democracy, human rights and good governance](#)
- Proactively support international institutions like the UN and regional institutions like the EU

- Reform international and regional institutions where necessary to make them more effective and accountable
- Uphold, publicise and strengthen international humanitarian law on warfare and similar norm setting standards and agreements
- Prevent the further development, and contain the further spread of nuclear, biological, chemical or other weapons of mass destruction. Ensure all nations sign and ratify the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty* and the *Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions*, and work towards safely reducing existing stockpiles through negotiated agreements with independent verification
- Maintain a well-funded, large military for national defence and to help in armed intervention to prevent gross injustice
- Consider forming and joining mutual defence partnerships, but only where this will create greater stability, and reduce tensions, not when it is likely to escalate them
- Avoid acting in an arrogant, high-handed or triumphalist fashion, and putting other countries in a position where they feel humiliated
- Watch out for significant tensions that are emerging between nations, and work proactively to de-escalate them before they become full-blown conflicts, by finding the ‘off ramp’, that allows both sides to claim a win and de-escalate, without either side losing face
- Apply the full range of peaceful but tough diplomatic policies outlined above under [Pressure from outside of nations](#) to any nation that invades another. If that is not successful, consider intervening militarily, but only where the full list of criteria set out under [Armed intervention in small conflicts](#) can be met
- Deal with Islamic extremism by 1) building as broad a coalition of nations as possible to stand against it; 2) ensure the legitimate demands of Muslim communities are met, thus removing sympathy for extremists; 3) catch, prosecute and bring extremists to justice using legal intelligence and policing methods; 4) work with Muslim community leaders to design public education and deradicalisation programmes
- Teach these policies in schools and promote them more widely through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand the value of maintaining international peace and how to do it

Reduce and end small conflicts

Governments of conflict affected nations and the international community should:

- Engage in processes of reconciliation. This means ...
 - Telling the truth about the violence that was committed
 - Confessing that it was wrong
 - Asking for forgiveness
 - Turning away and rejecting the use of violence for the future
 - Receiving forgiveness and amnesty from prosecution for those crimes
- Support the legitimate national authority to overcome and regain complete control in a minor conflict against an illegitimate extremist faction with no real popular support. However, for nations embroiled in more serious protracted small internal conflicts, then the international community and national governments should:
- Use the strategies listed above under [Pressure within nations](#) and the tough diplomatic tactics under [Pressure from outside of nations](#) to force all the warring parties to the negotiating table and to keep them there

- Offer neutral third-party mediation of a peace process and independent monitoring of its implementation through the UN or some other appropriate international or regional institution or via one or more major nations
- Negotiate a peace agreement that reconstitutes a new political settlement: a single ‘inclusive enough’ power sharing national authority willing and capable of enforcing its will across the nation
- Give the leaders of the major factions some kind of role in the new authority, thus strengthening their incentive for peace
- Structure the new constitution so that it requires those seeking office to have to reach out across ethnic and religious lines to be successful, rather than just appeal to their own community
- Don’t rush to elections too soon in a still divided and volatile environment, until the new national authority has had time to build more stability
- Pursue reform within existing nations rather than succession and the creation of new nations
- Grant the legitimate demands of minority groups for fair treatment and respect for their traditions, providing they harm no others, as a result ...
- Isolate hardline extremists from popular support, then ...
- Use legal intelligence and police methods to arrest and prosecute hardline extremists
- Rapidly demobilise, disarm, reintegrate and find jobs for the young fighters from various factions
- Agree the resettlement of refugees and internally displaced people
- Agree rebuilding plans for post-conflict areas
- Ensure rebuilding plans are generously resourced by the international community, with funds that are released once peace is agreed, providing further incentives
- Match the top-down peace process with a bottom-up process of local reconciliation at the village and community level
- Deploy UN Peacekeepers and use ‘over the horizon’ guarantees to maintain the peace in its early stages once it has been agreed
- Provide sustained investment to train, capacity build and strengthen the new administration and new institutions
- Follow the policies under [Strong and fair economy](#) in Part 5 to get the economy going again and create jobs to maintain stability
- Produce some rapid confidence building results in 1) providing security, justice and the rule of law, through re-establishing an ‘inclusive enough’ functioning national authority that regains the monopoly of violence within the nation and is willing and capable of enforcing its will and 2) creating jobs and economic development, through focusing on policies to ensure a strong and fair economy, as a first priority once this new national authority has been installed
- Carry out further reforms to provide better public services and improve democracy, human rights and good governance later, once progress is well under way in the two critical areas of security and jobs
- Run public information campaigns and corresponding programmes taught in schools to explain the principles behind the peace deal and the new national authority, and the government’s plan for economically rebuilding the nation, to help current and future generations to come together behind it

