

PIBCI - Perspective

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Is it ethical?

Has ethics been airbrushed out of the collective consciousness?

We live in a strange time where extraordinary events unfold at a rapid pace, all of which threaten to tear apart the fragile stability that society is based upon. The bombing of nuclear facilities, genocide, bushfires and droughts, incompetent leaders, the indiscriminate killing of civilians, aid workers, nuclear scientists and peace negotiators, the sabotage of Nordstream 1 pipeline, hypersonic missiles and the clampdown and prosecution of protestors and whistle blowers all point to a crumbling order and the blatant disregard for basic ethical principles. A closer look at our society and those similar highlights that the people in power are not really in control. They actively tolerate injustice and corrupt practices that threaten our democracy and the institutions that are meant to support the wellbeing of society. To deal with the lack of vision and lack of will, our political and corporate leader's have opted to peddle fear in society and forecast a grim future in which there is no alternative to the status quo. We know that our world can be improved, and the future can be bright. Collectively we have learned over the millennia how to improve the human condition. Experience has taught us that we are not provided with everything we need or want. Life has trained us to compete, innovate and cooperate with others so we can meet those needs. In our quest to justify our claims and defend our interests, we have developed the language of politics. We have also developed the language of economics to help us argue and persuade those with resources how they should be distributed. However, arguing for our interests and persuading others how to distribute resources does not necessarily result in fair and equitable outcomes. To deal with such vexatious issues, the ancients developed the field of ethics. It has endowed humanity with fundamental principles and guidelines for the actions of individuals and collectives aimed at fostering harmonious relationships that are based on producing solutions that deliver fair outcomes for all.

Looking through an ethical lens from an Australian perspective, our geographic location and the land's abundant natural resources endows the nation with enough wealth for a relatively small population. We have ample distance that keeps war and conflict at bay. On paper, Australians should be a happy, healthy and wealthy population living in peace with a bright future. Despite this, serious issues plague our society. Child poverty, family violence, high rates of homelessness and rising stress and anxiety sweep across the nation. Our security pact with the world's largest superpower that is perpetually engaged in 'forever wars' and supporting a genocide places our nation's future security at risk. Despite being armed with ethical principles and values, our political and corporate leaders have set them aside making way for today's state of social despair, economic decline and political decay. Are the ethical commitments made in corporate boardrooms, at political podiums and in our institutions simply window dressing? Has ethics been drowned out by an ideology that prioritises self-interest and greed?

We are all familiar with ethics... right?

Every day presents new challenges, big and small. With each challenge a decision is required which may impact our lives, the lives of others or those of the wider community. Decisions that are made at the humble kitchen table may have ramifications on our family and our friends. Other decisions made in corporate boardrooms or in parliament may upturn the lives of communities and impact the entire nation. Regardless of who and how decisions are made, they are likely to have ethical implications. But what exactly is ethics?

Ethics has been around for millennia. It has been discussed, debated and refined in the times of antiquity by the likes of Aristotle and Plato. Since the time of the ancients, ethics has provided humanity with a set of principles aimed at directing the behaviour of individuals, groups and collectives. Ethics is a guide to make decisions that are just, respectful, uphold integrity and promote beneficence. By applying ethics to the decision-making process, the best choices can be settled upon by individuals or collectives (eg. groups, organisations and governments) that contribute to the common good. In essence, ethics is a practical guide to make the world a better place.

A shrinking ethical footprint

We do not need to sift through volumes of lofty business mission statements, policies on corporate governance nor read the highfalutin values espoused by political parties to assess the state of ethics today. A brief scan of international events and a walk through the streets is enough to gauge the current state of affairs both here or across the oceans. Today, conflicts rage across the globe, a genocide is drawing close to its second year, and democratic elections are being undermined with the support of institutions purporting to follow liberal democratic values that have an affinity with ethical conduct. Obscene levels of wealth are being accumulated by a handful of individuals while poverty and inequality continues to plague the world. The deafening call to war by national leaders is only matched by the extravagant expenditure on arms and armaments. Meanwhile a trickle of funds makes its way to support public health, education and to protect the environment. A closer look at our society down under also highlights a deep and troubling divide between the ethical rhetoric espoused by the political and corporate elite and the practice on the ground.

Key themes and ethics

Freedom of speech and the right to protest

Freedom of speech was one of liberal democracy's most cherished rights. For decades, freedom of the press and the right to express one's views was lauded by liberal democracies as a superior system over others and used as the yard stick that differentiated 'free' people in western democracies from those people oppressed by dictators and totalitarian governments. However, the once cherished freedom of speech has been relegated to the back burner as the neoliberal order has tightened its grip on democracies across the globe.

For several decades the political and corporate elite have set aside all ethical considerations and muffled alternative views and thwarted the public's ability to speak out against government policy that has been detrimental to the community. Under the veil of tackling "hate speech",

disinformation and misinformation, governments have limited news from sources that do not align with the dominant narrative and initiated legal proceedings against independent journalists who report events that do not align with the dominant narrative. They have also legislated against the public's freedom to question government policy and big business, despite existing laws (such as defamation) that limit our freedoms. The past twelve months have witnessed both state and federal governments actively clamp down on the right to protest and speak out in public.

The casual disinterest over the genocide of Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank is marked by the mainstream media's lacklustre reporting and the indifference displayed by key institutions and government. When looking through an ethical lens, it is incomprehensible to understand why the federal government has adopted such a feeble approach to Israel's brutal genocide in Gaza. Meanwhile, the government and institutions such as universities have been quick to clampdown on public protests and expel university students that have protested against the genocide and the daily killing of innocent Palestinian civilians by the Israeli military.

The harsh treatment of whistle blowers in Australia such as David McBride and Richard Boyle are also a particular case in point. David McBride, an Australian Army lawyer provided the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) with documents that contained information about war crimes committed by Australian soldiers in Afghanistan was sentenced to 5 years and 8 months in prison, and is currently languishing in prison.

Richard Boyle who became an internal whistle blower in October 2017 whilst working for the Australian Tax Office (ATO) highlighted concerns about operations in the ATO. After nearly a decade of being dragged through legal proceedings, the multiple charges against him had been gradually whittled down. However, Richard Boyle pleaded guilty to four charges. The matter continues in court.

The recent court decision in favour of journalist Antoinette Lattouf also highlights the unethical state of affairs in the government-controlled media. The federal court's finding that the ABC unlawfully terminated Ms Lattouf's employment three days into her role in December 2023 for reasons including that she held a political opinion opposing the Israeli military campaign in Gaza further highlights the decaying state of freedom of speech and expression in Australia.

The fact that people exercising their ethical duty by speaking out against the excesses of power and against injustice is highly commendable. By communicating their serious concerns about possible crimes and corrupt practices, such individuals are doing the community a great service. Yet, the actions taken against David McBride, Richard Boyle, Antoinette Lattouf and others flies in the face of ethical principles. By denying the right to protest, to speak freely and to call out criminal and corrupt actions, the state is actively undermining basic ethical principles. Silencing the public when it does not suit the political and corporate elite's agenda both work to erode ethics in our society, undercuts the public's ability to be informed and undermines a healthy democracy.

War, conflict and double standards

The hypocrisy and double standards demonstrated by the mainstream media and the major political parties with regards to current significant global events is astonishing. To date, the federal government has clocked up a total of more than 1,400 sanctions in response to Russia's invasion of

Ukraine. It has targeted everything from ministers, judges and prosecutors through to the transport and finance sectors. This has been backed up by strong diplomatic statements, and a further commitment by the reinstated prime minister Mr Albanese to top-up Ukraine's coffers by another \$100 million and expedite the delivery of Abrams tanks to Ukraine and continue training the Ukrainian military. To date, the federal government has committed over \$1.5 billion to the Ukrainian government which includes more than \$1.3 billion in military support. As unfortunate and as devastating the war is in Ukraine, it is difficult if not impossible to see how Australia's open purse and involvement serves our nation's security and strategic interests.