Armed intervention in small conflicts*The international community should:*

- Use armed intervention to prevent states perpetrating extreme injustice or genocide against their populations as the third of only three instances in which the Bible indicates that states can use force

The international community should consider armed intervention:

- Only in contexts of extreme oppression and/or genocide
- Only when all other options have been exhausted
- Only if more lives will be lost over the long-term if they fail to act than if they do
- Solely to save life, not for political or economic gain
- Only with the agreement of the UN Security Council or all its democratic members and a significant international coalition of support
- Only in a limited capacity, in support of a clear wider political strategy for securing a lasting peace along the lines set out under [Reduce and end small conflicts](#)
- Only if there is a clear plan to establish (and as rapidly as possible transition power to) a new legitimate and domestically acceptable national authority and exit
- Only if the intervention is sufficiently funded
- Only if the intervention has a good prospect of success
- If other more authoritarian and oppressive regimes are likely to intervene if the democratic members of the international community don't do so
- Ideally using forces drawn from nations whose religion and ethnicity is least likely to inflame local resentment
- With a strategy informed by a deep humility, knowledge of and respect for the local context
- Ensuring intervening forces never target civilians, treat prisoners properly, care for the wounded and follow all the other stipulations of international humanitarian law
- Doing everything possible to treat the local population with dignity and respect and win their hearts and minds
- Never support rebel groups instead of intervening
- Teach these policies in the schools of intervening nations, as well as promoting them more widely through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand the reasons why armed intervention is taking place

PART 5: DEVELOPMENT**Strong and fair economy****Lead domestically***Governments should:*

- Pursue economic policies that will result in good jobs for all
- Protect employee rights, ensuring all jobs have sufficient pay, fair treatment, sensible rather than long working hours and generous holiday allocation
- Strive towards complete equality for all
- Recognise that pragmatically this will not always be possible, but ...
- Intervene to push back towards equality when inequality becomes too extreme

- Allow the private sector freedom to operate as it choose (thus ensuring broadly free markets) unless it harms others, at which point the law should intervene to prevent human suffering, exploitation and social ills
- Ban cheating, swindling and defrauding
- Ensure the market can provide loans and credit for those who need it, but in ways that are safeguarded to prevent exploitation of the vulnerable

Industrial and economic development strategy

- Develop domestic industries and businesses
- Develop these further and further up the value chain, moving from agriculture and the export of natural resources; to labour intensive assembly; to simple manufacturing; more advanced manufacturing and eventually into services and the knowledge economy
- Develop industries that meet domestic need but also boost exports and engage in international trade
- Pursue a diverse economy
- Ensure economic development is powered by clean energy and the sustainable use of natural resources (circular economy)
- Drive economic development through a proactive and intentional government industrial and economic development strategy
- Build a positive partnership between government and business to work together to pursue this strategy
- Be flexible to adopt and change policies at different times within this strategy, choosing the right economic path for the nation, rather than holding doggedly to any one particular market ideology
- Include targets and indicators for specific sectors and businesses that have been prioritised for support within this strategy. If a policy is not working or companies failing to achieve as desired, then the policy should be changed and support withdrawn

Targeted policies to move up the value chain from agriculture, to manufacturing, to services and the knowledge economy

- Enforce private property rights and contracts
- Formalise with full legal deeds the ownership of the land by the communities that dwell upon it, especially indigenous communities
- Reform and modernise the agricultural sector, boosting productivity
- Invest the profits from natural resource and commodity exports in sovereign wealth funds to help drive the process of economic development and moving up the value chain to more advanced manufacturing, services and knowledge economies
- Focus on securing the transfer of technology, both scientific/technical and best practice in business processes, from more advanced economies
- Attract and allow Transnational Companies to operate, but only on terms that extract maximum value in technology transfer and tax for the nation
- Create industrial clusters and export zones
- Invest public money in research and development to advance domestic technology and industry
- Use tariffs, export bans and import bans to support the early-stage development of new sectors and domestic businesses
- Use tax breaks to support the early-stage development of new sectors and domestic businesses
- Use subsidies to support the early-stage development of new sectors and domestic businesses

- Use public procurement to support the early-stage development of new sectors and domestic businesses
- Establish some state-owned industries, especially in areas of natural monopoly
- Maintain an undervalued competitive currency to boost exports
- Build infrastructure such as ports, roads, railways, airports, electricity and good phone and internet connectivity
- Develop a skilled domestic workforce for new industries through establishing education and technical training at home and sending citizens to study abroad
- Encourage domestic savings, borrowing and investment via domestic banks and financial institutions, thus strengthening the national finances
- Attract stable, long-term foreign investment, but use capital controls, limits on currency convertibility, pegged exchange rates and other tools to prevent destabilising short-term capital which can flood in and out quickly
- Provide strong direction to the financial sector to ensure investment goes where it is needed for national economic development

Policies for maturing the economy

- Maintain macroeconomic stability
- Establish a central bank
- Focus on supporting Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) as the backbone to the economy
- Make it quick and easy to set up a new business
- Reduce and simplify red tape and bureaucracy in the daily running of a business
- Establish quick and easy bankruptcy laws so if a business fails it can be wound up rapidly and a new initiative begun
- Provide access to financial services such as banking, capital and insurance for SMEs and all citizens
- Create and provide access to markets
- Formalise the informal sector
- Set a minimum wage, a maximum wage and establish a ratio between the highest and lowest paid employee in any company
- Allow, establish and support trade unions
- Restrict the amount of shares any one interest can hold in a company
- Support the development of more cooperatives and employee-owned companies
- Generously support and retrain any community that finds the area of the economy on which they depend for a livelihood declining as strong and fair economies are built, so they can find employment in new areas that are opening up
- Invest in counter-cyclical spending through mass employment and public works programmes on infrastructure and other key priorities to provide job security and re-stimulate the economy during recession and slow downs
- Prevent monopolies and cartels
- Make short-term use of tariffs, subsidies, tax breaks, public procurement and other stimulation mechanisms to help business sectors as they develop, but phase these out over the long-term when industries are ready to compete internationally
- Explain the national industrial and economic development strategy in schools and through public information campaigns so citizens understand and can get behind it

Support internationally

The international community should:

- Reform the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to give developing countries maximum freedom to pursue protectionist and other policies in the early stages of their economic development
- Not force economic liberalisation or any other ideological model onto developing nations, either overtly through the multinational system or covertly through technical advice and support, but allow them the freedom to choose the economic path that works for them
- Scrap subsidies and open up their own economies to developing nation exports
- Scrap or significantly weaken patent law and intellectual property rights (except in the creative industries), including reforming the *Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs)* and relevant WTO rules, to support the transfer of technology and ideas to developing countries
- Provide generous training, mentoring and support for developing country civil servants, entrepreneurs and business people
- Cancel unpayable developing country debt, and treat this as additional to, rather than part of, overseas aid
- Ban future irresponsible lending
- Create an international bankruptcy mechanism to allow nations crippled with historic unpayable debt to wipe the slate clean and start afresh
- Provide tougher regulation of the financial sector to: 1) prevent predatory lending and overly risky behaviour; 2) increase capital reserve requirements; 3) separate regular from commercial banking; and, 4) ensure no bank becomes ‘too big to fail’. Ensure individual companies and staff are held legally accountable for criminal behaviour and reckless actions. Work together through global institutions to agree global deals to establish international rules in these areas
- Work together to spot and manage global economic shocks when they do occur through guaranteeing and bailing out major banks and creating extra credit to restore confidence in the system
- Teach these approaches in schools and through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand how their nations can and are helping developing nations lift themselves out of poverty

Tax and social spending

Lead domestically

Governments should:

- Ensure the poor and marginalised in society are provided for and no one is left behind
- Provide generous unemployment and low-income benefits, wherever possible, in exchange for socially useful and honourable work the market finds hard to fund, thus retaining human dignity and avoiding creating a crippling dependency culture
- Ensure that such work is never a better alternative to conventional jobs and provide every support to help people get back into employment
- Provide incapacity benefits, pensions and similar social protection payments to those who need it without requiring any work
- Collect taxes in order to provide these and other services
- Reinforce, rather than undermine, the family as the primary social support network, by only providing social support when immediate family members are unable to do so
- Establish and implement an effective tax system

- Apply a progressive sliding scale in tax, so the poorest pay least and the richest most
- Tax capital and unearned inherited wealth rather than earned income, as far as possible
- Tax socially undesirable activity and not socially desirable activity, as far as possible
- Borrow and invest money for developing a strong and fair economy but only fund social spending from tax not borrowing
- Provide good education for all citizens
- Provide good healthcare for all citizens (covering both physical and mental health)
- Ensure good water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services are provided for all citizens
- Target the communities who are most left-behind in all social support provision
- Recognise that a mixed economy of state, private sector and civil society may be needed to deliver effective social services, however ...
- Be the ultimate guarantor of all the development needs considered in this section for all citizens if all else fails, either directly providing them (often healthcare and education) or through cash benefits to enable their purchase (often food and housing)
- Teach these values of care for all in society and ensuring none are left behind, in schools through the formal education system and in society through public information campaigns

Support internationally

The international community should:

- Practice complete global tax transparency by signing up to, implementing and significantly strengthening the *Multilateral Competent Authority Agreement* and its *Standard for Automatic Exchange of Financial Account Information in Tax Matters*
- Reduce the opportunities for multinational companies to avoid tax, by signing up to, implementing and significantly strengthening the *Two-Pillar Solution to Address the Tax Challenges Arising from the Digitalisation of the Economy*
- Negotiate a new global tax and social spending agreement that: 1) prevents the shifting of money out of countries where people are resident or companies are operating into ‘tax havens’, and; 2) commits every nation to collect in tax, and spend through government spending, an annual amount equivalent to at least 45% of the national economy, one third from income taxes (income tax, national insurance etc.), one third from wealth taxes (land tax, inheritance tax, council tax, wealth tax etc.) and one third from other taxes (corporation taxes, taxes on goods and services etc.). As part of this agreement, income and wealth taxes must be significantly progressive so the poorest pay less and the richest more. Taxes on income and on returns from wealth should be set at the same level. Various specific types of income, wealth and other taxes and levels should be negotiated and standardised between nations. At least two thirds of this income should be spent on healthcare, education and social protection (pensions, benefits etc.). The other third to be spent on other government functions
- Ensure all national governments develop their own national tax and social spending laws to implement this international agreement
- Train and capacity-build developing nation civil servants in tax collection and the provision of social services
- Give generous overseas aid of at least 0.7% of Gross National Income to bridge the gap and fund basic services whilst nations are still developing
- Ensure aid is solely targeted on poverty reduction, not supporting developed country exports or foreign policy, or discriminating on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender, age or in any other way