The sheer scale of the federal government's shameless hypocrisy, aided and abetted by the mainstream media is demonstrated by the stark contrast between its treatment of the Israeli government vis-à-vis the Russia government. To date, the federal government has done very little to challenge the rogue state of Israel as it continues its genocide of Palestinians in Gaza. Furthermore, it does even less to support the innocent Palestinian civilians of Gaza and the West Bank. As the Israeli government employs its latest tactic of collective starvation at a scale not seen since the Nazi blockade of Leningrad in the Second World War, our government remains mute. Despite the IDF's employing the horrific tactic of luring starving civilians to the few food distribution points only to slaughter scores of civilians on a daily basis, our government and the mainstream media remain virtually silent. To date, the federal government recently announced sanctions targeting two members of Israel's government for inciting violence against Palestinians in the West Bank. Yet, both ministers have spearheaded the calls for the destruction of Palestinians across the occupied Palestinian territories. The federal government and the opposition have done close to nothing. It has avoided the initiation of harsh worded diplomatic statements, the implementation of sanctions against Israeli businesses, including arms companies and Israel's leaders despite the international criminal court (ICC) issuing warrants to arrest Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu and the former defence minister Yoav Gallant for war crimes. To its discredit, the government (state and federal) have done more to clampdown on public protesters and drag student 'ringleaders' through the legal system than act against the rogue nation and the individuals and businesses that actively support the genocide of Palestinians.

The mainstream media has been complicit in presenting protesters as a public nuisance, troublemakers and branded them as supporters of Hamas. Meanwhile, much of the mainstream media's news has obscured the fact that Gaza has been turned into rubble. Hospitals have been levelled, vital food trucks and medical supplies are blocked by the IDF while aid workers and journalists are targeted by IDF snipers. Justice and respect for human life in Gaza, the West Bank and Southern Lebanon have been swamped by lies, double standards and cowardice on the part of Australia's political and corporate elite. The high values and platitudes made by government and corporations merely serve as window dressing as the Israeli killing machine steps up a gear.

The federal government's double standards and hypocrisy have also been on full display following Israel's unprovoked attack on Iran, and the subsequent US bombing. Again, Israel has acted in contravention of international law by attacking another neighbour. Its serial attacks on Syria, Southern Lebanon, Yemen and Iran highlight to the international community and Australia that Israel is a rogue nation that violently attacks nations at will and commits genocide. Such acts would normally warrant severe condemnation and sanctions by the Australian government aimed at curbing Israel's wonton aggression and indiscriminate killing. Yet, the federal government has bent

over backwards not to raise the ire of the genocidal government in Tel-Aviv led by a war criminal wanted by the ICC. Australia's weak-kneed approach to the crimes Israel habitually perpetuates has been matched by its response to Israel's attack on Iran. Despite flying in the face of international law, Australia's response to Israel's attack on Iran was to 'call for restraint'. The subsequent US bombing of Iranian nuclear facilities was also met by statements from prime minister Albanese and foreign minister Penny Wong supporting the US attack, and calling on Iran (the victim) to refrain from escalating. Despite breaking numerous sections of the UN Charter including the bombing of nuclear sites, the federal government and corporate owned media appear comfortable being wrapped up in hypocrisy and double standards. This clearly highlights the ethical bankruptcy that pervades our political and corporate elite.

Yemen is one of the few nations actively standing up for the defence of Palestinians. Strategically located in the Red Sea, the ruling Ansarullah (Houthis) are using the Red Sea as a choke point to blockade supplies getting to Israel. During this time, the western press has engaged in a smear campaign against Ansarullah to obfuscate the true nature of the blockade by stating that the Yemenis are indiscriminately attacking ships in international waters. Regardless of the conflict having little to do with Australia's security interests, on October 1st 2024, Australia stepped up its commitment to maritime security by assuming command of Combined Task Force 153 (CTF 153). This was the first time Australia has led the multinational task force operating out of the US Naval Support Activity in Bahrain. With little news and reporting, Australia led actions against Yemen, one of the poorest nations in the middle east who are supporting the Palestinians who are some of the poorest and most ill-treated people in the middle east against the IDF who is one of the most well equipped and most sophisticated militaries in the region. Ethically, it is unfathomable how the Australian government is in effect supporting the rogue nation of Israel and not using every political, economic and military lever to put a halt to the genocide of Palestinians in Gaza. The flow of military aid and financial support to Ukraine is deemed appropriate by the major political parties, yet support for the Palestinian people comes in pithy words delivered by detached senior ministers.

The daily hypocrisy and double standards that are on show highlights the moral and ethical impoverishment of our political and corporate elite. Their willingness to support belligerent and violent nations to bomb and murder masses of people highlights the lack of ethical and moral fibre. By engaging in unethical acts and the unconscionable support of warring and corrupt nations, the nation's political leadership is undermining its credibility and further undermining the ethical framework that calls for peace, justice and harmony for all.