- Ensure all aid is harmonised and coordinated by the national government at a country level behind a single national development plan that is nationally developed and owned, with significant input from poor communities
- Ensure aid is channelled into national budgets and spent by the national government to make it efficient, and help reinforce and strengthen the national authorities in their legitimate role. Where concerns about corruption and good governance prevent this, deliver aid into a nation via UN agencies and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), with a lead agency playing the coordinating role until the situation has improved and aid can be transferred back through the national finances
- Require aid to come as grants not loans
- Ensure aid is stable, consistent and committed over multiple years to aid financial planning
- Make aid fully transparent, rigorously monitored and independently evaluated
- Ensure aid is only ever short-term with a sliding scale for phasing down and exiting from aid as nations develop
- Provide humanitarian relief in the context of disasters, with a significant proportion invested in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR)
- Support private financial flows for development such as charitable giving through NGOs; remittances from diaspora communities; philanthropy and social investment
- Pass, support, publicise and strengthen international norm setting standards and agreements on development and aid such as the *Sustainable Development Goals*
- Teach these approaches in schools and through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand why and how their nation is helping to lift poorer countries out of poverty

PART 6: ENVIRONMENT

A framework to guide humanity's approach to the environment

Governments should:

- Recognise that creation is good, beautiful and wonderful and has inherent value and worth beyond what it can provide for human beings, and should be conserved and treasured in its own right
- Recognise that humanity should farm creation and use its natural resources to provide the food, clean water, fresh air, clothing, housing and many other things we need in order to survive
- Acknowledge that humanity is entirely dependent on the environment remaining healthy in order to continue to provide us with these things we need to survive
- Ensure that as humanity farms creation and uses its natural resources, we should never do so in environmentally exploitative, rapacious and destructive ways, but in a balanced and managed fashion, protecting and preserving the environment, and not leave this up to chance but ...
- Pass and enforce laws that prevent the exploitation of the natural environment for its own sake, and also ...
- Pass and enforce laws that prevent people from damaging the environment in ways which harm others, thus following the principle that the law should be based on people being free to do what they want unless it harms others, at which point the law steps in

- Promote a diet that is healthy and is also good for people and planet, that is based upon mainly fruit and vegetables (at least a third), and cereal and carbohydrates (at least a third), with a small amount of meat (less than a sixth) and dairy (less than a sixth), and eating white meat and fish rather than red meat wherever possible. This should include legislation requiring shops and restaurants to provide more and better labelled vegetarian and vegan options
- Recognise that each generation cannot claim to ultimately ‘own’ creation, but is merely a steward, and should pass it on in good condition to future generations
- Recognise that failing to follow God’s standards and Biblical principles of justice, including these principles for the proper care and preservation of the environment, will result in creation turning barren and failing to give us what we need to survive

Clean energy

Governments should:

High-level strategy

- Sign up to and significantly strengthen the *Paris Agreement* in order to set a rapid global path to ban all greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy and move to 100% clean energy by 2030 at the latest (with tough intermediate targets), whilst keeping the lights on and providing energy access for all
- Develop national climate change laws and action plans to implement a significantly strengthened *Paris Agreement* in every nation that ... 1) immediately bans greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy where there are clean energy alternatives already available; 2) where they are not, uses quotas and targets to scale down greenhouse gas emitting forms of energy and scale up clean energy over a tight time period leading to a future ban, and 3) cuts subsidies and massively increases taxes on greenhouse gas emitting energy
- Invest significant public funds into research and development to improve and scale up clean energy technology
- Use many of the policies to grow a vibrant clean energy industry from the [Strong and fair economies](#) section of Part 5, including tariffs, tax breaks, subsidies, public procurement, some state owned enterprises and a positive partnership between government and the private sector

Electricity generation

- Immediately ban coal fired power plants
- Set a very rapid timetable towards a ban of the remaining forms of fossil fuel generated energy production as fast as renewable energy can come on stream to replace it, except (if necessary) for a small percentage required for ‘baseload’ energy
- Use a mix of solar, wind, hydropower, geothermal, tidal, wave or ocean current driven energy to provide this renewable energy, depending on national circumstances
- Ensure this renewable energy is generated in a local decentralised manner, so energy is immediately and locally available to reduce the need for large national grid ‘baseload’ energy
- Update all energy grids to become ‘smart grids’, so they use modern digital technology and real time information to predict and detect energy demands, and areas of wastage, and direct energy flows to the most needed areas when they are required
- Focus significant clean energy research and development resources onto improving battery storage technology to enable power generated by renewable sources to be stored in larger amounts for longer periods in order to reduce and remove the need for fossil fuel generated ‘baseload’ energy as rapidly as possible

- Focus part of clean energy research and development resources towards producing energy directly from hydrogen and oxygen (and other similar technologies) to again further help with the ‘baseload’ issue
- If there is still a need for ‘baseload’ energy that renewable sources can’t yet meet, then nuclear power, fossil fuel plants with Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS), or moving from coal to gas, as a less polluting ‘bridging fuel’, may be used as options depending on national circumstances, but only in the short-term until these needs can be fully met by renewable sources

Transport

- Immediately ban the construction of new cars, trucks, lorries and trains which use fossil fuels, since electric alternatives are already available
- After a short period (perhaps five years) ban the remaining fossil fuel cars, trucks, trains and lorries
- Provide a heavily subsidised package to support any of the public still using petrol vehicles to upgrade to electric alternatives
- Invest in the national infrastructure to support these alternatives, such as the widespread availability of charge points for cars and wires and rails for electric trains
- Use biofuels for flights and shipping until other renewable energy alternatives are available
- Invest in research into clean energy planes and boats
- Extend ban to fossil fuel planes and boats once clean energy alternatives become available

Buildings and industrial processes

- Immediately ban new buildings which use fossil fuels for heating/hot water/cooking, since it is already possible to meet these needs through clean energy generated electricity
- Launch a national programme to completely convert existing building stock to use clean energy generated electricity for heating/hot water/cooking
- Ban the burning of fossil fuels for industrial processes and use clean energy alternatives instead

Across all sectors

- Apply the maximum possible energy efficiency and emissions standards across all sectors to minimise waste, leakage and the amount of power used
- Require compulsory carbon offsetting for all use of fossil fuels, to fund tree planting in developing country rainforests (or similar projects) of the equivalent amount required to absorb the emissions generated
- Use quotas and rationing for the use of fossil fuel generated energy if the above steps are not reducing emissions fast enough
- Publicise and explain the need to transition to 100% clean energy, and how individuals can support this in their own lives through school education and public information campaigns

Circular economy

Governments should:

- Ban the use of polluting chemicals which are environmentally damaging in agricultural and manufacturing processes where there is a non-damaging alternative. Where there is no viable alternative, they should:
- Apply the same approach as that outlined above to shift to clean energy to drive down the amount of usage and scale up investment in research into clean alternatives until these do become viable and the polluting chemical can be banned