Living the neoliberal dream

Neoliberalism has been the dominant political and economic model for almost a half a century. It follows as capitalism's latest iteration in its effort to find a 'solution' to democracy. During its global rule, neoliberalism has demonstrated a total lack of regard to basic ethical principles. With its roots firmly planted in capitalism, neoliberalism has proven to be an aggressive variant that places profit making front and centre of the decision-making process. Through the spheres of politics, economics and culture, neoliberalism promulgates the exploitation of people and the environment. It furthers the expropriation of all that is valuable despite where it is and who rightfully owns that resource. It fosters the commodification of the earth's resources and human labour despite the cost and the damage that it causes. For decades, the public have been trained to adopt the neoliberal culture.

The profit motive has burrowed itself into the collective consciousness which translates into competition and conflict in the daily scrap to get ahead, to make more, to buy big and crush the competition. It also means trampling on the interests of others and cutting corners. The ethical ramifications of the simple notion to make profit ensures that self-interest is placed ahead of community needs. Unfortunately, neoliberalism is a barren environment where ethical principles cannot germinate. The market economy is a harsh and toxic atmosphere where justice, respect, integrity and beneficence are not welcome. Neoliberal's 'winner takes all' mentality works against the concepts of peace and cooperation. Meanwhile, the wealthiest one percent of society promote the 'neoliberal dream' as they continue to accumulate more while the poor continue to be exploited.

Privatisation and Deregulation

For almost five decades, the neoliberal revolution has transformed governments into ruthless toe cutters that have implemented austerity measures for the majority of Australians. We have witnessed both state and federal governments cut back on essential social services while facilitating the sale of public owned assets through privatisation. Across the nation, governments have defunded public services causing a significant drop in the quality of services. It has presided over the artificial degradation of public services thereby providing it with the rationale to sell off public assets to the private sector. However, decades of privately run services has demonstrated the ineffective nature of the private sector to deliver quality services to the public.

Successive state and federal governments have eroded regulations and restrictions that were designed to protect the public and environment. The most vocal calls for deregulation emanate from a small minority of Australians, most notably the nation's most wealthy individuals that head large corporations. Through the power of pro-business lobby groups and political donations, the calls for deregulation have been answered by willing state and federal governments. In effect, deregulation is code for the slaughterhouse of public and workers' safety, fair pay and environmental protections. It has also proven to be a cancer for ethical standards.

Can we afford the superrich?

It is estimated that Australia's top 47 billionaires take home an average of \$67,000 an hour. Meanwhile, the poverty line for a single adult is \$489 per week. As things stand, over three million people live below the poverty line which includes 761,000 children. This represents 13.4% of the population and 16.6% of children. The above statistics places a spotlight on the high price the public pays for supporting Australia's 150 billionaires. Yet, the price for carrying the nation's billionaires goes well beyond adult and child poverty. Supporting the rich means foregoing taxes that could go a long way to reversing wealth inequality, topping up funding for homelessness, improving health care and education, fixing our deteriorating infrastructure, and keeping our homes warm without the exorbitant energy bill.

Ethically and morally, it is difficult to justify why Australia's richest individual, Gina Rinehart has a net worth of \$38.11 billion, or for that matter why Harry Triguboff maintains his second place on the rich list as he increased his wealth by 12 % from last year to peak at \$29.65 billion. Such enormous figures held in the hands of two of the richest people in Australia, not to mention the remainder that make up the 'one percent' simply translates into negative and devastating impacts that reverberate across society. As the inequality gap grows into a chasm, it is not just the economics of wealth that

has a negative impact on the rest of society. Wealth inequality has a significant impact on educational and employment opportunities, mental health and life expectancy. From an ethical standpoint, it is difficult to justify what real value Australia's super-rich provide for society. A significant portion of Australia's billionaires have gained their wealth from extracting the natural resources from the land, which has come through the colonialization of the country. The billions in profit made from the extraction of resources from the land that has been channelled into the pockets of the very few at the expense of the traditional owners of the land who constitute approximately 120,000 indigenous people living below the poverty line.