- Screen all chemicals used in agricultural and manufacturing processes. If any which were previously thought to be benign turn out to be environmentally damaging, the same process should be applied to them
- Ban the production of any biosphere resource (fishing, agriculture, hunting, logging, fresh water etc.) in ways which are not properly managed and replenished, so that more is not taken out than put back in
- Ban all further human settlement and expansion into currently wild lands
- Prevent invasive species
- Invest in conservation, re-wilding and reforestation programmes
- Ban the manufacture of products that can't be completely recycled continuously or safely returned to the natural environment
- Ban the dumping of waste in landfills or at sea and require 100% recycling or breaking products down safely and returning them to the natural environment instead
- Require all biosphere waste to be composted
- Extend producer responsibility to make businesses responsible for the safe collection and recycling of the packaging they use for their products, and of the products themselves at the end of their life
- Support businesses to adjust their model and way of working and retrain their workforce to comply with the new laws and become completely circular
- Use the policies under [Strong and fair economies](#) in Part 5 (such as tariffs, tax breaks, subsidies, public procurement, some state owned enterprises and a positive dialogue and partnership between government and the private sector) to grow new circular economy businesses
- Apply all of the above circular economy laws at the national level, but also ...
- Negotiate and agree a new global agreement on the circular economy (similar to the *Paris Agreement* on climate change) to apply all the above laws globally. This should revise, strengthen and incorporate existing global agreements on the environment
- Teach these approaches in schools and promote them more widely through public information campaigns so that current and future generations understand and support the critical importance of moving to a circular economy

Provide generous support to help developing nations shift to clean energy and a circular economy

The international community and developing country governments should:

- Facilitate and accelerate clean energy and circular economy technology transfer to developing countries
- Train, mentor and support developing country entrepreneurs and business people working in clean energy and the circular economy, and civil servants overseeing the transition of their nations to a green economy
- Provide energy access for all people who currently lack it in developing nations through local decentralised renewable energy
- Finance poor communities to switch from using kerosene stoves and firewood to ecostoves
- Provide decent education for women and girls, and access to health services and family planning for all
- Support developing countries to adapt to the impacts of a changing environment that they are already experiencing
- Provide substantial 'climate finance', additional to overseas aid and significantly greater than the \$100 billion per year currently envisioned under the *Paris Agreement*, to help

poor nations transition to clean energy and a circular economy, and adapt to the impacts of a changing environment that they are already experiencing

- Stop overseas aid budgets from funding any fossil fuel or extractive linear, non-circular, economic activity
- Teach these methods for supporting developing nations to shift to clean energy and a circular economy in schools and through public information campaigns, so that current and future generations understand why and how their nation is helping poorer countries to shift to clean energy and a circular economy

Future proof against natural shocks

The international community should:

- Invest in early warning monitoring systems and mitigating actions for major meteor strikes, volcanic eruption and the outbreak of virulent disease
- Take appropriate mitigating actions to minimise and avoid such events
- Invest public funds in research and development into technology that generally advances society in socially positive directions, and prohibit scientific research that is dangerous or bad for society

PART 7: MOBILISATION PLAN

The need for global agreements

The international community should:

- Recognise that we need global agreements, as well as national laws and policies for the recommendations to improve [Social Justice](#), [Development](#) and the [Environment](#) outlined in [Parts 4](#), [5](#) and [6](#)
- Recognise that through the UN, WTO and other bodies we already have the institutions we need to make global agreements; we don't need new ones
- Work to make those institutions work better, fairer and more efficiently
- Recognise that such agreements do not progress through tough negotiating approaches where nations refuse to reveal their positions, pursue naked national self-interest and refuse to move until every other nation also moves
- Transform the process of reaching such agreements by instead simply asking nations to put forward what they will do regardless of any other nation, thus creating a virtuous upward spiral where progressive nations form coalitions of the willing that build momentum (which ever more nations want to be seen to be part of) and can press ahead without being held back by the blockers, who instead become increasingly isolated and face growing pressure to act themselves

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Arise is a global movement, mobilising Christians to campaign and take practical action to transform the world around us through evangelism, discipleship, fighting social injustice, eliminating poverty and restoring the environment.

The Arise Manifesto is our big picture, researched, Biblical, holistic and practical vision for a better world. It looks at what the Bible says, and what we can learn from the best data and the world's leading experts on the five major areas of evangelism, discipleship, social justice, development and the environment. It then draws these lessons together into a practical road map for the changes we need to see in our world, which the Arise movement, the church and the world can campaign to achieve.



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