To maintain the growing number of billionaires who increase their profits comes at a great cost to the rest of society. It is clear why the one percent of society dedicate significant funds in self-promotion via a wide variety of media outlets that attempt to justify their exorbitant wealth. The billionaire owned media readily sets aside common sense and social ethics by cloaking greed as the benefits of 'healthy competition' or their extravagant lifestyles as the fruits of their hard work that everyone could achieve if they tried hard enough. Meanwhile, the one percent promotes the status quo via political donations, hired lobbyists and appointing ex-politicians to work for their financial interests.

Media manipulation

A media that adheres to basic ethical principles is essential for the lifeblood of a healthy and effectively functioning democracy. Such a media would promote quality journalism based on independent and critical investigation. It would adhere to ethical principles that demands justice, respect and integrity from political leaders, corporate bosses and the citizenry. It would be a constructive and progressive force seeking solutions to the ills of society. Yet, Australia's mainstream media has been mobilised by a clique of billionaires that promotes a single ideology – neoliberalism. The mainstream media is an effective tool used by its billionaire owners and the government to capture the attention of the public and set the social and political agenda. It regularly amplifies selected stories whilst omitting those that do not align with the views of the political elite or corporate bosses. In effect, the mainstream media directs the dominant narrative that masks reality.

As things stand, the mainstream media is virtually immune from accountability. Decades of watering down media laws have enabled media moguls to concentrate their ownership thereby making them the custodians of 'the news'. In the process, they have emasculated investigative journalism, used their media empires for the purposes of promoting the interests of corporations. On a daily basis, the mainstream media manipulates the truth by selectively reporting or omitting key events from the headlines.

Social media and streaming platforms are also employed to manipulate public opinion. The collection of personal data and the use of sophisticated algorithms help to deliver a tailored experience for each individual. Such platforms filter the news and opinions that make their way to each device. The news feed is exactly that, a 'feed' curated for each individual. Each search, view, like and comment is transformed into a packet of personalised information that is analysed by AI data warehouses. This in turn is used to curate your next hit of news and views. The upshot is each viewer is efficiently placed into a virtual silo, where similar or same news and views are channelled onto the screen.

The current circumstances enable mainstream media, social media and streaming platforms to mould the news and align them with the dominant narrative. Those news events that do not fit into the dominant narrative are largely omitted from the headlines and newsfeeds. The result is that the public is ill informed or not informed at all. People are left in the dark, partially informed or simply bewildered by the cacophony of news and opinion. Ethically, the low grade of news filtered and funnelled by digital media providers undermines the principles of justice and the public's integrity. By curating a world view that does not accurately represent reality, the mainstream media displays little respect for the public as it treats the community as infants or fools. Hence, a poorly informed or uninformed public cannot make good decisions based on the dross that is served up onto our screens.

What is driving ethical decline?

The flagrant disregard for ethics across our society and beyond correlates with the rise of neoliberalism which encourages an assiduous form of individualism also known as hyperindividualism. For nearly five decades, the neoliberal order has successfully embedded itself in our institutions and in our culture. It has cultivated an extreme form of individualism which has instilled a mindset based on self-interest. Getting ahead, personal gain, being seen to be better than everyone else, making more money, climbing the corporate ladder and pursuing personal happiness and self-expression at the expense of the community are all the by-products of hyperindividualism. Aided and abetted by the one percent who directly benefit from this mindset, the neoliberal ideology has nurtured hyperindividualism which has gradually replaced our human instincts of care and cooperation with self-interest, competition and consumption. By establishing the primacy of the individual based on self-interest, our society and those like ours are now reaping a bitter harvest. Hyperindividualism has eroded the pillars of ethics by undermining the sense of community, collaboration and cooperation. It has unleashed neoliberal's ills upon society that have manifested themselves in the form of increasing levels of self-centeredness, dishonesty, violence, bullying and rudeness.

For nearly fifty years, the sponsors of the neoliberal ideology have presided over a growing crisis across society. Instead of tackling the challenges head on by applying ethical principles, they have avoided the real complexities of the world and constructed an alternative reality that has been simplified for public consumption so they can hold on to their positions of power. Through their influence and their ability to control the dominant narrative, the public is fed an alluring diet of news and views that promotes fear, violence, scarcity and projects a grim future. The hypocrisy and double standards provide a thin veil over their warped narrative that aims to keep the status quo in place. The success of the dominant narrative is demonstrated by the ineffectiveness of opposition groups, the quelling of public protests and the casual acceptance that a genocide is unfolding in real time on our screens while nations are bombed by our allies and the inequality gap grows whilst the nation's billionaires make larger profits.

An alternative framework

For too long, the political elite and corporate leaders have made a habit of side-stepping real-world problems by retreating from critical analysis, making hard decisions and ignoring ethics. This has enabled nefarious forces to grow under the shelter of the neoliberal order. War, rising poverty, homelessness, increasing stress and anxiety, crumbling infrastructure and deteriorating public

services all threaten to pierce the fragile bubble we know as the status quo. With casual abandon, the nation's political elite, oligarchs, financiers, media moguls and a long string of billionaires peddle the same old stories and pitch the mantra that there is no other way. Yet, it is clear that the neoliberal order is reaching its logical conclusion. The pursuit of profit via an aggressive form of self-interest that has transformed into hyperindividualism is threatening the very fabric of society. Not everyone can be a millionaire, and not everyone has the resources and opportunities that the one percent have taken for granted. Hyperindividualism may have worked for Australia's 150 billionaires, but it has come at a hefty cost to the rest of society. In fact, their wealth is largely based on the exploitation and expropriation of the rest of society.

Given that neoliberalism is at its fag end, the public urgently needs to reach for an alternative political and economic path based on the principles of ethics. Social ethics offers a well-established framework that promotes social justice that ensures all people have equal access to opportunities and resources. By applying social justice, the wealth of the nation can be distributed fairly along with the nation's burdens.

Unlike the neoliberal ideology, social ethics advances solidarity within society. By promoting a culture of collaboration and mutual support, our communities can become places of peace and harmony rather than sites of social isolation and violence. This can be coupled with the concept of empathy which also forms a key plank of social ethics. By encouraging individuals to place themselves in the shoes of others, people can form an understanding of the feelings and perspectives of others. Only through empathy can we develop healthy relationships and a climate of mutual understanding and respect.

Social ethics is also based on respect. This is experienced by taking the perspective that each person has value in themselves, and that this value informs all interactions between people. The key driver in social ethics is social responsibility which refers to the obligation that individuals, organisations and collectives need to contribute to the wellbeing of society as a whole. This involves acting in an ethically and morally correct manner that takes into account the impact of our acts and decisions on others.

Regardless of what economic or political system the public collectively chooses to adopt, it is vital that ethics is placed at its centre. Social ethics provides the tools to critically examine social conditions, structures and systems and has the necessary framework to determine which of them is problematic in light of the norms concerning what is good, just and respectful. Social ethics provides essential guidance when analysing issues and actions and can prescribe solutions that shapes social practices aimed at fostering harmonious relationships and an environment of mutual respect.

Making change happen

As Australians we have every reason to look forward to a bright future. However, the current political and economic order has delivered close to five decades of turmoil marked by ongoing international conflicts, rising poverty, scarcity and the environmental emergency. Closer to home, we have lived through austerity, deteriorating social services and infrastructure, the privatisation and deregulation nightmare, rising inequality, growing social ills in the form of anxiety, stress, family violence and international insecurity. By encouraging the pursuit of profit and self-interest, the neoliberal order has demonstrated a blatant disregard for basic ethical principles which has led to

many of the ills and problems we face today. It has invoked a form of hyperindividualism which has accelerated the erosion of community, cooperation and collaboration. Furthermore, in an effort to prolong the neoliberal order and maintain their privileged status, the political and corporate elite have worked hard to promote a narrative designed to simplify reality that dodges the complexities of life. Through over-simplification, governments such as our own have promoted a dark vision of the world where malevolent forces lurk seeking to destabilise our way of life and they (the government) are the only ones who can manage the risk, be they through political, economic or social levers. Unfortunately, the decades of mismanagement have come at the cost of ethical principles. The lack of dealing with real and complex matters has allowed levels of corruption, injustice, division and hypocrisy to thrive.

Given that the current neoliberal order is at its end days, it is vital that the public adopt an alternative political and economic approach that has social ethics at its heart. Social justice, solidarity, empathy and respect form the key planks of social ethics which advances social responsibility across all layers of society. By applying ethical principles to day to day decisions, we not only enrich our own lives but also help society move toward a more just and sustainable world for all.

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Anthony B – Website Editor

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